

# OVERVIEW OF EUROPEAN GEOPOLITICS. GEOPOLITICAL SCENARIOS AND THEIR IMPACT ON ESDP.

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## Abstract

Albania is prepared and recently hopes to receive the invitation for the EU candidate membership, that means not only removal of countries state barriers and borders, but above all the integration process means the approach to the fundamental values on which it was built and breath this great organization. As such process, we need to deepen and widen the economical, political, social and security reform programs. The Integration process itself includes a wide range of activities and actors contribution, which must be taken in consideration by not avoiding them when it comes to focus to geopolitics as a concept, but also challenges that faces our country, Albanian people in their European integration, without neglecting the analysis process of scenarios associated with strategic allies choice for Albania<sup>1</sup>, Kosovo and their issue as a whole.

The recent debate and not only political view on these strategic alliances, on which will be the primary on the list of priorities, bring to the scene the debate of geopolitics itself, its current focus, as a methodical tool to analyze our foreign policy, trying to explain and anticipate regional and international developments, mainly geographical elements, like position, size, climate, topography, demography, natural resources, but she also includes geopolitical interests focused on common geopolitical system, which includes a geographical region, the cultural dimension etc. Geopolitics gets boost from the history and historical events. It reflects the connections of interests and elements of national power, political and strategic decision-making process in geographical contexts. Based on that issue and sensitivity, I will try to give these considerations, of course not in an exhaustive way, a thorough overview of geopolitics in general and especially in Europe with focus to the possible scenarios and impact to the common policy and defense security.

In a panoramic way I will bring a historical and evolutionary concept of geopolitics, its significance and its links to the other related discipline as geostrategy, ect. Geopolitical factors and methods together with key theory and respective representatives will be part of this analyse, focusing on the geopolitics of EU, its origin and internal dynamics. We retrospective way we give a summary of EU history, its configuration process, their institutions, such as EU Parliament, the European Council, the EU Commission ect. The Common Policy and Defence

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<sup>1</sup> **Albania** should be granted EU candidate status, the European commission announced Wednesday. Commissioner Stefan Fuele said that the status, which has to be agreed by member states, was conditioned on Tirana taking further action to combat organised crime and corruption.

security given in the Treaty of Maastricht and then the evolution related to the role of Western European Union (WEU) in the development of the EU Defense policy. Later on the emerge of European security and defense policy (Declaration of St-Malo Treaty)<sup>2</sup>.

Several geopolitical scenario and their general and particular impacts to ESDP are given and analyzed in the contexts, by highlights of the perceptions and perspectives of geopolitical schools representatives in the past and also contemporary with their assessments and predictions for the future of the EU. Geopolitical Strategies are associated with the development and coherence of those member countries and those countries seeking membership by accepting this continental project as necessity and not supporting the dissolution or disintegration of EU. The end of cold war brought about the disappearance of ideologic divisions and conflicts between the two main blocs led by two superpowers. After this period, Globalization phenomena took unprecedented proportions, with all its dimensions and appearance, economic, political, social, cultural and security. This situation prompted the re-dimensioned of geopolitics in its role and mission in a new international environment, where the number the actors their interests was continuously increasing.

### **THE GEOPOPLITICAL CONCEPT?<sup>3</sup>**

There is still no clear definition of the concept for geopolitics as well as for the place among the scientific disciplines. Is this a science itself, in the sense that there is an object, and a study methodology? Numerous questions and dilemmas are getting along from the genesis up to nowadays about the debate for it. There are well-known links in regards to the space (geo), and characteristics in the context of decision making. From the etymological point of view it steams from the word geo-soil, policy polis city, also it is considered as political geography or the kingdom geopolicy. Acording to the Marshall Center there egzist a relation between politics and geography. It treats the state or nation influences with the rest of the world in terms of power and their interests. Geopolitics is seen as an instrument that links the contributions coming from the analysis of geographic, historical, social, cultural factors over regional, international or global policy.

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<sup>2</sup> Le sommet franco-britannique de **Saint-Malo**, qui a réuni le président Jacques Chirac et le premier ministre Tony Blair les 3 et 4 décembre 1998, est souvent décrit comme le point de départ de la Politique européenne de sécurité et de défense. Il a donné lieu à une déclaration commune appelant à l'établissement de moyens militaires « autonomes » et « crédibles » pour l'Union européenne<sup>1</sup>. La relation avec l'OTAN est toutefois précisée : l'UE agira « lorsque l'Alliance en tant que telle n'est pas engagée », et « sans duplication inutile ».

<sup>3</sup> **Geopolitics** is the study of the effects of geography (both human and physical) on international politics and international relations. Geopolitics is a method of foreign policy analysis which seeks to understand, explain, and predict international political behaviour primarily in terms of geographical variables. Typical geographical variables are the physical location, size, climate, topography, demography, natural resources, and technological advances of the state being evaluated. Traditionally, the term has applied primarily to the impact of geography on politics, but its usage has evolved over the past century to encompass wider connotations. Geopolitics traditionally studies the links between political power and geographic space, and examines strategic prescriptions based on the relative importance of land power and sea power in world history.

There are many definitions of it, because of the links between politics (primarily external), geography, demography, economy, or the interaction of economic and political factors in the relations of one state with another nation in a region, as well as their influence vica vers. Many scholars associate it only with the geography, considering even as makro-geography, others give affiliation with political science. Some other scholars consider it as something virtual, only in literature and not real. Geopolitics can not be considered purely science, regardless of what in its nature there is a target of clear intentions, consisting in protection of the interests and national power of a country, by distinguishing those related to the level of power. Based on that diagnostic approach it initiates the course of state action, defining objectives, protect the interests and selects the alliances, strategies and policies to be undertaken by a country, to handle the faced challenges.

### **SOMETHING ABOUT THE BIRTH AND EVOLUTION OF GEOPOLITICS.**

Geopolitics was invented later and it can be considered as modern concept as the early geopolitical thinking apostles were from nineteenth century. The first thinkers Kjellén and Ratcell,<sup>4</sup> dealing with the term. It was used for the interpretation of Versailles Treaty decisions, and later during World War II, by Hushofer (influenced by Kjellén), it was abused by Nazi propaganda. After World War II it lost its ground and began to recover itself after Stalin denigration who saw it as an embodiment of Nazi propaganda. Gradually recovering geopolitics becomes part of European cultures and debate. Rediscovering of her when the two superpowers, regardless of their ideological divisions, their behavior where typical geopolitical for the protection of their areas of influence and power. Whenever one of superpower and their allies demonstrate their power in a country or region, there was a response form the other party in order to balance it. So it was a game between them that regulate the Yalta world order and the balance.

After years 90-ty it reappears convinced in a new Geo political reality ( post Yalta<sup>5</sup>, the era of globalization) focusing on the determination of the national interests in an international environment. There are some differences between geopolitics, geostrategy and political geography except common concept geo space - land. While political geography has in its focus the geographical distribution of political phenomena and their impact on geographic factors, in its inverse there is geopolitics that looks over the impact of different geographical factors, such as physical, human for political elections. Geopolitics is not purely science, while political

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<sup>4</sup> Rudolph Kjellén Friedrich Ratzel

Rudolph Kjellén was Ratzel's Swedish student who would further elaborate on organic state theory and first coined the term "geopolitics." Kjellén's *State as a Form of Life* would outline five key concepts that would shape German geopolitik. Ratzel's key contribution was the expansion on the biological conception of geography, without a static conception of borders

<sup>5</sup> The **Yalta** Conference, sometimes called the Crimea Conference and codenamed the Argonaut Conference, held February 4–11, 1945, was the World War II meeting of the heads of government of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union, represented by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and General Secretary Joseph Stalin, respectively, for the purpose of discussing Europe's post-war reorganization

geography is science, which is different from the first that analyzes and predicts future policy scenarios. Political geography studies the policies that take place, or already occurred.

The similarity between geopolitics and geostrategy, besides the study of space, is that they both are abstract, virtual, so they do not exist in nature. Even from the etymology of the term geostrategy, geo space, land, and strategy, strategos, leadership, military commander it can be considered as "military geopolitics" and to be considered as the little sister of geopolitics. Cohen shared geostrategic world in 2 categories, one under U.S. leadership and another under the Soviets.

The necessity of geopolitics today, its role and importance.

Today geopolitics is necessary for analyzing the capacity and promotion of national interests, which ignites and keeps alive the debate about the foreign policy of a country, its strategic orientations, as well as the course of action for the best interest. She brings over the value of space for each country, state, region, material and non-material aspects that serve the analysis of international relations, national interests and objectives in a permanent changing global world and security challenges.

## **GEOPOLITICAL FACTORS AND THE METHODOLOGIES**

It is influenced by numerous factors such as geographical, historical, social, political, diplomatic, military, demographic, scientific and technological, from where the latter analysis is of great importance in the design of geopolitical scenarios in different time space. All those elements which do not change or be affected in the course of time and of history, will be considered like a permanent constant as given for ever. Such factors are those of physical geography such as surface, position, distance, type (island, peninsula) climate, resources, etc. Other geopolitical factors which are in permanent dynamic, so the range in terms of time and space will be considered variable. These include populations (balanced differentials between north and south), the economy (labor cost varies from one country to another, or their qualification) diverse and competitive infrastructure as that of domestic and international (ground, air, sea) etc.

All geopolitical factors have an impact on the strength of a country and on this basis they outline the political scenarios, political trends and behavior in relation to its neighbors, the region, strategic alliance. Geopolitical analysis methods are initiated through geopolitical scenarios, where approaches are more political than "geo". Meanwhile today may not be given a single formula to make analysis and interpretation of MND. Cohen<sup>6</sup> gives some geopolitical

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<sup>6</sup> Professor Saul **Cohen** is University Professor Emeritus at Hunter College and the City University of New York. Cohen obtained his PhD at Harvard University and is specialised in geopolitical theory and political geography. He has written extensively about political and economic geography, Israel and Middle East geography, education and environmental perception. In 2008, the second edition of his book "Geopolitics: the Geography of International Relations" was published. The 'Geopolitical Passport' series offers visitors to Exploring Geopolitics a unique opportunity to find out more about the enormous variety of views within the geopolitical traditions. The floor has

approaches for analyzing and interpreting them, depending on geopolitical factors and elements, such as the historical, geography, functional, power etc.

## MAIN GEOPOLITICAL THEORIES.

All related theories are concerned and focused on primacy and value of power an item such land, sea or air, where each of them have endless arguments from the vital experience, historical, political, superiority and advantages of one over the other. Mostly the debate is focused on which power, that comes out of the ground or water, who should rule the globe? Geopolitics is seen as an instrument to analyze the real situation and prospects of its development. Early geopolitical theories gave a contribution to decision-making of that time but with the changing geopolitical realities and security environment, they revive the debate and raises dilemmas, and as mentioned are mostly more political than "geo".

Early geopolitical thinking begins by Ratchell, otherwise known as the father of political geography, where the man and nature are subject of a Darwinian<sup>7</sup> process of selection. He was supporter of trade expansion and territorial conquests in the east, thus pro conquests, determining the purpose of providing space (Lebensraum), which is different in the countries and peoples. According to Ratzel the state is a living organism that grows and change boundaries, which are temporary, and that reflect the health of a nation at that time. Kjellén affected by Ratzel in his workpaper "state as a form of life" makes a general approach to geopolitical relations. According to him the globe gets around of three economic and political zones: America, Europe, headed by Germany and East Asia under the direction of Japan.

Continental geopolitical theory with its early representatives Mackinder<sup>8</sup>, emphasizes the superiority of land over the sea, the Eurasian continental power ( German Russian alliance ) against any naval force. There exist a pivot area, or heart land (Eastern Europe) that whoever possesses it possesses the world's island and who owns this island rule the world. In his theory,

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been given to scholars from several countries and various disciplines. The questions address issues all people with an interest in geopolitics grapple with. How should we define it? What are the most fascinating geopolitical ideas? And how will the geopolitical future look like?

<sup>7</sup> **Social Darwinism** The term first appeared in Europe in 1877,[12] and around this time it was used by sociologists opposed to the concept.[13] The term was popularized in the United States in 1944 by the American historian Richard Hofstadter who used it in the ideological war effort against fascism to denote a reactionary creed which promoted competitive strife, racism and chauvinism. Hofstadter later recognized (what he saw as) the influence of Darwinist and other evolutionary ideas upon those with collectivist views, enough to devise a term for the phenomenon, "

<sup>8</sup> **Mackinder's Heartland Theory.** Sir Halford John Mackinder was a British geographer who wrote a paper in 1904 called "The Geographical Pivot of History." Mackinder's paper suggested that the control of Eastern Europe was vital to control of the world. He formulated his hypothesis as:Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland  
Who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island  
Who rules the World-Island commands the world  
Mackinder's Heartland (also known as the Pivot Area) is the core area of Eurasia, and the World-Island is all of Eurasia (both Europe and Asia).

Makinder, influenced the foreign policy of states winner of the First World War, as well as in design of Versailles Treaty decisions. The history itself is a constant conflict between land and sea power, and the Continental rule comes around a center that from the beginning was called pivot area, the backbone of the world ( Central Asia - north ocean) and then expanded its borders to the West, calling it " Heartland ". He tries to explain that global hegemony achieved by control of the Eurasian continent, because in this part of the world lives most part of population and there are most of the world's resources.

On the other hand, unlike Makinder oppose the alliance of Germany with Russia, Hashofer was for an alliance between them, which according to him conflicting situation between them was an anglosaksion advantageous for the world domination. His contribution to gjeopolitics and German foreign politics of the time was great, especially on justification of strategy for spaceland (Lebensraum). Mahan supports the theory of maritime rule and naval power. As geostrategist he treated geo political issues in relation with maritime primacy. He sees naval power as an instrument of national policy to combat fleets and Navy bases overseas, as something vital for economic prosperity which serve to the prestige growth of national security.

Naval power is connected and dependent on geographic location, physical figures, surface , demographics and state institutions. According to him, areas of Asia between 30 and 40 degrees parallel , is the area of conflict and division between the Russian continental power and the English maritime. He was for an alliance between the U.S. and Britain, and for a Germany and Japan coalition to counter east Russian block, to rule the world. The Rimland theory. Eurasian continental mass surrounding area is a source of conflicts and poses great danger to the peace and security for the world. The author of this theory, Spykman<sup>9</sup>, unlike Makinder, even opposing it, says; who controls Rimland controls Eurasia, and who owns Eurasia controls the world.

Unlike Makinder argued that U.S. should be interested in a strength and the United Europe, Spykman emphasized that the U.S. should be interested in sharing continental peninsula from island. Rapid technological developments and aerodynamics made possible to grow another goepolitical theory. The airspace rule represented by the Renevsky and Seversiky. According to them for world air rule there exist terrestrial centers, one in the U.S. and other in the USSR, who both will meet in North Ocean, as a strategic balance between their to rule the world. Cohen was representative of airspace patterns, which according to him the world is multipolar and constantly changing. It consists of state-nations that are part of an interdependent system, where power is localized in different parts of it. For him, geopolitics in its core is a collaboration

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<sup>9</sup> Nicholas John **Spykman** (1893–1943) was a Dutch-American geostrategist, As a political scientist he was one of the founders of the classical realist school in American foreign policy, transmitting Eastern European political thought into the United States. Spykman published two books on foreign policy. America's Strategy in World Politics was published in 1942 near the entry of the United States into World War II.. In it he lays out his geostrategy, arguing that the balance of power in Eurasia directly affected United States security. Heartland. Spykman's analysis of the heartland is markedly different from Mackinder's. He does not see it as a region which will be unified by powerful transportation or communication infrastructure . Spykman agrees that the heartland offers a uniquely defensive position, but that is all Spykman grants the occupier of the heartland.

between geographic components, geographic regional environment and political processes that are generated by the political parties active in these areas, which affect the behavior of their position in the future of these regions.

He makes a bipolar division of the world into two types of regions, geostrategic and geopolitical. We have two main types of geostrategic regions, commercial marine world, and continental world. Indian area is considered as neutral. Marine regions include geopolitical regions such as Anglo America, Maritime Europe and Magreb countries, South Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, Oceania, including Japan and Korea. Between the two geostrategic big regions exist the Middle East and Southeast Asia, where interfere all interests of liberals, and conservatives, respectively geostrategic maritime and continental areas. So, there is an area with great geostrategic importance, such as the Middle East, with the three-dimensional position and impact on three continents. It is a meeting point of Makinder continental power and Mahan maritime power. Cohen examines domino theory for external policies of the U.S. and was for a strengthening of the EU and Japan, both in support of U.S. leadership in world efforts.

Well-known scholar representatives of global geopolitics are Kissinger,<sup>10</sup> Huntington<sup>11</sup>, Fukuyama<sup>12</sup>, Berzinsky, Lutwak, Ataly, that explain the future of the world and who will rule over it. On the relationship between the U.S. Europe and Japan (Berzinsky<sup>13</sup>), to end of history and for the clash of civilizations (Huntington), feelings of humiliation (Moisi) for the destruction of America and the world facing turbo capitalism (Lutwak) etc. All different geopolitical theories are represented on mainly 6 schools: binary- representative Makinder, Haushfer, - Zonal, regional concept, -the center- periphery, with Jacques Attaly representatives, marginal - by Spykman, plural - by Cohen, idealistic - world as a global system polycentric, peaceful and interactive.

In conclusion, the term geopolitical roadmap, the evolution and consolidation of the concept will see that the elements of power, political influence and that of geospatial, played a key role in its definition and interpretive approaches followed by representatives of time. In the beginning the

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<sup>10</sup> Henry Alfred **Kissinger** (<sup>1</sup>/ˈkɪsɪndʒər/[1] born Heinz Alfred Kissinger [haɪnts alfʁet kɪsɪŋə]; May 27, 1923) is a German-born American statesman and political scientist. A recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, he served as National Security Advisor and later concurrently as Secretary of State in the administrations of Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. A proponent of Realpolitik, Kissinger played a dominant role in United States foreign policy between 1969 and 1977. In that period, he extended the policy of détente. This policy led to a significant relaxation in U.S.-Soviet tensions

<sup>11</sup> Samuel Phillips **Huntington** (April 18, 1927 – December 24, 2008) was an influential conservative political scientist from the United States of America whose works covered multiple sub-fields of political science. He gained wider prominence through his Clash of Civilizations (1993, 1996) thesis of a post-Cold War new world order.

<sup>12</sup> Yoshihiro Francis **Fukuyama** (born October 27, 1952) is an American political scientist, political economist, and author. Fukuyama is best known for his book The End of History and the Last Man (1992), which argued that the worldwide spread of liberal democracies and free market capitalism of the West and its lifestyle may signal the end point of humanity's sociocultural evolution and become the final form of human government.

<sup>13</sup> Zbigniew Kazimierz **Brzezinski** is a Polish American political scientist, strategist, and statesman who served as United States National Security Advisor to President Jimmy Carter from 1977 to 1981

state concept was treated as powerful identity (Kjellén and Ratchell emphasized the organic theory of the state, as a living organism) While latter definitions and the current takes into consideration other stakeholders and their influences in terms of power. Its definition varies according to time and the vision of the country, where as a stamp of the time has its own perception towards geoareas.

## **EUROPEAN GEOPOLITICS**

Europe has an interesting and special geographical configuration landscape with a variety of physical forms, with mountainous and hilly obstacles, rivers, lakes and seas surrounding the peninsula and its islands. Climate diversity that varies from one region to another and provides comparable features with other continental countries. It has a long coastline in relation to the ground surface, with bays and archipelagos, with advantages that offer the road infrastructure, aerportuale that promote fast communication of north - south east – west, access to the sea, maritime transport and whole economy.

Many historical events during the course of time have shaped the development of European geopolitics. We really need an inclusive approach, as historical, political, cultural, economical, in order to understand the evolution of European geopolitics and its internal dynamics. European political fragmentation as well as historic and ideological division between East and West, the configuration of countries maps, the industrial revolution, technological development have configured the nineteenth century European geopolitics. World War's created new geopolitical realities and made Europe to lose ground to its former regional and global leadership. The Iron Curtain divided East under Soviets and Warsaw Pact and the West under U.S. ally and NATO.

European integration that is supported by the American leadership counterweight the Soviet Union. This process was initiated by the creation of the EU Community. The gradual evolution of this process enabled the successful elimination of the consequences of the war, and the economic growth of member countries, the consolidation of democracy and institutions, contributing an increase of authority of the EUC (EU) in the international arena. Many political instruments and institutional reforms was seen as key to gradual impressive European development. To better respond to the challenges of the new international environment, especially in the area of foreign policy, security and defense the EU (Maastricht) come up with a single voice in the confrontation with this issue.

Emphasis was placed on developing common foreign policy and security (CFSP). Political part of this joint policy consists of European security and defense, which in turn provides for the first time its operational capabilities for managing civil- military crisis. By then WEU meet EU vacuum gaps in the field of defense and security. Latter on those whose competences were transferred to common defense policy and security of EU. European security and defense policy begins with the declaration of Saint Malo, between Blair and Chirac, and was formalized at the European Council summit of Cologne in 1999. It is the successor of the identity of European

security and defense in NATO. It will be question of time when the EU will take over the WEU competences in negotiating and relationship with NATO, in Berlin Plus agreements.

In his statement to " 3 D " provided by the Secretary of State M.Ollbfrajt<sup>14</sup> , USA cheered the emersion of this policy for protection and common security as long as meeting three conditions: no divides between them and Europe, not discrimination against NATO members that are not EU members, Turkey case, and no duplication of resources. The Lisbon Treaty appointed ESDP as security policy and common defense CSDP , as well as nominated a high level representative. Reforms undertaken in this context, institutional structures as an integral part of this policy as Defence Agency ADA, opracional battle groups, crisis management capacity of civil -military ( Petersburg tasks), have made common policy of defense and security successfully tested in facing the challenges and responsibilities of its own, and in its relations with NATO (Berlin plus) and OSCE.

### **SOME EU SCENARIOS**

Besides the achievement of the economic sphere as well as other common policies, Europe today faces several crises among its member countries (Greece financial crises) but also with other challenges institutional character reforms such security, defense, foreign policy, with dilemmas raised about possible trends and scenarios of its future. Scenarios are hypotheses raised to make prediction of the future that helps us to see trends in the time variable. There are many scenarios on its future, Geo political dimensions on and about what and where will be extended the European project. In this short essayistic meditation is impossible to analyze all scenarios, representatives, impacts arising and their conclusions.

Taking in consideration a functional approach for integration and its level, a scenario on the future of Europe appear as: 1 - end of the European project, more unlikely, except when such a thing wish all its members. 2 variable - geometry, where the integration continue does not stop following. These include the so-called Europe's various velocities, and collaboration (European Monetary) except selction integration, agreements between countries (the case of the Schengen agreement) EU current situation is mostly characterized by the Communitarian method and variable flexibility of integration is the exception. Scenario 3 status quo, is ice situation as the result of crisis the European integration is stoped. Other integration possibilities provide numerous opportunities to reform EU institutions. Political union is the scenario that gives the highest form of ingtegration, from where you can get a single state or an empire.

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<sup>14</sup> Madeleine Korbellová **Albright** (born May 15, 1937) was the first woman to become the United States Secretary of State. She was nominated by U.S. President Bill Clinton on December 5, 1996, and was unanimously confirmed by a U.S. Senate vote of 99–0. She was sworn in on January 23, 1997. Albright currently serves as a Professor of International Relations at Georgetown University's Walsh School of Foreign Service. She holds a PhD from Columbia University and numerous honorary degrees.

Jean Carlo<sup>15</sup> in his global predictions stresses that world will be an alliance between democracies, there will be a multipolaritet or a single empire. According to him Europe due to economic, demographic problems heading towards decadence and to get out from this situation he gives such scenario with policy implications in the common European defense and security as follow: 1. Reinforcement of NATO and the EU, with the impact on security and defense policy of the European Union based on the new agreement between them for the division of roles and responsibilities when facing the challenges of security and defense in the new international environment . They will be separable and not shared . 2 - weakening of NATO and the EU strengthened the policy of security and protection of the EU. EU will be competitive even opposing U.S. 2 - weakening of NATO 's and the EU, where individual states of Europe will have their role in security and defense issues and where Europe will lose its weight as their opposite entity.

Berzinsky in its analysis of geopolitical, focusing on relations between the U.S. and the EU , said that Europe is becoming increasingly competitive, but still needs time to reach its unity and political coherence. Such approach has its references in the required cohesion among member states for joint decision-making in addition to the foreign policy issues, safety and the common defense. According to the study center CAP, German geopolitics, in its approach provides several scenarios on the future of the EU such as: Titanic version, Open Europe , Monnet Method , open integration, Superpower Europe. Another scenario on the future of Europe is that the divisions and group of countries in regional blocks under the sphere of influence.

Such approximate thesis announced in his book "strategic depth" by Turkish Foreign Minister Davutoglu<sup>16</sup> for the role Turkey should play in the Balkans region, the Caucasus, the Middle East. In each of the following groups one country has dominance leadership and its influence within the group and outside it. The German sphere of influence, the Nordic region, Vishegrad countries headed by Poland nad Mediterranean Europe. Questions arised over regional leadership of these groups of countries , as well as costs associated with this regional hegemony sphere have relation with the perception member countries about dealing with the security issue, their dilemmas and uncertainties associated.

We ambitious and exhaustive geopolitical analysts say that Europe does not yet know its eastern borders. They present scenario of future EU under various theories such as the federalist " Europe of Citizens ", or other theories of Regions of Europe , the bananas , the European trade

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<sup>15</sup> **Carlo Jean** (Mondovì, 12 ottobre 1936) è un generale e scrittore italiano. Esperto di strategia militare e di Geopolitica e Geoeconomia che ne fanno uno dei più autorevoli esperti a livello italiano e internazionale. Attualmente insegna studi strategici alla Facoltà di Scienze Politiche dell'Università Luiss ed alla Link Campus di Roma, è membro del Consiglio Scientifico della Treccani, del Comitato Scientifico della Confindustria USA. Collabora con le riviste di geopolitica Limes e Geopolitica come membro dei rispettivi consigli scientifici

<sup>16</sup> Professor Ahmet **Davutoğlu** (Turkish pronunciation: [ah'met 'davuto:lu]) is a Turkish diplomat who has been Foreign Minister of Turkey since 2009. He is also a political scientist, an academic and an ambassador at large, and he served for a time as chief advisor to the Prime Minister.

union or union subsystems in the competition between them. For Friedman<sup>17</sup>, Europe is not an entity but a group of states "wrangler" and divided into four Europe parts, Atlantic Europe, Central, Eastern, and Scandinavian. Although there are progress in their reforms Turkey remains a special geopolitical dimension of the EU, together with other locations in the Western Balkans. How about Russia .. ?

## CONCLUSIONS

By placing space area in the center of the political debate, geopolitics is seen as an important instrument to its potential scenarios. It contributes to the analysis of international relations in general, orientation and finding strategic alliances countries and regions, and promoting the course of action should follow state actors for consolidation of strategy in defense of national interests.

Global Scenarios and especially those related to the future of Europe, the impact to its security policy and the common defense and beyond, are important tools in diagnosing situations, setting priorities, policies that are followed in defense of national interests of the states or group states in the framework of the political, economic organization or security alliances.

Given to the current trends of development of the Common European Security and Defence (civil- military missions undertaken in many locations in the world) as well as cooperation with other regional or global organisations such as NATO, OSCE, AU, UN, we conclude that maturity of this policy pass from the phase of institutional cooperation at the operational action in the field. The EU is transformed into a significant global geopolitical actor in facing the challenges of international security environment.

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<sup>17</sup> **George Friedman** (born 1949 in Budapest, Hungary) is an American political scientist and author. He is the founder, chief intelligence officer, financial overseer, and CEO of the private intelligence corporation RATFOR. He has authored several books, including *The Next 100 Years*, *The Next Decade*, *America's Secret War*, *The Intelligence Edge*, *The Coming War With Japan* and *The Future of War*

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