

UKRAINE AND THE MISSING EUROPEAN AGENDA

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Abstract

In Ukraine, even after the termination of the USSR, during the last two decades, ethno nationalism had not produced ethno clashes between existing ethnicities: Ukrainians, Tatars and Russians. The coexistence between the ethnic groups and others seemed more likely in the Crimean peninsula.

The last year gave end to the status quo. The Ukrainian government lost control over Crimea and other eastern regions. A new political reality is being created in this part of Ukraine. As the political scientist Robert Jackson said, Ukraine is turning into a "quasi-state". It is gradually turning into a country, where most territories remain outside the center's control, ungoverned.

In Ukraine's case, the EU has proven that it can carry out historic missions. The mediatory mission of the three foreign ministers, from Germany, France, and Poland showed the first fruitful results - avoiding the clash of the West with Russia.

However now after one year, can we still say that the EU has a consistent agenda for Ukraine? If so, Ukraine will soon realize that the agenda, with its motto for peace and freedom, has its costs. How should we understand this "lack of an agenda"? Can we speak of a geopolitical relocation or of retrieval to the dormant alliances? The conservative German circles are showing understanding towards Russian and Serbian interests. This stand feeds the idea of promoting the return of the Russian-German "dormant tradition". This idea is destined to fail, since it does not in accordance with Berlin's interests. Thus it can be concluded that it is time for the revival of the typical German rationalism in the field of political opinion, in favor of drafting a European agenda for Ukraine, and for the Southeast of Europe.

Keywords: Ukraine, Crimea, European agenda, German geopolitics, rationality of German political thought.

INTRODUCTION

The collapse of the Modern Russian "Empire", in the political history of the twentieth century's was baptized as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the first two decades brought real life to geopolitics Ukraine as a independent republic , with its borders that were set during the era when the "Emperor" was in its heyday. Unlike other former republics of the region, in Ukraine over the past two decades, the ethno nationalism had not yet scratched the surface e clash between ethnic groups: Ukrainians, Tatars and Russians. A kind of coexistence between the ethnic groups and others smaller, still seemed possible in the Crimean peninsula, where a good part of the population were Russian and that continued to be deployed Russian submarines.

An even surface look of the map of Ukraine would demonstrate the strategic position this country, even as for NATO also for Russia.

In the east border the country is with Russia, while gas pipelines towards Europe go right through Ukraine. Through these pipes almost 80% of Russian gas is passing. The Russian economy de facto the income of dollar is precisely thanks to this transport. The famous humus land of Ukraine, chernozem, which includes almost two-thirds of Ukrainian space, regarded as the most fruitful soil in the world. Meanwhile the region which is watered from rivers Dniestria and Dnjepr is the only in the world, where is located the so-called "sweet" that has a width of 500 kilometers. This land is regarded as the greatest asset of the country, as it ensures good crop of grain. The greatest entrepreneurs in the field of agribusiness from west as Monsanto, Cargill, AMD and Kraft Foods, calculating the difference at the internal political struggles, have started to lay hands on this Ukrainian wealth. (*Amerikanische Handelskammer in der Ukraine*)

In eastern Ukraine bordering Russia as a whole, live somewhere over 15 million Russian citizens, however, since it is the most prolific region is regarded as the breadbasket of Eastern Europe. In 2009 Ukraine was, after the US and the EU, namely before Russia the first, big producer of cereal grain in the world. (Press Trust of India, 2009: »Ukraine Becomes World's Third Largest Grain Exporter«)

Adding to this property also large stock of various metals, we can imagine can more realistic size of importance of Ukraine for each of the existing powers of the world. Therefore we can conclude that 2004 marks the historic turn for Washington, as the year is taken the most strategic path to "Full Spectrum Dominance", as on earth, oceans and space stellar, emphasizes rightly the Pentagon. Let us remember one fact: in 1919 Halford John Mackinder, the father of British geopolitics, wrote in his famous Democratic Ideals and Reality (in English: "democratic ideals and reality" - zu Deutsch: Demokratische Ideal und Wirklichkeit): "Who govern the Eastern Europe owns the heart of the earth, owns the islands of the world (he called this way the Eurasia) - who governs the islands of the world, owns the world". (Ferati, Haxhi, 2013. pp. 56-57). Ukraine with over 46 million inhabitants presents the most interesting market for German manufacturers, soon after the Russian one. Up until the beginning of the crisis was over 2,500 German firms that have set up their subsidiaries or capital had joined with counterparts in Ukraine and were present in the Ukrainian market. Major German concerns, such as Leoni, ODW, Metro, Heidelberg Cement, Rhenus Revival, DHL and REMONDIS are already present in the Ukrainian market.

1. THE STATUS QUO'S END

The past year (2015) ended the status quo's in this peninsula. Ukraine's new government has lost control in the Crimea. In the clashes between the parties, the radical pro-Russian forces in Simferopol, within a short time took the regional parliament. In an urgent procedure that resembled scenarios of Serb National Council of Northern Kosovo, the pro-Russian forces, at the conclusion of the coup, they elected the new prime minister of Crimea, which does not recognize the government of Kiev. It has already been put into operation the Russian military forces. Airport of Simferopol is already in the hands of the Russian army. In the streets and squares of the city march Russian tanks. The city is continuing to make captive life. In this part of Ukraine was created with speed of light, a new political reality. It seems that this new reality, it was the product of political naivete of the opposition nationalist tones highlighted with fascism, as well as perfect Russian cynicism.

Within hours, when in Kiev after the departure of pro-Russian president Viktor Yanukovich, nationalism had flooded and was flooded squares and streets of the Crimea, killing the political rationality; it was taken the decision to remove the Russian language as an official language in the region of Crimea, giving a kind of "legitimacy" of Russia intervention.

In this race of positioning, big losers appear to be, first of all, Tatars deported in Stalin's era, accounting for more than 12% of the population. Meanwhile, diplomacy remains to save as much as possible be saved. This is why only within a very short period, the Foreign Secretary of the United States, John Kerry and German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier, was met four times. The latest meetings were to promote additional evidence that what the weight has won Germany in transatlantic relations. Statement of US Secretary John Kerry in this regard, that "the US joy the added Germany's role in solving problems of global nature," given to Reuters speaks a lot.

The flow of the democratic revolution in Ukraine was extremely fast. Victorious in its conclusion, it appears that will be many parties. The EU, with an engine power as Germany at the forefront, this time has proven that it can conduct instant historical missions. Intermediary Mission of three foreign ministers that of Germany, France and Poland, gave the proper fruits. The country was removed from the abyss of civil war,

which seemed inevitable that would lead the authoritarian government of Viktor Yanukovich, but most importantly they manage to avoid possible collision between Europe and Russia.

However, can we really say that with this action, the European agenda for Ukraine proved successful? Of course not. The EU should be a good move even self-critical, why Ukraine was almost in civil war and on the eve of the invasion of its eastern parts from Russia. Irresponsiveness of the EU and the cold attitude of the International Monetary Fund gave the opportunity of calculation time to dictator Yanukovich. Ukraine already is before the financial collapse. Democracy needs to be strongly supported and people to taste it through welfare upward. This would be an additional lecture for the EU in steps expected to expand to Eastern Europe, of course, in relation to its agenda towards Ukraine.

2. UKRAINE HOSTAGE TO GEOPOLITICS

Ukraine and the EU will be tighten as to admit, even with pain, loss of the eastern regions, where the last word has Russia, similarly as happened with Crimea. This process seems to be inevitable. Creating so-called "Novaya Rasia" everywhere where ethnic Russians living in former republics of the USSR has this mission. At first glance it seems that not all in the interest of Russia to "plunge" in the active public dimension in these areas struggle to eastern Ukraine. In this case it will be clearly seen as an aggressor, as will march in territories of an independent country. However, Russia remains focused to defend its interests with any price in Ukraine. Therefore it seems that the higher cost will be paid by ethnic Russians of Eastern Ukraine. It is already clear for Eastern Ukraine's ethnic Russians that only through parallel routes: active resistance and expression of political will (by referendum for independence), will find the support of the Russian Federation and create chances for complete detachment from Kiev. For this geostrategic purpose, they are based on the speech of Russian President Vladimir Putin's, held on 18 March 2014 in the Kremlin before the deputies of the Russian Duma, the members of the Federal Council, the governors of the country and representatives of the so-called civil society that connected with the request of the Republic of Crimea and Sevastopol city to be 'accepted as an integral part of the Russian Federation.

Both these roads, those ethnic Russians of eastern Ukraine, are fanatically following. De facto after the referenda held already, eastern Ukraine's regions are under the full control of Moscow. Any change of this course with long-term detailed plans, it is clear, would lead to clashes with NATO and inevitable positioning with Russia's borders, as the worst case scenario for the Kremlin. In this open race for dominance, wins the battle of who has greater endurance. Eastern Ukraine through the so-called status of a high degree Autonomy will be marked as a separate political entity within Ukraine, while its orientation will be Moscow. It seems that Ukraine to now will notice that this agenda, that motto is peace and freedom has its cost. Geopolitics as stretch the rule and expansion of territories, considered as the past - passé. However, time is proving that in this beginning of the century. 21 it is experiencing complete renaissance. What Russia is doing in Ukraine is such an example. Political clashes in Kiev between extreme right, who were labeled as clusters fascist and formations leftist pro-Russian, which could have as main topic the fight against corruption or the building of democratic order and the rule of law, soon left the country to the international fight for power and influence. In an editorial in the Financial Times, published on 23 February 2015, all that was happening for months in Ukraine sees the interdependence of geopolitical interests. "A quarter-century of almost exclusive territory of Ukraine was the subject of collision between the EU and Russia, which de facto is not nothing but a geopolitical war between the Kremlin and the West". In 2008 failed attempt of US President George W. Bush, to pull in NATO the two republics of the former USSR - Ukraine and Georgia "And now again Maidan's revolution offers all parties a second chance, through resolution of the status of Ukraine to review the dividing line of Europe." Ukraine with over 46 million inhabitants, with a strategic position, positioned between Russia, Europe, the Black Sea and Caucasia is back again at the center of geopolitical and geostrategic interests. It is gradually de facto becoming a hostage to geopolitics. Time is proving that Ukraine is resulting as a battleground, where are clashing interests of Russia, the EU and the US. But as Albania on the eve of World War II that had become hostage to the "game of two blocks opponents on European" (one of these blocks led by Italy and the other from France), the Ukraine today is undergoing the collision of Russian and American interests, but also by the lack of a European agenda to be. All parties are clear that "Eurasia remains further a springboard, where in the future will depend the fight for global domination." (Schwarz, Peter. 2015) Ukraine de facto is turning into a "quasi-state", as would be expressed the politikologue Robert Jackson, to qualify such areas internationally recognized as sovereign states, but in essence present ungoverned territories, as have become some of the Southeast Europe (Bosnia the most obvious example). Quasi-states have all external attributes of statehood - enjoy international recognition by other states, occupy seats in the UN and various international organizations, as well as maintain diplomatic relations with foreign countries (eg, being the host of embassies of other states). However, within the territory, the government of the country does not enjoy sovereignty; it doesn't exercises

governance in its territory as a result of administrative weaknesses of government or internal conflicts. (Pula, Besnik. 2015), as it is flagrant case with Ukraine.

Jackson, in using the term quasi-state meant African countries like Somalia, Liberia, Congo etc. that while existed and exist in the international map as sovereign states, are not governed as such because of civil wars, ineffective governments and other deep politico-territorial divisions. By Military actions in Crimea, Moscow has openly violated the sovereignty and integrity of Ukraine. But despite this bitter fact, western diplomacy can be called to the 1994 Agreement, which was reached between Russia, the US and Great Britain, which had to do with ensuring the sovereignty of Ukraine, the Ukrainian government was agreed to hand over its nuclear weapons. Based on this agreement, Moscow would have to be forced to respect the sovereignty of Ukraine. Otherwise the European agenda over Ukraine would be seen as inexistent, respectively deficient

3. THE ANNEXATION OF THE CRIMEA COMPLETED ACT

Strategic military encirclement of Russia through the withdrawal from Georgia and Ukraine in NATO Bay now looks like an attempt militarily unfeasible. The issue therefore goes to the negotiating table. The road that leads Russia to the Black Sea obviously going through Crimea that yesterday was part of Ukraine, it seems that is and will remain fully under Russian control. Russia also through the support that is making to Russian rebel forces in Ukraine proves that it is not prepared to defer that will reflect in the loss of its influence in Ukraine. Indeed it is already proven that it is focused to provoke clashes most major benefit of keeping the influences over Ukraine.

German Chancellor apparently achieved to manage the euro crisis in the Eurozone, to push for Greek Halloween the issue of northern Kosovo (leaving it not without purpose as "frozen conflict" improvising with the so-called agreement of 19 April 2013 and 25 August 2015 the preservation of Serbian interests in Kosovo), and in the case of facing a bit more serious, such as the annexation of the Crimea by Russia and taking control of a good part of eastern Ukraine, it, but also Europe, again are appeared such what actually are- extremely labile, considering as well as occupation of Crimea and Ukraine's eastern areas inhabited by Russians, as fait accompli. This duality has to do with a lack of clear vision of Germany for foreign policy and as notes the Steven Hill, author of the book Europe's Promise: Why the European Way is the Best Hope in an Insecure Age.

In the political history of Germany after World War II each of chancellors gave its seal, becoming the leader and influential personality in the global plane. Remembering the impact of chancellor Willy Chancellor with his vision of German policy in relation to the East or Helmut Kohl who is marked in history as the chancellor who made the unification of Germany. Angela Merkel has a ideal chance for action in South east Europe sending clear messages as to address Belgrade in relation for northern Kosovo, as well as to address the official Skopje on the issue of the name of the State and co-existence with Albanians there, but with aligning with Greece, all together, in step with the region's integration into NATO and the EU, and thus the full restoration of German interests in the region. Through the course of the new German chancellor could go down in history as a true visionary, making Balkans to fully return to the old continent. By full return the Western Balkans to Euro-Atlantic family s Europe will significantly contribute in strengthening the transatlantic relations necessity for s successful showdown against Russia's geopolitical ambitions.

4. GEOPOLITICAL REPOSITIONING OR RETRIEVAL TO QUIESCENT ALLIANCES

Policies that followed her predecessor, Gerhard Schroeder, to strengthen the economic relations with Russia, already are proving unsuccessful. Meanwhile, new German course diligent in relation to the prosperity of reforms within the EU, which proved more idea for Europeanization of Germany than Germanization of Europe, as was seen by Eurosceptics, could gain weight if Berlin will focus more on solving the pending issues in Illyrian Peninsula. Is there any chance that this course gets pushed by Social Democrats, as a partner with their experience in the pro-European orientation? As Differential attitude of German Foreign Minister Frank Walter Steinmeier (Frank-Walter Steinmeier) and also the leader of the Social Democrats, partners in the current government of Germany, Sigmar Gabriel, is expected to significantly impact on the course of foreign policy of the Chancellor, giving a new direction. Without such an agenda we cannot speak for Germany with new ideas, more dynamic and for a Europe of the 21 century.

In northern Kosovo long time now that has been established Serbian authorities through the so-called Serbian nationalist groups. This was revealed without masks parading the occasion of the Serbian gendarmerie in Sunday's protest in Mitrovica. Seven conditions that official Berlin had set for Serbia before to be granted candidate status for the EU, before so-called technical talks between Pristina and Belgrade, were

in accordance with the German vision for the region, desire for stability and long-term peace in the region. What happened in the meantime? From this understanding for Serbia's position in the north? This kind of understanding in relation to the current Serbian policy, which comes somewhat as an extension of understanding Unveiling the various circles of the German policy of Putin in the Crimea and in general in Ukraine, ranging from conservatives type as Alexander Gauland's and Peter Gauweiler -it's up to those of the previous two former chancellors Gregor Gysi and Social Democrats Sarah Wagenknecht, speaks clearly to the existing dualism of German foreign policy.

This issue the interests of Russia's security, which is reflected by a tame treatment of Serbian, also sheds light on the German weaknesses in relation to a realistic assessment of the potential danger facing a neighborhood countries in East and Southeast Europe . Consequences that would produce this kind of German "understanding" for Russian security on one side and Serbian in northern Kosovo can be of unpredictable proportions for Germany but above all for Illyrian Peninsula, Poland and the Baltic republics. Poles can ever forget how in their backs were made agreement between Russia and Germany since the end of XVIII century up to the famous pact between Hitler and Stalin (1939). While Albanians have stacked also in their historical memory the tragically decisions of Berlin Congress (1878) to separate the Toplica (8 towns and 600 villages) in favor of Serbian interests in this part of the Albanian space that today is presenting Southern Serbia and Hoti, Gruda, Tivat and Ulqinj Montenegro benefit!

Now we are witnessing the return of geopolitics and thus the repositioning of states into blocs, while Moscow continues to serve a part of the peoples of Eastern Europe, as a point of gravity. "In eastern Ukraine pro-Russian separatists bear the flag of 'panslavist union' the faithful of the Orthodox Church; in the Middle East, the Islamic State and terrorist groups are urging Muslims to fight for their caliphates. Balkans is at the crossroads of Central Europe, Asia and the Middle East. If the region remains in a strategic vacuum, it could easily be filled by actors who may be not preferred by EU." (Reka, Blerim, 2015).

This would be of biggest historical mistake if European missing agenda for Ukraine, is pretended to be corrected in Eastern Europe in favor of Serbia and with the hope that Russia would be held far of this eruptive area

Understanding the interests of the Russian security and its ally Serbia, by German conservative circles, however have to do with geopolitical repositioning card. This attitude feeds the ideas to promote the course that would lead to a new German position in favor of the revival of a sleep tradition between Russia and Germany. My hypothesis has nothing to do with what is related to geopolitical restructuring of Europe these first two decades of the century. XXI.

If we would have in mind the conclusion of Klaus-Achim Bosler's that the geopolitical structure of Europe will undergo changes, (Bosler, Klaus-Achim, 2015) then it seems that we are at the beginning of this change.

This change has to do essentially, .as would J.Fisher state, "... to elect between self-determination and external domination. The way how Europe treats this issue will determine not only their own destiny but also that of the West." (Fischer, Joschka, 2015).

Rebalancing of these positions would turn its attention to the real intentions of German geopolitics: strengthening Germany's priorities in economic and political level within the EU; The exercise of German influence in Eastern Europe and Southeast; and maintaining Russian under control in the framework of the security, without prejudice to the economic interests etc. All this is in the immediate interest of Germany to be in total agreement with the United States while the, agreements, are nevertheless in line with German specific interests.

CONCLUSION

Obviously the agenda of this nature are doomed to fail, as they not only will not find understanding of the official Berlin, but also not to the people, whose interests are again at risk. And the fact that this course would bring Atlantic Alliance and the European Union before the great historical challenge makes it impossible to accelerate the differentiation between the West and Russia. Viewed in retrospect, this difference not only cultural and political between the West and Russia, appears almost as it core registers of history that makes the West more Western precisely through appearance of its tradition in terms of political values, that are reflected in its plural political system, emphasizing the culture of progressive individualism, the rule of law and human rights, popular sovereignty and representative democracy.

With the military invasion of Russia and the annexation of the Crimea, and the war that ensued in eastern Ukraine, concludes Joschka Fischer, former German foreign minister, the President Vladimir Putin has made

it clear that it intends to respect the inviolability of borders and the supremacy of international legal norms. It is time for Europeans to end their thinking to a sequence in the continent defined by the rule of law. (Fischer, Joschka, ibd.)

Transatlantic west, part of which is already the nucleus of an Albanian state (Republic of Albania), has taken into consideration these elements of historical tradition. During the talks that had taken the EU with Kiev, but also with Skopje, Tirana, Prishtina ... in relation to the terms of the Association Agreement and its candidacy for EU accession, had raised hopes and optimism that these countries are no longer in front of option: with Brussels or Moscow. It can be that Belgrade, as played for more than a century with the card with the West but also with Russia has created illusions in Berlin, but this does not mean that the game can continue indefinitely. This historic momentum should serve, not only Berlin but also in Brussels as the capital of our common Europe. And to achieve this momentum, there is an urgent need for the revival of the German typical rationalism in the field of political thought.

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