Review Article

Ukraine is a victim of NATO and Russia's competition to dominate Eurasia

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Abstract:

The Ukrainian crisis began in the late 1400s with Russia's attack on the country, and the ultimate goal of this competition between the West and Russia is for each side of the conflict to have dominance in the Eurasian region, which has geopolitical and geoeconomics positions. In the new circumstances, where we are witnessing the emergence and flourishing of signs of a new hot and cold war between Russia and the West, the Black Sea is an important center of attention for both parties, and the Russians are attempting to increase their role and competence in the Black Sea, and after Crimea, the launch and strength of the forces, they have increased their presence in the Black Sea and are fully monitoring the movements of the neighboring countries. In this sea, these countries and mutual actors have conducted continuous and frequent military exercises. At the same time, each of them declares their intentions to provide security while combating terrorism and illegal immigration. On the one hand, Russians typically believe that the Black Sea should not become the main focal point and center of NATO's movements, while NATO, America, and Western countries believe that if the Black Sea does not enter the region, the Russians will use their basic controls. The frozen crises in the Black Sea countries, as well as the economic and energy capacities and capabilities, put additional pressure on these countries and expand their influence in these countries. The reality is that the Black Sea, being at the crossroads of Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, wants to become one of the modern world structure's centers, particularly in the two critical issues of energy transfer and terrorism combat. Addressing these crises and achieving a long-term solution, which has strengthened the phenomenon of separatism in the region, is one of the European Union's foreign policy priorities. Who is the main victim of Ukraine's new crisis? This country has unique characteristics that have always piqued the interest of great powers, particularly Russia. On the other hand, it is enough to recall Lenin's words from the early twentieth century: "Ukraine is the head of Russia, and Russia has no body without Ukraine." On the other hand, the great western powers, particularly the European Union and the new countries that have joined it, such as Romania, Poland, Hungary, and the Baltic states, are serious about integrating Ukraine into

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European and Atlantic structures. The important point is that if Ukraine's leaders had used tact, political prudence, and strong governance, they could have avoided this massive and devastating disaster.

Keywords: America, Eurasia, Ukraine, Russia, Rivalry, Geopolitics, The Black Sea, NATO

Introduction

Black Sea Geopolitics and American Geopolitics

With the continuation of the war in Ukraine, the renaissance of the Cold War today is clear and evident, requiring the vigilance of the leaders and heads of nonengaged countries, as well as every country that, knowingly or unknowingly, is at the intersection of this new process. It takes strategic interests, not to say that it does not gain interests, which will undoubtedly be the objective and concrete loser of the great power competition, and the current situation in Ukraine is an objective and critical example. In this regard, Mr. Gorbachev stated in his most recent interview with Russka magazine that while the two sides are dealing with common threats, the two issues of NATO expansion and the establishment of missile defense systems in Poland, Romania, and Turkey have caused the coldness of Russia-US relations.

In recent years, the United States has been working on a Black Sea strategic plan, which has been assigned to Bruce P. Jackson, the director of the Shift to Democracy project. The American plan confirms the Black Sea's growing political and geostrategic importance, which has been unprecedented since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 2004, an article was published in Germa-

ny's Welt newspaper, the main content of which is about the Black Sea's reputation from the perspective of America and Bruce P. Jackson's representative in the US Senate:

- 1- The significance of the Middle East democratization process, as demonstrated by the occupation of Iraq.
- 2- Energy reserves in the Caspian Sea and Central Asia, and how to transfer them to the West
- 3- Preventing the Black Sea from fully integrating into the European Union
- 4- Observing changes in the Commonwealth of Nations, particularly in White Russia
- 5- Coping with the rise of a powerful new Russia

From a geopolitical standpoint, the Black Sea is small and limited in terms of underground resources, but it is valuable in terms of tourism and the environmental features of its bordering countries, which has historically faced pressures from the north, south, east, and west, and is always a place of conflict. Turkey has been the home of great world civilizations, and as a result, its military and strategic control has always been and continues to be extremely important throughout history. After the September 11 attacks, the Black Sea gained special significance, and it was not

for nothing that President Barack Obama said in a speech at Bucharest's Revolution Square in 2012: "You can help our arrangement to develop cooperation in the Black Sea, and it is important that three Romania, Bulgaria, and Turkey are in favor of strengthening NATO's security structure in the Black Sea.¹

Also, during the visit of Romania's President to the United States in 1384, Rice, the then-US foreign minister, stated, "It is important for the West to create a barrier to combat Islamic terrorism."²

In fact, the geopolitical structure of the Black Sea consists of two major elements:

- Reducing Russia's influence and increasing America's influence in aggressive competition with Germany and France.
- 2- Becoming an energy-rich axis for the transfer of Central Asian and Caspian Sea oil and gas resources to the Balkans and the European Union

In the BEST SELLER series book War and Anti-War, the Toffler's write as follows: Although fundamental and significant changes have occurred in military theories, and knowledge and information have gained prominence, underground resources continue to play an important role in the field of economy, particularly in the economy of Europe. And, while Europe currently imports 50% of its energy raw materials, this figure is expected to rise to 75% by 2020.³

The Russians have two levers in the

management of peripheral crises: energy and frozen crises. On the subject of frozen crises, we can mention the Karabakh crisis between Azerbaijan and Armenia, the crisis in Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Georgia, the Trans Deni stria crisis in Moldavia, Crimea in Ukraine⁴, and several hidden crises in Romania, former Yugoslavia, and other countries. At the same time, the European Union has a serious weakness in developing a macro and longterm strategy with Russia, and history shows that the European Union has been less successful in resolving its crises over the last quarter-century. In a recent statement, German Chancellor Angela Merkel urged Russian authorities to resolve the conflict with Ukraine through negotiations, saying, "Russia is an important and necessary factor for Europe's security, and sanctions are not the goal at all, and negotiations with Russia will continue even though this country has violated Ukraine's territorial integrity, and Germany will use the principles and values of solidarity if it threatens a NATO member."

The development of tourism cooperation is an important feature of the Black Sea, and the coastal cities of Istanbul and Varna, Trabzon, Batumi, Sochi, and others play an important role in international tourism, with millions of tourists visiting these areas each year, and this component can be emphasized. The Black Sea has received increased attention in recent years. Another significant issue is related to the sea's energy resources; while not much extensive work has been done in

^{1.}www.mae.ro

^{2.}www.prsedinte.ro

^{3.} Diplomatic Magazine No. 81 Spring 2013

^{4.} Green Book of Russia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Publishing Center, 1401

this field, studies indicate that there are significant resources in the Black Sea, and some countries, such as Romania, have

some countries, such as Romania, have begun significant work in the field of oil exploration and in the sea.¹

One of the other important components is the status of transportation in the Black Sea, which is half a million square kilometers in size and plays an important role in the import and export of the CIS countries, Turkey, and others. It is carried out through the Black Sea and is the most important route for the transit and exchange of goods, oil, coal, and other commodities between coastal and neighboring countries. It has been the site of the formation and prosperity of various nations in the region, as well as the site of encounter, interaction, and mutual performance between Western Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, and Muslims, and it is regarded as one of the birthplaces of world civilizations.²

The Black Sea Cooperation Organization was formed in 1371 by Turkey's proposal to develop economic and commercial cooperation among Black Sea countries, and it currently has 12 main members, as well as Egypt, the Zionist regime,

and others as observer members, and its parliamentary session was held in Turkey in 1372. It was established, and it now has international, parliamentary, academic, financial, commercial, and university specialized commissions, with offices in each of the member countries. For example, in the port city of Constanta, Romania, there is an academic center with over 92 member universities.³

The fact is that the Turkish authority in the last four decades, with the renaissance of democracy, nationalism, and Islam, and in combining these three with the five important elements of diligence, effort, flexibility, following the example of advanced countries, and self-belief, has reaped the greatest benefit from their immigrants from regional and international developments such as the victory of the Islamic revolution, the war imposed by Iraq against our country, and the collapse of communism, has reaped the greatest benefit from there.

The following is the general situation in the Black Sea member countries:

^{3.} http://www.bsec-organization.org/member-states



^{1.} Mohammad Mehdi Mazaheri, Azam Molai and Majid Kafi, Political Geography of Europe, Khorasan Azad University, 2014, p. 168

 $^{2. \} https://peace-ipsc.org/fa/%d8%a7%d8%b6%d9%84%d8%a7%d8%b9-%d9%82%d8%af%d8%b1%d8%aa-%d8%af%d8%b1-%d8%af%d8%b1%db%8c%d8%a7%db%8c-%d8%b3%db%8c%d8%a7%d9%87/\\$

Country	GNI /&	Industry%	imp.bil	exp.bil.	Religious%	Pop. /Mil.	Area/kM2
Albania	3960	15	3	3	70 %Mus.	3/5	28000
Armenia	3200	25	1/6	1/17	94 Armaan	3	29000
Azerbaijan	5330	7	7	12	92 Mus.	7/8	86000
Bulgaria	6270	31	20/7	14/6	Ortod.82	7/5	11000
Tukey	9890	22	115	75	99 Mus.	69	780000
Greece	26950	20	60	25	Ortod.98	11	132000
Ukraine	3000	32	45	39	Ortod.199	48	603000
Georgia	2690	20	6/7	2/8	Ortod.65	7/4	69000
Moldova	1810	14	2/5	1	Ortod.98	4/4	33000
Russia	10000	20	172	317	Ortod.190	143	17000000
Romania	7840	27	47	33	Ortod.85	22	237000
Serbia	5810	22	16	12	65 Ortod.	6/10	77474
			*Wor	ld Bank 2020 st	atistics*1		

The reality is that the Black Sea, being at the crossroads of Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, wants to become one of the modern world structure's centers, particularly in the two critical issues of energy transfer and terrorism combat. Addressing these crises and achieving a long-term solution, which has strengthened the phenomenon of separatism in the region, is one of the European Union's foreign policy priorities. The following are the main actors in the sea's surrounding environment that can be evaluated:

A: Russia is the largest country in Europe in terms of population, geography, and resources, but it has long been sensitive to the dominance of the Black Sea and has fought various wars with England, France, and Turkey over the centuries. Currently, Russia and Turkey are the main actors for the success of Black Sea cooperation, while Romania, Bulgaria, Georgia, and Ukraine are attempting to achieve a position in the power puzzle in thiscomplex through strategic partnerships with America and the countries of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Serbia, too, played a

neutral role.² Russia is attempting to replace the former Soviet republics' economic pressure lever, which now lacks color and smell, with new factors. Following the events in Ukraine and Georgia, Russia is attempting to re-establish trust with the Commonwealth republics by strengthening its economic foundation.

Putin designed significant changes in foreign policy after years of being in the main power structure in his country and strengthening the main components of power in Russia, the main goal of which is to revive the identity and redefine the role of Moscow in the international scene. Moscow imposed its complete monopoly on European energy supply and distribution networks through a calculated program; however, following the European crisis, particularly in Germany, many problems arose as a result of the Russian energy embargo.³ After years of humiliation and threats on the chessboard of international interactions, particularly in Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya, this country is now under the shadow of new

^{1.} https://data.worldbank.org/country

^{2.} Henry Wilson Little Field, History of Europe, translated by Farida Qercheh Daghi, Scientific and Cultural Publications 2016 p. 166

^{3.} Mohammad Mehdi Mazaheri, Azam Molai and Majid Kafi, Political Geography of Europe, Khorasan Azad University, 2014, p. 351

geopolitical realities, and America's clear lack of success in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, and Syria, as well as with taking the two winning swords and key tools of energy and latent and frozen regional crises, has caused fundamental changes in foreign policy. Putin's main goal in these changes is to create a great Eurasian power centered on Russia, for which three special pan-European plans with the German alliance, pan-Middle East plans with Iran's participation, and pan-Asian plans with China and Japan's support have been compiled and are being implemented. Simultaneously, Western countries continue to encircle Russia and expand NATO and the European Union to the east.

B: Taking advantage of NATO membership and its important role in the Muslim republics of Central Asia, Turkey is attempting to resurrect and implement one of its long-held dreams: to play the role of a leader in a region that was once the sphere of influence and conquest of the Ottoman Empire, and by reinforcing his fleet in the Black Sea, he lines up against Greece and the western part of Cyprus. The Russians are also considering resuming their control over the former communist camp, and it is not without reason that the majority of Eastern European energy companies have been purchased by Russian companies and economic mafia.¹

C: In the next stage, Ukraine, which is currently involved in the separatist and farewell to Crimea crisis, although it has a weaker fleet than Russia and Turkey, plays an important role in the West's puzzle of energy transfer due to the importance of Odesa port. In any case, the region's importance has drawn global attention to it, and the debate over strengthening Black Sea military forces can be weighed in this context. Of course, this comes after the escalation of the crisis and conflict in Ukraine, which has resulted in hundreds of deaths and hundreds of millions of dollars in economic damage to the country.

D: The European Union's attempt to turn the Black Sea into an internal sea. Of course, the European Union supports the United States in its fight against Russia's new empire-building, but in the long run, it seeks complete control over this sea and the acceptance of the Black Sea basin countries. The European Union is well aware that its interests will increasingly rely on Asian and European countries in the coming decades. At the same time, Europe has demonstrated its ability to reduce tensions, and in this regard, French President Emmanuel Macron has continued his diplomatic efforts to prevent the escalation of tensions in Ukraine, meeting with Vladimir Putin, Olaf Schulz, and Volodymyr Zelensky.² And, interestingly, he has spoken twice with US Vice President Joe Biden, and the Russian president has aggressively told Macron that sending western weapons to Kiev creates the conditions for a possible offensive action in Donbass. Of course, the French presidency has stated that we intend to maintain a

coordinated and strong position in the event of an attack against Russia. And the goal is to strengthen Ukraine's sovereignty and security. France is the European Un-

^{1.} Convergence and confrontation: the Balkan and the Middle East in the 21th century by Slobodan Jankovici (IIPE) Belgrade, 2021

https://ipis.ir/portal/newsview/671936

^{2.} https://ipis.ir/portal/newsview/671936

ion's first military and diplomatic power. Its activity in the Black Sea, on the issue of Ukraine, and the discussion of strategic arrangements on the European Union's eastern borders have many motivations, because France's position as a world power does not allow it to be indifferent to such a crisis, especially since the country is a member of the European Union. It is located at Europe's gates and adjacent to the Eastern Mediterranean; a region that is one of Paris's foreign policy and security priorities, and the intention to send troops to Romania is related to demonstrating France's capacity to participate in regional strategic balances. At the same time, this approach is part of the country's strategy to assume new responsibilities in the European Union and fill the void left by Brexit.

E: Germany's strategy: Germany has also prepared a strategic document on the Black Sea in this regard. The German Bundestag prepared this document, which states: South Caucasus is of high strategic importance; thus, this region should be signed. The Stability Pact became a member of the European Union. Because Europe cannot afford to have an unstable region on its borders for an indefinite period of time. The South Caucasus is a crossroads of geopolitical, political, and energy interests, as well as a hotspot for conflict between the United States, Russia, Turkey, and Iran. However, the situation in Germany is different, in that the European Union's economic and industrial engine has clearly demonstrated through the signals provided that it wishes to maintain the vital interests of cooperation with the Russian Federation.¹ The ban on arms exports to Ukraine is an important political signal; however, Olaf Schultz considers himself the successor of Willy Brandt, a historical figure and former chancellor known for his open policy toward the Soviet Union, and the talks between the leaders of Germany and Russia in Moscow should be held in this space, while inducing a calm atmosphere to the crisis. Of course, Anna Baerbock, the Greens' young head of diplomacy, is in favor of more drastic measures, such as blocking the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline if Ukraine is invaded. Currently, it has become the key and completely exclusive market of Western Europe from Central and Eastern Europe. The German hegemon is dependent on this market; in 2020, Berlin exported 179 billion euros to CEE, while Germany exported 103 billion euros to the US, 96 billion euros to China, and only 23 billion euros to Russia. Westerners, on the other hand, claim that the economies of Central and Eastern Europe have grown. However, the GDP per capita reminds us that there will be many challenges ahead.²

F: America's Strategy and the Guam Group: America's goal is to fortify Guam against the Commonwealth of Independent States' deterioration. At the Moldavian Summit in 2014, America activated

itself and succeeded in approving two important documents under the title: Democracy, Stability, and Development, as well as the agreement to establish a free trade zone between five member countries. Many observers see the Chisinau

^{1.}http://irdiplomacy.ir/fa/news

^{2.} http://irdiplomacy.ir/fa/news/

summit as a watershed moment in the implementation of the United States' Black Sea strategy. A strategy that is both in conflict with Russia's interests and in line with the interests of the European Union. In fact, America's primary goal is to encircle Russia and control the energy transit route from the Caspian and Central Asian regions to Europe.

G: In terms of smaller powers, Italy is less of a concern because a significant portion of the country's political and business environment is pro-Russian, preventing Ukraine from receiving unconditional support while also assisting Europe in reaching a compromise with Russia. Among Hungary's smaller neighbors, it has been particularly active in the Black Sea crisis, and Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's visit was accompanied by the Foreign Minister in order to convey a message of peace to Kremlin leaders. At the same time, the density of signed economic agreements is primarily of obvious political importance in such a critical situation, and Poland, despite its membership in the Visegrad Group and ideological closeness between the governments of Mateusz Morawiecki and Viktor Orbán, is in a completely opposite position¹. President Duda has remained in Ukraine since the crisis's escalation to express his support and solidarity with his Ukrainian counterpart. He also paid a visit to Georgia, another country that is extremely vulnerable to any crisis between the West and the Russian Federation; Behr's regional efforts and Warsaw's active role in inviting US President Biden to participate in consultations with the main European allies, as well as reactivating the German axis; France; Poland are clear. The regional visit of Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte to Kyiv and Chisinau is also noteworthy. It is likely that the Netherlands' post-Brexit strategy will include acting as a middle power to strengthen its European image. In short, Bulgaria and Romania have also expressed full solidarity with Ukraine by accepting extensive NATO equipment and engaging in various political consultations with European and American authorities.

NATO is the Main Issue

NATO, among intergovernmental organizations, has played one of the most important roles among similar competing organizations, due to the economic and military components of the members; the area of influence and the zone of influence, and especially the performance in its political geography and surrounding areas since its establishment in 1949; has played and become an attractive security and military arm and a favorite brand of the countries. and should be dissolved, but the realities of the field dictated otherwise, and it took an aggressive path, and until 2008, most of the countries separated from socialist and communist rule, including Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, it accepted Bulgaria, Romania, former Yugoslav republics, and even Albania as members, and the process of advancing towards the east continues. In general, America's desire to be present in Eastern Europe, particularly the Balkan region, is viewed as a calculated strategy aimed at globalization and mastering the highway of correspondence and transit of energy and goods, because a political theory has long been proposed that Eastern Europe is the heart of the most important sensitive point in the world and the country to rule over it; It will also dominate the world.¹

For a long time, Americans have attempted to foment crises and wars in various parts of the world, narrowing the field even for their friends and partners. In the new situation, due to developments in Ukraine and Russia's annexation of the Crimean Peninsula, as well as Moscow's rise against Western excesses in Syria, the issue of inviting Montenegro to join NATO was approved at the meeting of foreign ministers in Brussels on December 11, 2014, in order to prepare the process of accepting the 28th member of NATO². The NATO foreign ministers' decision was met with a strong reaction from Russia, and Dmitry Peskov, the Kremlin's representative, said in this regard that NATO's eastward expansion forces Russia to take retaliatory measures; however, US Secretary of State John Kerry said in a news conference to reassure the Russians: "NATO is not a threat to any country, and the organization is a defense alliance whose task is to provide security"; Also supporting this decision were the United Kingdom, Slovenia, Albania, Slovakia, and the majority of NATO members. Interestingly, many members of the Serbian parliament indirectly welcomed this decision and rated their country's cooperation with NATO in the form of a partnership plan for peace as important. Prime Minister Montenegred Jokanovic saw³ NATO membership as critical to his country's stability and security, as well as a prerequisite for economic and democratic development. The fact is that, over the last two decades, the Americans have attempted to exaggerate the threat of Putin's tsarist approach in the security and defense affairs of Eastern European countries, with the two main goals of this approach being to increase arms sales and to establish a military base in the region for Russian encirclement.⁴

Why is Ukraine important?

These countries have unique characteristics that have always piqued the interest of great powers, particularly Russia. On the other hand, it is enough to recall Lenin's words from the early twentieth century: "Ukraine is the head for Russia, and Russia without Ukraine has no body." It will be the head.

8On the other hand, the great western powers, particularly the European Union and the new countries that have joined it, such as Romania, Poland, Hungary, and the Baltic states, are serious about integrating Ukraine into European and Atlantic structures¹. Ukraine joined the World Trade Organization in 2008 and is a member of numerous international organizations, including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, Guam, the Central European Initiative, the Security and Cooperation Council of Europe, the Black Sea Economic Cooperation, and

^{1.}http://irdiplomacy.ir/fa/news

^{2.} Events and Analyzes Magazine, February 2018 and March 2018, No. 321

^{3.} Politica externa si diplomatia Romanieie vol. II, Ion Mircea Angel, Ed. Academiei Romane 2018 p.236

^{4.} https://ipis.ir/portal/newsview/640260

the Euro Economic Community, Baku Initiative, European Energy Community, and so on.

This country is the foundation of Russian civilization and culture; it is the owner of Europe's first university and constitution; it is the largest country in the green continent after France; it has played a key role in providing grain to Europe and the world; and in the former Soviet period, after Russia, it had the largest industrial, technical, and especially military capacity.²

This country's political structure is a parliamentary republic, with the president elected by direct popular vote for a fiveyear term. As the world's third grain exporter and with a GDP of 176.3 billion dollars, this country is of special economic importance to the world, particularly Europe, due to its unique role in transferring energy from the east to the west of the old continent. The failure to sign the free trade agreement with the European Union sparked the most violent and widespread street protests in Ukraine since November 26, 2013, and Western leaders, including Ashton, the European Union's foreign policy chief, and American statesmen, demanded that the Ukrainian government listen to the protesters' demands and speed up the signing of the agreement. In this regard, during a several-hour official visit to Moldova in March 2014, US Secretary of State John Kerry praised Chisinau's leaders for signing the agreement with the European Union and urged Ukraine's leaders not to miss the historic opportunity to sign the agreement with the Union.

However, this agreement was signed between Kyiv and the European Union after a period of high tension in July of this year, following Ukraine's presidential elections.³

Ukraine has always been the focus of Moscow and the European Union due to its unique geographical, political, and economic strategic features, as well as its extraordinary role in energy transit to Europe (80% of Russia's gas and 75% of its oil exports). The Union is well aware that without Ukraine's membership, the direction of the convergence process towards the East will be unclear, strengthening Russia's role in Eastern Europe. In recent years, international competition has expanded beyond the political sphere and into the economic sphere, so that major and minor powers now prioritize economic interests in every calculated action. Of course, since the collapse, Russia and Ukraine have been at odds over the issue of water borders in the Black Sea and Lake Azov, and a similar dispute exists between Russia and Norway, as well as many other European countries.⁴

Conclusion:

A brief summary of the events of the last few months in Ukraine, as well as the process of reaction, influence, and effectiveness of the three sides of the crisis triangle, Ukraine, Russia, and the West, can be found in the following 11 points:

1- Whether willingly or unwittingly, Ukraine has entered into a dangerous game that has somehow made the interests of this country a com-

^{1.} https://peace-ipsc.org

^{2.} https://ccr.atu.ac.ir/fa/news/

^{3.} The Green Book of Ukraine and the Publishing Center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1401

^{4.} Mohammad Mehdi Mazaheri, Azam Molai and Majid Kafi, Political Geography of Europe, Khorasan Azad University, 2014, p. 201-202

- promise between Russia and the West, and recent developments will almost certainly not have significant consequences for the people of Ukraine, or at the very least, the people of Ukraine will not be the winners of recent events.
- 2- These developments have severely harmed Ukraine's economic activity and development, and will have a long-term impact on the level of economic growth and the world's supply of food needs, in addition to the fact that the tourism industry is in serious decline. Moscow will take more serious measures in relation to sending gas to Ukraine, as Mr. Putin has given the Ukrainian authorities a one-month deadline to pay debts related to gas imports in his latest statement.
- 3- Russia is firm in its positions and will not budge in the face of ineffective Western threats. Putin, who has declared that Crimea is an integral part of Russia, will not give up this region easily because he understands that giving up on Ukraine will mean entering the process of Russia's collapse. At the same time, in the new stage of events, Russia's focus will be on changing the balance of power in Ukraine.
- 4- Russia requires Ukraine's presence in its regional development program, particularly for the formation of the "Eurasian Union" with

- the presence of Kazakhstan and Belarus, because this union can provide Russia's long-term economic interests as a relatively "reliable fortress" in slowing down structural development. The European and Atlantic will turn towards the Orient and the borders of the Solebar's' land.
- 5- In order to manage developments in the former Soviet area and the communist camp, the Tsarist land has two effective levers: high economic capacity and frozen conflict, such as the Great Patriotic War (Abkhazia, Karabakh, Dniester, Transylvania, Kosovo, Bosnia. etc.). This entry, as well as Russia's intervention in these frozen conflicts, may jeopardize the peace and territorial integrity of countries such as Moldova, Romania, the former Yugoslavia, and the Caucasus region.
- 6- The United States and the European Union lack the appropriate and necessary tools and capacity to manage developments and steer the situation in favor of their strategic goals, at least in the short term, and the announced and applied sanctions have little effect on the process of Russia's economic activities, in addition to the fact that Russia's anti-sanction measures will harm the Western economy's recovery process, particularly the European Union. Of course,

- in the recent developments in Ukraine, the Americans have hidden goals in mind, such as slowing the process of economic reconstruction in Europe, while following the plan to contain Russia.
- 7- The recent developments, particularly the elections in Crimea and the decisive vote of the region's people for independence, have caused concern in Southeast European countries, particularly Moldavia, the Baltics, Romania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the former Yugoslavia.
- 8- An important fact is that the European Union has been shaken in recent years and now lacks a common foreign policy, making it difficult to help Ukraine's crisis situation. Simultaneously, the heads of the European Commission and foreign policy announced their support for Ukraine and warned Russia of harsh sanctions. More interestingly, despite the North Atlantic Treaty's full solidarity, the approaches of France, Germany, Italy, Poland, and Hungary in NATO are equally disparate; this issue was raised in a recent interview with France 24 by NATO Deputy Secretary Mircea Joana. However, the European axis' limited support has prompted Kiev's authorities to publicly seek a diplomatic solution, even if only a temporary one, rather than a confrontation with Russia.

- 9- The recent events in Ukraine in Syria and the 5+1 negotiations are also influential and will reduce the West's stubbornness in these issues, though the Russians are not eager to sell their winning card in Syria and Iran's peaceful nuclear program so cheaply.
- 10- And, more importantly, a new phase of the Cold War has begun, which, by altering the global geostrategic map, has the potential to have disastrous consequences for humanity, including the redrawing of borders and the start of the first extra-regional war in the third millennium AD, while shifting the role of the power puzzle's components in Eastern Europe.
- 11- The important issue is that, based on historical experience and in the third millennium, Moscow and Washington have shown that they can reach an agreement in difficult circumstances and usually sacrifice the interests of small countries for their own goals and interests, and although the conditions are currently favorable. It has become extremely difficult to reach such a compromise, but historical precedent suggests that the wise leaders of the surrounding countries should have acted in such a way that they would not be the target of the great powers' compromise.
- 12- Finally, while closely monitoring developments in Ukraine and tak-

ing appropriate and timely positions, the Islamic Republic of Iran must be cautious not to abandon the balanced positions of active neutrality and enter into the game of Western and Russian sanctions.

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