

## The origins of Geopolitics

- ▶ Geopolitics studies relations and interactions of Spaces (Territories), States, Civilizations, Peoples, Economics
- ▶ The fundamental are State, Culture, People, Army, Economy to Space (Territory) relations
- ▶ Geopolitics was developed from Political Geography and Anthropogeography - Friedrich Ratzel (1844 – 1904)
- ▶ The State is considered living being - Rudolf Kjellen (1864 - 1922. )
- ▶ Space is qualitative not (quantitative)
- ▶ Space is more important than Time
- ▶ Space is synchronistic (Time is diachronistic)
- ▶ Space is the fundament of Strategy - Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840 - 1914)

## Part 1. Birth of Geopolitics

- ▶ British Imperial strategy
- ▶ Great Game
- ▶ Control of the Ocean
- ▶ Control of trade routes
- ▶ Colonial Empire
- ▶ Necessity of conserve Empire
- ▶ Geopolitics as theoretical reflection of Anglo-Saxon imperialism

## Radical dualism as main theoretical ground for Geopolitics

- ▶ Sir Halford John **Mackinder** (1861 –1947) [英]麦金德 founder of Geopolitics
- ▶ "The Geographical Pivot of History" (历史的地理枢纽 ) an article of 1904
- ▶ Opposition between two global Powers: Land Power (Heartland) vs Sea Power
- ▶ Sea Power in history: Athens, Carthage, Venice, Dutch, Great Britain
- ▶ Land Power in history: Sparta, Rome, Austria, Germany, Russia
- ▶ Sea Power: trade, liberalism, democracy, progress, technical innovation, oligarchy, science, adventures, entrepreneur's spirit
- ▶ Land Power: force, conservatism, hierarchy, order, ascetics, aristocracy, religion, ethics, stability

## 地缘政治术语 (main geopolitical terms)

Sea Power - 海权

Land Power - 陆权

Rimland - 边 or 周边 边缘地带

Inner Crescent - 边缘新月地带

Outer Crescent - 海岛新月地带

Heartland - 心脏地带

World Island - 世界岛

## Mackinder's map



## Mackinder's Law

**Who controls Eastern Europe  
controls Heartland, who controls  
Heartland rule the World.**

**谁控制东欧，谁就统治心脏地带；  
谁控制心脏地带，谁就统治世界**

## Rimland concept

### MACKINDER'S HEARTLAND THEORY AND SPYKMAN'S RIMLAND THEORY



Rimland concept emphasizes the inner crescent

Spykman's (1893 – 1943) correction

**Who controls Rimland controls  
Heartland, who controls Heartland rules  
the World.**

**谁控制 Rimland (周边)，谁就统治心脏地  
带；谁控制心脏地带，谁就统治世界**

## XX century: USA as main Sea Power

- ▶ Future decline of Great Britain and rise of USA was predicted already in the end of XIX century
- ▶ The idea to transmit Imperial mission to USA was present in British imperialist leader Sir Cecil Rhodes (1853 – 1902) and his Round Table
- ▶ Admiral Mahan considered USA Sea Power
- ▶ After Wilsonian involvement in the WWI there began the shift of center of Sea Power from Great Britain to USA
- ▶ Las article of Mackinder was published in American journal Foreign Affairs (published by Counsel on Foreign Relations)
- ▶ After WWII USA was Sea Power par excellence



## Anglo-Saxon vision

- ▶ Sea Power is subject (主体)
- ▶ Land Power is object (客体)
- ▶ Main goal: to surround Heartland by the control of Rimland, preventing Heartland to get the access to the warm Seas and to break through coastal blockade
- ▶ Rule the world controlling the Eurasia from the Sea

## Fight for Eurasia: surrounding of Eurasia (anaconda strategy)



## Part 2. Land Power fights back

- ▶ German vision against Anglo-Saxon vision

## German school: geopolitical answer to Britain

- ▶ Mackinder's ideas accepted in Germany in 20-30 years of XX century
- ▶ Karl Haushofer (1869 – 1946) created German school
- ▶ Germany was Heartland (Land Power according to Mackinder)
- ▶ Berlin-Moscow-Tokyo (Haushofer was military attaché in Japan Japanese term 地缘政治 chi sei gaku)
- ▶ German school was continental response to maritime logic of Mackinder

## Deep understanding of Land Power and Sea Power

- ▶ Deeper understanding of Geopolitics in Carl Schmitt (1888 –1985)
- ▶ Land und Meer. Leviathan (Sea Power) and Behemot (Land Power)
- ▶ Two Ideas: liberalism as Sea Power vs conservatism as Land Power
- ▶ Two opposite world visions (Weltanschauungen)
- ▶ Rome versus Carthage in Gilbert Keith Chesterton (1874 – 1936)
- ▶ Geopolitics acquires philosophical and metaphysical dimensions
- ▶ Great War of Continents: the eschatological battle for the End of History - Endkampf

## Results of WWII

- ▶ Haushofer suggested to Hitler alliance whether with West (Sea Power) or with East (Land Power) but he preferred East (Berlin-Moscow-Tokyo axis)
- ▶ Hitler has chosen the fight against both. That was geopolitical madness. It caused the defeat of Germany.
- ▶ After WWII began cold war: direct realization of Sea Power geopolitics.
- ▶ NATO was created as Nord-Atlantic Alliance as pure Sea Power.
- ▶ Strategy of Sea Power rested the same – surround Heartland
- ▶ Geopolitics was absent in Russia and Germany: only Sea Power geopolitics studied in USA and Great Britain.
- ▶ Great War of Continents has acquired the form of ideological struggle between two superpowers

## Part 3. The birth of Neo-Eurasianism

- ▶ Russia becomes conscious of her geopolitical identity

### Foundation of Russian geopolitical (Eurasianist) school – historic momentum

- ▶ The collapse of communist system on Russia disarmed Moscow ideologically
- ▶ Foreign policy and military strategy of USSR were based on the concept of confrontation between socialist camp (the East) and capitalist camp (the West)
- ▶ After 1991 that basic vision was lost. Russia disarmed herself in unilateral way pretending to become as capitalist, democratic and liberal as the West. So no reason to continue opposition.
- ▶ But the West continued to expand NATO to the East swallowing East Europe and threatening Russia. That created cognitive dissonance.
- ▶ Precisely in that moment – beginning of 90-s – geopolitics was discovered: in Military Academy of General Staff and elsewhere.
- ▶ From that moment geopolitics became the parallel ideology of Russia or main frame of strategy for Russian Deep State.

### Russian geopolitics as Land Power and Heartland

- ▶ Main principles
  - ▶ Acceptance of relevance of classical Anglo-Saxon geopolitics and the basic dualism of Mackinder
  - ▶ Affirmation of Heartland as subject (主体). Behemot becomes conscious
  - ▶ Identification of USA and NATO as antagonist force, but recognized as subject (主体) too. Chess as two players game.
  - ▶ Taking into account German continental tradition (ambivalent in Haushofer and with new metaphysical depth in Carl Schmitt)
  - ▶ Discovery of first Russian Eurasianists of 20-s (XX century) with their intuition of dualism Russia-Eurasia against the West
  - ▶ Program text Foundations of Geopolitics was published in 1997. Parts earlier – from 1991 as articles and shorter books (Great War of Continents 1991)



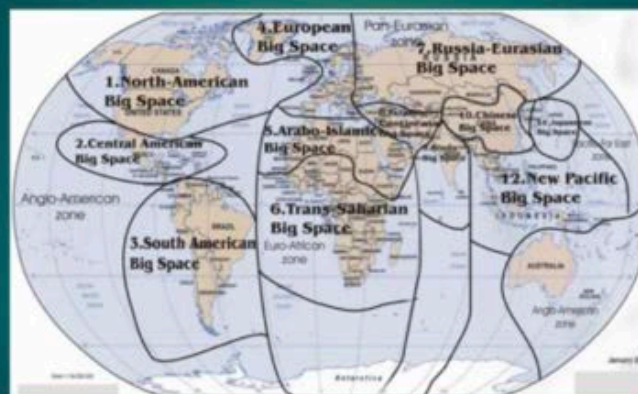
## Counter-strategy of Eurasian geopolitics



## Multipolar Project

- ▶ In order to effectively oppose Sea Power Heartland has to restructure the Rimland zone.
- ▶ USSR being strong and powerful wasn't capable to do that alone. Reduced Russia obviously couldn't afford it at all. So the idea of conquest by force was immediately abandoned.
- ▶ The only way to achieve the goal was the politics of alliances directly or indirectly against Sea Power. Rimland can not be Russian. Well, it shouldn't be American (or West European). That's the fundamental.
- ▶ At that moment Russian geopolitical school has discovered the concept of Big Spaces (Grossraum), accepted plurality of civilizations that have reappeared after the end of bipolar era and started to develop Theory of Multipolar World.

## Big Spaces (Grossraum)



Sea Power excludes Russia as independent pole (main idea of "The Grand Chessboard" of Brzezinski )



Affirmation of Russia as pole changes whole picture





## Conclusion. Pluriversum

- ▶ Today geopolitical dualism acquires new dimension:
  - ▶ it can not be anymore bipolar West (USA, EU, NATO) vs Heartland;
  - ▶ it is unipolarity (or globalism) vs multipolarity (order of civilizations or Big Spaces)
- ▶ Sea Power represent Post-Modernity, global West
- ▶ Land Power (continentalism) is the Rest (not Russia)

The role of traditional Heartland (Russia) in that multipolar project is to be in front of alternative World Order. Not any more as ideological or imperialist power (as in the past) but friendly and honest defender of the plurality of civilizations.

China, Europe, India, Muslim countries, Africa, Latin America and USA itself will find in the Multipolar World Order worthy place independent from present Western hegemony but independent as well from Russia.

## Is it famous Chinese win-win strategy?

- ▶ No.
- ▶ Sea Power is going to lose its global domination that seemed after 1991 so close.
- ▶ The end of history will not happen
- ▶ There will be many alternatives for global capitalism (Pre-Modern, Post-Modern and so on)
- ▶ Liberal democracy will lose its pretension to be universal. There will be the countries with zero liberalism (if the peoples will choose that nobody will be able to impose nothing as normative on them)
- ▶ So Leviathan will fall. Behemot will rise. But we will grant to all civilizations the right to continue to follow their path. So Leviathan will still there, but not as the only ruler as today. May some days it will be great again. But in some new form.