

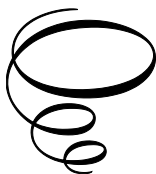
Geopolitics from the Ancient World to the Russian- Ukraine War

Geopolitics from the Ancient World to the Russian- Ukraine War

By

Nika Chitadze

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ABOUT GEOPOLITICS

Modern geopolitics is the science of interaction and confrontation on the world stage of large “players” - regional and super-powers, about the division and redistribution of the world, about attempts to manage global processes and resource flows. Using a large and varied historical and modern material, the manual shows how the main geopolitical ideas, concepts, theories matured, how political doctrines were created and implemented, how big politicians acted, transforming the world.

This publication differs from the already existing ones in its structure - for the first time, national geopolitical schools are singled out. In addition, it presents not only geopoliticians, but also geostrategists. One of the main novelties is deep analysis of the policy of leading geopolitical powers and geopolitical situation in the different regions of the world taking into account the Russia-Ukraine war.

The textbook is designed for professors and political science students, international journalists and international relations and security studies specialists studying geopolitics. It can also be used by graduate students, teachers, politicians-practitioners, and anyone interested in geopolitics and geostrategy.

FROM THE AUTHOR

Among textbooks and teaching materials on geopolitics, this book occupies a separate place. One of the purposes of the research was to create a textbook in which it would be possible to trace the development of geopolitical thought over two and a half thousand years while comparing (of course, comparable) problems of the geopolitics of different times and peoples. Here we consider a chronological series of personalities - scientists, politicians, and military leaders, who during this period generated geopolitical ideas, doctrines, and theories, asserted the connection of political ideas with space, political actions - with "soil and blood" connected successful political decisions with geographical the position and historical development of a particular ethnic group or nation. Thus, the reader has the opportunity to get acquainted with the birth of a political idea.

As a result of research, it was found that, firstly, many geopolitical ideas were expressed and practically used long before such a scientific discipline as geopolitics appeared. The geopolitical method was used by philosophers and historians, it was used in the practice of international relations by hereditary rulers and politicians elected by the people, it was in demand by military leaders when planning an aggressive or defensive strategy, a military campaign, or a general battle. Secondly, it became clear to society that geopolitics can neither be separated nor understood in isolation from military strategy in the 20th-21st centuries and especially after the invention of the atomic bomb and the creation of nuclear missile weapons, the connection between geopolitics and military strategy has become even stronger. Therefore, in this tutorial, geopolitical doctrines and theories are considered together with military-strategic ones.

Geopolitical ideas have undergone a long historical development and practical approbation. So, geopolitical concepts were created by the philosophers and historians of the Ancient World. Geopolitical thinking is visible in the scientific treatises of the Middle Ages and the Enlightenment, runs like a red thread in the theories of the industrial age, and continues in post-industrialism. At one time such movements relied on the conclusions of geopolitical science, like liberalism, conservatism, social democracy, communism, and fascism. At the same time, geopolitical theories have a pronounced national connotation. The

geopolitics of Ancient Greece puts Hellas at the center of the world, the geopolitics of Ancient China - the Middle Empire, the geostrategists of Ancient Rome were most of all concerned with the expansion of the republic (then - the empire) and political stability in it, as well as the relationship of the provinces (regional geopolitics). In the same way, during the formation of classical geopolitics (late 19th - early 20th century), geopolitical theorists considered their country, their nation, to be the central element of their research. This leads to the following conclusion: so, thirdly, geopolitics is a rather biased and, in a certain sense, ideologized science. It takes on the color of that ideology or national culture, whose "atmosphere" it breathes. Therefore, the pages of this textbook present biographies and theories of representatives of national geopolitical schools: German, Italian, Japanese, English, American, French, Russian, and followers of various political ideologies and movements.

An important part of the research is dedicated to the concepts of globalization and new world order, geopolitical priorities of the leading geopolitical players and geopolitical situations in the different regions of the world, which is connected with the establishment of the new world system related to war between Russia and Ukraine.

FOREWORD

When considering the history of geopolitical theories and ideas, three stages of their development can be distinguished.

1. Prehistory of geopolitics: there is no separate geopolitical branch of knowledge, and its ideas are an integral part of philosophical teachings and historical research.
2. Classical geopolitics: the end of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries, when the main geopolitical theories and national schools of geopolitics were formed from individual ideas and concepts.
3. Modern geopolitics: after World War II (although some theories and strategies were formulated earlier, such as the military strategy of air supremacy).

The last stage is characterized by a significant change in the geopolitical structure of the world, a revision of the main classical theories of geopolitics, the formation of new geopolitical schools corresponding to the new actors of modern global geopolitics (American, European, Russian, New China, New India, etc.), new directions, such like Atlanticism; modalism, globalism, and new theories.

Significant differences between classical and modern geopolitics are dictated by technical and technological progress and the resulting changes in the economic and military strength of states - the main actors on the world geopolitical stage of the 21st century. change of state, ethnic, confessional, and civilizational boundaries. Therefore, the classical paradigm of the confrontation between Land and Sea was replaced by the paradigm of the development of new spaces - physical (air, underwater space, near and far space) and cultural (radio, television, Internet, Artificial Intelligence, film industry, literature, art).

The foregoing led to the division of the theoretical section of the book into three parts, representing the three stages of the historical development of geopolitical knowledge. Each of these stages includes national schools that played the greatest role in the development of world geopolitical thought in their time. They were and are being compiled by leading scientists, politicians, and military leaders who have made the greatest contribution to the development of geopolitical theory and practice.

The fourth section of the book is dedicated to the analysis of the practical aspects of geopolitics and is connected with the review of the process of globalization, determination of the geopolitical priorities of the main “geopolitical players” of the world, such as the European Union, NATO, USA, China, Russia, also Japan, Turkey, Iran, etc. Furthermore, the main purpose of this part of the research is focused on the observation of the geopolitical situation and political maps of the different regions and continents of the world, especially in the Black Sea Region, where military operations between Russia and Ukraine are going on.

PART I

GEOPOLITICS AS A SCIENCE

CHAPTER 1

THE CONCEPT AND SUBJECT OF GEOPOLITICS

Even scientists of the Ancient World noticed a natural connection between political activity (by which they primarily understood the acts of rulers) and the space of the Earth, where this activity unfolded. Indeed, is it possible to plan and even more so to carry out political measures without knowing the extent, area, topography, vegetation, climate, rivers - as water barriers and means of communication, the sea - as a special geographical factor in politics, etc? Is it possible to achieve victory in a war, or even in one battle, without knowing and not using at least the main characteristics of the spatial factor and the specific terrain on which the opposing armies will fight, without having information about the economic power of the country and the military strength of the army? Moreover, one cannot count on retaining the occupied territory, if there is no information about population – what is the number of people, density, other demographic characteristics, national character, etc.

Thus, geopolitics is a determination of the success of political activity (peaceful and military) by geographical, historical, socio-psychological, ethnographic, and economic factors, as the relationship between the political and the Spatial-social, has existed for a long time. The term consists of two parts: “geo” means geographical in general, that is, the influence of geographical factors in the broadest sense of the word on the policy of the state. The main among these factors are:

- territory;
- geographical location, i.e., the location of the state on the continent;
- extent of borders, their position on natural or artificial borders;
- the presence of rivers as water barriers and means of communication;
- the position of the country about the sea, the length of the coastline, and the conditions for navigation;
- climate (cold, temperate, hot, arid, etc.);
- soils (to what extent they favor the development of agriculture, infrastructure, and industry);

- bowels, their wealth, the ability to ensure economic growth and social needs of the population;
- population, its size, density, social composition, and other characteristics (Heffernan, 1998).

From the end of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century the root “geo” acquired a second meaning. Now it is increasingly interpreted as a “planetary”, “global” dimension of politics, characterizing the relationship of superpowers or military blocs (USA and the USSR, NATO and the Warsaw Pact), as a “clash of civilizations” (A. Toynbee, S. Huntington) or as a change the general configuration of the world system, for example, from bipolar to mono- or polycentric.

The second part of the term - “politics” - in this context means the exercise of domination, the conquest of power, space, and its development. Recently, it has also been undergoing significant changes in the sense that modern actors of geopolitics are not so much eager to conquer and develop new territories, but rather strive to control the maximum possible spaces, and - and this is also a feature of modern geopolitics - to control not territories as a whole, but for the most part, the communication lines of these territories and flows (financial, commodity, labor, etc.) thereby maintaining the most favorable conditions for their development and prosperity (Chitadze, 2011).

In the classical period of development of the discipline (late 19th - early 20th century), when it acquired the characteristic features of science, emphasis was placed on the knowledge of the state as a living organism embodied in space (F. Ratzel, R. Kjellen). Modern geopolitics continues the study of states as actors in the geopolitical process, but taking into account the declining role of state bodies in modern international relations and the increasing importance of the UN, military-political blocs, regional international organizations, and economic and cultural international structures. Modern geopolitics includes both geopolitical statics (world hierarchy, statuses, and roles of subjects of world politics) and geopolitical dynamics (geopolitical processes, the changes of the geopolitical actors at the “chessboard” of the world) (Chitadze, 2011).

In the period of becoming geopolitics was an independent branch of knowledge, there was no common opinion about the fact, is geopolitics a science or only a method, possibility to understand the interrelations among the states in the process of spatial growth. For example, the author of the term “geopolitics” R. Kjellen defined it as “the science of the state as a geographical organism related to space (Kjellen, 1916).”

The opposing position was held by the prominent representative of the German classical school A. Grabowski, called geopolitics the “means of cognition,” the “method,” and by no means science, which has its subject, law, and place in the system of sciences (Chitadze, 2011). Even a recognized representative of the German school, K. Haushofer was hesitant about defining the status of geopolitics, calling it sometimes “one of the sciences about the state,” and sometimes as “not the science but the approach to understanding the reality” (Chitadze, 2011).

Despite everything, on the border of the 19th and 20th centuries, geopoliticians in their research have defined the object of geopolitics (the state as a living organism in its interaction with the natural environment) and the subject (the spatial laws of state growth). In the Manifesto of the Munich School, K. Haushofer defined geopolitics as “the doctrine of the connection of political processes with the earth” and as “the art capable of guiding practical politics” (Haushofer, 1925). He called on geopoliticians to teach “geopolitical thinking” to the population and “geopolitical action” to politicians (Haushofer, 1925).

American scientists, well known for their pragmatic views on any science, started to explain geopolitics as “doctrine and the practice – based on it” and as a “school of strategy”, the main purpose of which is to use the military machine for the occupation of the space, which has the strategic importance for the nation (Strausz-Hupe, 1942).

The French geopolitician J. In 1947, Gottman called geopolitics “a geographical interpretation of history adapted to the demands of Pan-Germanism” (Gottman, 1952).

Thus, in the classical period during the development and the terminology and definition of geopolitics, can be distinguished the following aspects:

- A science that has its subject of study, regularity, cognition - which has a certain place in the system of sciences, or a method of cognition of politics based on geographical factors;
- An objective scientific discipline or subjective ideological pseudoscience that justifies the conquest of “living space” (Chitadze, 2011).
- In the postwar period, geopolitics mainly managed to overcome the problems related to its definition as an aggressive ideology and policy. Thus, geopolitics has become if not an independent science, any way to be together with other disciplines in the framework of political science.

Categories of geopolitical discipline

Since the beginning of its independent existence, geopolitics has developed its categories and concepts. The most important of them is the concept of the state as a living organism: "... the state is an organism," wrote F. Ratzel, "in which a certain part of the earth's surface plays such a significant role that all the properties of the state are determined by the properties of the people and its territory" (Ratzel, 1897). In turn, the concept of the state follows Ratzel from the idea of the unity of the Earth as a planet, earthly nature, and humanity. The state, according to the scientists, is, as it were, a continuation of human society, it has two main functions - growth and development. The latter, being an expansion against other, weaker state organisms, is called vital energy (one of the basic concepts of Ratzel) of a growing state organism. To describe this expansion, Ratzel introduces the concept of "living space" (Lebensraum).

From the concept of the Ratzel state, K. Haushofer derives the category of *the border*, interpreting this concept very broadly. This is the dividing line between states, and the natural border separating climatic zones, and the coastline, and the delimitation of ethnic groups, confessions, civilizations: Every useful and stable boundary is not only a political boundary, but also a boundary of many life phenomena, and it itself becomes another life form (Haushofer, 1928).

The main category of modern geopolitics has become geostrategy, its content also derives from Haushofer's ideas on geopolitical thinking and geopolitical action. At the same time, its abstract-theoretical aspect has retained the name - geopolitics, while the practical activity in our time is called - geostrategy. At the same time, the functions of geopolitics and geopolitical theory became understanding the picture of world political variability, the interdependence of world political actors, the new generation or transformation of well-known geopolitical ideas, and the formation of geopolitical concepts and theories. Geostrategy is the implementation of geopolitical theories - which take the form of doctrines, programs, and concepts - in life (foreign policy, national security, etc). In some cases, geostrategy is understood as a means of defining political, economic, and cultural dependencies (e.g., the US Pacific Geostrategy) or as a means of resolving foreign policy tasks (e.g., the US Geostrategy of Vietnam 1964-75). Understanding geopolitical (geostrategic) regions is equally important for modern geopolitics (Garafano, 2004).

Furthermore, important for modern geopolitics represents the meaning of geopolitical (geostrategic) regions, and they are connected with the pan ideas of Haushofer, according to which the world is divided into the zone of

influences. The examples of pan ideas implementation German scientists considered the creation of Pan American and Pan Pacific Unions, the Second and Third Internationals, also the “Pan European Plan”.

Specialists of Geopolitics (Z. Brzezinski, S. Cohen), dividing the world into *zones of influence* (a frequently used concept of geopolitics), prefer to use the above concepts to distinguish between the zones of influence of various “players” on the global “chessboard” (Brzezinski, 1997).

The Structure of Geopolitics and its place in the System of sciences

Based on the division of geopolitics into theoretical and practical (geostrategic) components, the structure of modern geopolitics can be represented by the following formula: Theoretical Geopolitics – Geo-Political Science; and Practical, applied geopolitics - Geostrategy.

Based on the differentiation of geopolitical knowledge, geopolitics can be divided into several components. We are talking about the place of geopolitics in the system of sciences, interaction, and mutual influence, as well as borrowing research methods and terminology from related, closest scientific branches in terms of the subject of research and tasks.

According to the scale of the studied processes and phenomena, according to the geopolitical status of the actors, geopolitics is divided into *global, regional-continental, and regional-local* (Chitadze, 2011). In the first case, the world level of relations between superpowers, or world actors of geopolitics, is considered; regional-continental geopolitics, as it explores situations and processes in regions of a continental scale, highlighting its leaders and continental actors in each part of the world. Finally, regional-local geopolitics deals with the problems of the regions of each country separately.

Components of Geopolitics

	<p>Geographic and Demographic Components:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical Geography • Political Geography • Economic Geography • Ethnic Geography • Demography
--	--

	<p style="text-align: center;">Historic and Political Components:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • World History • History of Political Thought • Political Theory • History of International Relations • International Political Systems • Political systems of the World States • Religion and Politics • Ethnic policy • Regional Policy
	<p style="text-align: center;">Economic and Information Components:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • World Economy • Economic Statistics • Marketing • Informatics • Communication Theory • Military Economics
	<p style="text-align: center;">Strategic-Military Component:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Military Strategy • Maritime Strategy • Air War Strategy • Military Art History • Maritime Art History • To study the military potential of the State

Source: Chitadze, 2011.

State of Modern Geopolitics

Modern geopolitics dates back to the end of World War II and the post-war reconstruction of the world. These historical events not only served to radically restructure the world and the geopolitical paradigm but also coincided with the invention of a weapon of enormous destructive power - the atomic bomb, which, together with the rocket launcher created somewhat later, began to play not only a military-strategic but also a geostrategic role.

Modern political scientists do not deny the connection between politics and a wide variety of spatial factors. First of all, we are talking about the natural-physical, geographical space, which, as Ratzel noted, consists of three spheres: the geosphere (land), the hydrosphere (water), and the atmosphere (air) (Ratzel, 1902). These spheres on the inhabited surface of the Earth (ecumene) intersect and interact most diversely and bizarrely. Indeed, the land is connected with water in various ways, forming the banks of rivers, lakes, swamps, seas, and oceans, as well as islands, peninsulas, capes, bays, bays, straits, and continents. The air environment, depending on latitude, solar activity, and terrain, creates a climate favorable or unfavorable for human activity: trade winds and monsoon winds with heavy rains or sultry sirocco from the Sahara, the additional volume of oxygen in the forest regions and its lack in Arctic and Antarctic regions, moderate temperature or dangerous for the people's life temperature at the equator.

In addition, each of the three spheres in which human activity takes place must be considered in its entirety and complexity. This means that land as a geopolitical factor includes:

- sizes, areas of territories of the states;
- their relationship and interaction with the sea;
- climate (temperatures, rainfall, seasonality, other characteristics);
- the state of soils in terms of their fertility, the growth of certain crops;
- natural resources;
- freshwater reserves;
- the presence of rivers as sources of hydroelectric power, and water arteries as forces that maintain a natural balance.

Water environment as the second component of the geographic factor of policy:

- forms, in interaction with land, certain shapes and outlines of continents, islands, and coasts, giving them geopolitical benefits or inconveniences;
- includes the underwater environment with its underwater world, minerals, and opportunities for their development;
- creates convenience for fishing and fish farming, harvesting and breeding of sea animals, mollusks, pearls, etc.;
- enables shipping, trade, passenger transportation, tourism, etc.;
- accelerates the development of the so-called "sea" nations (Chitadze, 2011).

The air environment is the third one mankind has mastered, after mastering land and sea spaces. It provides the opportunity to:

- avoid obstacles in the form of the uneven ground;
- quickly overcome the open spaces of the sea;
- sharply increase the speed of movement;
- reach difficult and unreachable places on the earth's surface;
- almost always lay a course in a straight line;
- increase the efficiency of studying the earth's surface from previously unattainable heights;
- sharply increase the effectiveness of combat operations through massive bombardments and high-quality aerial reconnaissance;
- arrange fast passenger transportation, as well as transportation for political purposes (official visits of statesmen, exchange of delegations of parliamentarians, government, and public organizations, etc.) (Chitadze, 2011).

In the course of conquering the air environment, man rose “higher and higher”, and penetrated the upper layers of the atmosphere, bringing the development of the next space environment closer.

Thus, the connection between politics and the physical world with geography over the past two centuries (during which this connection has been closely studied by geographers, political scientists, and geopoliticians) has not only not weakened, but, moreover, has noticeably increased. If the politicians of the Ancient World spoke about the struggle between the Land and the Sea, and the geopolitics of the classical period also included the air environment in this ensemble, now outer space should be added there. The development of the space environment allowed the “space” powers:

- to strengthen and qualitatively improve the control of terrestrial space, making it truly global;
- increase the possibilities and efficiency of studying and further developing the surface, depths, and bowels of the Earth;
- create new, more powerful, and efficient laser weapons and space rockets used as carriers of nuclear weapons;
- to create new space branches of science and technology;
- create a springboard for the exploration of the moon and the planets of the solar system.

But that's not all. Each sphere of this physical-cosmic factor of geopolitics has significantly expanded and deepened. The expansion of these areas was due to:

- development of the entire territory of the ecumene and transfer of its borders almost to the north and south poles;
- settlement of almost all more or less habitable islands, connection to the civilized life of their population;
- development of almost the entire water area of the World Ocean with the help of modern ships and other equipment;
- exploration of the air ocean by passenger liners, research, and military aircraft. A significant deepening of the study and use of the land, ocean, air, and space spheres occurred as a result of:
- further human penetration into the earth's crust to extract the necessary underground resources and further explore the underground world;
- human immersion to ever greater depths of the ocean for peaceful and military purposes;
- assault on the upper layers of the atmosphere, which led to the blurring of the boundaries between the air and space environment and the invention of such devices as the "Shuttle" and "Buran" for flights in both environments;
- the gradual movement of humanity from the exploration of near-Earth outer space through the exploration of the planets of the solar system to the exit into the vastness of space (Chitadze, 2011).

We talked about the influence of the geo cosmic, physical, and felt factors on politics. But the latter to no lesser extent depends on non-physical, non-geographical, and not directly perceptible by the senses acting forces. We are talking about the connection of politics with social facts, i.e., such phenomena and processes that are generated within society, which are born through the interaction of people, social groups, or societies. Indeed, the relationship between states is largely determined (and the classics of geopolitics wrote about this) by such demographic indicators as:

- number and density of population;
- belonging to a given territory (autochthonous, newcomers in a tribe, modern migrants).

To this, from the point of view of modern demography, one should add such problems as:

- increase (decrease) in life expectancy;
- change in the ratio of the male and female population, the elderly and the young;
- the need to improve the educational level, especially for young people;
- ratio of urban and rural population;
- level of consumption of alcohol, tobacco, and drugs;
- increase in the number of man-made accidents with human casualties (Chitadze, 2011).

Another “not obviously visible”, but quite material and essential is the psychological factor of geopolitics, which consists in the direct connection of geopolitical decision-making with such psychological determinants as:

- the psychological state of the leaders of countries, employees of their apparatus, as well as geopoliticians who created geopolitical concepts;
- psychological microclimate established in the upper echelons of power;
- the psychological state of the controlled majority; the psychological situation in a given country, in the world as a whole, etc. (Chitadze, 2011).

In the same way, we can trace the connection between politics and the ethnography and ethnology of a nation, i.e., with its settlement in a certain territory, the formation of certain traits of a national character, its passage through a certain stage of ethnogenesis, and other ethnic processes that have an impact both on the policy pursued and on the future fate of the nation.

The ideological factor has a certain influence on geopolitics. Politics in general is strongly dependent on, and sometimes skillfully distorted, transformed by ideology. The position of an observer can paint the same political situation in any color of the ideological rainbow. The ideological sphere is a set of “magnetic anomalies”, the number of which corresponds to the number of world ideologies or the number of leading parties in a given country.

Geopolitical concepts are often influenced by national interests in one area or another. The same geopolitical problem based on this or that national ground takes on the characteristic national character of countries. Take the example of Alsace and Lorraine. According to the German School of Geopolitics, these territories are part of Germany and central Europe, while the French School of Geopolitics considers these geographical units to belong to the French geopolitical space. As for language and culture, their

transformation depends on the free choice of the people who live in a given space. After World War I, German geopolitics has long been accused of serving fascism in terms of a one-sided (only in the interests of the German nation) approach to the geopolitical picture of the world. However, modern Russian geopoliticians justify Russia's imperialist ambitions, and therefore, as long as geopolitics serves the interests of specific leading geopolitical players, it always stands in a position that reflects the interests of specific great states (Chitadze, 2022).

There is no doubt about the influence of economic processes on geopolitics. In this regard, it is important to focus on the area of land suitable for industrial enterprises and agriculture, in the defined geographical conditions of economic infrastructure - proximity to the sea, the neighboring country, and others.

We have discussed the key factors that influence policy. They are all determined by geographical location and all of this together constitutes geopolitics. But modern geopolitics receives development impulses not only from the above sources but also from the so-called virtual geopolitics. Virtual spheres without which their existence is impossible today.

First of all, this field is the ether, which by the psychics in the 19th century was considered to be material. The modern air will show the struggle of cultures, and the conflicts of interests of the subjects at the level of local, regional, and world politics. The state of war during the global processes is complicated by the fact that its subjects are not only national states but also transnational companies, international non-governmental organizations, mass media, and others.

The second direction of virtual geopolitics is the International Computer Network. The network organization of the internet allows us to look at the world through different eyes than it is presented on the political map.

In the views of the philosophers of the ancient world, geopolitics as a science was a combination of political and geographical factors, a union of state and space, in which actions took place on land and at sea, while in the views of classical geopolitics, the main processes took place in the geosphere, hydrosphere, and atmosphere. Modern geopolitical paradigms operate both in real (land, water, air, underwater, space) and virtual (radio and television, print, science, and art, the Internet, etc.) spheres in which the spatial factor, the political one in aggregate - creates geopolitics.

Moreover, if geopolitics represents the global level of interstate conflicts, then interstate wars, such as the alliance of Greek policies against Persia and Rome against Carthage, are presented as geopolitical events in the Old World. At the same time, geopolitical events on a regional scale represent the Athenian-led Peloponnesian War against Sparta, a struggle for

dominance between Chinese kingdoms. The emergence of classical geopolitics coincided with the formation of an ethnocentric picture of the world, when European states fought for dominance on the continent, for the expansion of their colonial possessions, and for world domination. At the same time, the geopolitics of the classical period went beyond the oikumene (the Greek word that means inhabited area), united divided continents, promoted wars of conquest, and conquered vast expanses of land and the oceans. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the leading countries of the world were not yet closely intertwined, could not see the real global characteristics of the planet (for example, global warming), and sought to conquer new spaces. Geopolitics gradually became intercontinental, but the world was not yet the universal society that we see today in the light of modern reality. So, geopolitics has already reached the farthest corners of the planet.

At the present stage of development, geopolitics is changing its Eurocentric view towards the universal. Today, the struggle is not for the conquest and preservation of a certain territory, but for establishing control over it. Attempts to establish control over the geosphere, hydrosphere, and atmosphere with the help of naval, air, and space technology have acquired a truly international, planetary character. The acquisition of universal, international, and planetary qualities by modern geopolitics has determined its global character. The subjects of global politics today are not only national states but also universal international organizations (the UN and its specialized agencies), transnational corporations, regional organizations, individuals, etc.

Accordingly, the structure of geopolitics is differentiated at the global, regional, and local levels.

Institutionalization of geopolitics

Modern geopolitics does not yet have all the signs of science. We can state the commonality of the approach of geopoliticians from different countries to the definition of geopolitics, the many concepts and theories they have developed, the existence of common methods, methods of analysis, and common terminology. At the same time, disputes continue between geopoliticians and representatives of related scientific disciplines (for example, international relations, world systems theory, political theory, political philosophy, and history of political thought) about the delimitation of subject areas and determining the place of geopolitics in the system of sciences, and the most radical ones “subcontractors” do not recognize for

geopolitics not only the right to be an independent science but also the right to be called a scientific discipline.

The institutionalization of geopolitics is manifested in the creation of new geopolitical journals, and other periodicals, a sharp increase in the number and circulation of geopolitical literature, and the number of defences of dissertations on geopolitics, and finally - and this is typical for many countries - the appearance in the state standards of the mandatory course "Geopolitics" for students of political science specialties. To sum up the above, it can be stated that the geopolitical method has justified that geopolitics, as an academic discipline does exist, but whether geopolitics can be considered as a separate science is still a subject of wide discussion.

Definition of "geopolitics"

The works of numerous representatives of geopolitical schools, despite all their differences and often contradictions, add up to one general picture, which allows us to speak of the subject itself as something complete and definite. Some authors and dictionaries differ among themselves in defining the main subject of study of this science and the main methodological principles. This divergence stems from historical circumstances, as well as from the close relationship of geopolitics with world politics, issues of power, and dominant ideologies. The synthetic nature of this discipline implies the inclusion of many additional subjects of geography, history, demography, strategy, ethnography, religious studies, ecology, military affairs, the history of ideology, sociology, political science, etc. Since all these military, natural, and humanitarian sciences in themselves have many schools and directions, it is not necessary to speak of some kind of rigor and unambiguity in geopolitics. But what is the definition of this discipline, so vague and at the same time expressive and impressive? Geopolitics is a worldview, and as such, it is better compared not to the sciences, but to the systems of sciences. It is on the same level as Marxism, liberalism, etc. i.e., systems of interpretations of society and history, highlighting as a basic principle one of the most important criteria and reducing to it all the other countless aspects of man and nature. Marxism and liberalism alike base the economic side of human existence, on the principle of "economy as destiny". It does not matter that these two ideologies draw opposite conclusions. Marx comes to the inevitability of an anti-capitalist revolution, and the followers of Adam Smith consider capitalism to be the most perfect model of society. Both in the first and the second cases, a detailed method of interpreting the historical process is proposed, special sociology, anthropology, and political science. And, despite the constant criticism of