What is Geopolitics?

Halford Mackinder

Nicholas J. Spykman
Heartland Theory
La vision géopolitique du monde vue par Halford John Mackinder en 1904

Source: Documentation photographique n°8084
HEARTLAND
(Central Zone)
The World’s Geopolitically Central Continent and it’s Vital Peripheries

AUSTRALIA

EURASIA

AFRICA

SOUTH AMERICA

NORTH AMERICA

NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN

SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN

SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN

NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN

Map inverted from traditional perspective for visual effect
The Eurasian Chessboard
Global Supremacy
Great Britain’s politics of the last centuries
European Global Supremacy 1900

British Naval Preponderance
European Political Control
European Cultural Influence
British paramountcy 1860-1914

- British Controlled Oceanic Choke Points
- British Naval Preponderance
- British Controlled Territory
America’s politics after 1945
American Global Supremacy
The special case of europe
Is This Really “Europe”?

EU and NATO members combined
France’s and Germany’s Geopolitical Orbits of Special Interest

[Map showing the Mediterranean Sea and Black Sea with marked orbits for France and Germany]
Beyond 2010: The critical core of Europe’s security
The case of ukraine
Ukraine torn between East and West
Moscow slashes the price it charges Ukraine for Russian gas, will invest in Ukrainian bonds

Main gas pipelines through Ukraine

Country
- Top EU recipients of Russian gas transiting Ukraine

% of gas consumption imported from Russia

1. Germany
   - 36%

2. Italy
   - 23%

3. France
   - 17%

Rival economic blocs on offer to Ukraine

EU Association Agreement
- A free trade area with the 28 EU countries, in return for improved democracy

Eurasian Customs Union
- Economic integration with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. No political strings attached

Ukraine's political and cultural split

Gas is key to the Russia-EU tug of war over Ukraine

- 58% of gas consumed in Ukraine that is imported from Russia
- 66% of Russian gas exported to the EU that transits Ukraine

Protesters seize a number of government administration buildings in Lviv.

Tuesday night, government Security forces storm the Kiev protest camp in Independence Square. At least 26 people, including police officers are killed and about 800 injured in the day's fighting.

The Crimean parliament declares the fighting in Kiev as the beginning of a civil war and officially asks Yanukovych to escalate his response accordingly. Crimea's largest city, Sevastopol, is home to Russia's Black Sea fleet.
Territories annexed to Ukraine...

by the Russian tsars in 1654-1917

by Vladimir Lenin in 1922

by Josef Stalin in 1939, 1945

Ukrainian territory in 1654

by Nikita Khrushchev in 1954
Expansion of Europe / US influence at the cost of Russia and China

Containment policy in europe
Loss of Ideological Control and Imperial Retrenchment
RUSSIA 25 YEARS AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Before 1991
- Soviet Union
- Warsaw Pact country

Dec 1991
- CIS (was to replace the USSR)

In 2016
- Economic and political
  - Member of the Eurasian Economic Union
  - Member of the European Union

Military
- Member of the CSTO*
- Former member, Warsaw Pact. NATO member

Territorial conflicts

Large Russian-speaking minority

Source: AFP, NATO, CSTO

* CSTO: Collective Security Treaty Organisation

** NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

© AFP
Military strength
Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, Russia's conventional forces are only a shadow of their former might, but their nuclear arsenal is still the largest in the world.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>U.S.</th>
<th>TOTAL NATO</th>
<th>RUSSIA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>317 million</td>
<td>917 million</td>
<td>142.5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed forces</td>
<td>1.5 million</td>
<td>3.6 million</td>
<td>800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserves</td>
<td>840,000</td>
<td>2.4 million</td>
<td>2 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanks</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>2,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combat aircraft</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>5,900</td>
<td>1,571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear weapons</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>5,325*</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes 325 from Britain and France

Note: The U.S. has 3,500 additional tanks in storage. Russia has 18,000 tanks in storage.

Although not allied with NATO, many former Soviet states are not pro-Russian. The Russian military supported rebels in the separatist Transnistria region of Moldova. Georgia was invaded by Russia in 2008, and now Ukraine has lost Crimea and is under the threat of additional invasion.

The USSR had 8.3 million square miles with 280 million citizens. Russia is now 6.3 million square miles with 142.5 million citizens. The combined population of the states that broke away is 147.8 million.

Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia broke from the USSR from 1990-91. They joined NATO in 2004.

All of the former members of the Warsaw Pact now belong to NATO.

Russia maintains various cooperative security treaties with the former Soviet republics of Central Asia. Turkmenistan maintains the most distant relationship with Russia. Kyrgyzstan is the only country in the world with bases of both NATO and Russia.
Global Containment policy
Die wichtigsten US-Militärstützpunkte
und Länder mit US-Militärpräsenz

Quellen: Atlas der Globalisierung,
Base Structure Report
U.S. Deployments

While U.S. military strikes have tapered off in Afghanistan, a large military presence remains in the region. All told, there are more than 50,000 U.S. military personnel on ships and bases nearby.
U.S. Bases Near Russia
RUSSIA WANTS WAR

look how close they put their country to our military bases

http://yourfreetemplates.com
UNITED STATES STRATEGY TO CONTAIN THE SOVIET UNION, 1959
Russian Military Bases in the Former Soviet Space

- Bases on fringe of old Soviet frontiers
Central asia
The new heartland
Zones of conflict
The Global Zone of Percolating Violence
Zones of conflict
The Eurasian Balkans
The competitive interests of Russia, Turkey and Iran
IRAN

TEHEREAN
Forschungsreaktor

ARAK
Produktion Schweren Wassers (geplant)

NATANS
Urananreicherung

ISFAHAN
Forschungsreaktor

BUSCHEHR

Quelle: SPIEGEL, 25/2008

Uran-Minen
Atomkraftwerk
Forschung/Produktion

US-Militärstützpunkt

% - Anteil an Weltgasreserven

% - Anteil an Weltölrervaben

Israelische U-Boote
5. US - Flotte

http://yourfreetemplates.com
Military Expenditure
Military Expenditure

In 2000

- US: 46.5%
- Japan: 5.5%
- UK: 4.1%
- France: 4.3%
- China: 2.8%
- Other: 4.1%

36.7%

In 2016

- US: 39.8%
- China: 36.0%
- Russia: 13.0%
- Saudi Arabia: 3.8%
- India: 4.1%
- Other: 3.3%

- Other: 5.5%
China
Potential Scope of China’s Sphere of Influence and Collision Points

Potential power conflicts of a Regionally Dominant Greater China of Greater China as a Global Power
Overlap Between a Greater China and an American-Japanese Anti-China Coalition

Map showing the overlap between Greater China and an American-Japanese Anti-China Coalition.
Boundary and territorial disputes in East Asia

https://www.businessinsider.de/asias-disputed-borders-2016-03?r=US&IR=T
Connecting Europe and Asia
New Silk Road

- 11,000 kilometers en route from the Chinese megacity of Chongqing to Duisburg, Germany.
- In 2012 this rail route transported over 12,000 Twenty foot equivalents of cargo.
- This figure is set to double in less than 10 years.
- Two most popular routes are the Trans- Siberian through Russia or Western China through Kazakhstan.
- Developing routes through Turkmenistan and Iran will transport goods to the Emirates with a total route of just over 3300 kilometers Half the distance of air freight from Shanghai to Dubai.
New Silk Road

- Goods transported from China are electronics, machinery, appliances, Office and Telecommunications equipment, Textiles and Shoes.
- Goods transported from Europe to China include: Cars, Car parts, Luxury European made goods and Wine.
- 10 days instead of 35-40 days transit time.
- Tighter control of European supply chains.
- Reduction of over 30% in transportation costs.
- Expansion for food supply routes into the Emirates and the rest of the Middle East.
- Creating a Middle East hub for goods shipments to Africa.
The reviving of the Silk Road
Infrastructure projects being planned and undertaken as of December 2015 in China’s Belt and Road initiative.

SOURCE: MERCATOR INSTITUTE FOR CHINA STUDIES
New Silk Roads | China is assembling new trade routes, binding other regions closer to it

Proposed Silk Road routes
- Silk Road Economic Belt
- 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road

Pipelines
- Crude oil
- Natural gas
- Proposed/under construction

Railroad entry points
- Existing
- Proposed

Sources: Xinhua (Silk Road routes); U.S. Department of Defense, Gazprom, Transneft (pipelines); United Nations (rail entry points)
China’s One Belt One Road

- **Sea route**
- **Land route**
- **Silk Road**

Locations:
- Rotterdam
- Moskow
- Astana
- Istanbul
- Aktau
- Urumqi
- Khorgas
- Teheran
- Athens
- Xian
- Lian Yun Gang
- Beijing
- Kolkata
- Hanoi
- Kuala Lumpur
- Colombo
- Nairobi
- Jakarta

© The Star Graphics
Arctic Sea Trade

As the Arctic Ocean warms, opportunity for new trade routes expands.

Expedition Gone Right

Danish shipping company Maersk successfully sailed its cargo ship, the Venta Maersk, through the Northern Sea Route, departing Aug. 23rd from Vladivostok to St. Petersburg, Russia, without incident.

Northern Sea Route
7,200 nautical miles (13,004 km)
23 days
Navigable July - Oct.

Suez Canal
10,500 nautical miles (19,460 km)
34 days
Navigable year-round

Source: The Economist, Bloomberg, Washington Post, Geopolitical Futures

© 2013 Geopolitical Futures
energy
Pipelines
Die Macht kommt aus den Pipelines
©2007, Le Monde diplomatique, Berlin

Energy supply of Europe
Wider Eurasian Integration
EU, EAEU and Greater Eurasia: Integration or Competition of Integrations?

Trade flows between Europe – CIS - Eurasia (export shares in total)

Source: adapted from UN ECE (2015)
EU, EAEU and Greater Eurasia: Integration or Competition of Integrations?

Russian trade with China, 2016

Exports: oil, gas, metals and wood (cca EUR 25 bn 9.8% of total exports)

Imports: machinery, electrical equipment, vehicles, plastics, consumer goods (cca EUR 34 bn, 20.9% of total imports)

Regional export shares in total Russian trade 2012, in % of total

Source: Russian Federation, Federal State Statistics Service; Map: wiw
Challenges and Opportunities of Economic Integration within a Wider European and Eurasian Space (IIASA)

FIGURE 2. Real GDP in Eurasia ("Lisbon to Vladivostok"), in % of total, at PPP, year 2015.

Source: Eurostat, Eurasian Economic Commission and own estimates.
Challenges and Opportunities of Economic Integration within a Wider European and Eurasian Space (IIASA)

FIGURE 1. Real GDPs in the “enlarged” EU and EAEU, in % of total, at PPP, year 2015.
Challenges and Opportunities of Economic Integration within a Wider European and Eurasian Space (IIASA)

Note: “Enlarged” EU includes the five EU candidates.

Source: Eurostat, Eurasian Economic Commission and own estimates.
Challenges and Opportunities of Economic Integration within a Wider European and Eurasian Space (IIASA)

**FIGURE 3.** Real GDP in Wider Eurasia ("Lisbon – Shanghai"), in % of total, at PPP, year 2015.

Source: Eurostat, Eurasian Economic Commission and own estimates.
Foreign direct investment between the EU and EAEU (IIASA)

Figure 1. FDI inflows in the main regions, € million

Source: adapted from wiwi FDI Report 2017; wiwi FDI Database.
EU, EAEU and Greater Eurasia: Integration or Competition of Integrations?

Russian foreign trade by partner: overall surplus (cca EUR 93 bn in 2016) yet a deficit with China (EUR 9 billion) and a sharp drop in trade with the EU (exports: -45%, imports: -38% between 2013 and 2016)

Exports (EUR mn)
Imports (EUR mn)

Source: wiww Database incorporating national and Eurostat statistics.
GDP share in Greater Eurasia (EAEU, EU, China)
PPP, 2016

- China: 46.8%
- EU: 44.3%
- EAEU: 8.9%
Trans-Eurasian Land Transport Corridors: Assessment of Prospects and Barriers
Propaganda
Support by the EP political forces for tackling the Russian propaganda against the EU based on actual votes cast by Individual MEPs.
Thank you