

International Economy

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**GEOPOLITIC IMPERATIVES
FOR GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT ASYMMETRIES**

Abstract

The paper is concentrated on functional determinants of category – conceptual apparatus within the tandem of «geo-political imperatives – asymmetry of global development» The author generalized theoretical and conceptual principles of ideological paradigms of geo-politics, and offered retrospective-conceptual classification of fundamental political and philosophical basics of geo-politics (according to academic schools). The matrix of geo-political imperatives of global development asymmetries is constructed. Also the geo-political pragmatism is revealed, and theoretical and methodological constructions are argued for modern innovative civilization geo-politics. Following from the extrapolation of international methodological concept of Stanley Hoffmann the paper analyses asymmetries of global development in horizontal, vertical, functional, and ideological dimensions.

Key words:

Asymmetries of global development, classic geopolitics, geo-economics, civilizational geo-politics, geo-political imperatives, spatial expansion, geographic determinism, geo-political dualism, geo-political code, geo-political vectors, geo-

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political strategy, concepts-anti-theses, geo-political pragmatism, geo-political idealism, horizontal, vertical, functional, and ideological dimensions of global development asymmetries.

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The World Map, but geography, during much of the human history was determined by wars and politics.
Grzegorz Kolodko [18, p. 64]

Globalization means in practice beginning of the spatial reorganization of the world while maintaining its political and territorial division.
Mykola Kosolapov [19, c. 11–12]

1. Asymmetries of Global Development refuse from traditional theoretical patterns of industrial society

In publications on asymmetries of global development the most frequent topics are about «the set absence of structural balance of global economic system» and «disproportional development of subsystems and elements of world economy [2, p. 31], that are revealed in «...a quantitative imbalance of major economic proportions in global scale», and in «...discrepancy between tangible composition of social product and its value» [27, pp. 38–39]. The research papers are also dedicated to vis major of unregulated global market [12; 20; 26], likewise to endless series of financial imbalances having been occurred within some dozens of years in global economy [3–4; 11; 16; 21; 32–34; 36–37] All that is understandable and in general is justified, though with certain significant additions. All those notions are referred to as traditional scheme of scientific canons of industrial society where the system of political, social, psychological, moral, and ethic relations is determined as economic (tangible). Today the inadequacy of that interrelation is becoming more and more obvious. In post-industrial society

there occurs deep integration of material and spiritual, their combination into a qualitatively new as against the industrialism epoch, structural integrity. In the context of these fundamental transformations it is worth reviewing nature and core reasons of global development asymmetries, since they take both *tangible* (distortions of quantitative and value proportions), and *intangible* (*subjectively value*) (heterogeneity of socio-cultural environment) forms, and in the aggregate they condition aggravation of geopolitical and inter-civilization asymmetries

Coining this author's view to the reader's opinion of logic for search of cause-effect relationships in the tandem of "geopolitical imperatives and the asymmetry of global development," we set ourselves the task of substantiating an integrated system of theoretical and methodological approaches to the disclosure of the nature of geopolitics as a scientific discipline or, say, science in the broadest sense. We do not mean the applied geopolitics to be a state doctrine. The core of this given research constitutes ideas, concepts, theories, models, which formulate the fundamental political and philosophic basics of the essence of geo-politics and geopolitical imperatives, on the basis of which the «geopolitical terrain" of global space is formed.

Ideological origins of the geopolitics paradigm

Essential aspects of the research of global development are in geopolitics, that together with general methodological approaches (global system-wise) (Samir Amin (date of birth – 1931), Fernand Braudel (1902–1985) E. Wallerstein (1930), Yohan Galstung (1930), and others,, and civilization-wise (Mykola Danylevskyi (1822-1885), Oswald Spengler (1880-1936), Arnold Toynbee (1889–1975), Karl Jaspers (1883–1969), Alvin Toffler (1928), Samuel Huntington (1927–2008), Oleksandr Neklesa (1949), and others make a specific continuum for the formation of that knowledge components that are connected with the statehood and national sovereignty, geopolitical distribution of spheres of influence and the system of world order, standards of international right and «world order» in the global area. Apart from all the disputable theoretical and methodological positions and even some contradictions which take place in the researches of many representatives of geopolitical schools (see table 1) respectively the definition of «geopolitics» as such, the subject of this science and primary basic methodological principles, it is worth noting that German classical geopolitics (Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904); Rudolf Kjelen (1864–1922); Karl Haushoffer (1869–1946) on the ideologic-theoretical level actually do not differ from Anglo-Saxon geopolitics (Adolf Mehen (1840-1914), Helford John Mackinder (1861–1947), Nicholas J. Spykman (1893–1943) and French (Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845–1918), and others. All of them make a single world outlook

paradigm based on the dominating in the certain historical epoch ideology and revealing the conditionality of demarkation line that separates the expansionistic character of strategic policy of ruling elites from the irrational forms of achieving power by them in the world scale¹. In spite of the fact, that the «militant» geopolitics compromised itself before the world community, its problems symptomatically are the intrinsic realities from which it is impossible to abstract away.

Table 1

Eventually-intellectual chronology and retrospective-conceptual summarizing of fundamental political and philosophical basics of classical geopolitics (after scholar schools)

Leading representatives	Ideological and theoretical dominants of conceptual approaches
German school	
Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904)	The main ideological and theoretical dominant of geopolitical views, i. e. attitude towards the state as towards « <i>alive, spatial, rooted in the I ground organism</i> », was formulated in the research under the title of « <i>Political Geography</i> » (1897). The scientist considered the spatial state expansion a natural process (big countries are tended to maximal geographic expansion that gradually passes to planetary level). He formulated the principle theses (laws of geopolitical expansion), which made the basics of classical geopolitics; and geopolitical concept of « <i>global state</i> »
Rudolf Kjellen (1864–1922)	Coined the notion of «geopolitics», implying « <i>the science about the state as a geographic organism that is embodied in space</i> » in his treatise « <i>The State as a Living Form</i> » (1916); formulated the idea of « <i>continental state</i> » according to which Germany has to become a continental state of planetary scale
Karl Haushoffer (1869–1946)	Developed the theory of « <i>planetary dualism</i> » i. e. combat between « <i>thalassocratia</i> » (marine powers) and « <i>tellurocratia</i> » (continental powers), and on this basis developed the variant of eurasianism, that is, the military doctrine of «Continental block (ally)», of so called axis: Berlin–Moscow–Tokyo as a

¹ All those concepts originated before the World Wars I and II, and therefore they are described with clear expansionism; the named geopolititions considered the main aims of their countries to be a fatal necessity of territorial invasions, since «the space of the divided world could be conquered by one country from another one only with weapon» Therefore that science for a long time (specifically in the post-Soviet space) was taken for «a bourgeois pseudoscience» See [23, pp. 7–15].

Leading representatives	Ideological and theoretical dominants of conceptual approaches
	balance to Anglo-Saxon world of British Empire and the USA. The ideological basics of this theory became the official state doctrine of German fascism in geopolitical opposition to the Anglo-Saxon world in fight for the «living space (Lebensraum)» Main works: « <i>Borders in their Geographic and Political Meaning</i> » (1927), « <i>Continental Block: Central Europe-Eurasia-Japan</i> » (1941).
French school	
Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845–1918)	Founder of geopolitical concept, that the political history has two following aspects: <i>geographic</i> (the principles of foreign policy of the state depend on its geographical conditions – so called « <i>geographic determinism</i> »), and <i>historic</i> (the leading role in activating space belongs to a man, who is not « <i>a decoration fragment in the historic theatre, but the protagonist of the play</i> »). The main theoretical works of the scientist are generalized in the book « <i>Principles of Human Geography</i> » (1922) under edition of E. Marton.
Anglo-Saxon school	
Adolf Mehen (1840–1914)	Founder of <i>geopolitical concept of modern Atlanticism and the doctrine of «sea power»</i> . According to this doctrine modern Atlanticism is a special – type of civilization – the best and most effective (« <i>sea power</i> » is based on « <i>freedom of maritime trade</i> »), and the main peril for «maritime civilization» of the U.S .are continental states of Eurasia – Russia, and China). The main tool is the trade policy, which aims to create a planetary civilization trade. It was through the conquest of foreign markets the state provides its power and its economic impact in the world. The basic works are the following: « <i>Naval forces in the history of 1660–1783</i> » (1890), « <i>Interest of America in sea power, present and future</i> » (1890–1897).
Helford John Mackinder (1861–1947)	Coined the term «heartland» in 1904 in his treatise « <i>Geographic Axis of History</i> », where he argued that that is the central part of the Eurasian continent (territorially and geographically it is Russia, that takes the central strategic position in the world), it is surrounded by internal arc (Europe – Arabia – Indochina) and periphery arc (America – Africa – Oceania). In his work « <i>Democratic Ideals and Reality</i> » (1919) Mackinder formulated his ideas like the following: « <i>Who rules the East Europe, he owns the Heartland, who rules the Heartland, he owns the World Island, and who rules the World Island, he owns the World</i> »

Leading representatives	Ideological and theoretical dominants of conceptual approaches
Nicholas Spykman (1893-1943)	Viewed <i>geopolitics as the most critical instrument of international policy, and effective strategy</i> . Coined the notion «Middle Ocean» (Atlantic), the both shores of which- American and European – are the arsenal of the most advanced in technologic and economic respect Western civilization. The nerve center and mechanism of the Atlantic cooperation is the U.S. with its military-industrial and trade complex. Europe is a mental appendage of the United States. Its states have no that geopolitical power, therefore their sovereignty has to weaken, and political power should pass to a special institution, which will bring together representatives of all the Atlantic area and wil be subject to the U.S. (that is, in early 40-ies of the 20th century. Spykman predicted the most important political processes and their consequences, like creation of the NATO and weakening of the sovereignty of the European states). In his scientific work « <i>American Strategy in World Politics</i> » (1942) he determined ten criteria of geopolitical power of states.

The table shows one of many probable variants of the formation of fundamental (initial) political and philosophical basics of geopolitics after the scholar schools and the most known personalities in this area.

Generalized by the author [14, pp. 3–4; 23, pp.7–15].

At the moment the traditonal intentions of classical geopolitics oriented at struggle for the countries and their allies' right to exist, are accompanied with the search of the ways and means for reaching the agreed development of the world community (gloeconomics and civilized geopolitics). That context enables to speak about a *specific status of geopolitics* as a peculiar *outlook*, and at the same time, as a *philosophy, science and art of pursuing policy through «geographic mind» accounting for the intrinsic necessity to correct imbalance in the interests and psychology of ruling elites*.

In the world outlook sense geopolitics reflects the vision of ruling elites, their attitude towards ideological imperatives in the system of international relations. As Oleksandr Duhin aptly said, «...geography and space have in the geopolitics the same functions as money and production relations have in Marxism and liberalism. In Duhin's opinion, they include all fundamental aspects of human being, implying the basic method of interpretation of the past; also they are the key factors of human being through arranging other sides of the latter. Duhin

considers that like in case of ideologies, geopolitics is based on...reductionism, i. e. reducing of various forms of life to several parameters (*imperatives* – N. K.), but in spite of the known error usually pertaining to such theories, it aptly proves its harmony with reference to the past, and the greatest efficiency in the design of present and future» [14, pp. 3–4]. Thus, *geopolitics is a philosophy* in the sense of structures, mechanisms, instruments, through which the ruling elite tries to divide «zones of influence», «zones of safety» «zones of national interests», etc., and in that way to get power.

In traditional sense, *geopolitics as a science* is a state doctrine (teaching, system of theoretically substantiated views on essentially important ideological, axiological, statehood, social and political, social and economic, and other maxims) based on particular historic forms of the territorial –spatial conditions' influence produced on building of its status and policy in regional, continental and global aspects. In other words, geopolitics is a science about government and for government (governing elite).

The art of geopolitics differs from science in a way, that the art is a successful, creative, efficient combination of international politics and the implementation of international and national strategies in global space accounting for strategic thinking and realization of global social-historic and civilizational regularities of its development

Geopolitics on heuristic level is usually taken for an abstraction. Nevertheless, proceeding from the scientific literature on that issue, one can be convinced that the geopolitics «...too plainly demonstrates the fundamental mechanisms (*imperatives* – N. K.) of international politics, that different regimes often seek to hide under vague rhetoric or abstract ideological schemes ... geopolitics exposes the historical demagoguery of foreign policy discourse, showing real deep levers that affect the international, inter-state relations» [14, pp. 1–2].

3. Geopolitical imperatives

The economic researches are tended to ignore, or rather negate the primordial postulates of geopolitics like *geographical determinism, geopolitical dualism, competition of strategies, civilizational differentiation, and so*, that provide a kind of *geopolitical imperatives of global development asymmetry* (table 2).

Table 2

Matrix of geopolitical imperatives of global development asymmetries

Geopolitical imperatives and interpretation of key dominants		
<i>Traditional (classic) geopolitics (late 19th – first half of the 20th century.)</i>	<i>New (economic) geopolitics (geoeconomics) (second half of the 20th century)</i>	<i>Innovative civilizational geopolitics (late 20th – early 21st century)</i>
Geopolitics – a science on the regularities of distribution and redistribution of spheres of influence (centers of power) among different states and inter-state allies in multidimensional geospace		
Maxims		
The space of the divided world can be regained by one country from another one specifically with weapon	To reach foreign political aims, global or regional «might» is possible exclusively via economy.	We define the world in dependence with one or another combination form of space. The space of different nature would origin a different world
1. Spatial expansion <i>(ideal basics of geopolitics that implies the aspiration to control expansion over the space)</i>		
Represents international relations as the expansion of «living space» through the coercive relations.	Represents international relations as expansion of «zone of influence», «zone of national interests», «security zone» through economic might; grounds achievements of world domination through economic wars.	Represents international relations as a consolidating project of the future multidimensional geospace that is based on the agreed values (various values origin contradictions and conflicts of interests, and inter-civilization conflicts).
2. Geographic determinism <i>(principles of foreign policy of the state depend on its geographical conditions)</i>		
Simplified representation of states depending on natural and geographical conditions (geographical fatalism)	Combines geographical factors (peculiarities of climate and landscape; availability of water and land routes; mineral resources, etc.) with geographical dominants (economical might) (« <i>economic determinism</i> »).	Combines geographical factors with other geopolitical dominants (« <i>Brzezinski geopolitical pluralism</i> », and reveals connection between political processes and social constants (economics, culture, spirituality, etc.),

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		which had been created for many centuries by dominating ethnos throughout the particular territory.
<p align="center">3. Geopolitical dualism (foreign policy of the state is based on the fundamental dualism reflected in geographical structure of the planet and historical typologization of civilizations)</p>		
The basics of the spatial expansion policy make the theory of «planetary dualism, fight between «sea and land»: powers (K. Haushofer); doctrine of «sea powers» (A. Mehen).	The basics of geo-economical expansion makes the theory of irregularities of global economic development expressed in the concepts –antitheses – «North-South, Center-Periphery» which describe the poles, of military and political might	The basics of the formation of geopolitical relations makes the theory of inter-civilizational relations, choice between oppositions, conflicts and threat of civilizations' collisions on the one side, and their dialogue and partnership in meeting the global problems of the 21 st century on the other.
<p align="center">4. Theories and concepts of geopolitics (formulate theoretic and conceptual basics of world order transformation (geopolitical structure of the world), determine geopolitical codes and geopolitical vectors of states)</p>		
1. Concept of «geographic axis of history» (H. J. Mackinder); 2. Concept of «world state»	1. Theory of «zone of vital interests»; 2. Theory of «dependent development» (S. Amin); 3. Theory of «worlds of economies» (F. Braudel); 4. «World-system» theory (I. Wallerstein)	1. Concept of «multidimensional communication space»; 2. Concept of «conflicts of civilizations» (S. Huntington) 3. Concept of «mondialism» in the theory of convergence (Z. Brzezinski, J. Attali); 4. Concept of «cycles of world hegemony» (I. Wallerstein);

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		5. Concept of «cycles of global leadership» (G. Modelski, W. Thompson); 6. Futurological concept (K. Santoro).
5. Geopolitical code <i>(multi-vector system of political relations between the state and the ROW, that is historically based on the balance of national interests, and provides the certain status to the state at global, regional and local levels)</i>		
Multi-vector system of political relations between the state and the ROW, that historically is based on the policy of spatial expansion and geopolitical might of the state.	Multi-vector system of economic relations between the state and the ROW (including international and corporate distribution of labor) grounded on the balance of national economic interests and ensuring the competitive positions of the state at global, regional and local levels.	Civilizational geopolitics as oppose to geographic and economic determinism of classical geopolitics and geoeconomics, expands the set of basic factors determining the behavior of geopolitical actors in the global space (cultural values, customs and traditions, formal and informal rules (institutes) are meant).
6. Geopolitical vectors <i>(geostrategic lines of foreign policy of the state at global, regional and local levels, based on its geopolitical code)</i>		
Geopolitical vectors are viewed as vectors of coercive (military-political) influence the state or bloc of states produce on the ROW	Geoeconomic vectors are viewed as main lines in the policy of distribution and redistribution of resources and world income (geoeconomic rent)	Geopolitical vectors are viewed in the context of consolidating project of future multi-dimensional geo-space, where political culture together with socio-humanitarian values will enable to overcome the transformation chaos in a global socium and chart the strategic vectors of geo-

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		civilizational development.
7. Geopolitical strategy <i>(substantiated geopolitical direction of the state activity at the international arena based on egoistic and pragmatic interests of the state)</i>		
<i>Geopolitical strategy is viewed as the expansion of the area of influence of the state or block of states as a result of geopolitical expansion</i>	<i>Geo-economical strategy is viewed as an art for meeting the economic objectives and implementation of economic interests on global market; likewise prevention of potential conflicts</i>	<i>Geo-strategy is viewed as an art for strategic management of geopolitical processes (Z. Brzezinski, 1999)</i>

* Generalized and constructed by the author.

In the context of shown in table 2 theoretical and methodological generalizations, it is worth paying attention to the key definition of «imperative». Etymologically, *imperative* (in translation from Latin imperatives) means *authoritative, commanding*. But philosophical meaning of this definition is a *universal obligatory law, absolute behavioral principle*. And from the view of philosophical interpretation, we will understand the geopolitical imperatives as main laws and principles serving the basis for fundamental and applied geopolitics. The system of geopolitical imperatives, the structural elements of which is a spatial expansion, geographic determinism, geopolitical dualism, geopolitical codes, geopolitical vectors, and geopolitical strategies, is subjected in its dimensions to the logic of historicism and pragmatism. The historical and axiological limitation of its constructive potential is meant. As far as the geopolitical imperatives of *traditional (classical) geopolitics (late 19th – the first half of the 20th centuries)* was built on the basis of militant geopolitics through forceful methods, in a *new (economic) geopolitics (geo-economics) (from the second half of the 20th century)* the principles of the behavior of international relations agents in geopolitical space were mostly determined by the economic might of the state, the *innovative civilizational geopolitics (late 20th – early 21st century)* in its constructive potential processes from the consolidating project of future multidimensional geo-space, where political culture together with socio-humanitarian values will enable to surmount the trans-

formational chaos in a global socium and to define the strategic vectors of global development. In addition, proceeding from the logic of fundamentalism in the initial essential concepts, geopolitical imperatives provide a key to intrinsic re-thinking of regularities for distribution and re-distribution of spheres of influence (centers of power) in multidimensional geo-space, for achieving the balance of interests in multi-vector system of geopolitical relations, for understanding how «the geopolitical terrain» of global space is actually formed. It is unlikely that there are hardly compelling arguments enabling to challenge these conclusions.

4. Geopolitical pragmatism and theoretical and methodological constructions of modern innovation civilizational geopolitics

Even a superficial acquaintance with the geopolitical imperatives at the level of theoretical and methodological generalizations, argues that during the second half of the 20th century there were landmark events which significantly changed not only geopolitical pragmatism, but also the ideological foundations of modern innovative civilizational geopolitics. One can refer in this connection to the comment of Vladyslav Inozemtsev. «The scales of geopolitical changes, which occurred in the world during the 20th century, are unique in history» [15, p. 498]. Political world of the 20th century (from retrospective point of view) systematically moved towards reduction of economic and political heterogeneity and asymmetry (decrease in chaotic and turbulent nature). While at the beginning of the century there were eight big states in the world, at the end of the century the crash of communist block put the lid on the matter of military geopolitical infighting, and in global space actually there remained only one superpower, i. e. the USA. As a result, the socio-political structure acquired geo-economic and geopolitical integrity and perfection. Economic, political and social life throughout the geospace became interdependent. «In the early 90-s of the 20th century, – summarizes V. Inozemtsev, – it seemed that the world stood on the threshold of the era of prosperity, analogues of which the history still did not know». However, at the beginning of the 21st century global geopolitically unipolar world happened to be on the verge of another destruction and formation of a new world order, and the globally-centered economy appeared to face reinstitutionalization (development of new, rational in the world scale principles of operation) and the formation of a new pragmatic economic order. In the conditions of global turbulence the humanity is concerned at least with two issues: how could the reasons of very powerful «geopolitical tectonic» changes be explained? And how will change the placement of forces on the «world chessboard» in the forthcoming millenium?

The formation of a new world order is spoken about by everyone: from political leaders to experienced investors and analysts. Experts in the sphere of geopolitical relations try to extrapolate how far the state leaders and ruling elites will go in their aspirations to redistribute «spheres of influence» and «zones of interests» in the distributed world. Therefore, the scientists point out that at the moment, just under conditions of extremely high dynamism in the development of international relations and re-restructurization of the whole system of world order there arises the intrinsic necessity of rethinking of traditional, and development of new approaches to the world-wise understanding of geopolitics and geopolitical imperatives within the system of international relations.

It is a paradox, but the global world has been already changed. The future is mirrored in the processes taking place in the modern existentialistic dimension (here and now). One thing is absolutely clear, that we are dealing with a unique case of reorganization of the world order. And that uniqueness consists in the fact that having practiced for the 20th century all the three concepts of the world order (i. e. at first, multipolar world structure and military infighting, then ideological inconsistency and crash of bipolar system, and, at last nonadequacy of unipolar world to modern civilizational transformations) the humanity again happened to get into the zone of turbulence.

What is the alternative? There is only one natural way out of this situation (adequate to the turbulent logic of geo-space transformations) – that is, a diversification of geo-space, that in this or that way will lead to transformation of a unipolar world structure into a multipolar one. However, if you go back to the logic of geopolitical transformations in the context of global development, their dynamics is obvious to be fundamentally clarified. It is implied that in the course of its evolution, while transiting from one stage to another, geopolitical world order is changing not only its external characteristics, but also its core essence, and accordingly the essential understanding of geopolitics also changes, likewise the original (basic) "matrix of geopolitical imperatives" acquires specific features.

Methodological interpretation of the indicated and other components of this problem will enable to make the next step, that is to provide fundamentally not only new emphases and new approaches to the transformation of geopolitical relations, but also to reveal deeper multiaspect and specific asymmetries of global development, taking into account the ideological basis, the original principles and laws, theories, on which modern geopolitics is based. Now we will try to develop these positions.

First of all, methodological construction «*geopolitics in global space*» is opposed to the systemic interdependency of «*space in geopolitics*». What is the importance of the named theoretical and methodological generalizations? In these structures the logic of civilizational transformations and transition from classical and new economic geopolitics to new civilizational geopolitics can be observed. A separation is meant between two methodological constructions: on the one hand, geopolitics as a science about the impact the territorial and spatial conditions (clas-

sical geopolitics) and economic might of the state (new economic geopolitics) produce on the distribution and redistribution of states and international alliances' spheres of influence in the global environment; and on the other hand – geopolitics as a science about the regularities of all-civilizational development in the context of multivariate (geopolitical, geo-economic, socio-cultural, etc.) space.

In this way the civilizational geo-politics attempts to do away with the geographic and economic determinism of classical geopolitics and geo-economics through expanding the tools of basic factors determining the behaviour of geopolitical actors in global space (i.e. cultural values, customs and traditions, formal and informal regulations (institutes), etc.

One more methodological limitation has to be met. In the classical and new geopolitics the main accent is focused on the *geopolitics of state* which is considered as a key subject of geopolitical relations. This methodological construction of geopolitics was actually founded back in 1648 through the Westphalian Peace that brought an end to the Thirty Year War in which the majority of the European countries took part. The Peace of Westphalia contributed to building of statehood a consolidation of the European nations, the formation of national states in the traditional sense. It was, in fact, the forerunner of modern international law, having determined on contractual terms the European architecture as a system of international relations, thus legitimizing the legal personality of the participating states. From those times on, both bilateral and coalition relations among the countries have been actually built under the known classical pattern. For almost three and a half century the mankind lived under the laws of the Westphalian Peace passing through different stages from the euro-centrism with its multivariate order to bipolar system of world order. In any case its characteristic feature was the availability of at least two centres of power.

In a new civilizational geopolitics (the building of which practically coincides in time with the period of globalization) the methodological construction «*geopolitics of state*» is set against the systemic interdependence of «*a state in geopolitical space*». According to the conclusion made by one of the founders of world system-wise approach the known American sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein for the first time within the past five hundred years while losing its sovereignty (both internal, and external) «the country begins to develop in a declining path» and is no longer «the main centre of decision making» [9, p. 262, 102]. That point of view is also accentuated by famous American politologist Zbigniew Brzezinski (date of birth 1928). He believes that the globalization «promotes contradictory processes that bring about the erosion of traditional national sovereignties» and «loss of national control over main economic and social values» [8, p. 7]. Not less authoritative in this respect is the position of one of the leading experts in the area of political psychology, the Russian scientist Mykola Kosolapov (date of birth 1942). In his fundamental research «Globalization: territorial and spatial aspect» M. Kosolapov convincingly argues that in the conditions of globalization «space as a social practice increasingly breaks away from the territory»,

while «the globalization in practice means the beginning of the spatial reorganization of the world with its political and territorial division being preserved [19, pp. 11–12]. Under those conditions «the potential of the old system has been exhausted», writes the American scientist sociologist Amitai Etzioni (date of birth 1929). The author is convinced that the old system (national states together with intergovernmental institutions are meant) « is unable to cope with the increased volume of transnational problems» [31, pp. 193–206].

At the beginning of the new millenium «...we are witnessing the crisis of Westphalian order» and observe «the contradictory processes connected with the systemic reformation of the constructed as far as in the 17th century under the principles of the Westphalian Peaceful Treaty architecture of international relations, the foundations of which have always been the sovereignty of national states» [10, p. 471]. What will the post-Westphalian architecture of international relations look like? Probably, this question will stay open for a long time. However, it is worth noting that the probable frames of the post-Westphalian world order are being designed today.

Within the new system-wise interdependence of «*the state in geopolitical space*» primarily changes the status of internal sovereignty». The internal sovereignty does not fit any more with the frames of the old system and becomes transnational» [30, p. 11], writes Yurii Shyshkov. Yet in late 1990-s the idea of the transnational state was put forward by famous German sociologist and political philosopher, Professor of Munich University and London School of Economics Ulrich Beck (date of birth 1944). In his opinion, under conditions of globalization the internal policy of the state gradually transforms into transnational, and national countries become transnational structures. He writes: «First, transnational countries do not become, national states, and respectfully, not territorial states (in any case, in narrow sense)... And second, the model of transnational state though negates a national state, but confirms the state (as a notion). The conception of the state is getting free from territorial nets... Third, transnational states become local states... which position themselves as provinces of the world society, but at that they take a respective niche on global market and in a multipole world policy [6, pp. 191–192]. In the conditions of globalization national states and their sovereignty integrate into the web of transnational actors and are subject to their powers, their orientation and identity» [6, p. 26]. According to U. Beck, it is just those modifications that meet the logic of innovative social, in particular geopolitical transformations, and the status of the state has been modifying in geopolitical space just in that way. The post-Westphalian world order is likely to ever get a network-wise character, where «governments are becoming the core points of global administration system which unites in addition to states, international, intergovernmental and social organizations, transnational corporations, and global business elites (the pattern of Davos Forum) etc.» [30, p. 13].

And finally, there is one more principal methodological clarification. In geopolitics *asymmetry of global development is caused by antipodes* (i. e. peoples,

ethnoses and civilizations with different socio-cultural traditions, interests, etc.); theoretical concepts argument *asymmetry as concepts – antitheses* (for example, *sea – continent, East-West* (traditional geopolitics), *North-South, centre- periphery* (new economic geopolitics); society can be *closed and open, traditional and civil, industrial and post-industrial, democratic and totalitarian*; economy is divided into *market and centralized*, and culture is *national and cosmopolitan*, etc.) Concepts- antitheses make fundamentals of *geopolitical pragmatism*, and are viewed in geopolitics, on the one hand, as a driving force of global development, and on the other – their inward asymmetry is a direct reason for upsetting balance, escalation of conflicts, and arising of global imbalances. The attempts to meet the challenges of asymmetry and conflicts of interests are implemented in *geopolitical idealism* on the level of philosophical and metaphysical ideas of the world order establishment based on the human values and standards of international law. It should be taken into consideration that in modern conditions the method of study of global development asymmetries is based both, on geopolitical pragmatism and material determinism, likewise on geopolitical idealism and subjective-value principles providing for the decisive role of ideas, ideals and consciously set objectives in the formation of world order. For confirmation of similar methodological convergence of idealism and pragmatism in realization of geopolitical relations it is worth mentioning that interstate relations and policy of spatial expansion had come into being before the theory and concept of the «world order» was developed. The development of events was ahead the generation of ideas. Thus, it is known, that the first statesman who put forward the liberal program of world order, was American president Wilson (1856–1924). He proposed to establish the world control through the collective activity of all the countries. That ideology was made a basic for the building of the League of Nations after the World War I. But the Versailles world order and the new international institution did not exist for long. The World War II refuted the belief in domination of «friendly» interstate relations against the expansionistic power politics. Further metamorphoses in the implementation of the expansionistic national interests, in political and economic purposes of the states, and later – in purposes of other agents of international relations, occurred under the influence of the public ideas evolution, which are in general beyond the exclusive state interests and interstate political relations. That conformism of thinking enriched the academic geopolitics enhanced its theoretical and intellectual potential.

A perfect representative of idealism appeared to be a founder of French school of classical geopolitics Vidal de la Blache. In his geopolitical concept a man plays a leading role in activating space, and is not «the fragment of decoration in a historic theatre, but a protagonist in a performance» [23, p. 9].

Subjective idealistic metaphysical principles in some way underline the self importance and sovereignty of a human personality, explaining the reasons for its rational or irrational behaviour. Consideration of psychological, moral and ethical issues in geopolitics extends the range of reasons in the behaviour of individuals,

social groups, governmental bodies, promotes deeper realization of multidimensionality of global development asymmetries. The idealism appeared to have the benefits, noted by the scientist of international issues from Harvard University Stanley Hoffman. He said: «Economic life proceeds at the global level, but people continue to identify themselves with a particular nation ... World ... still is not familiar with the collective consciousness and collective solidarity. What the individual states are seeking for, the world market itself can not provide the same» [29]. This is the fundamental asymmetry and cardinal contradictions of modern global development, implying that the economic processes are of global nature, while political thinking traditionally is focused at national borders.

5. Geopolitical dimension of the global development asymmetries

Typical philosophical dualism of idealism and pragmatism in contemporary geopolitics can be traced in the process of geopolitical realities study in three phases: they are (actually geopolitical realism), could be (geopolitical pragmatism), should become (geopolitical idealism) by extrapolation of these basic methodological designs of major dimensions-descriptions after Stanley Hoffman (I mean methodological construction for creating and maintenance of international order in *horizontal, vertical, functional and ideological* dimensions) [see 23, pp. 152–161].

Horisontal dimension of global development asymmetries is represented by international relations between main participants, that is, the states who are the subjects of these relations which lie in a similar plane and are not structured. Those relationships are characterized both, by multiaspect forms and by multicriteria analysis and evaluation. Therefore, to study the geopolitical realities in horizontal dimension it is important to determine the key parameters characterizing that relationship as symmetrical or asymmetrical: the type of subjects, their number and character of interrelation between them², their quantitative and qualitative dimensions.

In horizontal dimension the most representative for theoretical conception of the nature of international relations could become the application of the «interactionism» theory method, accentuating attention at bilateral interrelations between the countries (table 3).

² In geopolitics international relations are defined by a number of subjects and the nature of interrelations between them. In this context two theories are dominating in scientific literature, namely «*interactionism*» (M. Kaplan, K. Deutsch, D. Synger, R. Rosecrance), representatives of which view *states as autonomous elements of international relations*; «*structuralism*» (B. Brown, J. Galtung), views international relations as a certain structure, the elements of which are countries with different functional mission and respective place in this structure [24].

Table 3

Horizontal dimensions of symmetry/asymmetry of geopolitical relations in the area of bilateral interstate relations*

Types of bilateral interstate relations**	Name of the country	Geographic parameters (Area of territory)	Economic parameters (economic potential, GDP)
I type	Great Britain	=	=
	Italy	=	=
Nature of relations	<i>symmetrical</i>	C	C
II type	Russia	T \bar{O}	ПВ
	Ukraine	TМ	ПН
Nature of relations	<i>asymmetrical</i>	A	A
III type	USA	=	ПВ
	Canada	=	ПН
Nature of relations	<i>Symmetrical/asymmetrical</i>	C	A
IV type	Japan	TМ	=
	China	T \bar{O}	=
Nature of relations	<i>Asymmetrical/symmetrical</i>	A	C

Notes:

* Generalized and constructed by the author based on [24].

** If the main parameters for determination of bilateral symmetry/asymmetry of interstate relations include the area and economical potential of two countries, then there are four types of relations, namely:

Type I – symmetrical relations (two countries are relatively comparable in territories and economic potentials); type II-typical asymmetrical relations (one country prevails the other both, in territory and in economic potential); type III –symmetrical-asymmetrical relations (two countries are relatively comparable in territories, but are asymmetric in economic potentials); type IV -asymmetrical/symmetrical relations (demonstrates the inverse relations against type III, that is, the countries are symmetric in their economic potentials, but are not comparable in their areas)

Notations:

= – relative equitability in geographic and economic parameters; T \bar{O} – country with larger territory; TМ – country with smaller territory; ПВ – country with higher economic potential; ПН – country with lower economic potential; C – symmetric relations; A – asymmetric relations.

Proceeding from that approach the nature between two subjects is defined as bilateral symmetry/asymmetry under a set of certain *quantitative parameters* (for example, economic and geographic ones: area, population that is building the consuming demand, natural resources (geographic determinism); economic parameters: GDP, GNP per capita, volume of export/import, investment and savings rate, level of innovation development, etc. (economic determinism), likewise the *qualitative criteria* (political regime, constitutional system, type of economic relations, nature of social relations in the society, etc.).

If the methodological concept of horizontal dimension is extrapolated to multipolar world order, then the future geo-space is likely to diversify, having created the network structure.

The vertical dimension of asymmetries is represented by the relations between strong and weak partners, and methodologically is argued in theoretical concepts of geopolitics through concepts-antitheses, like «Centre-Periphery», «West-East», «North-South».

The triumph of power based on the laws of spatial expansion, in this case acts a guarantee of hierarchy-wise organization of international relations, and rigid regulation of interrelations within the framework of the empires, providing a typical example of domination in the international system of vertical dimension. Actually, the entire system of geopolitical relations (which is proved by the political history of world nations for more than three and a half centuries) had been developing on the basis of the spatial expansion and vertical hierarchy subordination. Thus, the states and empires, and interstate unions emerged. That process on geopolitical level signified the strengthening of the spatial factor in the history of human civilization development.

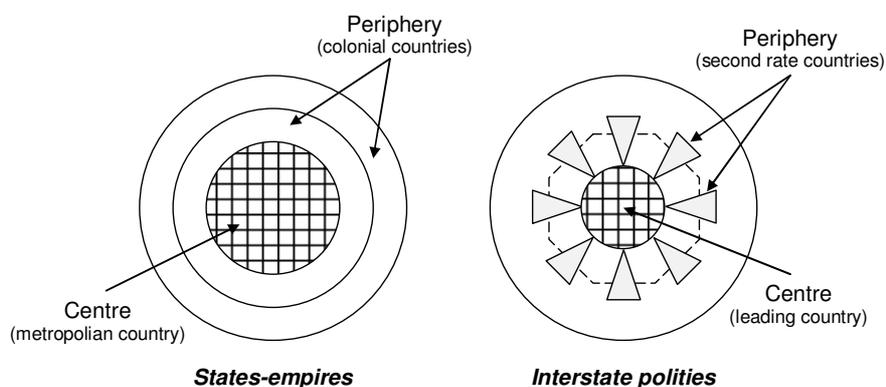
From methodological view, the country's belonging to different levels of hierarchy is one of the essential signs that their relations are asymmetric. Another essential peculiarity of asymmetry is «incomparability in location» (implying different approximation to a certain centre or plane).

If this peculiarity is extrapolated to international relations, it is possible to define at least two systems of the benchmarking coordinates [24].

Historically, the first of them is peculiar for *intersystem relations within empires and interstate associations*. In that system the relations between its subjects are asymmetric, since one subject is the Centre itself (in the empire-states that administrative-political unit or «pole»/»core» in geopolitical interpretation; in interstate polities it is the leading country), and another one is its Periphery. Accordingly, the asymmetric relations within the system of «Centre-Periphery» reflect the correlation between the whole and its part (fig. 1).

Figure 1

Vertical dimension of asymmetries in geopolitical constructions of «states-empires» and interstate polities



That character of relations provides for rigid centralization, system of seniority and absolute subordination of the subject's interests (as an integral part of the closed system) to the interests of the Centre, that incarnates the integrity of that system; a typical manifestation of asymmetric intersystem relations is domination and subordination. On the one hand, the subject's resources have to be directed primarily for the implementation of the Center's interests, as far as the Center is destined to accumulate and represent the interests of both, the whole, and its parts. On the other hand, those relations also provide for the reverse connection that does not exclude cooperation and mutual assistance, since the empire countries have to strengthen their peripheries considering them as the base areas of their further external expansion. That subordination originates a long-term, sometimes an age-long dependence of peripheral countries from the countries that personified the core of the empire.

The second coordinate system represents the vertical *dimension of asymmetries in intersystem relations*. In this given case the starting point according to which the subjects determine the asymmetries of their positions in their relations, could be a certain level of development, achievements in this or that industry, mastering certain technologies, and the sphere of influence or domination. The position of the country in that hierarchy is determined on the basis of geopolitical «laws of spatial expansion» and certain set of criteria and parameters defining the geopolitical might of the country (i.e. material factors, including military and economic potentials, availability of natural and labor resources, achievements in the area of high technologies), likewise the spiritual values (including the cultural and scientific development, level of ethnical homogeneity and social stability, etc.) (Table 4).

Table 4

**Retrospective-conceptual quintessentializing
of the laws of spatial expansion in geopolitics***

<i>Traditional (classical) geopolitics (late 19th – the first half of the 20th century.)</i>		<i>New economic geopolitics and in- novative civilization geopolitics</i>	
Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904)	Nicholas Spykman (1893–1943)	Geo- economics	Zbigniew Brzezinski
<i>Laws of geopolitical expansion**</i>	<i>Criteria of geopolitical might of the state***</i>	<i>Criteria of geo- economical might of the state</i>	<i>Criteria of domi- nating position in world power****</i>
1. Territorial expanse of the states enlarges alongside with the development of their cultures; 2. Spatial enlargement of the state is accompanied with other manifestations of its development: i.e. in the area of ideology, manufacturing, commercial activity; 3. The state is expanding through overtaking and absorbing political units of less importance; 4. A border is «an organ» situated in the periphery of the state (in Ratzel's understanding of the organism); 5. While carrying out its spatial expansion the state tries to cover its most important for its development regions, e. g. coastal areas, basins, valleys, and all other rich territories; 6. The initial expansion impulse comes from outside, as far as the state is provoked for expansion by the state (or territory) with much lower level of civilization; 7. General trend to assimilation or absorption of weaker nations promotes the dynamic enlargement of territories that is fueled by itself.	1. Territorial surface; 2. Nature of borders; 3. Population; 4. Availability (absence) of natural resources ; 5. Economic and technological development; 6. Financial power; 7. Ethnic homogeneity; 8. Level of social integration; 9. Political stability; 10. National spirit.	1. Indices of Gross National Product; 2. Index of human development; 3. Population; 4. Purchasing capacity; 5. Capacity of domestic consuming market; 6. Level of innovation development; 7. Natural resources	1. Global opportunities for the deployment of armed forces; 2. World leadership for economic power; 3. Absolute leadership in major areas of science and engineering; 4. Unprecedented attractiveness for cultural values.

* Generalized and constructed by the author.

** Ratzel F. «Laws of spatial growth of the countries» (1896).

*** Spykman N. America's Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power / Nicholas John Spykman. – New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1942.

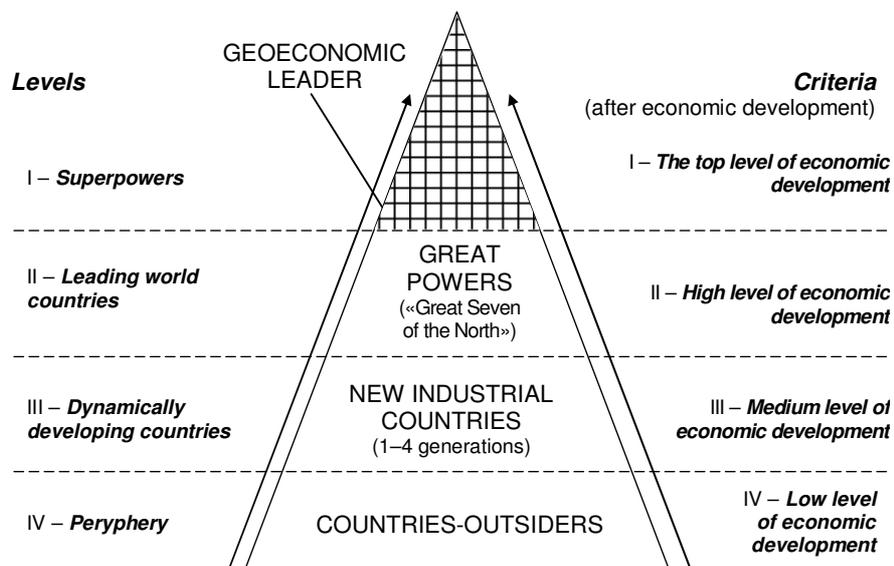
**** Brzezinski Z. Great chess board. – M., 1999.

Methodological design of asymmetric intersystem relations is described by the theory of «structuralism», which views international relations as a well structured hierarchichal architecture (Fig. 2) whose elements are the superpower (the highest level) great states (leading countries of the world, forming the second level), medium countries (the third level) and small countries (accordingly, making the lowest level of the architecture). Within that pyramid-wise structure the system of symmetric and asymmetric relations is formed (symmetric relations are established between the countries of similar level, while asymmetric – among nations that are on different levels in the hierarchy of intersystem relations). The pyramidal structure of geopolitical relationships is more dynamic when the country's place in that hierarchy can change.

The vertical dimension of the global development asymmetries was theoretically grounded in Immanuel Wallerstein's the *world-systems theory* [9; 38] and formulated by the Club of Rome's «*geopolitical concept of «North-South»*». Thus, I. Wallerstein offered the world – systems theory based on Trinitarian hierarchy structure: «*core-semiperiphery-periphery»*».

Figure 2

Pyramidal structure of geopolitical relations based on methodological construction of vertical dimension



According to Wallerstein the most dynamic element in this structure is «semiperiphery». During the restructuring of the global economy and the respective transformation of a political map the changes occur at the expense of «semiperiphery». Some countries culminate to the top level (core), while others degrade to the state of the periphery.

The geopolitical conception of «North-South» is constructed on asymmetry and opposition of macro-regions of the rich North (created by the nations of «gold billion» including the USA, Canada, Western Europe and other highly developed countries, including Japan, Israel, Australia, and New Zealand) and the poor South (nations of «hungry billion», situated mostly in tropics and subtropics, i.e. Central Africa and Indian Ocean Arc). While in the North-Atlantic part of macroregion the multi-purpose infrastructure has been developed for highly technological production including information and communication technologies, the «South» geoeconomic macroregion is described by the processes of demoralization and marginalization of social and economic relations.

Methodology of *functional dimension* of the global development asymmetries is based on the geopolitical imperatives enabling to position the subjects of international relations in geospace, to determine the behaviour of the participating countries, and their economic exchanges, moral values, and political ambitions of their leaders. The functional interrelation and interconditionality is meant between *geographical determinism* in a wide sense, *geopolitical code* (as a multivector system of political relations of the country and the ROW, that historically is developed on the basis of the balance of national interests, and ensures to the country a certain status on global, regional and local levels), *geopolitical vectors* (that is, geostrategic lines of foreign policy of the state on global, regional and local levels, based on its geopolitical code), *geopolitical strategies*, that are the ways of implementing the pragmatic interests of the state in global space.

From the logical view of global transformations the most contradicting position of a respective methodology is the absolutization of geographic determination principle, that in traditional geopolitical sense grounds dependence of the development of the society and foreign policy of the state upon its natural and geographic conditions (implying the so called «geographic fatalism»).

Actually, on early stages of social development up to the epoch of industrial revolution the effect produced by natural environment on a human being, society, and state was not critical though essential. The industrial revolution originated a new stage in the relationship between the state foreign policy and the geographic frames of that policy. Consequently, the simplified vision of «geographic fatalism» transformed into «economic determinism». The latter grounded the achievements of foreign political aims, and the world and regional «might» of economic dominants (i. e. international competitiveness of commodities, industries, and national economy as a whole; level of innovation and technological development; adequacy of national capital and the level of access to external sources of funding, etc.). Unlike geographic, the economic determinism accentu-

ates the communication vectors of capital movement, production, goods and services. Nevertheless, the geographic factors play a significant role (for example, availability of water and land routes, natural resources, fuel and energy resources, etc.) And despite the fact that during the new (economic) geopolitics (since the second half of the twentieth century) the «geographic determinism» de jure became a kind of anachronism, and de facto, it remained the dominant for the formation of geo-economic code and geo-economic rent (major source of world income). For example, the impact «geographical determinism» has on the policy of redistribution of resources and world income is eloquent for the quotation of Lopez Portillo's the first President appeal to Mexican people in 1976, when he emphasized the importance of oil for the enrichment of Mexico: «In modern times the countries could be divided into two groups – *those who have oil, and those who have none*» [Quat.: 1, p. 78].

In the new civilizational geopolitics there occurs rethinking of conceptual basics of «geographic determinism». Predatory exploitation of natural environment has brought about the increase of anthropogenic loadings on natural conditions for human life, which resulted emergence and extraordinary aggravation of global problems threatening the very existence of civilization.

«Boomerang returns. Nature takes revenge for itself that it does not provide a man any more sufficiently favorable conditions for existence and thereby forcing the state and politicians to take into account natural factors» [23, p. 16].

Like in the past, the influence of geographic environment is admitted on the society existence, culture and history of peoples. However, at that the attempts are made to radically correct the essence of the notions «nature» and «man» in the context of their correlation. That approach conduces the integration into the single conceptual unit of various contradictory constituents of «the phenomenon of a man», natural and scientific, and socio-humanitarian approaches, components of natural and social areas of existence. It is obvious that the new concepts of geopolitical idealism are far from simplified visions about so called «geopolitical fatalism», about absolute determination of human activity by the factors of natural environment.

At the same time, modern geopolitical pragmatism based on the imperatives of «*spatial expansion*» and «*geographic determinism*» is more often accompanied with the collision of states' interests and aggravation of competitive fight on the world market for the control over limited (and in addition, asymmetrically placed) natural resources and information space through the utilization of innovative technologies. As a result of the technical progress in the development of world communications (in particular, sea and air transport), expansion of spheres of influence of transnational companies, and intensification of economic global monopolization, there occurs the surmounting of geographic seclusion of

certain countries. Their economic interests could exceed the frames of state borders expanding «*zones of living interests*» and thus provoking geopolitical wars³.

Stanley Hoffmann connects the accentuated attention at the *ideological dimension* (in his vision of main dimensions describing international order) with the end of the Second World War and creation of two opposite socio-political systems which de-facto escalated the world polarization through ideological discrepancies. However, de-jure, the ideological dimension of global development asymmetries is based on the main law of geopolitics, namely, on fundamental dualism that reveals in geographic structure of the planet, and in historic typology of civilizations. Historically and forever that dualism is of alternative nature of its two civilization poles (continental and maritime powers), and respectively, two classical ideologic geopolitical models, namely:

- «*tellurocratia*» that is related to the fixed space and its stable quality orientations and characteristics. On the civilizational level it implies conservatism, established formal and informal institutes subjecting significant formations (communities) of people (families, tribes, peoples, states, empires). The tellurocratia is manifested in rigid ethic standards and firm social traditions. Individualism and entrepreneurship do not pertain to landmen (especially settled people). They are characterized by collectivism and hierarchy;
- «*thalassocratia*» that is based on opposite principles. That type of civilization is dynamic and tending to development. Among its priorities are the following: activation of international trade and spirit of individual entrepreneurship. The individual as the most dynamic element of the community is considered to be of the highest value, while ethic and legal standards at that are becoming somehow obscure, relative and dynamic. That type of civilization is rapidly developing and actively evolving, it easily changes its external cultural features, at that the unchanged are only insight identity of the general arrangement.

The primordial ideological dimension in geopolitical space played the role of an «engine» for historic and civilizational development. At first the confrontation between tellurocratia and thalassocratia reflected the differentiation of the world into two conflicting powers of continental and naval states. That dichotomy manifested in the conflict of interests, fight of contradictory opinions, and sometimes fight of deep political misunderstanding, so far is applied in most of geopolitical (geo-economical) models. As far as the continental civilization with its conservative (and in some cases authoritarian) basis has become the ideological ground for

³ For example, the creation of the net of American military bases in the area of the Persian Gulf, that is rich in oil; aggravation of conflicts in the majority of muslim countries, rich in fuel and power resources, which are connected with demand to review the existing system of distribution of natural rent; 2008 power crisis in Europe and the issues of energetic security becoming of the first rate urgency.

creation of «closed society», the logic of maritime civilization formulated main principles of the «open society», putting forward the advanced liberal and democratic values of legal civic society.

However, in the new (economic) geopolitics the «phenomenon of globalization disturbed the strategic consensus between the economic universum and liberty of human individual» [5. p. 14]. Ideologic basis of geopolitical hegemony is built now on the principle of absolute domination in economic and financial areas (the competitive advantages are meant in manufacturing, trade and financial activities enabling to redistribute geo-economic rent for one's own interests). Lately it acquires very dangerous forms, since domination of economy over socium is intensifying, and that causes «significant degradation of the society, an individual and money... at the moment what serves the human life is not the economy, while the human life becomes the means for expanding and priming of economic sphere at the account of ruining of sacral and cultural values. Economism (*in ideological dimension – noted by N. K.*) became the basic means for distortion of socium and the very economy (say nothing of culture)» [5, pp. 14–15].

In modern new civilizational geopolitics the ideological dimension manifests further aggravation of global development asymmetries, disturbance of balance in geospace, and permanent sharpening of global imbalances. Metaphysically, it is explained by two historically classical patterns of instable international order: «state of war» and «patched-up peace».

According to the first model the general standards of international relations are shaky, temporary and proportional to that force which supports them. The supporters of that model, famous philosophers of the past (Italian Nikkolo Makia-veli (1469–1527), English Thomas Gobbs (1588–1679), French Jean Jackues Rousseau (1712–1778), German Emmanuel Kant (1724–1804) considered, that in «international relations» there «does not exist general mind which would degrade the ambitious of any participant, but there is specifically institutional rationality, implying search for the best means for achieving specific aims, calculation of forces leading to hegemony instead to conflicts» [23, p. 158].

With respect to the second model, the geopoliticians regard, that it is the response for arising of the states-nations. This model views the interstate relations as the environment where there are forces able to guarantee the minimum order. Those forces are formed of the countries which unite on the basis of common interests, and that brings about the creation of general legal rules. The English philosopher John Locke (1632–1704) versus T. Gobs considered that natural state of the society is not «the war of all against all» but personal liberty and freedom under absence of a single union and common sovereign. Naturally it could create the opportunities for abusive practice, and therefore the state is obliged to protect the principles of natural law [23, p. 158].

Proceeding from the above mentioned the modern civilizational geopolitics requires new morally axiological principles which can not be developed by the globalized economy of liberal society itself.

Conclusion

The global development in the 20th century was accompanied with the cyclical change of international order and transition from multipolar system of geopolitical relations to bipolar, and subsequently to unipolar world. Thus, the multipolar geopolitical structure of the world peculiar to the 20th century in late 40-s transformed into the rigid bipolar one, that existed till the end of the 80-s. The activation of the globalization process and collapse of bipolar system of international relations synchronized to some extent enabling the monocentrism supporters to predict the beginning of the formation of the unipolar world (the majority of them preferred the USA in that process, who took the dominating positions in economic and political spheres in late 80-s of the 20th century). However, as a result of geopolitical break at the turn of the 20th–21st centuries the stratification of the states aggravated in political and economic spheres; instead of the forecast stability on the threshold of the 21st century the world received a confusion in the political life and once again proceeds towards the changes of geopolitical leaders. According to the logic of cyclical development the modern global world comes through the stage of creation of multipolar system, the frames of which are being still designed. The existing system of international relations that had been created for some centuries as a modified variant of Westphalian system is adapted to perceive geospace in the categories of controversies, asymmetry and bipolarity. From the view of that methodological concept most of the experts while modeling the geopolitical pattern of the future are tending to the idea that the multipolar world will be less unpredictable and balanced than it was in the years of controversies of the polar political systems, since more actors moved to the front of the political scene, and the conflict lines became less clear while their essence became less translucent.

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