## "THE THIRD WAVE": Geopolitics of Postmodernism

**Abstract.** An article is devoted to the new geopolitical conception, constructed on the base of V. Stepin's ideas of post-nonclassic conception, the theory of self-organizing systems of H. Haken, a technology of "controlled chaos" by S. Mann and author's synergetic vision of modern geopolitical trends. The world community has entered an epoch of permanent crisis which is represented now as the system crisis of postmodern civilization. The sociopolitical tendencies designated during revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa, a series of "color" revolutions on the post Soviet space and protest actions of Russian opposition, put forward an actual problem of development of a new toolkit for research of processes of political transformation of the modern world. In these conditions the issue of the day is still the problem not only of interstate relations, but also situation inside the states that become closely connected in globalized world. The favorable environment for occurrence of threats to the international and state security is the use of technologies of "controlled chaos", strategies of "soft power" and "indirect actions" on the background of aggravation of territorial, demographic, religious, ecological, food and water problems in large territories of the Central Asia, Near and Middle East and African continent.

**Keywords:** the international relations, geopolitica, The Third Wave, synergetic, conception, classic geopolitica, post-nonclassic geopolitica, social-political systems, nonclassic geopolitica, UN.

#### Introduction

On the background of increasing shaft of the social processes frequently accepting the forms humanitarian and political disasters, it is necessary to ascertain the fact, that political sciences "do not evolve, more likely circle and frequently tremble on the place". "This "marking time" is distinguished in comparison of obvious progress in other spheres of scientific knowledge: natural, mathematical and engineering sciences. Mathematical and natural disciplines set forth the saved up knowledge demanding mastering and suitable for practical purposes. Social sciences, in particular – political science, adduce points of view and concepts either contradicting or ignoring each other.

As R. Collins noted<sup>1</sup>, the saved up knowledge in social sciences are not popular. Knowledge in political and social sciences are subdivided into such categories as: "the specialized accumulation" obtained inside the separate research society and unrecognized outside this scientific community; "the lost accumulation" as a result of disregard by all scientific communities and "unrecognized interdisciplinary integrated accumulation" which is the results received from various areas

and having essential similarity which, nevertheless, is not perceived and is not admitted as such. Therefore we come to the conclusion that modern political science and geopolitics as its part are engaged not in getting objective knowledge, but collecting various opinions struggling with each other and frequently destroying each other.

These factors have outlined a necessity to change the base approaches in modern geopolitics and making an "inventory" of the saved up knowledge to overcome stagnation in development of the given scientific area and promote a new geopolitical concept that should give it a full-fledges scientific status.

#### Genesis of geopolitical concept of "The Third Wave"

The solution of mentioned problems lays in the field of the post-nonclassical approach offered by V.S. Styopin in which he suggested refusing linear extrapolation of processes in complex systems with numerous opposite forces and inconsistent factors<sup>2</sup>. In spite of a number of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Collins R. Socially Unrecognized Cumulating // American Sociologist, 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Степин В.С. Научное познание и ценности техногенной цивилизации. Вопросы философии, №10, 1989, с. 3–18; Степин В.С. Становление норм и идеалов постнеклассической науки. // Проблемы методологии постнеклассической науки. М.: 1992, с.15.

"color" revolutions occurring during last twenty years it's only now that Mr. Karaganov designated this problem, having noted, that "unprecedented in speed and scale in a history of mankind of change in social, political areas of existence of peoples, expansion of the next round of struggle for resources and transformation of political map of the Middle East and North Africa on a background of disintegration of old system of the international management institutes, ongoing globalization of economy and information environment have increased an "intellectual vacuum" that ended up in inability to understand and analyze the world within the framework of old political theories"<sup>3</sup>.

The post-nonclassical approach opens wide horizons in geopolitics<sup>4</sup>. It allows investigating sociopolitical systems as open for external influences, and functioning in the environment of social entropy and chaos, aroused by application of political and information technologies for manipulation of people's consciousness<sup>5</sup>. In our opinion, there are no alternatives to the given direction of geopolitical development. Political scientists studying modern geopolitical trends have, at last, realized the limitations of traditional methods for researching of the sociopolitical and international problems based on Laplas-Newtonians determinism and linear extrapolation of public processes.

Complex interlacing of national interests and contradictions between leading actors of the global and regional politics on a background of globalization, politics of transnational corporations, banks, influential funds and nongovernmental organizations, including terrorist networks and drug dealers, force them to rethink fundamental bases of world dynamics to develop new conceptual approaches to research of geopolitical problems.

As to the name of the suggested concept it is necessary to note its affinity with the title of the well-known work of E. Toffler "The Third Wave" considering the correlation of the stages of geopolitics development – classical, neoclassical and post-neoclassical – with Toffler's waves of mankind development: agrarian, industrial and postindustrial epochs<sup>6</sup>.

The geopolitical conception of "The Third Wave" (further – as "Concept") is designed to answer such actual questions of the international relations as:

- Ways of preserving state sovereignty under information and political confrontation, the use of "The Soft Power" and "The Indirect Actions" strategies for state disruption;
- Forms and methods of appropriation of leadership and preserving domination of great and regional powers;
- Basic trends and driving forces of modern transformations of international relations and new global order;
- Ways and means of maintenance of national and international safety in conditions of rivalry of various centers of force.

However, despite the given objectives, a range of problems offered for investigation within the framework of the given Concept, remains indistinct. This is because modern political life is characterized by the unpredictable emergence of new social and political realities and factors that produces the need for constant revision of the circle of problems under study within the Concept. Therefore the borders of a Concept object field will inevitably vary depending on set of existing and arising threats and trends in development of a certain region or country.

# Research apparatus of geopolitical conception of "The Third Wave"

The research toolkit, underlying the Concept, includes:

- 1. The system-dynamic approach, allowing investigating international relations in all their complexity and variety, to reveal and analyze development of sociopolitical systems in the time scale<sup>7</sup>.
- 2. Methods of research of sociopolitical systems evolution in conditions of "controlled chaos" and dynamics of social entropy.
- 3. Evolution modeling on the basis of genetic algorithms application for realization of "forward control" principle for forehanded prediction of evolution's trends in sociopolitical systems prior to it's beginning and incursion of irreversible development of geopolitical situation. It can be carried out due to inclusion of feedback link in the systems

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Караганов С. Мир: углубление хаоса. Российская газета, №5571 (195), 07.09.2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Карякин В.В. Классическая, неклассическая и постнеклассическая геополитика: критерии сходства и различения. Вестник аналитики. № 4(46), 2001, с.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Манн С. Теория хаоса и стратегическое мышление.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Тоффлер Э. Третья волна. М.: АСТ. 2010. 784 с.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Карякин В.В. Современная геополитическая динамика Ближнего и Среднего Востока. – М.: ИГ Граница, 2010, 352 с.; Карякин В.В. Геополитическая динамика как инструмент исследования трендов и сценариев мирового развития // Стратегическая стабильность. №4(53), 2010; Карякин В.В. Методология современной геополитической динамики // Государственная служба. №1(69), январь-март 2011; Карякин В.В. Методологические основы современной геополитической динамики // Региональные исследования №3(33), 2011.

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- which actualize "preemptive" control of international environments. This loop works on the principle of correcting of deviations in the system at the earliest stages of occurrence of ineligible tendencies in system development.
- 4. Comparative interstate researches inherited from traditional scientific arsenal which has not lost its importance in post-neoclassical geopolitics. By comparison of set of significant factors for the analysis it is possible to analyze in details the basic parameters of geopolitical potentials of political subjects of the world policy, reflecting the current geopolitical conditions.

Considering **functions** of the Concept, it is necessary to take into account the certain complexity of their allocation that is a common difficulty of analysis of humanitarian studies because their functions in a real life cannot be submitted in the pure aspect.

Nevertheless, it is possible to subdivide these functions on **gnoseologic** which is working with the academic branch of a political science in the general-theoretical plan, **prognostic**, intended for the analysis and forecasting of military-political, economic, demographic and ethno-confessional conditions and **administrative** which has the purpose is development of recommendations for the political leaders on management of sociopolitical processes in conditions of multilateral interaction of actors of world policy.

The main task of the academic branch of the Concept is revealing and studying cause-effect relations between various factors and tendencies of development of geopolitical situation for the certain forecasting horizon. The purpose of such researches is to elicit consistent patterns and reveal steady tendencies in development of an international situation, sources and driving forces of cooperation, aspiration to hegemony and leadership of the separate states, and also the reasons of occurrence of a different sort of contradictions and conflicts.

The **prognostic function** of the Concept studies the tendencies and character of sociopolitical development of the countries and regions on the basis of quantitative methods of simulation of regional and internal situation in separate countries, allowing to reveal and understand global and regional political tendencies and processes. Incidentally researcher deals with the objective and subjective information, data of official statistics, publications about motives and intentions of political leaders, activity of various subjects of a world and regional politics. The value of the subjective information is great because it reveals the personality of political leaders, allows to estimate the psychological side of geopolitical processes, and besides to estimate

a degree of adequacy of reflection of objective tendencies in development of political and social conditions in the mind of the states leadership, leaders of political movements, religious and the ethnic groups of the population participating in the political processes.

Hereby prognostic function allows to adequately reflect the tendencies of the main geopolitical processes on the base of estimation of geopolitical conditions and actions of political leaders. In this respect the organization of constant monitoring of geopolitical situation acquires special significance.

The **administrative function** of the Concept follows from the first two. Its designation is to provide necessary information to political leaderships for elaboration of policy decisions.

Generally the main task of geopolitics of "The Third Wave" is researching of evolution of sociopolitical processes in order to reveal trends and dynamics of their development.

The **subject field**s of the Concept include:

- The nature, forms and methods of modern expansionisms;
- Technologies of statehood destruction and transition of consciousnesses of people and also changing of national, cultural and religious identity of human beings;
- Geopolitical potentials and their influence on the status of the states in the world system of international relations;
- Factors causing formation, expansion and decline of the states, military-political blocks and the unions;
- Factors determining relations of cooperation and rivalry between regional and world centers of force and geopolitical influence.

The **definitions** of the Concept differ from those existing in traditional geopolitics in its logic argumentation, generalization and synergetic approach due to attraction of such areas of scientific knowledge as the theory of chaos, self-organizing systems and post-neoclassic approach to sociopolitical dynamics. It leads to necessity of ranging the definitions of the Concept on several groups on the basis of sociological, intrinsic and natural-science criteria:

- 1. Sociological definition of the Concept reflects influence of economic, legal, cultural and religious factors on development of political systems and treats it as rivalry of the certain countries and their coalitions, as well as political and social movements at upholding the interests.
- 2. Intrinsic definition of the Concept is guided by disclosing of a fundamental principle of geopolitics as

the scientific discipline expressed as a set of actions, directed at finding, holding and use of imperious resources. "Imperious" definition of geopolitics reflects its essence as the major quality, supplemented through institutional definitions, describing the geopolitical concept by means of functioning of the international and state structures, embodying and materializing authority in geopolitical influence. From this point of view the Concept considers politics as activity of the states or socio-political groups in resolving conflicts and contradictions. Since the basis of modern international relations is principles of balancing on the edge of conflict.

If we return to the "wave" interpretation of the considering Concept, the first wave of geopolitics corresponds with "the person of geophysical space" which defines the psychology and character of peoples that occupy some territory. The second wave of geopolitics corresponds with "the person of ideology", living and working in conditions of antagonism of hostile ideological systems. The third wave of geopolitics already corresponds with "the person of information age" living and working in global informational, economical and ecological spaces and having an opportunity to influence on sociopolitical processes the way it was during "The Arabian Spring" and a number of "Color Revolutions".

3. The group of the natural-science definitions are determined as action making, teleological and system definitions of the Concept. Action making definitions open synergetic character of geopolitical processes, dynamics of sociopolitical systems in conditions of social chaos and entropy, as well as application of modern political and information technologies. They characterize geopolitics as process of monitoring and estimation of geopolitical conditions with use of mathematical methods of simulation of the sociopolitical processes used by the political leaders for elaboration of internal and foreign policy.

The teleological definition of geopolitics considers it as an activity of a political management on finding solutions of geopolitical tasks. Here it is necessary to note the following constructive moment: necessity of a combination of the collective nature of the international and interstate politics expressed in joint conscious and purposeful activity of social groups, political parties, social movements, the states and their associations on achievement of definite purposes. Now the given aspect is especially actual in view of increase of social entropy shown in the form of any kind of "color" revolutions and "popular uprisings", activity of oppositional and separatists movements in which the role and the importance of even one social individual of society grows comes up to nation-wide scale.

Generalizing the above mentioned system of definitions of the Concept, it is possible to formulate its base definition as an area of scientific knowledge, post-non-classical in its form and synergetic in its content which describes the sociopolitical relations, organization and assimilation of geopolitical spaces and it's resources for establishment of leadership, military-political and economic domination with use of military or economical force, information, psychological and political technologies in conditions of globalization.

# Paradigms of "The Third Wave" geopolitical conception

A "Paradigm" is one of the major concepts in philosophy and sociology, introduced by T. Kuhn in his book "The Structure of Scientific Revolutions" in which he defined this term as a set of fundamental scientific installations, representations and notions, perceived by scientific community as a basis of given scientific field.

In geopolitics the concept of paradigm is formulated as follows: the paradigm is designed to provide the valuable and world outlook basics to research existential relations between the states in the modern world in view of all crucial factors which determine dynamics and an evolution of sociopolitical processes. The task of the given scientific category is to generalize the phenomena and tendencies of an observable reality and to select primary factors for further conceptual interpreting of this reality, but without distortion of its essence.

Geopolitical paradigms include national-state, ideological, cultural and religious factors. Now it's time for dynamic approach to the geopolitics phenomena. The modern geopolitics paradigm must to reflect changes in various interpretations of geopolitics' space: institutional, economical, ideological, cultural, religious and informational. Change of paradigms is a change of relations between socio-political objects, which supposes change of scientific methods of analysis<sup>9</sup>.

Full harmony in geopolitics has not been observed yet. "Despite a huge file of works on geopolitics, there is still one principal lack: imprecise classification of paradigms. It leads to various disagreements on what is true geopolitics, what concepts are adequate to the present day and what must be thrown away" 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Кун Т. Структура научных революций. М.: АСТ. 2009, 317 с.

 $<sup>^9</sup>$  Мухаев Р.Т. Геополитика. Учебник. 3-е изд. М.: ЮНИТИ-ДАНА, 2011, c.28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Сеньшин Е.А. Эволюция геополитических парадигм в трансформирующемся мире. // Известия Уральского государственного университета. 2007. № 48. сс. 49–62.

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Trying to solve the given problem, some researchers go on replacing geopolitics with global studies formulating new paradigms. So a pioneer's works in this direction were presenting stages of development of geopolitical ideas on the basis of reflecting stages of mankind development<sup>11</sup>:

- 1-st stage a paradigm of ground or geographical territory, underlying classical geopolitics and asserting that the politics of the states is determined by their geographical position. In this conception the basic geopolitics' actor is the national state;
- 2-nd stage revisionist's geopolitics based on the paradigm reflecting the fact that the states ideology belongs to different camps in global opposition of two political systems. In this case the basic actors were military-political blocks;
- 3-rd stage modernist's geopolitics based on the paradigm of geo-economics as generation of globalization. The basic actors here are transnational corporations, global financial institutions and the nongovernmental political structures working in global information space.

The given classification has correctly reflected not only evolution of geopolitics' ideas, but also essence of the postmodern epoch, expressed in globalization of the economy resulted in formation of uniform geo-economics space that replaced confrontation geopolitics of Great Powers in the epoch of the "Cold War"12. However the paradigm of geo-economics soon appeared inadequate to realities of the beginning of XXI century. The system crisis of the world economy, which began in 2008, discredited the ideas of liberalism and free market. Discredit attitude of western liberal ideas was aggravated by the book of Zb. Bzhezinsky "The Grand Chessboard" 13 in which he declared inevitability of the American leadership for the nearest decades. This made the Russian political community get a steady opinion of existence of Atlantist's and Mondealist's plot directed on submission of Eurasia to the West<sup>14</sup>. Thus, due to efforts of the patriarch of American geopolitics there started a process of revival of old geopolitics' paradigm - "Ground

and Idea". Russian national patriots emphasize that the globalization that advances the free market, free moving of people and capitals in the world scale does not solve essential social problems. It only aggravates them that have been exemplified by the recent events of "The Arabian Spring". Globalization carries on the stratification of societies and, as a consequence, it brings poverty and injustice in distribution of the material and collective goods on background of an information transparency of a society and increase of intellectual mobility of its members due to communication in social networks. Globalization makes millions of people unnecessary for the labor-market in the underdevelopment countries, and especially in those that are deprived of natural resources and have been shattered during realization of plans on transformation of political map of the world.

Globalization of economy and creation of planetary information-communication space made national sovereign state appeared to be almost the last shelter for those who want to preserve their cultural and religious identity and to remain to be the owner of national territories and natural resources. The counteraction to globalism has turned the alloy of paradigms of ground and ideology into ideologue which must to resist the so-called "Modernist geopolitics" globalizations.

In this respect the author considers, that in a basis of methodology of the suggested Concept should consist of the system of paradigms including the root paradigm and the number of supplementary paradigms for formation of methodological toolkit of the Concept. It can be presented the formalized way in the table below which includes the author's version of new geopolitical construction

As a whole, now it is possible to say, that the suggested system of paradigms includes a paradigm of power expansionism, inherited from classical geopolitics, nonclassical paradigms of "Soft Power", "Indirect actions", and also paradigms of post-nonclassical geopolitics including information - network technologies of creation and subsequent management of sociopolitical chaos and entropy in the states as well as technologies of manipulation of people's consciousness and transformation of national, cultural and religious identity of nations in the struggle of actors of the world policy for establishment of domination (influence) in all modern kinds of geopolitical spaces with the purpose of capturing of natural, human and territorial resources of the states and their subsequent use.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Сеньшин Е.А. Эволюция геополитических парадигм в трансформирующемся мире. // Известия Уральского государственного университета. 2007. № 48. сс. 49–62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Gray C. Geopolitics of the Nuclear Era: Heartland, Rimland and the Technological revolution. N.Y., 1977. p. 5; Geopolitics of Superpower. N.Y. 1990. p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Бжезинский 3. Великая шахматная доска. М.: 1998. 368 с.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Дугин А.Г. Основы геополитики. Геополитическое будущее России. М.: 1999. с.171;

## Table.

## Two approaches to construction of geopolitical paradigms

Classical version*		Author's version	
Stages of geo- politics	Paradigms	Paradigms	"Waves" of geo- politics
Classi- cal	<b>Ground</b> (geographical determinism)	Force expansionism Long cycle of geopolitical processes of eminence – blossom – decline of the states and empires	The first wave - "Classical Geopoli- tics"
Revi- sionist	Ideologies (oppositions of two super states during the "Cold War")	Force opposition and ideological expansionism The accelerated acclivity of geopolitical processes under the strategy of «Soft Power" and "Indirect Actions" not excepting application of military force	The second wave – "Non-classical Geopolitics"
Mod- ernist	Geo-economics (globalization of the world under leadership of transnational corporations and the transbound- ary nongovern- mental political organizations)	All kinds of expansion- ism in all spheres of geopolitical space Application of info- network technologies of social chaos and entropy management in sociopolitical systems of the states	The third wave – "Post- Nonclas- sical Geopoli- tics"

<sup>\*</sup> Сеньшин Е.А. Эволюция геополитических парадигм в трансформирующемся мире. // Известия Уральского государственного университета. 2007. № 48. сс. 49–62.

#### Conclusion

In the modern world the vector of geopolitical aspirations of the states is shifting from military-geographical aspect to economic, financial and information spheres and lately to religious-cultural areas in the struggle of the world policy actors for influence and leadership on the international scene. Sociology became an important factor in geopolitics. This is exemplified by the phenomenon of "The Arabian spring" and its consequence – expansion of a radical Islam to the Middle East political space. It occurs on a background of struggle between political actors for leadership and influence with the use of political and information technologies. Nowadays military strategies give place to strategies of "Indirect Actions" and "Soft Power" hidden from public view with the veil of ideological myths and psychological technologies. Owing to huge potential destructions of modern weapons war became inadmissible luxury. Therefore primary importance in the world policy is assigned to the saving of valuable resources in the seized territories: natural, economic and human, which subsequently could be used by the winner. Globalization has shown that in modern society special value is represented within information, economic and financial spaces, domination in which provides access to resources of all countries by nonmilitary way, without use of force.

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