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PH.D. THESIS

-Summary-

“NEW RUSSIA” IN GLOBAL GEOPOLITICS

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Summary

The choice of the central theme of this research - "*New Russia in Global Geopolitics*" - is justified for at least two reasons. First, the subject is very topical in the context of contemporary international system transformation and redistribution of power between actors in the system, amid growing insecurity and multidimensional threats in the context of globalization. The relevance of the chosen theme is given by the political process transformation and institutional structure of politics in contemporary conditions of globalization.

Global trends amending the institutional borders contribute to the development of new accents that would change the world and civilizational characteristics. The geopolitical situation in the contemporary world causes intellectual circles, including most recognized personalities and reflection and research centers to develop new visions and strategic projections for the future of mankind.

Time Analysis provided is based on the principle of historicism in conjunction with the new realities and needs which implies treatment of processes and phenomena mythic their development, which are in a temporary and complementary relation, which is meant to assure the analytical approach of the research. A new geopolitical between the major world centers of civilization (Western, Islamic, Confucian, Orthodox) and the global geopolitical game is called to accede to the Eurasian space has been, where an important role, held in the twentieth century former Soviet Empire.

Some analysts claim a future civilization axes and alliances that will brake the current global geopolitical configuration; the recent US unipolar hegemony would be revised concept of global domination by regional political and economic blocs as America, Europe and Asia. Some blocks researchers insist on a balance of power in the world, in which the polarization issues impulses to a world in transformation, which will be based on "multi-polarity" distinct from that of XIXth century, when the world was dominated by five states. Other analysts talk about axes and civilization alliances: the building blocs must be viewed in terms of economic - political regional military alliances, regional economic cooperation organizations, and cultural communities.

Why Russia? Why global geopolitics? Undoubtedly, interest in Russia and global game is on the agenda of many institutions of global, regional and national impact. However the international factors, the variables influencing behaviors governments of Russia in the international system are very poorly analyzed. A laborious analysis, has been asked in which the study was focused on the characteristics of the Russian government; the on context in which the political system operates; the

internal life of actors and social groups that influence decision-making, national characteristics, area, regional, Russian state's ability to relate to contemporary world system. At the moment there is very little expertise on the Eurasian, Russian default factor, and most Romanian studies and analyzes are scarce and, sometimes, biased, as derived from historical proximity and less from impulses and developments expressed in geographic proximity. In this context, Western studies have to be analyzed, of various strategic centers which are designed to identify potential sources of confrontation, trends of resetting "damaged by viruses" relations, but also and geostrategic possible opportunities, and also to provide predictability in political and geopolitical developments.

Russia is claiming its share of the international system power and its penetration strategy of "*unipolar hegemony*" and imposing into international public space consciousness of the perception that the world must have a order "*multipolar*".

An approach and an analytical assessment of post-Soviet space, especially the Russian Federation should be compulsory. It would favor not only a cursory perception of Eurasian realities, but a proper clarification of relationships and interactions that occur, especially since the respective geospace also is scarcely explored in geopolitical and strategic studies from our country.

Undoubtedly, the Russian state is an uncertain source for an objective radiography of the tendencies, trends and expressions occurring in analytic communities and of analytical and geopolitical, geo-economic and geo-cultural interest from Romania.

What's new in nowadays in Russia as compared tho the old Russia and what is its global project? What has to say and what global has the offer Russian state? All these are questions we have tried to answer.

Geopolitics "is seen as a complex and multidisciplinary science and the opinions of the research regarding the axiological mission which it illustrates and determine in the scientific area. On one hand, are different seen as a narrow range of studies and applied research, which examines issues of spatial impact - the characteristics of geographic state, which it develops in domestic and foreign policy. And the conclusions and recommendations derived from actual results of research, according to this view, have a limited character. On the other hand, geopolitics is identified as a mega-theory, which integrates and includes all social sciences and explains not only processes in developing countries and their alliances, but also regional and global changes in the system of international relations. In the first approach, geopolitics is evaluated in the context of geographical parameters of the state which provides the political organization features; in the second approach, international relations are presented as a primary source of changes taking place in the from civilizations development processes.

Methodology of research is based largely on general methods of scientific knowledge, the provisions conceptual systems theory, functional analysis of structural elements, the institutionalism

and Political hermeneutics, advancing phenomenology conclusions, a critical evaluation of the cultural – civilizational idea and a the synergistic approach. In the context scenario analysis, modeling method, formal method of comparative analysis and content analysis, dialectical logic- have been approached.

The methodological basis of the research was based on of multifactorial model unit "*Strategic Matrix*" and on elements out of the theory of complications, unpredictable logic, graphs theory, are used methods and scenarios. Such methodology ensures the adoption of a single instrumental base for research on the history of states, but also to develop a prediction that relate to their development. Building "*strategic matrix*" and multifactorial analysis, comes from the assumption that the development of a state arises under the influence and of the landing of temporary factors, each of which exerts an influence on the state also on nature of the social system. These factors interrelate in one large group, which in turn, conditionally is represented as a single common factor and reflects the common influence, which develops in all temporary groups of the system. Although the impact of these factors is in permanent change, sometimes, in order that research results could be provided in a certain concrete period are used statistical significances obtained, raised or predicted in / for a concrete period of time are used and evaluated the scales, what criteria were developed and analyzed.

The pattern of strategic matrix represents the developing of multifactorial analysis of socio-political dynamics of the processes occurring in a nonlinear way. To development and perpetuation of the strategic matrix pattern signifiants contributions have been achieved by O'Tuathail, N. Kondratiev, Dodds, P. Sorokin, I. Prigojin, G. Haken, E. Lorentz, B. Mandelybrot and others. The paper is divided into ten chapters, plus introduction, final considerations, appendices and references.

The first chapter "*Geopolitics and Globalization*" is an overview of approaches to the relationship Geopolitics - Globalism, Geoculturel. The Russian academic culture excessively operated by the term – *globalistics*, the science of globalization, which is developing rapidly and operates which in the forefront of which appear fundamental issues related to the organization of the world and societies. However a great part of specialists consider that this feature belong to the research area of Global Geopolitics. Russian scientists are extremely skeptical about a science named *globalics* and that the role of globalistics would be a decisive one. Or, neither science itself, nor its area of scientific research is not well stated and expressed. N. Pokrovskiy, one of the leading theorists of the Russian school of globalization, shows globalization processes as belonging to a linear model; world system model; concept of global culture; theory of global society and global-local interaction ("*globalism*").

Geoeconomics and geostrategics, as principal components of global geopolitics, are to be regulated in terms of international law and geo-civilizations be considered as having quality players

in international relations and global regulators. Essentially, under the two orientations imposing new world order policy formation space-time civilization of the construction patterns and world civilization regulations occur constantly. Finally, as an instrument of philosophical reflection is the geopolitical history, geoeconomic and geostrategic trends of the global political and economic of centers - are expressed.

Lately a lot is spoken about geopolitics, globalization and the battle of civilizations, about how Russia would behave in the external world, how to rank its geopolitical vectors. As it known, geopolitics offers the possibility to evaluate the concrete situation of a state in the international community and on this basis to be designed and formulated foreign policy, taking into account the factual opportunities that can influence the formation of world order. The main difference between civilization and geopolitical scenarios is related to the objectives of "*state loneliness*".

The scenario from civilization comes from an ordered image, of a structured world according to which a certain super - system arises above as each and every state, which connects the states by a civilizational code which ideals and principles, to they subscribe and subordinate all nations and states, and thus forming the most stable and predictable multi-civilizational space. The chapter elucidates the axiological set of Global Geopolitics and the new patterns of geospatial rethinking. Global Geopolitics, which involves and includes integration processes, changes and resets from the contemporary world, is different from Classical Geopolitics.

Global Geopolitics is geared towards international regulation and regulatory world. For this reason international legal regulation of geoeconomics and geostrategy, and global geopolitics reference components, appears well – founded which in turn examines geocivilizations as actors in international relations and in global processes.

In the second chapter: "MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNANCE" - have been elucidated the problems of the Russian Federation government, political regime and form of government. In this respect, the formation of the political system of the Russian Federation after the collapse of the Soviet Union, has been revealed, the structure of government and its political administrative system has been described. Russia cannot be designated as federal state, in precise meaning, because principles organics of federalism and of unitarianism are conjugated. The management of unique administrative and state was exercised from top to bottom, from Moscow to the periphery it is characterized by a unification and the centralization rough, which practically the exclude any deviation, in the standard hierarchy and in power structures, the redistribution of powers and implementation a the programs of government. From this point of view the metropolis was omnipresent in all structures and at all levels of government: and union center – Moscow – according to the rules and statute - this center he reproduced republics, autonomy, district centres, local councils from communes and villages. In other words it is a unitary federation. On the other

hand we analyzed the Russian political elite and the visions of the main political parties in Russia in the legal system. Ideologies and political views of the main parties in the Russian Federation are presented in the annexes at the end of the research.

In the third chapter - GEOECONOMICAL OPTIONS we discuss the concept "*geo-economics*" in global processes. In the system of contemporary international relations geopolitical tensions clashes have been concentrated in the economic sphere. Supranational formations, some states and transnational corporations which interact deeply with each other, using a large arsenal of economic, political, technological, military approaches aimed at gaining, and preserving the most profitable sectors belonging to the world economy. A new era was inaugurated, that of geoeconomic confrontation, the laws of which do not result from classic economic concepts, based on access to resources and on extra of the competition economic freedoms. In most strategic areas of global markets such as the competition, does not exist, as the most powerful states evoking one discourse on that remain adherents of economic liberalism, in fact use their capabilities and capacities, in order to form favorable conditions and one context for competitiveness. In such a situation, those states that do not have science opportunities and the on participation in the economic game, relying on the strategy "*hidden hand of the market*" are doomed to failure. In 2003 was developed his geoeconomic strategy of the Russia's. In chapter are exposed and analyzed the main theories and the economy from Russian Federation's economy are exposed and analyzed and the main theoreticians of geoeconomic language and strategy are fairly presented. Forward, we refer to the update in Russia of the western concepts and to the perception of "*geoeconomics*" as an "*integrative strategy for national economic structures*", and the flux of resource "*geopolitical*" (not just financial) flows representing "a logic of conflict, which embodies the trade grammar", and eventually a "*strategy to ensure the optimal employment opportunities for the population*". Discussing the problems of geoeconomics and economic security in the context of globalization, most Russian experts refuse to identify the "geoeconomy" as having a global financial expression. Some economists, but also geoeconomists believe that the state aspiring to be one of the true leaders of the world economy (and of the world in general) must have economic sovereignty. The hypothesis formulated by geoeconomists is the following: the states most powerful economically stately, inevitably, will tend to exert their influence in much weaker states, here is to subordinate the administrative economic system. In practice geoeconomy not substitute geopolitics, but it and the supplementation and complements. Consequently, the Russian Federation of submitted its own geoeconomic strategy in based on the geoeconomy of resources energy, which is meant to assure it a primordial role in the process of global geoeconomy. In this way corporations become instruments of geoeconomie and are assisted by state, most of them being of the state. The role and place of the Russian corporations

in geo-economic global game is to ensure the state's , but also to influence the space considered "vital" in the immediate proximity. The support for Russian corporations in the energy projects of the CIS states and of the which represent the Şanghai Organization is an important issue of Russia's geoeconomic strategy. Building of a geoeconomic bloc and of a geopolitical of its own – the Eurasian Union – would repressed the alterglobalist project of the Russian Federation. A project which would compete with other global projects and are stated in the area of international public opinion

In the fourth chapter – Demography – we have referred to the peoples of Russia. We have planned inaugurate an imaginary ethno-cultural trip in the Russian Federation, let's do to decode ethno-cultural identity a the Russian multinational state. The Russian Federation was formed over several centuries as a multinational state in which a variety of languages, cultures and religions have been developed. Ethnic History, cultural and linguistic specificity, mental peculiarities of the peoples of Russia have based on the geoeconomy of energy resources, which is meant to assure it a primordial role in the process of global economy. Russian civic unity, to enriching the spiritual and socio-cultural potential of the Russian people.

Russia has a huge area, but also a rich history and culture, whose population forms an ethnic and the religious diversity. About 150 ethnic groups and world confession make up the Russian people. In the Russian Federation traditions and customs, languages and folklore are carefully preserved due to have built up, in the historical periods, and of peoples living together and existed the is peaceful interaction between different nationalities and religious beliefs, as well as state policy that is geared to supported the Russian cultural mosaic.

The Russian research has a long-standing tradition of the studying the history of the all peoples inhabiting Russia, the languages and the ethnogenesis, the systems and religious institutions, traditions and the material and spiritual culture. Since before the war, but also in the Soviet research, in the area the studying the entered the populations life and culture of various regions of Russia, including Siberia and Northern district.

Chapter five deals with the *geocultura* and geo-confessional structures of the Russian Federation. *Geocultura*, according to Im. Wallerstein, has become current and is itself a global and national development process.

“The possibility of the (economic) development of all countries came to be a universal faith, shared alike by conservatives, liberals, and Marxists. The formulas each put forward to achieve such development were fiercely debated, but the possibility itself was not. In this sense, the concept of development became a basic element of the geocultural underpinning of the world-system” (Wallerstein, I. (2001). *Unthinking Social Science: the Limits of Nineteenth-Century Paradigms*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press p. 162, Sec. II. // Immanuel Wallerstein, Our geo-cultural development or transformation?)

The remarkable political scientist believes that today, however, "culture" has become not only a means of remembrance, to which she is appealed and then she is ignored. She became a call to battle, the proclaimed aim it is to accuse.

What does "culture" represent when it is used as a call to battle? is Im. Wallerstein asking.

Geocultura develops on three beliefs: (a) the states that are part or in future will become the membership of the United Nations they are sovereign politically and that they have, to a great extent, the potential of some autonomous economies; (b) that each of these states has in fact one and only "culture" of national, authentic, or a one dominant; (C) each state can develop over time separately (in practice this would mean achieving a similar life - OECD).

Chapter 5 we disclose confessional maps, study of atlas in Russia, was decrypted and imaginary the geoconfessional, which gives us a representation of the character for positioning ethnic communities in spreading of religious borders and the axiom of the traditional religions of Russia, and stimulates the a knowledge of the mosaic ethno-cultural and religious from diversity of Russian society.

In Chapter 6 entitled "***Integrating Russia into the Asia Pacific Region***" we showed that in 2010 Russia announced a strategic vision for Asia Pacific and says "*New Eastern Policy of the his Vladimir Putin*". Russian President Vladimir Putin favors opening the geostrategic project - "*The Eurasian Union*". The two phenomena must be considered and evaluated in a complementary way. The key question that must be asked when looking at these two initiatives consists in, whether they represent a response to the rise of China in the Asia Pacific region, including the role of "hegemony" of China in the Shanghai Organization and construction a geopolitical paradigm own - "Eurasia" - which is distinct of the civilization communist Chinese and the India. In fact, Moscow has realized that the Shanghai organization represent a expansion border Chinese.

"The new economic space" from the Pacific Ocean far into Europe was evaluated in a different way, by the Russian geopolitical schools. XXIst century imperatives obliges that the Russian Federation should be regarded as a country with not only an European or Eurasian identity, which has the dimension the Euro Pacific. The mega tendencies of the last two decades has consisted in the change of the global development center that has positioned the Asia Pacific (RAP). RAP increasingly more becomes the engine of world civilization, the role of which in the last five centuries was exercised of Europe. This is related to the economic advancement of the region, but also had been to the accentuated crisis of the Euro-Atlantic idea of globalization. Asian countries claim the traditionalism and ethnic values, have in fact realized concept of a multipolar world order. It is in the Asia Pacific, region taking into account North America where most of the global production is achieved. In the region the most imposing economies are placed, including the biggest: American, Chinese and Japanese.

In the future there will be five world essential economies, and India and the Russian Federation join the three above. About half of the countries "Group - 20" are in Asia Pacific region: Australia, Canada, India, China, Indonesia, Japan, Russia, South Korea, USA, and Mexico. Russian Federation considers that it belongs to Asia Pacific countries, but it realizes this quality is a yet excessively weak way. The hardest obstacle to overcome is the general perception of Russians and Russian political and economic elite to Asia, which treats it as a secondary region of the world. "Asian" is understood as a curse word or mockery. In the Far East there is a consideration that is derived from this attitude towards the eastern regions of Russia considered as part of a the metropolitan periphery trivial but necessary, because it has raw material and is a politico-military foothold the foreign and enemy in Asia. In other countries of the region, Russia is perceived as a country in Asia-Pacific, as demography, economy and politics of the Russian state, is essentially oriented towards Europe. Vulnerabilities in Asia and the Far East require new projects and accents for the Far East of Russia. The draft of the constitution of a "new" city in the Far East is ready. Since the world is globalizing and since the world is globalizing and the regionalization processes are dominating, it is requested that analysis of global / regional development should be issued with regard to the Eurasian geopolitical space.

At the beginning of XXI century Russia's top management focused on increased encouragement of Russia in the Asia-Pacific. If the concept of foreign policy of Russia in 2000 indicated that a "greater significance in Russia's foreign policy is given to Asia" and that Russia should insist on active participation in integrationist major structures in the Asia-Pacific region, then in Russia's Concept of foreign policy from 2008 the significance of the Asia Pacific region is a priority in the context of multi-vector foreign policy of Russia in Asia, a region which is dynamically developing in the world the opportunities of which Russia should be interested and should benefit in order to achieve programs of economic consolidation of Siberia and of the Far East, encouraging cooperation in the sphere of combating terrorism, ensuring security and the establishment of dialogue between civilizations.

Unquestionably, Eurasia develops as a complicated system and forms new geopolitical construction inspired from the natural laws of planetary development. The Eurasian system consists of ten civilizations, which have their own characteristics of organization, which can indeed develop a complex and stable course revealed in new alliances, partnerships and political, economic and military.

Currently, the role of Chinese and Euro-Asian / Slavic civilization, but also that of the construction as the Shanghai Organization or the Eurasian Union in the geo-space of Eurasia are very much emphasized, considering the Eurasian geopolitical map.

In chapter 7 describes the new geopolitical concept "**new Eastern Europe**": between the

borders of cooperation and confrontation of the Russian Federation, the challenges it faces and the conceptual approaches and the tectonic actions in proximity and in the former Soviet space. The study provides an iconography of reminiscences from the "cold war". The clash of geopolitical borders (*isobaric pressure and fronts*), concerns about European and Russian ideals, institutions and disputed issues of European interest in terms of "*spheres of interest*" or "*spheres of influence*". The European Union and the Russian Federation are predestined to live together, including a post-imperial space by the European Neighborhood Policy by the or Russian policy perspective of "*nearby vicinity*". For the European Union and for the Russian Federation the new strategic lineup is characterized in terms of four structural inconsistencies: regional conflicts; poor governance in some states, characterized by a deficient management of institutions, affected by the scourge of chronic corruption; harmful use of power; the global crisis and continue heating the planet, considered as the main threats affecting the European territory; and for the European Union there is a dependence on external energy resources which in 2030 will reach 70%.

After the "liberal-democratic and anti-communist" revolution of the late 1980s-early 1990s Russia lost control over all its former satellites in Eastern Europe; more over, former Soviet republics became sovereign states. The processes in the years 1989-1991 were characterized by a substantial change in the European and Asian geopolitical map, "new frontier" and "new neighbors" appeared at the Russian borders, the largest country in the world decreased considerably and that there was an ideological collapse following the collapse of the communist axiological system. Instead, the EU has been developed increasingly, advancing eastwards, towards the borders of "strategic interest" and "natural interest" (as the former post-Soviet space is considered) of Russia. The collapse of the Soviet Union, the end of the bipolar world and the formation of a new topology in terms of international order and its structure forced the world powers to assess the place and role in the new geopolitics algorithm in civilization and political alliances and in the global competition. In nowadays, Russian Federation, after a multinational empire its crashed, ideological and geopolitical orientations are not identified or assumed, there is no geopolitical code. The threats that Russia would lose its status of a great power have brought into attention the issue of national identity, which has an overwhelming importance in terms of its statehood and its geopolitical borders. The witching Russian collective mind there are a multitude of designs and identity shapes: atypical and antagonist. The most well-known and haunted are to be found on the line of identity: "*Soviet - Russian*", "*West - East*", "*European - Asian*", "*Contemporary – Traditional*". The construction of geopolitical identity and the processes, derived from this construction represent a reference indicator in terms of the character and the vectors of integration processes of political subjects in the structure of political community, the sense of the development of the political process. Identity crisis occurs when there is a collapse of ideals and values that previously had

dominated political culture forcing citizens to follow other guidelines which would provide a place and role in society and their relations with the state. There is an obvious difference between the European construction which has been conceived horizontally, and the integrationist formulas of Russia within the post-Soviet space, focusing on the construction of vertical punitive policy and rules, and not at all on a value component, a forming community to embrace democratic values and prosperity. If the European Union emphasized the principle of decentralization and devolution of power and administration in Russia operates a vertical system of power. Therefore, Russia's integration into the European Union seems illusory. Russia has ceased to be the synonymous of Eurasia, but despite several Western analysts expectations, it has not become any part of Europe. It has not been abolished, but it has not at all been integrated into the Western community. Lacking an imperial spirit, Russian leaders call their country as being a "*great power*" and their opinions are shared by the majority of citizens, however, what could be the sense of this meaning in the XXI century? Russia's interests in neighboring states are real, but a zone of privileged interests in the region does not show more than a chimera. It created the CIS, which can be seen community so only by name it encourages "*Russian-speaking*" as "*Russian world*", but essentially post-imperial Russian program is unique because even if it ceased to be an empire, it remained as a great power. In principle, not very great. The multipolar world, at the building of which Moscow used to call in the late 1990s, became real, but Russia cannot be considered as a pole that exerts an overwhelming influence.

In the period 2003-2004, Brussels has launched the European Neighborhood Policy whose purpose is to avoid the occurrence of any "iron curtain", between the forming a of bloc and the countries situated at its geographical periphery, whether we mean the North African states, those of the Middle East, or the post-Soviet states. Later, in 2008, Sweden and Poland have proposed the establishment of the Eastern Partnership (EAP) derived of the European Neighbourhood Policy, and adopted by the European Council in 2009, an initiative that provides support to countries in Eastern Europe and accelerates possible the process of enlargement and European integration in the "post-Soviet" space of in East.

Russia has denounced the Eastern Partnership as a hostile initiative and contrary to its geopolitical interests. Russia, officially, consistently behaves as a state which considers its dominant position in the CIS its is really threatened. Russia has assumed for itself a postmodern neo-imperial vision which is expressed in President Vladimir Putin's dream project called "The Eurasian Union". For this reason Moscow sickly reacts to any action related to European geopolitical projects which could lessen the impact of the achievement of the Eurasia project trend reflected especially in the new Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation. In the same logic, we should note that the role that held by region of transportation of energy resources, its attractiveness, the economic

space, is gradually transforming the Black Sea in a region of geostrategic importance. The region becomes one of main challenges for global and regional powers: Russia, USA and EU. Each of the three geopolitical players have developed their own regional policy "*Near vicinity*" (Russia), "*Wider Black Sea Region*" (USA) and "*Eastern Partnership*" (EU, through the European Neighborhood Policy). In the Black Sea region there is a clash of interests of several geopolitical players (Russia, US, EU, Turkey). The contemporary geopolitical architecture of the Black Sea is represented by military presence of Russian Federation, a NATO pressure front, and by the energy geoeconomy which resets the main routes of transport communication of energy resources from the Caucasus and Asia to Europe. Russian interest for the Black Sea remains a primary concern. The Black Sea is an area studded of "*frozen conflicts*", established by the policy of "*survival*" of Russia as a continental scale power. Russian affront to the Euro-Atlantic wave impact has been materialized by maintaining the BSEC, Russian and separatist caucasian enclaves (South Ossetia and Abkhazia) under the Russian "*cap*". For now, the Black Sea is surrounded by Russian bases and there is a strong military maritime base in Crimea. In this context, the chapter describes the military games in the Black Sea, including the establishment of conflict zones in the post-Soviet space, especially in Ukraine.

Chapter 8 focuses on the Eurasian Union topic: Russian global project, or geoeconomic block? The first decade the of XXIst century modifies the geopolitical vectors of Russia. In 2010 Russia has announced a strategic vision for the Asia Pacific region and "the new Eastern policy of Vladimir Putin". Subsequently, Vladimir Putin favors opening geostrategic project – „The Eurasian Union”. We have approached the geo-economic bloc of Eurasian Union in conjunction with of the Russian aggression in Ukraine, implicitly the Crimea annexation and what are that interest of the war for testing the concept of multipolarity. We have shown and the meaning of the clash of two strategic cultures and geoeconomic blocs. This confrontation in Eurasia, especially between Russia and Britain, on the perimeter of the land borders from the proximity of the Grand Duchy of Moscow, had begun as far back as in the XVIst century, in the period when Ivan the Terrible and Elizabeth I were reigning. In the XIXth century the confrontation was known as the "Great Game". We approached the Russian identity as an "imperial" legacy and as a trauma post-imperial. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia lost its superpower status. It claimed its status as a regional power. And as a regional power it could not operate as it wanted: to the west the EU and the US; and to the South East it is bordered by a strong and booming how is it China. Today as overall expression, Russia relies on two strategic economic components and a military component. The Russian-Ukrainian conflict ushered in a quasi - "*cold war*", in term profound, in a interdependent and globalized world. The West, especially the Anglo-Saxon states, say that require

isolating Russia globally. Comments and political analyses assure that Russia is impossible to be isolated or "*dammed*", Russia however is not the Soviet Union and its economy depends heavily on the global economy. Russia develops primarily on three areas: US, European and South Asian. Russia is economically dependent on the energy component of oil and gas pipelines, which represents the main profit from global redistribution. We have also disclosed the historical origins and the logical reasons of the "*Novorossiya*" project and the context of operation "*Russian Spring*" in Ukraine.

The ninth chapter focuses on cyberspace and GEOPOLITICS OF VIRTUAL BORDER. In this chapter the issue of information revolution is studied which occurred in recent decades and imposed on the agenda of scientific arguments the geographical component of state, spatiality identity and location of geographic entities. In this context increased fears regarding "*the end of geopolitics*" have increased and the "*death of distance*" and even of geography has been alleged. The dictionary has been enriched with the term *cyberspace*. Hyper-mobilization of information, territoriality, geopolitics and contemporary society have required a rethinking of concepts and interactions on the agenda of states and of international and transnational actors. Member interests were declared as global and geopolitical space that has become global. Cyberspace is not subject to or governed by international law mechanisms. Terra was comprised by an unprecedented information revolution and, according to experts, it is both the locomotive of globalization, but also the nerve system, which along with the positive effects gave rise to new geopolitical challenges and threats. The chapter talks about the intelligence the fight for dominating the cyberspace intelligence and the effect upon the free world and the citizen. About what are the challenges in the field of intelligence internet of operations and the geopolitics of cyberspace. An imperative of contemporary society claims the cyberspace security at the level of global culture. Taking into account stormy development of Information and Communication Technologies, web-servers, including global social networks, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution on March, 17, 2010, entitled "*Building a Global Culture of Cyber-security and evaluation national of efforts in defense the of the most important information infrastructures*". Recognizing the contribution of Information and Communication Technologies in the field of social comprehension (a science has appeared, called "*inetology*") UN has also asked governments, business circles, organizations, owners and users of Information and Communication Technologies to assume responsibility in providing security and to adopt corresponding measures to strengthen them. A special place in the resolution is given to the importance of the Forum mandate to administer the Internet. On the other hand, we have analysed Russia's position in the global information society, its initiatives in cyberspace issues.

The tenth chapter the - Xth - we have assessed the implications of environmental policy from the perspective of the water problem in the Russian Federation, what is the water culture in

Russia and in its space of civilization, within the regional organizations it manages. Why water becomes a basic resource in the security policies of some countries and why Russia is about to become a country rich in water as a strategic resource.

THE FINAL CONCLUSIONS

The work concludes with final conclusions claiming that Russia, following the implosion of the USSR in the 1990s, has lost for a long time its opportunity to become a global superpower.

Another issue causing disputes in the epistemic groups is the one in which Russia would be forced to enter a new phase of growth based on new trends. Therefore, reflecting geo-economic groups believe that economic policy cannot longer be based on goals specific to third industrial age. In order to be a successful economic policy, it must, first, to remove most barriers, which were established over fifteen years and secondly, to be presented to the Russian Society a new economy. Only in such a way the economic development of the Russian Federation can be stimulated super-industrialized.

Globalization will inevitably occur and it will qualitatively transform the global system. Russia is actively participating in the project of transforming a new world, global, even if it is stating its states own theories, visions and scenarios. Russian Federation is activity in the project of global world is assumed and considered to be springing from its own historical development, from its geopolitical and geoeconomic role and place which it requests for itself in the world's decisional structure.

The political, ideological, but also conceptual character of the displaying of contemporary Russian identity, which generates a lot of problems in the international public opinion, claims a new civilization resource, "*eurasian*", sometimes integrative, other times messianic-imperial, which wants to impose a global model based on the development of a multipolar order, in which "*global civilizations*" would be the main actors of the system. If Russia will not suffer a disconnection from the globalism and global-scale processes, and will follow the principles and rules of international order in order to, become attractive, and not an international pariah, then it can become a catalyst and a bridge between Europe and Asia. As a result of its actions to build a multipolar order, a block of its own geo and Eurasian civilization, Russia was excommunicated from the "*Group of 8*" governments of most developed countries in terms of economic, technological and military. Russian Federation is sanctioned by the most developed countries in the world and by the international and regional organizations which form the global world.

Configuring globalizing world and the dominant powers of the world largely depend on access to resources and reserves, energy sources (oil, gas, water, etc.). Russia will be able to influence the processes of globalization, if you use natural resources not only for its purposes, but of countries that are deficient in them.

Relying on existing economic, scientific and industrial potential oriented towards modernization, Russia is able to provide its own defense capability and sovereignty through intelligible resources. Military pressure is an extreme form of non-economic coercion.

Russia must realize that after the implosion of the Soviet Union it is no longer the one and only player in the post-Soviet space. Although Russia examines the CIS as belonging to its own sphere of interest, Moscow more will be increasingly, more and more surprised to see that these countries are entering de facto within the sphere of interests of Europe, United States, Turkey, China.

In contemporary Russia there is a lack of geopolitical consensus at the level of contemporary society.

"Who are the Russians and what do they want? What is their home?" These questions refer not only to the cultural-civilizational aspect, but also to geopolitical relations. Answers to these questions will reveal whether the Russian society is able identify itself in the context of globalization, to assume a terminology of their own *"geopolitical identities"*, a *"geopolitical code"*, an integrative vision of *"geopolitical civilization"* - or to maintain its own *"neo-imperial"* axiological system and the perpetuation of its condition crypto-soviet and pan-slavic of the *"civilizing axis"*.
