

The Lebensraum – A Comparative Study Between Carl Haushofer and Alexander Dugin

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ABSTRACT

Abstract:

In this research, we will explore the theoretical framework of the concept of Lebensraum and how it has evolved over time through the contributions of many thinkers. We will also examine how the practical applications of the concept of Lebensraum have contributed to the negative and hostile attitudes towards it, to the extent of attacking the characters of its adherents or promoters and distorting their intentions. This negative attitude is based on a history of blood and wars that was clearly paved by (aggressive ideas) such as the concept of Lebensraum. It would be appropriate to put in the hands of readers the contributions of contemporary theorists whose intellectual output has contributed not only to enriching the theoretical research of the concept of Lebensraum, but also to its applications. Here, we will choose two of the greatest of these theorists: one who went to prison and then to suicide, leaving his country in the wake of division and the loss of World War II, namely General Carl Haushofer; and the other, who is still drawing the maps of the new Russia as desired by the strong Russian emperor Vladimir Putin. This is not only a comparative study of the ideas of the two men, nor of their role in shaping the dimensions of the political and military strategies of their countries. It is also a study that seeks to know the possibility of similarity in the historical outcomes of both experiences and their final trajectories..

Keywords:

I. INTRODUCTION

The idea of the (theory of) Lebensraum has occupied a large space in the thought and works of many thinkers, whether ancient (even before the appearance of the name itself and before it acquired a theoretical character) or contemporary, who have dedicated themselves to establishing this dangerous dimension in geopolitics, clarifying its purposes, applications, and the importance of those applications in the lives of states and societies, especially those that aspire to change their status, weight, and influence within the framework of their regional environment or to activate their international role later.

In fact, some of these thinkers have been existentially linked to the theory of Lebensraum, so that as soon as you hear his name, the theory of Lebensraum and the extent to which his ideas have influenced the formulation or drawing of the major strategies of this country or that comes to mind automatically, as is the case with the most famous geopolitical expert in Germany and the world, Professor General Carl Haushofer, who subjected his relationship with the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler to a purely subservient logic when he used his theoretical capabilities to put the ideas of his leader to draw the contours of the German renaissance after the defeat in World War I into practice through the gate of Lebensraum.

The same is also the case with the contemporary Russian geopolitical expert Alexander Dugin and his close ties with Russian President Vladimir Putin, where both of them seek to work (with the same subservient logic) to restore or revive historical Russia in the days of the tsars and restore its Lebensraum that serves it in reaching this goal, which represents for both of them a matter of existence and survival rather than just a national interest or a competitive context with others.

In fact, the theory of the Lebensraum is the beating heart of geopolitics and the central weight in its theories. What gave it this distinguished position are three main factors:

First: The reliance of the other theoretical foundations of geopolitics on the idea of the Lebensraum. Without the latter, there is no value for the idea of the organic being of the state, which depends on finding close ties between the state and the living organism. Therefore, just as a human grows and develops and its needs increase with the days and years, so the state follows the same evolutionary context that the human follows and becomes faced with the demand to search for a Lebensraum that suits its new needs. The same is true for the idea of self-sufficiency, which forms the third paragraph in the column of geopolitical theories. It becomes worthless if the appropriate Lebensraum is not available that achieves this self-sufficiency and works to sustain it.

Second: The geopolitical analysis in general and the analysis that stems from the inspiration of the idea of the Lebensraum in particular can be benefited from for military and political purposes. It helps political and military leaders make decisions about whether to use force or withdraw by withdrawing. This analysis also facilitates the estimation of the areas in which it is very likely that a collision of international interests will occur. In the light of geopolitical analysis, policies, plans, and approaches that involve the larger market or the grand strategy can also be prepared.

Third: The idea of the field has found and still finds its way to application at different times and occasions by many countries regardless of their strength and role in their region and the world as long as they believe in their right to search for a better place under the sun.

I do not believe that there are two people who disagree on the fact that some of these applications have radically changed the face of the world and caused fundamental changes in the global balance of power and in the shape of

the existing international system and the relations of power between its parties. The best evidence of this is the results that emerged from the living experience of Nazi Germany of the idea of the *Lebensraum* that ignited the fuse of World War II with all its consequences, as well as the living results of the Iraqi experience of the same idea in 1990 after the invasion of Kuwait in the same year and the international war that followed it, which was used as an ideal means to destroy a major regional power and to re-engineer the region in a new way on the one hand, and to announce the birth of the new world system led by the United States of America on an individual basis on the other hand. The new Russian experience of the idea of the *Lebensraum*, which is fueled by the ideas of Alexander Dugin, may be an entry point for new changes at the global level in the future, especially since this experience has entered a critical turning point in its course when the Russian Federation invaded the territories of the neighboring Republic of Ukraine in February of 2022 to confirm its hardline in establishing buffer zones surrounding the new empire and working as a suitable *Lebensraum* for it that provides it with security requirements as it provides it with growth requirements through added capabilities.

In this research, we will get to know the theoretical frameworks of the idea of the *Lebensraum* and how it has evolved over time through the contributions of many thinkers, and how the actual applications of the idea of the *Lebensraum* have contributed to feeding the negative and hostile attitudes towards it to the extent of attacking the persons of its adherents or promoters and distorting their purposes, relying on this negative attitude on a history full of blood and wars that was clearly paved for it (aggressive ideas) like the idea of the *Lebensraum*.

It would be quite appropriate to put in the hands of the readers the contributions of contemporary thinkers whose intellectual output has contributed not only to enriching the theoretical research of the idea of the *Lebensraum*, but also to its applications. And here we will choose two of the greatest of these thinkers, one of whom went with his experience to prison and then to suicide, leaving his country in the midst of division and the loss of World War II, which is General Karl Haushofer, and the second is still drawing maps of the new Russia with the mind of the strong Russian Tsar Vladimir Putin.

It is not a comparative study of the ideas of the two men alone, nor of their role in shaping the dimensions of the political and military strategies of their countries alone, but rather a study that seeks to know the possibility of the occurrence of similarity in the historical outcomes of both experiences and their final paths.

Hypothesis of the study: This study is based on a hypothesis that "the similarity in the theoretical foundations of the experiences of building power among states may lead to similarity in the results of these applications despite the temporal and spatial differences of these experiences."

Section One

Topic One

The concept of the living space is the fundamental basis

of geopolitics¹ and the axis of its other theoretical starting points. The living space can be defined as "a political theory that emerged in Germany that allows densely populated and advanced countries to occupy an additional area of land and invest its resources."² Meanwhile, the political dictionary states that the living space is "a political theory that originated with the Germans, and for this reason, this expression is often found in foreign references in its German term (*Lebensraum*). It refers to the regional area that is considered necessary for the survival of a densely populated state with a large economic and social activity, while its political borders, which are restricted by international agreements, narrow down the practice of this activity that is necessary for its survival."³

The theory of the *Lebensraum* emerged as a logical consequence of another idea or theory that was presented to it in geopolitics, namely the theory of the organic existence of the state (Organic Theory), which goes to the belief that there is a similarity between the state and the living organism in all circumstances and fluctuations of its life and needs. In fact, many of them have gone too far in this field and added new dimensions or levels to the characteristics of the organic state to demonstrate the idea of similarity between it and man.

In the same way and methodology, Ibn Khaldun compares the borders of the state to the skin of a human being. As far as Socrates is concerned, the state seems to be a large person standing on its own, and at the same time the individual seems to be a small state. Just as the individual needs additional opportunities and possibilities to achieve his goals, the state may need such conditions that its territory cannot meet with its known borders. It becomes necessary then to search for new borders or new lands that the state includes in its territory to be able to provide what it needs or to obtain natural advantages that enable it to defend itself against others⁴.

As a result, as a human being grows older, his skin expands and grows, and as a state grows older, its borders necessarily expand and grow. Ibn Khaldun gave the state a life span like that of a human being, with stages of development and growth that begin with birth or the emergence of the state, then pass through the natural chain of growth from childhood to youth, adulthood, followed by old age and then decrepitude, followed by collapse within a time period of no more than 175 to 225 years.

Ibn Khaldun goes even further by talking about the feelings and sensations of the state, which are similar to human emotions and sensations. This is expressed by the state's awareness of the circumstances of its people, and it works to meet their demands according to its own capabilities to satisfy those requirements. The state also has its own behavior, which is expressed by its internal and external policies, and it has its own personality and status, which is linked to its strengths and capabilities, just like humans, who are distinguished in these circumstances, and their status in society is distinguished accordingly⁵.

Karl Ritter expanded the scope of this organic being to become the Earth itself a living being, and the known continents form its essential parts. On the basis of the organic existence of the state or the Earth itself, it has a

heart and core for Halford Mackinder, Alfred Mahan, De Seversky, and Nicholas Spykman, and external limbs in the framework of the theoretical formulations they presented later, which are known among researchers as the theories of the heart of the Earth, the theory of naval power, the theory of air power, and the theory of the central framework⁶.

However, the thinker who had the greatest influence on Haushofer's beliefs about the Lebensraum was Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904), who believed in Darwin's ideas of biological evolution that were prevalent at the end of the 19th century. Ratzel formulated his analysis of state power in an evolutionary context, where he argues that the state cannot fix its political borders. For him, it is like a human being who grows and his clothes become too tight year after year, so he is forced to expand them. Likewise, the state will be forced to shift its political borders as its population grows and its ambitions increase. Therefore, the state should not rely on peace, but must believe in what he called the "fluid borders" that must be exceeded and penetrated whenever it is in the interest of expansion. These borders have been and will remain a source of conflict and war⁷.

In Ratzel's view, the process of expansion appears to be an inevitable fate that cannot be contested. The state is not bound by geographical constraints, and this process is not complete until a certain level of power is secured. For Ratzel, power is a motivating factor for growth.

In this regard, Ratzel writes:

"States are viewed throughout all stages of their development as organic beings that maintain their relationship with the soil of their land by necessity. For this reason, they must be studied from a geographical point of view... Therefore, states appear to be spatial phenomena directed by this place, and geography must describe, compare, and measure them. States enter into a chain of phenomena of the development of life to feed the highest peak of these phenomena." -Political Geography⁸.

The view of the state as an organic living being has led to a differentiation between states in terms of capabilities and abilities, according to their own capabilities in terms of wealth, population, location, and area, and the resulting position in the surrounding environment. This differentiation makes them in a state of continuous competition with each other to improve the conditions of their survival. In other words, the idea of survival of the fittest has been developed in a highly competitive environment.

For Karl Ritter, the state's withdrawal from thinking about the conditions of competition and survival represents an open invitation to suicide. This is the same idea that is believed in by all geopoliticians without exception, as is the case with Karl Haushofer, Friedrich Ratzel, and Rudolf Kjellén, who believed in the inevitability of finding a decent place for Germany in particular in a world or a globe that resembles train carriages where there is no place for the weak⁶.

It is normal that these ideas would lead to a firm doctrine of the need to obtain factors of strength and use them for survival, or what is known as the theory of power in international politics⁹.

Specifically, this is where the idea of the Lebensraum was born. It developed and took its theoretical framework from the contributions of German thinkers on the one hand, and

from the practical application of these frameworks by Germany during the Nazi regime, which led to the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

What has been presented clearly indicates that the Lebensraum theory, whether by name or not, was an idea and theory in practice before Germany, the Nazi Party, and the Munich School of Geopolitics, both inside and outside Europe. The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 cannot be understood except from the perspective of defining the Lebensraum for the United States of America outside its borders¹⁰. Napoleon's expansionist policies cannot be understood except from the same perspective. The same can be said about the strategies of the former Soviet Union during the Cold War. The conflict over land, resources, and interests, which was linked to commercial and industrial expansion in Europe and the West, necessitated the search for Lebensraum for European powers, but outside the borders of the continent for two main reasons¹¹:

A. Expansion in Europe meant wars and alliances that would burden the continent, its countries, and its peoples, and would erode the advantages of industrial progress and the accumulation of wealth that had revitalized the countries and peoples of the continent.

B. The borders in Europe had stabilized to some extent, and it was not possible to explore the possibilities of changing them through war to implement the Lebensraum theory.

However, this does not negate the fact that Germany also tried its luck in the field of searching for a suitable Lebensraum, but this time within a systematic framework in which German geographers contributed with great professionalism in drawing up its theoretical framework, especially during the days of Karl Haushofer and his Institute of Geopolitics in Munich, which enjoyed the support and sponsorship of the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler. It employed more than 5,000 researchers and geographers to carry out a comprehensive survey of the global geographical reality, leading to the harvesting of the fruits of this comprehensive research by defining Germany's options for the future and the Lebensraum it needs to compete with other powers¹².

Just as the ideas of Lebensraum preceded their German application, no one denies that there are later applications of them in different places and occasions. The United States of America, after its victory in the Cold War, redefined its Lebensraum on a global level to match its uniqueness in leading the new world order. Russia, after throwing off the legacy of the former Soviet Union, returned to adopt a vital logic that would restore to the new Russia its appropriate political and security spaces as a major power with its interests and safe borders that go beyond its natural borders.

If Russia is acting in light of this logic, then who is inspiring the Russian leadership with the theoretical frameworks or the founding ideas of the Russian Lebensraum and the safe borders of the Russian Federation under the rule of Vladimir Putin? Here, the evidence and events point to the person of the well-known Russian thinker Alexander Dugin, with his wide knowledge and broad horizons, the six languages he masters, his proximity to the Kremlin, and his ideas that are very close to the orientations of the Russian leadership, if not its theoretical basis.

Here, the purposes of this research are revealed in studying the ideas of Lebensraum at both men, meaning here Colonel Karl Haushofer and Dr. Alexander Dugin, and then studying the possibility that the latter followed in the footsteps of the former even in the end of his experience of Lebensraum based on the basic research hypothesis aimed at investigating the possibility of symmetry in the results based on the symmetry of the theoretical premises in both the German and Russian experiences.

We are not here seeking, implicitly or directly, to compare the Germans to the Russians or the Russian leadership to the German in any way, but only to study this particular part, which is represented in tracking the place of the idea of Lebensraum in the leading trends of the strategy of both countries in two completely different time periods.

The second topic: The concept of Lebensraum in Karl Haushofer

The concept of Lebensraum occupies a large space in Haushofer's¹³ theoretical studies to the extent that he considered Lebensraum as the "factor that controls the history of humanity." From his point of view, the process of expansion is towards new areas that are rich in natural resources and mineral wealth, which can be harnessed to build and increase the power of the state. For him, the issue of expansion and the search for the appropriate Lebensraum is like a choice between life and death when he emphasizes that "the state must expand or it will die." In this sense, Haushofer gives an important criterion for the need for expansion, which is associated with the concept of Lebensraum¹⁴.

In the German geopolitical thinker Karl Haushofer's conception, Lebensraum is elevated to the status of a "right". Therefore, he sees it as the duty of the state to defend the right to land, i.e. space. Land in this context does not refer to the state in international law or the status quo in the international system, but rather to land in the general sense associated with the "people". The land on which the Reich is based is not what is at issue here, but rather the land that refers to the people in the sense of the nation and culture in its broad sense¹⁵. From here, the concept of Lebensraum in Haushofer's thought underwent a transformation from its theoretical scientific field to its ideological character saturated with the propaganda slogans of the Nazi movement, until it became a condemned concept with implications that are no different from the content of colonialism and its motivations.

It is normal for Haushofer that expansion towards desirable Lebensraum will lead to friction and collision with the interests and security of other countries, thus causing conflict¹⁶.

Karl Haushofer was a strong believer in the inevitability of conflict between powers over optimal geography that provides them with more interests and security for the future. He expressed this by saying that "Geopolitics will, indeed must be, the geographical conscience of the state¹⁷."

However, the most important point in the ideas of Karl Haushofer is his declaration in the early 1920s that his "political geography" is a new science that differs from the geography of Friedrich Ratzel, and this science is "geopolitics." From this point on, the meanings of the term "geopolitics" in Haushofer's writings differed from the

meanings of Ratzelian political geography, as well as from the meanings of geopolitics as presented by Kjellén. In this way, the term "geopolitics" in Haushofer's writings was no longer simply a contraction of the words "geography" and "politics," but rather had new connotations that differed from the connotations of political geography, even though both titles cover a body of knowledge that deals with geography and politics at the same time¹⁸.

Despite the initial opposition of many of Haushofer's contemporaries to the idea of replacing the term "geopolitics" with "political geography," they quickly agreed to consider geopolitics a new science that benefits from and is based on many of the contents of political geography. With this great achievement, Haushofer set out to define the features of geopolitics for him, which are represented in the following aspects¹⁹:

1. The popular character of geopolitics, as opposed to the elitist character of political geography, in order to deepen the awareness of the masses of their (earthly) identity, that is, to deepen their awareness of the land to which they belong and which at the same time constitutes their national identity.

2. The democratic principles on which the science of geopolitics is based, because it forms a guide for the people to know their earthly identity and aspires to be a guide for the authority as well, but it is the authority expressing the will of this people.

3. Political geography uses historical knowledge as a lesson to be learned in order to know the best conditions for the nation-state, while geopolitics uses this knowledge to clarify the historical rights of the state in the lands to which it belongs.

4. Geopolitics is a tool for the defeated to confront historical injustice and geographical injustice, while political geography is a tool for the victors in working on the lands of others. As if Haushofer here describes the situation of Germany after World War I and its need to confront the intransigence and brutality of the forces that defeated Germany in the war²⁰.

**Hossbach, based on his own concept of geopolitics and his frustrated feelings, called on the German Reich to take on its historical mission of uniting the German-speaking peoples under its banner. He also called on Germany, after regaining its position, to reorganize European geography for itself and for its sake, and to hold the reins of the small states within it. It also needs to develop its Lebensraum in order to empty the excess population and draw from it the primary resources, and it needs to acquire geographical areas befitting the status of its people in order to succeed in establishing a system of self-sufficiency²¹.

Hossbach gave an example of theoretical discipline when he represented the spearhead in the efforts of German geopoliticians to draw the contours of the German Lebensraum and to identify the areas that the German state hoped to invade. If this idea had initially been limited to demanding expansion towards the German-speaking areas or those where the Aryan race (the areas that nature has loved for Germany) is present, it had grown considerably later to reach the extent of dividing the world into three regional areas, each of which has a high degree of self-sufficiency due to its vast area, diverse climates, and

resources. This three-tier regional division included having one of the major powers at the head of each of these regions, including Germany, of course, as follows²²:

a. The American region is the most prominent of the three sections due to its separation from the other two sections by vast oceans. The United States is supposed to be in control in this section. Geopoliticians highly appreciated the Monroe Doctrine and considered it a step in the direction of regionalism, and they were impressed by the ability of the United States to keep this principle in force for a century. However, these geopoliticians, from the point of view of Edward Mead Earle, overlooked the fact that this communication in the Monroe Doctrine is based on the idea of cooperation between the inhabitants of all the countries of this region called the New World by its two continents, and not on the basis of annexation and invasion in the style of the German geopoliticians.

b. The Asian region, which consists of East Asia, Australia, and the islands in between, and the sovereignty in this region was left to Japan. The Japanese call this region the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." German geopoliticians believed that both the American and Asian regions would remain so for a temporary period until Germany completed control of its regional area, and with time Germany would swallow up these two regions in its future expansion.

c. The German region or area consisting of Europe and Africa. It is noted that this region does not include only the small European countries, but also includes the two large countries of Italy and France. German geopoliticians estimated that the troubles facing the project of establishing this region would come from two main sources, namely the British Isles and the vast lands occupied by the former Soviet Union. Therefore, these people proposed the idea of a fourth regional area led by the Soviet Union and including all the lands to the south of it up to the shores of the Arabian Sea and then India. In a modification to the course of this region, which lacks tropical areas, which deprives it of the advantages of diversity, it has been proposed to annex the Soviet Union to the German region and to annex India to the region controlled by Japan.

The theoretical assumptions of the concept of Lebensraum and the geopolitics determinism did not remain confined to the minds of German theorists, led by General Karl Haushofer, but found their way to practical application under the leadership of Nazi leader Adolf Hitler, who set out his basic convictions in three demands²³:

The borders of a state are made by humans and their replacement is done by humans. The current borders of Germany are only the result of a long struggle that has not yet ended.

The living space that we lack today we will not be able to obtain except by force, it is our only means.

What is required is to acquire European lands to expand the homeland.

Adolf Hitler gave the concept of Lebensraum a meaning that implies the same ideological view that Haushofer had theorized, which believes in the superiority of the German nation over other nations, and the rights and duties that follow from this, and called for the mobilization of public opinion and the people to walk the path of salvation from

the life of limited resources to new lands. In the current situation of Germany, either the danger of extinction from this land is represented or the German nation or nationality ends up as a nation of slaves²⁴.

Thus, the union of theory and practice came to be when Haushofer went from being just a university professor, a former major general in the German army, or simply a former cellmate to an inspiration for his leader Adolf Hitler and the key to shaping his political and strategic steps throughout his reign. The fruit of this union was a world war that lasted six years before it ended with the defeat of Germany by the Allies and its division after the war between the Soviet Union and the United States and its allies. It also led to the imprisonment of the theoretical framework for the idea of the Lebensraum, Karl Haushofer, for life and then his suicide a year later in prison, bringing to an end with him and with Nazi Germany one of the clearest and most violent applications of the Lebensraum on a global scale.

In this regard, the French thinker Yves Lacoste says that "geopolitical theory has occupied an important place in Nazi thinking and expansionist tendencies since 1930, which has tarnished the reputation of the idea of the Lebensraum and geopolitics in general. The geopolitical research in the topics of power and authority may be the reason behind linking them to Nazi expansionism, especially since the French school deliberately sought to find such links between the two sides²⁵."

Third Topic: The Idea of Lebensraum in Alexander Dugin's Thought²⁶

Following in the footsteps of the pioneers of geopolitical thought, specifically Karl Haushofer, the Russian thinker Alexander Dugin has greatly magnified the importance of specialized studies in political geography. He has called on everyone to study the hypotheses of this science, to deduce the movement of history that human societies have experienced in the past, to analyze the reality we live in in a scientific and practical way at the same time, and then to read the global process in a way that is as close to reality as possible. He has emphasized this fact in his famous work (Post-Modern Geopolitics) by saying²⁷, "I advise everyone only one thing today, and that is to study political geography." This reminds us of the famous advice of the German geopolitical school, which says, "The man on the street should think politically, while the statesman must think geopolitically." In other words, Dugin and the German school draw from a single source, the source of political geography with the logic of Ratzel (elitist) as well as geopolitics with the logic of Haushofer (populist), and they are driven by perceptions about themselves and others around them that are closest to inevitabilities that cannot be divided into two.

Alexander Dugin's calls and ideas came at a difficult time for the new Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. This may have been similar to the conditions and circumstances that Germany was suffering from after World War I, and in a psychological situation that leads to feelings of humiliation and shame in the face of the West, which was still then intoxicated with its victory over the Soviet rival and its socialist camp, and the end of its existence, and the elimination of its dreams and spheres of influence.

In the context of the deterioration of the state of

preserving Russian national interests, geopolitical ideas have found their rightful place. They have merged with the political discourse and have become a vital trend in Russian strategic thinking, especially in the context of attempts to contain weakness in its Eurasian space. As a result, geography has become a Russian obsession since the beginning of the 21st century²⁸.

Just as Karl Haushofer was an example of strict geopolitical discipline in his time, which drew inspiration from the interests of the German nation and worked to restore its unity and interests in its *Lebensraum*, so is the case with Alexander Dugin, who has made it his main concern to raise awareness among the masses of the importance of studying geopolitics so that they can then understand the next steps of the Russian nation towards restoring its glory and the position it deserves in its Eurasian environment, which is an ideal gateway to its global position.

It is possible that Dugin, in his way to market his ideas, may have copied the premises of Karl Haushofer in the tripolar division of the world when he emphasized the need to reshape the Russian Empire through three axes²⁹:

1. The Moscow-Berlin axis, which represents the Western axis of the desired empire, and Central Europe plays the role of the bridge linking Russia and Germany. Dugin agrees here with Mackinder and the German general Karl Haushofer regarding the alliance between Russia and Germany, which produces control over Eurasia. In this axis, the continental orientations of France must be supported to integrate it with the Eurasian project. As for Britain, it is the victim of this axis, and it should be targeted through supporting the separatist movements in Ireland and Scotland, because ending Britain necessarily means ending the most important Atlantic base in Europe. Here too, the idea of targeting Britain by the Eurasian alliance is repeated by Dugin, just as it is with Haushofer.

2. The Moscow-Tokyo axis, where there are more than one power in this axis, and Japan represents the first power, followed by China, which resembles the position of France in the European axis. This axis allows for mutual interests between Russia and Japan, because the latter suffers from the problem of the lack of natural resources (which are available in Russia), meaning that everything Japan needs is available in Russia and everything Russia lacks is available in Japan, which creates mutual interests between the two countries. China is a continental country, but most of its orientations have been Atlantic, so Dugin calls for pressure on China to join the Eurasian axis. As for India, its importance in this axis lies in its geopolitical location on the edges of the Eurasian continent.

3. The Moscow-Tehran axis, which is the most important axis for Russia among the three axes, because it achieves the goal of breaking the Atlantic strategic stranglehold around it and enables Russia to access warm waters. In the matter of choosing Iran, it is the most suitable according to Dugin's vision, as it is compatible with the continental Eurasian orientations from the political, social, and cultural aspects, so it is an important ally for Russia.

It seems that Dr. Dugin's theses have found their way to practical implementation through the emerging alliance between Russia, China, and Iran, which targets, through its

political, economic, and military mechanisms, to change the current power and balance equations and undermine the unilateral hegemony of the United States of America over the international system.

In an attempt by Alexander Dugin to put his ideas and intellectual theses about the New Eurasianism into practical application, he followed a gradual and progressive path that was represented in the following three steps³⁰:

The first step was the establishment of the Eurasian Movement in April 2001. The movement included prominent figures in the Russian cultural elite and from the three religions of Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. As soon as the movement was announced, its first statement confirmed its full support for the orientations and policies of Russian President Vladimir Putin.

The second step was his participation with a number of Russian figures in the establishment of the Eurasian Party, thus obtaining the Eurasianism its first political party that seeks to implement its ideological vision. Alexander Dugin was elected as the leader of the new party.

The third step, which Dugin considers to be the most important practical step, was the transformation of the Eurasian Movement into an international movement in November 2003. This movement quickly received the recognition of the Russian government in December of the same year.

The intensive preoccupation of Alexander Dugin with the Eurasian theory carries within it a project that is larger than the borders of Russia and even Eurasia itself, a project that is linked to the Russian vision to restore the international (multipolar) character of the international system instead of the global (unipolar) character that the United States has imposed on others since the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s. This vision undoubtedly needs a theoretical basis and ideological foundation to match the desired goal, which is to change the existing form of the international system. Eurasia was the intellectual and ideological lever of this global project. Professor Amal Zarnir perfectly expressed this close link between the idea of Eurasia and the demand for change in the international system by saying: "The sharp criticism that capitalism (in its neoliberal version) as well as globalization and unipolarity policies have revealed the urgent need to produce a theoretical alternative that has the power to generalize. It seems that this is what the Russian thinker and philosopher Alexander Dugin is trying to put forward in his (Fourth Political Theory) as a philosophical formulation and geopolitical vision that will not be embodied in reality except through the embodiment of the new Eurasianism, which represents the most influential geopolitical philosophies in the contemporary Russian decision-maker³¹."

Based on the above, it seems that Eurasianism is here an expression of an approach rooted in the thought of the Russian nationalist right, to which Russian President Vladimir Putin himself belongs and also leads from his position. This right-wing current believes in the greatness of Russia as a civilization in its own right and is not necessarily part of European or Eurasian civilization, as other intellectual currents in Russia with an Eurasian orientation believe, although this realistic current sees Eurasia as a space in which the economic and geopolitical interests of the

Russian Federation are complemented. This means that both the traditional Eurasian trend and the nationalist current find in Eurasia a Lebensraum for Russia that is indispensable for consolidating its role as a leading civilization, despite the different driving forces of each team. This may be the reason for the coupling between the political orientations of the administration of Russian President Vladimir Putin and the theoretical starting points of Alexander Dugin³².

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What further strengthened this coupling is that Dugin also does not share the view of the traditional Eurasian current in considering Russia as part of the Eurasian civilization, but he supports the thinking of the extreme right in his calls for Russian domination over Eurasia. According to Dugin, the "Atlantic system" is a homogeneous force that works to weaken national and cultural diversity, which represents a fundamental value for Eurasia. And because Eurasia suffers from a "severe ethnic, biological, and spiritual crisis," the solution could be led by Russia for Eurasia to be subject to a "cultural-ethnic organic process" led by Russia to ensure the preservation of Eurasian states and their cultural traditions.

From here, the West came to see both men as complementary to each other and that Alexander Dugin is Putin's mind and strategic conscience, and for this reason the man and then his daughter were subsequently subjected to the sanctions system imposed by the United States and its allies on Russia due to its military campaign in Ukraine³³. As they consider him one of the theorists of this invasion and its instigator as well, when he called in his most famous works, such as "The Revenge of Eurasian Russia," "The Salvation from the West - Eurasianism - Land Civilizations versus Marine and Atlantic Civilizations," and "The Geopolitical Future of Russia," he called for the annexation of Ukraine to Russia and the establishment of a great Russian empire in the Eurasian space³⁴.

Thus, Dugin's great mission is revealed from behind his studies and contributions in the Lebensraum, represented in three basic functions:

Transferring the idea from the elite's office to the public space as a trend with its supportive public base.

Meeting the need of Russian nationalists for a high level of theorizing for their Eurasian vision.

Providing the ideological cover for the vision of the Russian political elite, headed by President Vladimir Putin,

to change the shape of the existing international system.

Dugin may have come close to the point of sticking to the thought and orientations of General Karl Haushofer, and perhaps even to the way he put his visions into practice through his proximity to the circles of Russian political decision-making, as Haushofer was close to the leaders of Germany under Hitler. This is what we will try to bring closer to the readers in the coming pages.

Section 2 – Points of Agreement Between Karl Haushofer and Alexander Dugin – Beginnings and Endings – Request 1" What Do Haushofer and Dugin Have in Common? It is really beautiful to diagnose the points of similarity between the two men, especially since they represent the spearhead of the intellectual trends in their countries, just as they embodied with their ideas the specificity of an important stage in the history of both countries to the extent that followers can easily understand the nature of the political orientations external to Germany and the Russian Federation by reading the men's intellectual files. However, I want to emphasize an important fact, which is that I do not intend or intend at all to compare Alexander Dugin to Karl Haushofer in order to deliberately find similar links and similarities between Nazi Germany before and the Russian Federation today, this is not my goal at all, but as a researcher interested in studying geopolitics and its theories and applications, I am attracted to the work of finding links of convergence and similarity between the intellectual starting points and theoretical contributions of the symbols of this science, regardless of their identities, on the one hand, and knowing the extent to which these contributions have left in shaping the political behavior of the governments of their countries, on the other hand. To prove the validity of what I mentioned above, I do not find any shame in making a similar comparison in the future between the ideas of Haushofer himself and Henry Kissinger, as he is also fond of drawing the dividing lines between areas of influence, defining the paths of American domination over the world, and neutralizing opponents in areas of potential confrontation. Because what matters to me is to follow the ideas and theoretical contributions and to establish links between them more than passing judgments on others.

Based on the foregoing, we can identify the following similarities between Carl Haushofer and Alexander Dugin:

1. Both thinkers were well-rounded in their knowledge and educational attainment. Haushofer, a German general (with the rank of lieutenant general), a distinguished university professor, and the dean of the Munich Institute of Geopolitics at its founding, held advanced degrees in law and history but not a single degree in geography. Similarly, Alexander Dugin, a Russian doctor with two doctorates, one in sociology and the other in political science, who speaks six languages other than Russian, also did not hold a degree in geography³⁵.

2. Both were obsessed with the idea of the inevitable fateful relationship between the state and its geographical space, or what can be called geographical determinism. For them, this is a matter of life or death for states. Haushofer said, "Geopolitics is a theory that deals with the inevitability of the geographical sphere controlling the overall political process as a whole. It is a theory based on the facts of great geography, especially political geography³⁶." Similarly,

Dugin describes Russia's geographical position in its environment as being akin to "geographical revenge" because it does not enjoy natural barriers or obstacles, making it strategically insecure. Additionally, it is surrounded by a large number of countries, which gives others the opportunity to surround it, as the United States is doing at present. In addition, it faces a dilemma that has not changed throughout history, namely the difficulty of accessing warm waters. All of these geographical dilemmas have shaped Dugin's Eurasian consciousness and led him to believe that there is no salvation except through the Eurasian project, which would allow Russia to lead a large alliance that would allow it to stand up to the West or to engage in a large system led by the West itself³⁷.

**3. Both men carried a rebellious tendency against the elitist nature of political geography, in the sense of being a field of theoretical research and intellectual luxury for big names in the field of geography and political geography. They tried to give the populist character to the newborn called geopolitics to ensure the realization of the great benefit from the generalization of geographical knowledge among the public, which is its involvement in supporting the ambitions of the political elites that express the will of the people and the nation. Haushofer was an advisor to the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler and a theorist of his historical campaign in raising awareness among the German people of their rights and entitlements in Europe and the world. Similarly, Dugin believes that Russian President Vladimir Putin is the hope of Russian nationalists in the Eurasian project that will restore Russia's global position.

**4. Both of them infused their geopolitical ideas with a purely nationalistic character, to the extent that geographical knowledge was linked to the national interests of the nation. They made geopolitics a national work program that the political elites in both countries must qualify to become the conscience of the nation expressing its aspirations and hopes.

**5. Both men felt a deep sense of frustration with the state of their countries as a result of the major changes that have taken place in the international environment. Consequently, their intellectual proposals represented a direct response to the state of great injustice that has befallen the interests of both countries in their immediate regional environment on the one hand, as well as in their international position on the other hand³⁸.

**6. It seems that the idea of Eurasia has brought together both Haushofer and Dugin, as both of them have emphasized the need for an alliance between Russia and Germany. This alliance targets Britain in the first place, as long as it represents the cornerstone of the Western alliance in Europe³⁹.

**7. It is not hidden from anyone those links and ties that have brought together both thinkers to the highest echelons of political decision-making in Germany and Russia. Lieutenant General Haushofer was the ideological backer, if we can call it that, of his leader Adolf Hitler. From his position as his advisor and head of the Geopolitics Institute in Munich, he provided him with the intellectual justifications for his campaign to tip the balance of power in Europe. The same is the case for Dugin, who is considered by many to be the main engine of the ideas of the return of

Russia to the traditional spheres of influence of the Russian Empire, which was the reason behind the Russian military campaigns against Georgia in 2008, the annexation of the Crimean Peninsula in 2014, and Kazakhstan in 2022, a month before the Russian war on Ukraine in February of the same year.

The following is a clear picture of the links between the ideas and calls of the two prominent thinkers in modern geopolitics. On the one hand, this is at the level of their interest in developing the theoretical foundations of this science. On the other hand, it is at the level of the generalizations that each of them made and their role in formulating the military doctrine of their country.

If the inputs or links that we found between the ideas and applications of the two men have converged to the point of symmetry, can we extrapolate the same outputs or endings for the German and Russian experiences, while recognizing the difference in time, people, and circumstances that surrounded each of them?

The second requirement is "The final outcomes of the experience of the practical application of the theory of the *Lebensraum* in the case of Haushofer and Dugin."

The end of the German experience during the Nazi era, and with it the end of its ideological leader, Major Karl Haushofer, may seem truly tragic and can be a poignant lesson for those who follow it when the circumstances, international conditions, and existing balances do not allow for change in the desired way.

After its defeat in World War II, Germany was no longer a single country. It was divided between the Allies, with its eastern part becoming the share of the former Soviet Union, with its capital Berlin on October 7, 1947, and an area of 108,875 square kilometers under the name of the German Democratic Republic, with a communist regime that is part of the Warsaw Pact, which it joined in 1956.

While its western part became the share of the Western bloc on May 23, 1949, with its capital Bonn and an area of about 95,976 square miles. The division continued until the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the collapse of its socialist bloc, and the two parts of Germany were reunited on October 3, 1990.

The division was not just a geographical space that was divided between several countries, but rather a people that was divided, a nation that was evaporating, families that were distributed across the borders separating the new entities, and societies whose political, cultural, economic, and social convictions were being reformulated to conform to their new reality. This is the harshest thing that a country can experience in history, especially when it comes to a country and a nation that believed in its superiority over other countries and nations, like Germany during the Nazi era.

The end of Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Karl Haushofer was no better than the end of Germany itself. He was arrested by American forces after the fall of Berlin and referred to the Nuremberg trials. He was subjected to a long and intensive interrogation by American geopolitician and Jesuit priest Father Edmund Walsh, founder of the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. Walsh had been following Haushofer's ideas for more than twenty years, and this scrutiny seems to have aroused much resentment in

Walsh, who objected to the International Court's decision not to execute Haushofer, demanding that it impose the maximum penalty on him for his great crime of being behind all the ideas of aggression and glorification of power adopted by the Nazi Party and its leader, Adolf Hitler. However, Haushofer decided to commit suicide in his prison cell, as did his wife in 194640.

**Thus, the final scene of the tragedy of the division of the nation and the suicide of its great theorist in prison is embodied, bringing to a close a bitter chapter in the pages of the call for the Lebensraum that Germany must obtain, whether peacefully through the use of political influence or by armed force to subjugate the required areas to the domination of the German nation.

**The combination of Haushofer's ideas with Nazi policies, in the eyes of many, is what ignited the fuse of World War II and pushed the West across the Atlantic to unite in order to defeat the German expansion project aimed at changing the rules of the balance in Europe and the world in favor of the German nation. In other words, the geopolitical obsession that took over the mind and conscience of Karl Haushofer and tried to transfer it to the German nation as part of its new collective conscience is what opened the appetite of the German political elite (already frustrated) to break the ring of isolation and harsh sanctions imposed by the post-World War I settlements on Germany and impose new facts on the ground based on geopolitical realities outlined by Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Karl Haushofer and his ideas on the Lebensraum.

**On the other hand, it seems that the Russian Federation, which is taken with the ideas of Dugin and contemporary Russian nationalists, is on a very difficult and thorny path. It is between two choices, the lesser of two evils: either to continue to achieve its project aimed at redefining itself as a great power, benefiting from its status as a high-level nuclear power and from the rise of Russian President Vladimir Putin, who has succeeded in convincing everyone in Russia and even in its near and far surroundings of his ability to carry out this historical mission, or to succumb to the American veto on Russia's return to the field of competition with it and accept the position of partner to European civilization⁴¹.

**It seems that the choice of President Putin and the Russian political and nationalist elite was to continue the project of building a Russia capable of achieving parity again with the United States and the West through the restoration of its role in Eurasia first. This may be the reason why some people point out that President Putin and his elite are following a style that is closer to that of the former Soviet Union, which is based on showing a kind of hostile independence and seeking special spheres of influence⁴².

**As we have mentioned in the previous pages, the choice of a strong Russia with the Lebensraum it wants needed a strong ideological lever to be generalized as a new image of the Russian people's consciousness of its national interest. These trends found their target in the thinker and university professor Alexander Dugin, whose works on Russian geopolitics and Eurasian ambitions have gained widespread fame to the extent that he has been accused of being behind the new Russian expansionist policies, especially the war on Ukraine, which Dugin and even his

daughter Daria, who was killed in a car bomb attack on a highway in Moscow, did not hide their support for.

The West, led by the United States, did not hesitate to prove these ties between Dugin and the Russian orientations, subjecting him and his daughter to the international sanctions regime imposed on the Russian Federation in a progressive manner since the beginning of the war on Ukraine in February 2022⁴³.

It is observed that the continuation of the Russian war on Ukraine and the increasing involvement of the West in this war through providing more military and financial assistance to Ukraine and continuing to impose more sanctions on the Russian Federation are all signs that this war is turning into a comprehensive confrontation between Russia and the West. This is what the Russian leadership has expressed on several occasions, warning that the specter of World War III is closer than ever as long as the West is determined to defeat Russia's will and humiliate it by invading its security zones and directly threatening it⁴⁴.

Until this moment, no one can predict or assert what the outcome of this war will be, how it can end, or how it can ultimately lead to an outbreak of a confrontation between the major powers in this world. This is a matter that is terrifying even to think about. However, what matters to us here is that our thinker, Alexander Dugin, has become (willingly or unwillingly) part of this confrontation. In fact, some consider him to be the architect of President Putin's steps and his foreign wars.

Dugin and his family may have entered the door of the Western sanctions regime on Russia, and then his daughter was targeted and killed in the accident that many consider to be an attempt on her father's life himself, had he not been late for his car ride due to his preoccupation with some of his friends. He left his daughter Daria to take it alone, and then the car exploded under the influence of more than 400 kilograms of explosives planted inside it, according to Russian sources.

Thus, the fates of the two men have been similar, starting with their involvement in projects to build power in both countries and their transformation into direct officials responsible for the disasters of external political planning, even in the tragic endings of both of them and their families. It is worth noting that there are other chapters that have not yet been written in Dr. Dugin's career, and the future may have its last word in them.

Conclusion

I am fully convinced that geopolitics in general, and the idea of the Lebensraum in particular, represent a dream that tickles the fantasies of nationalists everywhere in this world, especially when the right-wing political elites sense the gravity of the threat facing the national existence of the nation or the danger of shrinking from the civilizational role of it in the face of others. In other words, geopolitics and the idea of the Lebensraum represent a state similar to the herb of immortality in the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh, which guarantees life without death to whoever obtains it. Thus, the Lebensraum is a recipe for survival, a way to overcome weakness, and a guide to building strength. The most dangerous thing about this topic is to realize the role played by the circumstances of feeling humiliation, humiliation,

and loss of role in creating the right conditions for the birth of such ideas, and I mean here specifically the ideas of the Lebensraum that do not only provide opportunities to rise again from under the rubble, but also opportunities for revenge from all opponents who contributed to the circumstances of humiliation and humiliation.

If we follow both the intellectual experiences of Haushofer and Dugin and their practical applications, we would find that they sprang from the womb of the unfortunate feeling of weakness and the desire to challenge and change even if it required the use of force that puts everyone in one basket in the face of danger. In this regard, President Vladimir Putin and Dr. Dugin repeat a very disturbing sentence to the effect that this world seems tasteless without Russia, so there is no need for it to exist if it is not in the place it deserves.

What is truly surprising is the state of deliberate neglect, especially on the part of the United States and the West, of the lessons learned from both the experiences that were the focus of this research. Perhaps the first and most important of these lessons is to prevent the creation of psychological and political conditions that allow the repetition of these destructive experiences on other occasions and in other regions of the world. The high pressure on the soft flank of the national existence of nations, dealing with the national ambitions and historical rights of states and peoples with clear indifference, provoking their own kingdoms in challenge and rebellion, and marginalizing their roles in their regional and international environment are truly exemplary conditions for the emergence of thinkers and leaders who carry completely opposite ideas and believe in the ability to rewrite history again, so we will be facing a new cycle of blood at the global level.

References

1. Rudolf Kjellén, who is credited with coining the term "geopolitics" in 1899, provides a brief definition of the field, emphasizing that it is "the theory of the state as a geographic entity or a phenomenon that occupies a space on Earth." Therefore, its study represents the political application of geography or the geographic application of politics.

The Munich School defined geopolitics in 1938 as "the relationship between land and political processes. It is a science that is based on a broad geographic foundation and ultimately means the art of practical political leadership."

Lieutenant Colonel Karl Haushofer defines geopolitics as "the study of the state in its environment. It specializes in the study of problems arising from spatial relationships when the state turns to defining its regional needs. Geopolitics, for Haushofer, is a reciprocal interaction between space and politics, the ultimate goal of which is to serve the purposes of expansion at the expense of others, especially in the region."

Dr. Atef Mu'taman Abdel Hamid, an assistant professor of physical geography at the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University, provides a definition of geopolitics in the context of his discussion of the distortion that has befallen the field. He states that geopolitics "in its simplest sense is the science of earth politics, that is, the study of the impact of political behavior on changing the geographic dimensions of the state."

<http://www.onislam.net/arabic/madarik/culture-ideas/100610-2002-10-09%2017-44-36.html>

American researcher Colin Dueck offers a unique definition of geopolitics that establishes the relationships between geographic facts, international political behavior, and foreign policy decision-making. He says, "Geopolitics is simply the analysis of the relationship between geographic facts on the one hand and international politics on the other." Quoted from Dr. Sarmad Ameen, *Strategy: Between Theory and Practice*, 2nd edition, Baghdad, Dar al-Ra'id for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, 2016, p. 35.

2. Komail Habeeb, Ahmed Odey, *Dictionary of Diplomatic and International Relations Vocabulary*, First Edition, Modern Book Institution, Beirut, 2005, p. 337

3. Ahmed Attieat Allah, *Political Dictionary*, Third Edition, Dar al-Nahda al-Arabiyya, Cairo, 1968, p. 1225

4. Plato, *Republic*, 2nd edition, translated by Hanna Khabaz, Baghdad, Renaissance Library, 1986, page 122 and also page 139.

5. Wali Aldeen Abd Alrahman Bin Mohammed Bin Khaldoon, Introduction, 1st chapter, Part 1, 1st ed. Investigation Abd Allah Bin Mohammed Aldorweesh, Damascus - Dar Ya'rab for Publishing and Distribution, 2004. pp. 298 - 301

6. Dr. Sarmad Ameen, *Strategy Between Theory and Practice*, previously mentioned source, page 104.

7. Sakhri Mohammed, *Geopolitics Theory*, a study available at the electronic link <https://www.politics-dz.com/ar/%D8%A7>

8. The same source states that the German biologist Oskar Peschel was the first to use the term "biosphere" in the 19th century in his book "A Review of Darwin's Origin of Species," published in 1860. In 1897, the German scholar Friedrich Ratzel transferred the term "biosphere" from biology to politics in his book "Political Geography."

9. More details about the ideas of these thinkers can be found in Pascal Boniface, *Geopolitics: An Attempt to Understand the World in 48 Essays*, translated by Ayad Abbas, Damascus, General Organization for Syrian Books Publications, 2020, third essay, pages 19-31.

10. The concept of the Lebensraum has become a political-strategic doctrine for the United States of America, represented by the Monroe Doctrine, which considered that South America is a Lebensraum that European powers are forbidden to compete with the United States in, and that the United States is prepared to wage war to preserve it. The text is a quote from Dr. Kazem Hashim Noema's book, "The Theory of American Domination on the Land - Whoever Controls the Land Controls the World," published in Amman, Jordan, in 2020, page 62.

11. In fact, Dr. Saad Haki Toufic, a seasoned professor of international relations at the University of Baghdad, has extensively explained the reasons for the trend towards expanding influence or the launch of the traditional colonial era, given the difficulty of expanding within Europe itself and the severity of the costs involved, as well as the stability of borders in the European continent over long centuries of conflicts, negotiations, and counter-alliances. For more details, see Dr. Saad Haki Toufic, *History of International Relations*, Baghdad, University Press for Printing, Publishing and Translation, 2009.

12. Only chance served General Karl Haushofer to meet Adolf Hitler during their days of imprisonment together, to become his intellectual inspiration, and to grant him all these opportunities after he became Chancellor of Germany in 1932. See Dr. Sarmad Ameen, *Introduction to the Study of Geopolitics*, Baghdad, Al-Ghafran Press, 2014, p. 62.

13. Karl Ernst Haushofer (August 27, 1869 – March 10, 1946) was a German general, professor, geographer, and politician. He influenced Nazi Germany's policy through his student Rudolf Hess. Haushofer's ideas, known as geopolitics, influenced the development of Adolf Hitler's expansionist strategies, although Haushofer denied a direct influence on Nazi Germany. He was a lieutenant general in the German Army and retired in 1919. He received his PhD from the University of Heidelberg in political science in 1913. Haushofer entered academia with the goal of restoring and renewing Germany. Haushofer believed that Germany's lack of geographic knowledge and geopolitical awareness was a major cause of Germany's defeat in World War I, as Germany found itself in an unfavorable alliance of allies and enemies. Thus, the fields of political science and geography became his areas of specialization. In 1919, Haushofer became a professor of political geography at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich. Karl Haushofer was arrested by American forces after the fall of Berlin and was referred to the Nuremberg trials and subjected to a long and intense interrogation by American geopolitics expert, Jesuit priest Father Edmund Walsh, founder of the Foreign Service Institute at Georgetown University and one of those who had been following Haushofer's ideas for over twenty years by Walsh's own admission. This follow-up apparently aroused much resentment in Walsh himself, who objected to the International Court's decision not to execute Haushofer, demanding that it impose the maximum penalty on him for his great crime of standing behind all the ideas of aggression and glorification of power adopted by the Nazi Party and its leader Adolf Hitler. Lieutenant General Karl Haushofer and his wife committed suicide in 1946. For more details about the life of Karl Haushofer, see: Moin Haddad, *Geopolitics - Issues of Identity and Belonging between Geography and Politics*, 1st edition, Beirut, Publishing Company for Distribution and Publishing, 2006, pp. 27-30.

14. At this point, it is worth remembering the doctrine of the Munich School of Geopolitics, founded by Carl Haushofer himself, which holds that statesmen must think geopolitically. It is not necessary for all states to think in a geopolitical way, but only those that have a geopolitical conscience. The reference is to the book "Environment and Political Geography" by Abdel Abbas Fadhil, published in 2003.

15. Quoted from Dr. Kadhum Hashim Niama, *The Theory of American Hegemony*, previously mentioned source, pp. 61-62

16. The French thinker Yves Lacoste comes very close to the doctrine of Haushofer on this specific point when he says, "Geopolitics is originally concerned with the analysis of the conflict between powers over territorial regions." Source mentioned above, p. 13.

17. Quoted from Dr. Fuad Hama Khorshed, *Contemporary Geopolitics - Analysis, Methodology, Behavior - Sulaymaniyah*, General Directorate of

Information and Printing, 2013, p. 20.

18. Moeen Haddad, source mentioned above, page 33.

19. The same source, pages 34-35.

. In fact, Karl Haushofer was frustrated and humiliated by the situation of Germany after World War I. He believed that the rulers of the Weimar Republic should be prosecuted, as Germany should have rejected the Treaty of Versailles, which scattered the German nation in the heart of Europe. This nation, which is called by duty to regain its unity, not through trade, society, and demography, as Ratzel believes, but through the place that is the motive for political action. See - Pascal Boniface, *Geopolitics - An Attempt to Understand the World in 48 Articles - Translation by Ayad Issa*, the General Authority for Syrian Books, Damascus, 2020, p. 28.

21. Karl Haushofer believed that it was necessary to erase poorly organized states like Poland and Western Russia from the map of the world. In contrast, nations related to the German language, such as the Netherlands and Flanders (regions located in the northwestern part of present-day Belgium and adjacent areas in France and the Netherlands), should be granted a system of privilege. As for the great Western powers like Britain and France, they are existing states but weak nations. Haushofer recommended an alliance with Italy and its formation from ethnic and feudal states. As for the Jews and Gypsies, they are nations that are resistant to order and therefore must be excluded.

22. See the details of these divisions. Edward Mead Earle et al., *Pioneers of Modern Strategy*, 2nd ed., trans. Muhammad Abd al-Fattah Ibrahim, Baghdad, al-Maktaba al-Alamiyya, 1985, pp. 66-67. Haushofer believed that this tripartite division would achieve a balance with the (American Gulf), so he proposed an alliance with the Russians to completely destroy the United Kingdom by keeping Russia as an Asian power, thus creating a Eurasian bloc that would bring together Germany, Russia, and Japan in the face of the United Kingdom. See - Pascal Boniface, source mentioned above, p. 29.

23. Noor Aldeen Abdullah Naif, *The employment of the Lebensraum in the Russian strategic perception after 2000*, an unpublished master's thesis, University of Baghdad, Faculty of Political Science, 2021, p. 36.

24. Quoted from Dr. Kadhum Hashim Neema, the theory of American hegemony, the aforementioned source, p. 63.

25. Pascal Venis, *Geopolitics*, cited source, p. 34.

26. Alexander Glebovich Dugin (born 1962) is a Soviet and Russian philosopher, political scientist, sociologist, translator, and public figure. He is a candidate of philosophical sciences, a doctor of political sciences, and a doctor of social sciences. He is a university professor and the head of the department of sociology of international relations at the Faculty of Sociology of Moscow State University. He is the leader of the International Eurasian Movement. He is considered one of the most famous contemporary Russian thinkers and the author of the theory of the new Eurasianism. Many consider him to be the inspiration for the strategic orientations of Russian President Vladimir Putin and the Russian military leadership. According to Western descriptions, he has played a significant role in the formulation of the new Russian military doctrine. Quoted from, Dr. Sarmad Ameen and

others, *The Grand Geopolitical Map is Drawn by Wars - A Study of the Causes and Consequences of the Russian War on Ukraine*, 1st ed., the scientific book series published by the Iraqi University / College of Law and Political Sciences, the first book, Baghdad, Dar Al-Raed for Printing, Publishing and Advertising, 2023, p. 10.

27. Alexander Dugin, *Postmodern Geopolitics: The Age of New Empires*, *The Main Lines of Geopolitics in the 21st Century*, translated by Ibrahim Istanbuli, First Edition, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Beirut, 2022, p. 162.

28. Amal Zarnez, *The New Eurasianism and its Impact on Russian Strategic Thought: Motives for Intervention in Ukraine and Syria and its Limits*, First Edition, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi, 2022, p. 10.

29. Alexander Dugin, *The Foundations of Geopolitics: The Geopolitical Future of Russia*, Translated by Dr. Emad Hatem, First Edition, New United Book House, Beirut, 2004, pp. 13-14.

30. Hassan Fadhil, *The role of the new Eurasianism in the development of Russian strategic thought*, first edition, House of Wisdom, Baghdad, 2019, p. 71.

31. Amal Zarnir, source mentioned above, p. 7.

32. Dr. Sarmad Ameen, *The Geopolitics of War: A Study of the Causes and Consequences of the Russian-Ukrainian War*, edited by Dr. Sarmad Ameen, first edition, Baghdad, Al-Ra'id Publishing, Distribution and Advertising House, 2023, p. 14.

33. Daria Dugin, the 30-year-old daughter of the Russian philosopher Alexander Dugin, was assassinated in the last week of August 2022 after her car exploded on a highway near Moscow. Daria Dugin was one of the most prominent supporters of her father's ideas and the Russian special military operation in Ukraine. Same source, p. 15.

34.

35. As quoted by Dr. Sarmad Ameen in his book *Geopolitical Map*, previously cited, page 14.

36. As quoted by Pascal Unifas, previously cited, page 11.

37. Alexander Dugen, *last war of the world-island: the geopolitics of contemporary Russia*, Arktos media Ltd, London, 2015, P.9-10.

. Professor Fikret Namek Abdelfattah, in his research titled "*The Russian-Ukrainian War: Roots, Developments, and Future Prospects*," expressed the sense of humiliation that was brewing in the minds of the Russian political and cultural elite as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991 and Russia's loss of a number of Soviet republics, which represented a strong rear for Russia. In addition to the geopolitical implications of the shrinking of the geographical area and the subsequent contraction of the state's strategic depth, which made it compelled to use force to thwart attempts to threaten Russian national security through these lost territories. The text is from the book "*Geopolitical Canvas*," by the same author, on pages 325-326.

39. In fact, the relationship between Himmler and Hitler was not always good. There were painful episodes that disrupted this relationship and ended with the Nazi leader marginalizing Himmler. These included Himmler's marriage to a Jewish woman, Hitler's suspicions of the role that

Himmler played in the efforts of Hitler's advisor Rudolf Hess to negotiate with Britain to end the conflict between them, Himmler's opposition to the German military campaign on Russia, and finally the participation of Himmler's son, Ulrich, who was an officer in the German army, in an attempt to assassinate the Nazi leader, and then his trial and execution. See - Moin Haddad, the source mentioned above, p. 29.

40. See our book entitled "*Strategy Between Theory and Practice*," 2nd edition, Baghdad, Dar Al-Ra'id for Printing and Publishing, 2017, page 97.

41. Dr. Saad Haki Toufik, *The Russian-Ukrainian War in the Balance of Russian-American Relations and Its Impact on International Politics*, in the book *Geopolitical Painting*, the above source, p. 35.

42. Lilia Shevtsova, *Putin's Russia*, translated by Bassam Sheikha, 1st ed., Beirut, Arab Scientific Publishers, 2006, quoted from Dr. Saad Haki Toufik, the above source, p. 36.

. The United States had imposed sanctions on Dugin and his daughter. The United Kingdom also imposed sanctions on Dugin in July 2022, deeming him to be a "repeat contributor to disinformation about Ukraine and the Russian invasion of Ukraine on various online platforms." Follow online at the following website. "<https://arabic.cnn.com/world/article/2022/08/22/russian-investigation-reveals-400g-tnt-used-killed-alexander-dugin-daughter>