

Reorganization of Effective Geographical Factors on National Power

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Abstract

A group of human beings produced the nation and founded the states, and political organizations have the power. All physical and spiritual capabilities that existed in the particular political and geographical territory can be called 'national power'. National power has different sources and bases, which are considered to be the elements of 'national power'. The issue of national power has been attracting the attention of geographers, geopolitical specialists, and global communication experts. Each group has introduced the elements for the 'national power'. This academic and research article will help to recognize the effects of geographical factors on 'national power'. In addition to this, the purpose of this research is to identify the elements and sources of 'national power'. We have investigated those geographical factors that are highly affecting 'national power'. The methodology of data collection for this particular research is library research. Many great, international, and reliable resources have been used and cited in this academic article and research. The result of this research states that, besides the other crucial factors for national power, geographical factors also play a very vital role in national power. Such geographical factors and their effects can be used to measure and get to know the power of countries or states. The importance of this research is knowing how countries benefit from the existence of geographical facilities and features of national and global power.

Keywords: Geography, power, National power, Geopolitics and Geographical effects

INTRODUCTION

The factor that helps a player give authority and control the other players, aims, and priorities is called power. Power shows the authority and control of someone, through which the player will be able to dominate the aims and priorities of other players. Players may be countries, governments, nations, or other organizations to work for specific goals and to prevent the effects of other groups (Kamran & others, 2011:6). The stability and constancy of every

country are linked to their national power. The weak national power of a country throws national profits in danger. National power doesn't come just with strong forces and powerful weapons; it is possible with multilateral promotion. So, it is important to keep the balance in every social, political, civilized, and economic section. We can say that power is not just a political factor; it is the arrangement of the physical and spiritual sources of a country

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(Haidari & Haidari Bani, 2014:61). According to the concept of geopolitics, national power reflects the features and properties of nations and people (Kamran & others, 2011:6). Countries are forced to have power for some purposes, like independence, territorial integrity, national security, the prosperity of people, increasing the trust of people, and all of the related things that have to do with national profits. A country needs to use two ways to achieve these goals: changing and keeping its present status. Also, a state will keep its status as a strategy, or sometimes it will give priority to changing it. But in both conditions, it gets benefits from different forms of power (Weyaar & Badloon, 2018:99). One factor cannot be known and recognized as the national power since the 'national power' has several origins that are causing and making 'national power'. The national power of a country has been recognized with various effects active in different zones. One of these circles is the geographical effects on 'national power'. National power sources and factors exist in every country. Geographical structure and features of a country play a greater role than the other factors. Because geography is essential to the analysis and recognition of the 'national power' (Kamran & others, 2011:6)

We cannot rest on just one effect for recognizing the national power of a country, such as the extent of Brazil, the large population of Pakistan, and the industrial products of Belgic, which cannot be known as the fundamental factors for their 'national power'. Large populations cause a problem for countries with poverty because the lack of food and the purposes of people make the governments inconstant (Kamran & others, 2011:9). All these factors make the 'national power' stranger. There isn't a specific definition for 'national power'. The issue of 'national power' has been attracting the attention of geographers, geopolitical specialists, and global communication experts, and each group of these experts has suggested the constituents and elements of 'national power'. In this research, we have investigated the geographical factors that are greatly affecting the 'national power'. Various studies have been conducted about the elements affecting the 'national power'. The results of these studies introduce sources and effects of 'national power'. But none of the research is conducted to explore the effects of geographical factors on 'national power'. This research article will fill that gap. In this research, we have compared the various ideas of experts with each other. In this research article, reliable foreign and interior books, articles, and resources are cited. This research aims to introduce 'national power', the effects of 'national power', and especially the impacts of geographical factors on 'national power'. The question of this research is to get to know the significance of 'national power'. Researchers and scholars have stated that there are different factors for 'national power', as well as that geographical impact affects 'national power'. All in all, in addition to certain factors affecting the 'national power', geographical impact has an incredible effect on the 'national power' of the countries as well. So we cannot ignore the fact that geographical factors are highly influencing nationwide power.

literature review

The concept of national power is a multifaceted and dynamic one that encompasses various dimensions, including military strength, economic prowess, diplomatic influence, and cultural appeal. Geographical factors have been recognized as significant determinants of national power. This literature review provides an overview of pertinent research conducted, shedding light on how effective geographical factors impact national power. It explores the objectives and findings of these studies, contributing to a comprehensive understanding of the evolving relationship between geography and national power.

Geographical Factors and National Power: The role of geographical factors in shaping a nation's power has been a central theme in geopolitical literature. Various studies have examined the interplay between geographical attributes and national power.

Smith, J. (2017). "Geography and National Power: An Analysis of Geopolitical Theories." Smith's work delves into the historical development of geopolitical theories and their implications for understanding the link between geography and national power. Strategic location and resource accessibility are highlighted as pivotal elements in shaping a nation's power.

Brown, A. (2018). "Size Matters: A Quantitative Analysis of the Impact of Land Area on National Power." Brown's research offers a quantitative assessment of how a nation's land area influences its national power. The study underscores the advantages that larger land masses confer in terms of resource availability and strategic positioning.

National Power and Economic Geography: Economic geography plays a crucial role in determining national power by influencing trade routes, resource access, and economic infrastructure.

Williams, M. (2016) "The Silk Road Revival: Implications for National Power." Williams' study examines the revitalization of the Silk Road and its implications for nations situated along this historic trade route. It highlights how geographical connectivity can bolster a nation's economic power and global influence.

Zhang, L. (2019). "Natural Resource Endowment and National Power: A Comparative Analysis of Oil-Producing Nations." Zhang's research investigates the relationship between a nation's natural resource endowment, particularly oil reserves, and its national power. The study demonstrates how geographical factors influence a nation's economic strength.

Geopolitical Dynamics and National Power: Geopolitical considerations, such as regional alliances, security challenges, and diplomatic strategies, significantly impact a nation's national power.

Johnson, R. (2017). "Geostrategic Shifts: The Role of Alliances in National Power." Johnson's work focuses on the changing dynamics of geopolitical alliances and their implications for national power. The study emphasizes how a nation's geographical location within a web of alliances can enhance or diminish its influence.

Kim, S. (2020). "Geopolitical Flashpoints and National Power: A Case Study of the South China Sea." Kim's research centers on the South China Sea as a geopolitical hotspot and examines how territorial disputes in this region can impact the national power of involved countries.

Conclusion: The reorganization of effective geographical factors for national power is a complex and evolving field of study. Geographical features, economic factors, and geopolitical dynamics all interact to shape a nation's power and influence on the global stage. The literature reviewed here underscores the importance of understanding these relationships to better comprehend the intricate nature of national power.

Theoretical Framework

National power, the ability of a nation to influence its domestic and international affairs, is influenced by a multitude of factors. Among these factors, geographical considerations play a pivotal role in shaping a nation's strength and capabilities. This theoretical framework seeks to delve into the reorganization of effective geographical factors in national power, drawing from various contemporary sources to provide a comprehensive and accurate analysis.

I. Geographical Factors and National Power: A. Definition of Geographical Factors: Geographical factors encompass both physical and human geographic elements that impact a nation's power. These include topography, climate, natural resources, population distribution, and proximity to other nations.

B. Historical Perspective: Historical examples and case studies have consistently highlighted the significance of geographical factors for national power (Diamond, 1999).

II. Topography and Strategic Position: A. The Impact of Topography: The role of topographical features, such as mountains, rivers, and coastlines, in influencing a nation's military and economic capabilities has been extensively documented (Walt, 2018).

B. Case Studies: Analyzing case studies, such as Switzerland's geographical advantages in maintaining neutrality and a strong defense strategy, further supports the importance of topography (Fox, 2015).

III. Natural Resources and Economic Power: A. Availability of Natural Resources: The relationship between a nation's access to essential natural resources and its economic prowess is well-established (Yergin, 1991).

B. Resource Scarcity and Conflict: Competition for limited resources has historically led to conflicts between nations (Homer-Dixon, 2000).

IV. Climate and Environmental Resilience: A. Climate and Agriculture: Climatic conditions significantly affect a nation's agricultural output, impacting its self-sufficiency and food security (Brown, 2011).

B. Environmental Vulnerability: Geographical factors, such as coastal proximity and vulnerability to natural disasters, can influence a nation's preparedness and resilience in the face of environmental challenges (United Nations Reports on Climate Change).

V. Population Distribution and Demographics: A. Urbanization and Economic Power: Population distribution, especially the concentration of people in urban areas, plays a critical role in a nation's economic productivity and innovation (Florida, 2002).

B. Demographic Dividends: A youthful population can be a source of national strength if managed effectively (Eberstadt, 2012).

VI. Proximity to Other Nations: A. Strategic Importance of Neighbors: A nation's proximity to other countries significantly impacts trade, security, and diplomacy, shaping its strategic position in the world (Kaplan, 2013).

B. Regional Alliances and Conflicts: Geographical factors play a substantial role in shaping regional alliances and conflicts, as seen

in the case of the European Union's regional influence (Kaplan, 2013).

In summary, this theoretical framework highlights the multifaceted role of geographical factors in shaping a nation's power, drawing from a wide range of contemporary sources and academic works. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for policymakers, strategists, and scholars to make informed decisions in the everevolving global landscape.

National Power

Scholars' Views on the Elements and Resources of National Power As mentioned above since the subject of national power has become considerable among geographers and geopolitics specialists, the issues of political geography, political science, and international relations have also become considerable among strategists, politicians, and even militaries. Each of them has tried to present a list of factors affecting the 'national power'. But the problem has not been solved desirably. We will have a general look at some of the opinions of international relations and political geography experts who have presented different views on the factors of 'national power'.

Montisko believes that national unity is the factor that produces national power.

Kohan pointed out ten factors. Generally, some scholars have considered the following necessary factors for national power: (Haidari & Haidari Bani, 2014:66).

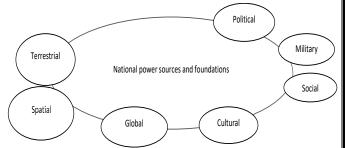


Figure 1: Sources and Foundations of National Power (Haidari & Haidari Bani, 2014:66)

Jalil Roshandal mentioned the factors of national power as follows:

- Geographical factors: water and air
- Human factors: population, extension, raw materials, population status
- Cultural factors: cultural heritage and ideology
- Governmental structure, governmental political form, and effectiveness of government (Mayal Afshar, 2012:117).

Hens.G. Morgenta divided the fundamental elements of national power into eight parts:

- Geographical location
- Population
- Industrial capacity
- Natural resources
- National spirit
- National characteristics
- Military readiness
- Quality of diplomacy (Kazemi, 2011:67)

The factors of power building during the twentieth century, especially during the Cold War, are shown as follows:

- Geographical and logical conditions: border structure and quality; soil condition; expansion; high and deep; water and air in the country.
- Military readiness: all the power of a country is equal to its military power. So, any country with a strong military is in control.
- Population size: believing that the most powerful countries in the world have more people It showed that every country with a large population has more power.
- Self-sufficient in natural resources, nutrients, and raw materials,
- Racial resemblance
- Ideology (Razai & Sarmi, 2020:17)

It should be noted that, based on the above view, some factors that were specified as having power had their shortcomings. For instance, the wars between the Germans, British, and French in 1940 and the wars between Israel and Arabs showed that the number was very low but the quality was very high.

Saif Zada, in his book (Different Views in International Relations), mentioned the following factors of power: geographical factors, national resources, population, quality of government, national spirit, and quality of leadership (Kamran and others, 2011: 9).

Hade Azami has mentioned some factors of national power in his doctoral dissertation: economic, territorial, governmental, scientific, social, cultural, and military (Zarqani, 2011:172). These factors are clearly shown in Table 2.

Sayed Abbass Nabawi has generally classified the resources of power into three parts in his book, The Philosophy of Power. First, natural resources and what nature has given to human beings for power. Second, human resources that are within human and human society are used for the production of power. Third is the extension of natural resources that are effective for the production of political and social power in humans and nature (Kamran and others, 2011:10).

 Table1: list of factors and variables effective in measuring national power (Azami, 2006: 122)

Number	Factor Name	Variable
1	Economic	annual net profit, trade equality, railroads, asphalted ways, profit from tourism, employment rate, number of ships, international resources GDP size
2	Terrestrial	population per square kilometer, relative crowdedness precipitation annual size, topography, relative location, number of ports and airports, size of potential gas resources, hydropower size, generation size, strategic mines, watery boundaries length, and water annual size
3	Governmental	the population of the capital as a whole, compared to other

		countries, the number of asylum seekers inside the country, the number of coups, elections, national unity based on ethnic, religious and ideological
4	Scientific and Technological	Number of universities, number of students, in part of development and research, number of researchers, number of scientific journals and articles, internal amount of gross consumption in production and research, enrichment of uranium, and number of scholastic and scientific books.
5	Social	population size, life expectancy, mortality, and birth rate, the number of people who access health services, the number of people who have access to doctors and hospitals, annual health budget, amount of people who have access to clean water, number of maternal mortality during childbirth, the countries in the list of developing countries, and the number of literate people above fifteen
6	Cultural	number of newspapers published, number of newspapers per thousand people, Number of tourist destinations, recognized by UNESCO, number of radios per Thousand people, access to the internet from every thousand people, computer training from every 1000 people, number of tale visions per 1000 people, Number of phones per 1000 people, and GDP amount of education spent
7	Military	number of troops, number of troops relative to all people, military budget, defense budget, access to nuclear, number of combat readiness, number of helicopters, number of naval swimmer, number of air forces, number of
8	International	Participation in international organizations and conventions, the number of callings from out of the country, number of flights, number of tourists arriving, and number per 100 passengers who departed over the year

Mayal Afshar divided the major sources of national power into two categories: intangible resources and tangible resources.

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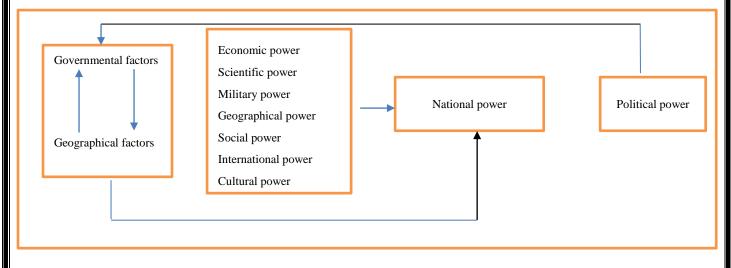
- Tangible resources: geography, land area, national and economic resources, military power, and population.
- Intangible resources: the national government's leadership and quality; special wills to achieve national goals; a spirit of discipline; competence, ability, and quality; potential unity for the state. And the level of political awareness among people (Mayal Afshar, 2012: 113).

The following are some factors that affect national power as part of national security and the international system: geographical features, number of people and characteristics, military power, industrial capacity, national characters, features of government, and quality of diplomacy (Weyar & Badloon 2018:73–74).

Ibrahim Tahari has pointed out the hard and soft factors of 'national power'.

- Power and military capacity
- Economic development and capacity
- Industry and technology
- Land expansion, geographical location, climate, topography, political borders, and geographical status
- Natural resources
- Quality of population and developed human strength (Taheri, 2016: 162)

Figure 2: interrelationships between power and politics (Zarqani, 2010: 139)



The Value of Geography as a Factor of National Power Without a doubt, the most stable factor of national power is its geography.

Geographical factors such as extension, shape, location, geographical condition, settlement, water resources, vegetation cover, climate, and so on have a direct relationship with national power.

Geographical features (land) have been repeatedly mentioned as sources of power and exploitation for human beings in the Holy Quran. In addition, mountains, roads, and rivers are introduced as divine blessings of Almighty Allah in the Quran. (Azami, 2006: 190). The sources and foundations of power are composed of various factors. Some factors and resources of power exist in each country's geography. Among all those factors for national power, geographical features have a special role in elements of power, such as economic, political, and military. Most scholars and researchers have agreed upon the role of geography in national power (Weyar & Badloon 2018:78). Kohan said that geography is like a bedrock for national power. (Kamran and others, 2011:10) Some scholars say that geographical location is a key element of national power for a country. Some have even gone further and said that every country's politics are determined by its geography. According to their opinions, the political vision of each country can be affected by political, economic, geographical location, political, and military factors. According to the opinion of Kohan, geography is the way to accurately assess the political realities of each country (Kamran and others, 2011: 10). Political events always take place in certain geographical areas, and there is no

doubt that geographical factors such as soil development, location, climatic conditions, and natural resources can affect the 'national power'. These factors include other factors such as economic power, level of industrial development, and human resources quality that can cause a country's weaknesses or strengths in front of other countries (Weyar & Badloon 2018:78). There is no doubt that the stabilizing factor of power for a nation is geography, and its geographical factors such as extension, shape, location, geographical status, water resources, vegetation cover, and climate are directly related to power. (Kamran and others, 2011:10)

Research Findings

Effective Geographical Factors in National Power

1. Country Shape

The factor that plays an important role in the political destiny of a country is the geometric shape of the country. The goal of the geometric shape is the distance towards the center of a country's diameter. The main effect of the geometric shape is on the exercise of central government power across the country. (Ezati, 2011:91) The geometric shapes of the country are collected, long, tailed, fragmented, and surrounded by other countries. (Azami, 2006:130) The short and assembled countries have a positive value in terms of governance, control, and national unity. (Kamran & others, 2011:13)

2. Unevenness

Elevation and height are other natural factors that play an important role in the political destiny of a country. (Ezati, 2011:90) If the height of the country coincides with the political lines, it

creates special conditions for defense. (Azami, 2006:130-131) In other words, natural disasters can revitalize a country's security position as a political line. (Kamran & others, 2011:14) High altitudes can also boost a country's domestic economy through water released from ice. (Azami, 2006:130-131) Landslides cause slowing of ground motion and limitations in communication networks, which have a direct impact on economic and productive aspects. (Ezati, 2011:90)

3. Population

General power depends on the population. The quality and structure of the population are influential in the intellectual unity and increase of national power. Undoubtedly, the population depends on the power of a country; although this relationship is relative, a country will never become powerful with a small population. (Azami, 2006:129) Countries with low populations, no matter how much they develop, cannot keep up with the great powers. (Weyar & Badloon, 2018:82) Also, a large population alone cannot be the main guarantor or supporter of a country's power. Its value also depends on other factors. There is also the possibility that in the future, as in the past, a larger population will be considered important for strengthening military power. (Azami, 2006:129)

Population contributes to 'national power' from three perspectives:

- A. source of professional military strength
- B. The source of the power of labor production and wealth
- C. Storage of combat forces in preparation for battle (Weyar & Badloon, 2018:82)

4. Raw Materials and Natural Resources

The true value of each country depends on the size and nature of its natural resources. The utilization of a country's wealth depends on its country. A country may have abundant natural resources but cannot use them properly. (Ezati, 2011:95). The available natural resources determine the extent of a state's power. The greater a state's natural resources are, the greater its power. (Khwakh, 2012: 75) With strong national and natural resources, other states can be attached to it as needed or to better prevent foreign invasions in times of war. (Dawri, 2018:52) Raw materials and minerals are valuable in two ways. The first is that the enrichment of the country through raw materials leads to an increase in the living standards of the people, and this plays an important role in maintaining domestic security and stability. Second, many raw materials and minerals, such as iron ore, coal, oil, and uranium, contribute to the armed forces. (Weyar & Badloon, 2018:81). Without the use of knowledgeable and professional people to extract vast and abundant natural resources, it will never be considered a factor in development and progress. (Ezati, 2011:96)

5. Location

Geographical location and its characteristics play a major role in determining 'national power'. (Dawari, 2018:51) The location of a country among other countries is another factor that has a great impact on the situation of that country. (Weyar & Badloon, 2018:79–80). The geographical location depends on the foreign policy of each country; the relationship between geographical location and foreign policy is so important that this issue has been pointed out in geopolitical studies. (Kamran & others, 2011:11) Location mathematically (length and breadth), as well as relative terms (distance and proximity to water, proximity to a unitary state or situation of neighbors, proximity to canals or international strategic straits), are worth it. Each position has its strengths and

weaknesses (Azami, 2006:130). In general, each country's participation and activities in international affairs are largely dependent on its geographical location, relations with neighboring countries (strong and weak), and relations with the world's major powers. (Ezati, 2011:77).

6. expansion and breadth

In general, greater expansion has a positive effect on the power of countries (Kamran & others, 2011: 12). The expansion is expected to be in line with the country's population distribution because if the expansion is large and the population is small, the country's defense will be in jeopardy (Ezati, 2011:78). The development of a country does not guarantee its power, but other factors, such as the level of development of national technology, can be a contributing factor to 'national power'. (Weyar & Badloon, 2018:81) The vast space facilitates the exploitation of economic resources and minerals. The military's wide space creates strategic depth and creates security margins for the country (Kamran & others, 2011: 12). The vastness of a state is because it has a wide variety of water, air, and abundant natural resources, which is considered a power factor (Dawri, 2018:51).

7. Borderlines

The borders of a country also have a positive and negative effect on the 'national power' of the country. Countries that have maritime borders and are surrounded by seas are less at risk than countries that have open borders. This location reduces the threat to them. The presence of natural barriers on a country's borders benefits its security location, and the absence of these barriers facilitates the work of development seekers. (Weyar & Badloon, 2018:80–81) Borders, whether land or water, play an important role in determining the national power of many countries. Landlocked countries have more restrictions on gaining power, unable to bring their mountainous and remote areas under central control. Hence, the geographical and strategic location of state power impacts implementers. The best example is Afghanistan, where it is difficult to exercise power due to its unique geographical and strategic location. (Dawari, 2018:51).

8: Water and Air

Water and air are important geographical factors that have a profound effect on a country's power.

Countries located in hot, dry, and cold regions face severe difficulties in producing agricultural products. Historically, many civilizations and major political powers have emerged and developed in temperate regions (Weyar & Badloon, 2018:79-80). Appropriate and desirable weather has a positive effect on a country's 'national power'. This effect can be seen first in the development of foodstuffs, secondly in the destruction and devastation caused by climate problems, and thirdly in the national resource consumption facilities, creating living conditions for human beings. (Kamran & others, 2011:13) Nevertheless, water and climate conditions and their impact on food production still play an important role in the power of countries. The best example of this is the situation in the United States, rather than in the Soviet Union. One of the reasons for the Soviet Union's problems and collapse was its unequal conditions in food production, which was one of the reasons for America's success. Early cold weather sometimes destroyed a large portion of Soviet agricultural products, and when these unfavorable climatic conditions combined with other production deficiencies, the Soviets weakened against the United States. (Weyar & Badloon, 2018:79-80)

Discussion

Power is the lifeblood of a country or nation. The national power of a country uses all the material and spiritual capabilities of that country for its purposes. The sources and foundations of power are made up of different factors; some factors and sources of power for each country exist in their geography. The most important of all is that the geographical features of the power builder's elements, such as economic, political, and military, have a special role to play. All the commentators who have mentioned the national power sources, referring to geography as the bed of national power, such as geographical location and its characteristics, play a major role in determining the national power. Locations are sources of power, and the economic situation helps the country prevail over its opponents. Social status also helps to gain power and influence over others. Religious position is also a source of power and influence. Leaders of various religious communities have always exercised power and influence. According to some scholars, geographical location is a key element of national power for a country; some have gone a step further and said that the politics of each country depends on the geography of that country. According to sources, factors, and elements of national power, various scientists have given their opinions, such as geographers, political scientists, international relations experts, geopoliticians, strategists, and other scholars. Each group has mentioned the factors of national power based on their point of view. In total, we can mention the following factors:

- A. Geographical location, which includes strategic, geopolitical, and climatic location
- B. width, the shape of the country, quality of the atmosphere, topography, unevennessWater, soil, tree cover, and other vital and food resources of life
- C. Underground Resources, Energy Resources, Mineral (Strategic and Non-Strategic) Resources

According to this study, we conclude that the subject of national power is worthy of the attention of various scholars. Every scholar has his own opinion on this subject, and besides definitions, the subject of national power has attracted the attention of geographers, geopolitical experts, political geographers, political scientists, and international relations strategists and politicians.

Each group has introduced different elements of national power. In this research study, various books and articles have been used to compare the opinions of different theologians. The results of the research show that, among other factors, geographical factors such as the shape of countries, unevenness (high depths), population, raw materials and natural resources, location, extent, borders, water, air, and so on are the main influencing factors.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the research has delved into the multifaceted concept of national power and its underpinnings, with a particular emphasis on geographical factors. National power, as the lifeblood of a nation, encompasses a multitude of material and spiritual capabilities wielded for strategic purposes. It has been evident that geography, in its various aspects, plays a pivotal role in shaping the national power of a country.

Throughout the discussion, we have highlighted the importance of geographical features, including location, topography, climate, and natural resources, in determining a nation's power profile. These geographic elements serve as foundations for power, but they are intricately intertwined with economic, social, and religious aspects that further influence a nation's capacity to exert control and influence.

Scholars from diverse disciplines, including geography, political science, international relations, geopolitics, and strategy, have provided their unique insights into the components of national power. This research has demonstrated that the subject of national power continues to captivate the attention of scholars and experts alike.

There is no one-size-fits-all formula for assessing national power. Instead, a comprehensive understanding requires consideration of a wide array of factors, with geography being a central, albeit not sole, component. The shape of a country, its topography, population density, access to raw materials, geographical location, territorial dimensions, borders, and the availability of water and airspace are all critical determinants of a nation's power.

This research contributes to a more nuanced understanding of national power, offering a framework that integrates geographical elements with economic, social, and religious aspects to provide a holistic view of a nation's capabilities. Such knowledge is vital for policymakers, strategists, and analysts seeking to navigate the complex landscape of international relations and geopolitics.

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