

IDEOLOGICAL HERITAGE AND TRENDS IN GEOPOLITICS

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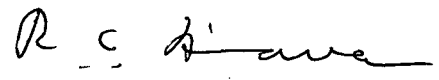


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CERTIFICATE

Certified that the Dissertation entitled Ideological Heritage and Trends in Geopolitics submitted by Mr. Rajendra Parihar in fulfilment of Nine Credits out of total requirements of Twenty-four Credits for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy (M. Phil) of this University, is his original work and may be placed before the Examiners for evaluation. This Dissertation has not been submitted for the award of any other Degree of this University or of any other University to the best of our knowledge.


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PARENTS

P R E F A C E

In this study an attempt has been made to trace an Ideological heritage and trends in geopolitics. From the time its subject matter became identifiable, prior to this Geopolitical study was taken up in the broader sphere of political science. The evolution of geopolitics into a separate field of study was slow. The cut off point from where the subject started showing its own distinct characteristics is based on the fact that the first geopolitician discussed here dealt a little more with the subject matter of geopolitics as we know it today than did his predecessors.

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter One deals primarily with subject matter of Geography as a discipline and placement of geopolitics, or to say review of literature which is essential for understanding the basic nature of subject.

In Chapter Two, Geopolitics and its interdisciplinary linkages are discussed. Which leaves enough scope for social sciences to study any phenomenon through the interdisciplinary approach which is essential in modern era.

In Chapter Three, the contribution of German Geopoliticians are discussed. For it is they who developed the study from a mere branch of political science to an autonomous, or at least a semi-autonomous discipline. But German Geopolitiks was held in

abhorrence in the West because it dealt only with Germany's power position and as such 'Geopolitik' has contributed little to Geopolitics, Germans are not therefore the fore runners of geopolitics as studied today. Explanations of contemporary international relations through Geopolitics are becoming popular.

Chapter Four deals with those scholars who have propounded the first universalistic approaches, e.g., Sir Halford J. Mackinder, Spykman, S.B. Cohen and Capt. A.T. Mahan, et. al. All these theorists stand at the base of Modern Geopolitics, because it is from them that the study developed to what we know of it today.

The effects of Technology on Geopolitics and man nature relationship also have been dealt with in Chapter Four. Much like any subjects, studies with increasing specialization. Different theorists take up various aspects of the change in technology and its impact on geopolitical theories, rather than any attempt to study the overall impact of Technological change on geopolitical study. The emphasis is especially on nuclear technology which most does away with classical geopolitics and ushers in a new era where the advantage lies not in geographical position or raw materials and similar other factors but on the possession of modern technology.

In the concluding chapter we have discussed the weaknesses inherent in the subject and suggestions to remedy them. Also discussed are the trends manifest in the study and suggestions are given to make the study more comprehensive, issue oriented and relevant to modern time.

I would like to take the opportunity to thank Professor R.C. Sharma without whose indispensable guidance and incisive comments this dissertation would never have been completed. I am also indebted to Chairman of the Centre for his cooperation and help. I am grateful to Professor Aijazuddin Ahmad, who has made me to think a fresh on so many points.

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C O N T E N T S

		Page Nos.
List of Figures		
Chapter - I	Introduction:- Review of Literature	1-27
Chapter - II	Geopolitics and its inter-disciplinary Linkage	28-51
Chapter - III	Contribution of German Scholars	52-72
Chapter - IV	Contribution by other Scholars (in the context of changing man nature relationship)	73-95
Chapter - V	Conclusion	96-103
	Selected Bibliography	104-108

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>List of Figures</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page No.</u>
IV. 1	Mackinder's Heartland Model of 1904	80
IV. 2	Mackinder's Strategic Heartland of 1919	82
IV. 3	Spykman's concept of the Rim land.	84
IV. 4	Cohen's Geo-Strategic Regions and their Geo-political divisions.	88
IV. 5	Patrick, O. Sullivan's concept of spheres of influence.	91

CHAPTER - I

Introduction: Review of Literature

The focus of study will be to understand the changing nature of Geography as a discipline and placement of Geo-Politics. Geography is only branch of knowledge which links the natural sciences to Social sciences. Because physical geography represents the natural sciences while human geography represents the social sciences.

Considering the fact that the change is nature. Therefore if there is any change in the laws of natural sciences or in the social sciences, Geography ipso facto changes according to time and space. The laws of natural sciences are universally accepted while the laws in social sciences are conditional, which varies from place to place and changes over time.

The changes occur in geography due to the Triangular relationship between Man, Nature and Technology. Man interacts with nature, with the help of different equipments and generates the new laws of nature through the skilled Man Power and advanced technology. Natural resources can be exploited in a certain manner in which output should be more than input. This sort of process leads to the change in the means and mode of production.

Regarding the changing nature of discipline one has to trace the historical development and define this Branch of knowledge, which requires different

connotations according to various scholars. To Emanuel Kant "Geography studies the earth surface which is the home of man". This is the initial definition of discipline in which no more emphasis has been given on the man nature relationship and this is due to the dominance of natural sciences over social sciences, in which the physical environments were considered as primary factor.

The another definition by Monkhouse in which more emphasis has been given on areal differentiation. To him "Geography comprises the study of earth's surface in its areas differentiation as the home of man". In this case bit change has been noticed due to the inbuilt spatial and temporal changes in discipline. For Dudley Stamp Geography studies about world and their habitats (Stamp, L.D., 1966) while on the other hand Spykman emphasised on the possibility of man to change his environment. Thus these are quite different position definational changes from the initial stage of first half of the 20th Century.

According to Richard Hartshorne (1954) "Geography is that discipline that seeks to describe and interpret the variable character from place of the earth as the World of Man". He focuses on spatial variations, while Ackerman (1958) takes into

account the interaction of man and his environment. He says "Geography is the scientific study of vast interacting system comprising all humanity and its natural environment on the surface of the earth".

The latest definition by Peter Haggett (1972) focuses on the structural interactions of the phenomenon. To him "geography is the study of structures and interactions of ecological spatial systems of the regions". He raised the present ecological problems and suggested their protections. This is due to high industrial development.

Considering all these interpretations and explanations we have to trace the historical development of geography in general and geo-politics in particular. Geography played a significant role in different period and witnessed major changes over time.

Ancient Geography: This period was lasted from 600 B.C. to 300 A.D., said to be the classical age. Greek and Roman Geographers contributed a lot in this phase. This was the 'Golden age of Greece'. Aristotle was prominent scholar, who formulated the model for Ideal State, in which there are two most important ingredients such as (1) the size of population; (2) Nature of its territory. To him these factors determines the strength

or weakness of a particular state. He took up this problem by small size of state. Because Roman empire was very small during that period.

The more and more emphasis has been given on exploration, mapping and speculation. Homer and Thale started the first mathematical geography. Anaximander prepared the first map of world. Herodotus established that Red Sea separates the Asia and Africa. Ptolemy prepared the map and calendar of planets. To him Earth is static while other planets are moving around her. Regarding the man nature relationship, the dependency was much more on nature. That is why Aristotle emphasised on the nature of its territory. According to him the terrestrial structure of state determines its function and relation with states (Bunbury, 1879).

The second prominent scholar of this period was Strabo, who concentrated on two factors. To him without these factors state could not perform the function. Therefore he strongly advocated for (1) strong central government; (2) single ruling head of the state. He was the staunch supporter of single ruling head. Because it was the demand of time to unite the hundreds of small states. Hence he propagated the ideas of strong central government and single ruling head, who can control the various fragmented

states (Jones, 1955). He wrote many things about Agriculture and population also. Geographical interpretation had religious tone in this period because of the influence of christianity.

Early Medieval Geography: This period was dominated by Arab Geographers and lasted from 300 to 1200 A.D. and considered as Dark age in European history.

Because there were no further inventions and discoveries in geographical knowledge. The Biblical interpretation and Christianity dominance remained in the main agenda. Arabians developed the astronomical observations due to the clear sky over the desert. Cartography was developed as separate branch by Edrisi. Mathematical calculations of Longitude and Latitude were computed.

Late Medieval Geography: This was the time between Dark age and modern age, said to be the period of Renaissance (1250-1700 A.D.). Distinguished scholars of this period were as follows:

Ibn Khaldun (1342-1405): He focuses on tribes and cities of the Arabian desert. Identified two social organisations such as (i) Nomads, which is considered as the lower stage of social organisation. Their basic source of economy were agriculture and animal

husbandry; (ii) City dwellers, said to be the higher stage of social organisation and their source of income was Commerce and Industries. He was the first scholar to turn his attention towards Man and his environment. To him Nomads and City dwellers are the product of natural interaction between man and his surroundings.

Geopolitics again experienced a great revival in 16th Century in Europe and main contributors of this phase were Jean Bodin and Montesquieu.

Jean Bodin (1530-1569): His ideas were quite in tune with those of Strabo, Aristotle and Ibn Khaldun. According to him national character of a state is determined by its climate and topography. Hence in this context he laid the foundation of a comprehensive theory of determinism in which the physical nature, i.e., temperament, talent and will power as well as the political system under which he governed, were viewed as a part of world wide system of man environment relationship. Geographical conditions were considered as primary factor. Therefore, he was true environmentalist in his approach. The basic philosophy of his approach was to preserve the socio-political structure of state in same manner at that time.

Montesquieu: He was distinguished scholar of 16th Century and proposed a global model of Geopolitics, in which freedom and Democracy tend to increase with distance from the equator. His basis was historical traditions of Asia and Europe. According to him warm climate favours the growth of despotism and slavery while colder climate encourage the democracy and Freedom. He pointed out that physical factors exerted a deep influence on man's political behaviour. To him there is a close relationship between agricultural productivity and form of government, i.e., the fertile plains favours the growth of large empire (Jones, S.B. 1955).

That was fact finding age because during this period, Europeans began their colonial race in Asia and Africa. More and more facts were collected for land and sea route to establish their colonies all over the world. Marcopolo who extensively travelled from medeterreanean to the pacific ocean. He stayed 24 years in China, visited Asia minor, Mongolia, Malysia, Sri Lanka and India. He wrote many things about resources, occupations and social customs of the people of these countries. Vascodagama discovered India in 1498 by sea route via Cape of Good Hope. Christopher Colombus reached Bahama and U.S.A. in 1492.

Thus different period has long lasting effects in this discipline contributed by various scholars. Regarding the Arab scholars geo-strategic views, one has to bear in mind that they were the first who have emphasised much more on the environment and its impact on man. Therefore, they considered physical surrounding as primary and human being as secondary factor. The open sky over Arabian desert played a very significant role in man-nature relationship. The contributions made by Arabs in Geopolitics cannot be undermined because they preserved an ideological heritage of Greek and Roman scholars during the most critical period in European history, i.e., Dark age.

The facts and figures reveal that whether they were Greek or Arabian scholars, they never approached beyond their territorial perspective and that was due to their limited knowledge. New trend again witnessed in geopolitics when Montesquieu presented his global model of geopolitics in the 16th century. He established the relationship between climatic condition and formation of government. He did not take into

account the socio-political and state of economy levels of science and technology which determine the framework of government.

Varenius was most prominent geographer of the 17th century. The dichotomy or dualism are literary meanings. Because in practical knowledge dualism does not arise. Since particular is also part of General, hence that cannot be separated, each other are interconnected and interrelated. It can be separated just for the better understanding or to say study for any phenomenon of a particular region, i.e., the climate of Thar desert. Then we have to take side of physical geography of Rajasthan. Then within the physical geography we have to incline towards the climatology. Thus we are approaching general to particular and that is said to be the deductive method.* But in this case we have to adopt Inductive Method** which is particular to general in its approach (Frolov, I., 1984).

This was the main issue of this period raised by Varenius. He also wrote a very good

* A process in which conclusion is drawn before collecting the data.

** Method of study in which conclusion is drawn after the collection of data.

book entitled, "Geographia Generalis" in 1650. Newton also accepted it as standards source book of geography of this period. Varenus considered terrestrial properties as the basic element for the discipline (Crone, G.R., 1970).

Geography of 18th Century: This period witnessed the tremendous progress in natural sciences. Therefore, physical geography was developed at greater extent. Philosophical foundation of geography was also laid down by Emanuel Kant. To him the primary sources of knowledge are sense organs and pure reasoning. During this period social sciences were dominated by natural sciences. The concept of natural selection were getting currency. That led to the establishment of European colonies in Asia and Africa.

Geography of 19th Century: This is also considered to be the classical period which lasted till 1905. German geographers played a significant role in this age. Humboldt established geography as a scientific discipline. Because for the first time he adopted empirical method to

study any phenomenon (Dickinson, 1969). He had the view that everything is the part of the universe, each and every phenomenon is interconnected and interlinked. He is said to be the Father of Modern Geography. The other prominent German geographer, i.e., Carl Ritter. He explains the universe Teleologically and did not went beyond the Metaphysical framework. His interpretations were more subjective, than objective.

During this period the foundation of geopolitics was laid down by Friedrich Ratzel, the father of human geography, who propounded the organic state theory in which he says that state requires a particular Raum and environment for its development. On the basis of this concept, Nazi practised the lebensraum propaganda during the war period (Crone, G.R., 1970). This period also witnessed the emergence of different schools of thought, such as environmental determinism in Germany, French school of possibilism, American or British school of new or scientific determinism. Germans give more emphasis on environment while French on human. Both are extreme in their approach while scientific determinism

presents the rational interpretation.

Geography of 20th Century: In this period we had 3 major incidents, i.e., the First World War, The Russian Revolution and the Second World War. After the second world war, geography experienced the major changes in its basic structure. The various approaches were adopted to understand the Man-Nature relationship. Because of the interdependence relationship among the different states in the world.

System Approach: Proposed by the British geographer, Chorley, R.J. and A. Kennedy their purpose was to present an integrated model of any phenomenon, which can produce the inter-connected picture. There are four major components in this approach, i.e., Morphological system, Cascading system, Process response system and Control system.

Functional Approach: Presented by Richard Hartshorne in 1953. According to him nation exist or survive when it performs certain

functions. State has mainly two functions to perform, i.e., internal affairs and external affairs and performing their function through centrifugal or divisive forces and centripetal or unifying factors (Hartshorne, R., 1950).

Wellbeing Approach: This is also said to be the humanist approach, propounded by David M. Smith (1977) an American geographer who is taking into account the problem oriented issues in the U.S.A. He holds the view that geography plays a significant role in the decision making body. He has given more emphasis on three main factors, i.e., income, physical health and state of mind. These factors determine the quality of life. This approach came into prominence in the late 70s (Smith, D.M. 1977).

New World Economic Approach: Presented by Wallerstein in 1979. This is the latest and more relevant approach in geography because this serious attempt on the global system or to say this is the holistic approach which deals with the global problems. He accepts the three-tier

system which represents at the local, regional and global levels. He adopts the two scales such as Horizontal and Vertical. Regarding the Horizontal scale there are core, where exploiters stay, semiperiphery in which exploiters and exploited both live while in the case of periphery where only exploited exist. Considering the vertical scale in which three main factors are there such as reality at the global level which represents the world economy and single world market. The second factor is Ideology which represents the notion of nation, state and separate the reality, from the local experiences. The third factor is locality in which people have their day to day life experiences that has the greater affinity with reality, at the global level but Ideology separates them. The various nations having their own political system governed by certain Ideological framework which reflects the socio-economic set up of that particular country. But at present the economic problems are interconnected and global oriented which cannot be sorted out by one nation. This is said to be the most important approach

in geography in the late 1970s (Taylor, P.J. 1985).

Thus these are the major changes in discipline till the end of 1980s, which have been shown and incorporated in various models and approaches formulated by distinguished scholars to solve the problems of the different period. In this context geography played a significant role in the social sciences to resolve the global oriented issues in the light of the spatial and temporal change.

Regarding the placement of geopolitics in geography, various scholars had the view that geopolitics is the study of the relationship between geographical factors and political situation. It is said to be the science dealing with dependence of political events upon the soil, that is based upon broad foundation of geography especially the political geography, which is the doctrine of political organism of space and their structure.

This is also to be said that geopolitics is the study of relationship between the natural attributes of geography and politics

(Weigart, H. and others, 1957). General Haushofer defines geopolitics as "the science of earth relationship to political developments" (Heske, H. 1987). Patrick, O. Sullivan (1986) says "Geopolitics is the study of geography of the relations between wielders of power, be they rules of nation or of transnational bodies". Therefore, it refers to geographic factors that lie behind the political designs or to say physical location influences the strategy of the particular state.

Robert Walter has view that "Geopolitics is a tool for the determination of a realistic policy for a country or coalition. It is the starting point of policy. The first premise thinking on policy should begin with fundamental principles and these are statements of geopolitical factors". While on the other hand Ladis Kristof holds the opinion that "Geopolitics does not look at the map to find out what nature compels us to do but what nature advises us to do given our preferences" (Kristof, L. 1960).

Isaiah Bowman says "Geopolitics is simple and sure but as disclosed in german writing and policy. It is also illusion mumarens an apology

for theft. Scientific geography deepens the understanding" (Bowman, I. 1942). Other scholars had the view that geopolitics studies space from the view point of the state, while political geography studies the state from the view point of space. Thus as we have seen that definitions of geopolitics changes over time as geography witnessed the tremendous changes. Considering all these things one cannot ignore the historical past of geopolitics. The strategy of state played a significant role in different periods. The decision making body of an ancient period was more complex than the medieval period. The role of the people in these activities got increased with the span of time. The geopolitics mainly got currency during the first world war. While in the 1930s, non German scholars in terms of general and American in particular reacted strongly against the Nazi doctrine. The reaction went so far as to cast a shadow on the political geography in the U.S.A. to discredit nearly all discussions of the international significance of geographic factor. A counter trend set in the

U.S.A. after her entry into the world war II. Gradually it has become acceptable again to investigate and teach about the geographic and other environmental foundations of international relations in terms of power.

In the period of 1950s, the term geopolitics itself regained some currency. But 1960s, had largely shed its identification with realism, international aggression since then the term generally has been used in reference to theories and interpretation of international politics in which geographic factors are involved to explain or to predict the power and the policies of big states. The French geographer labelled geopolitics as a national enterprise of propaganda and teaching military exercise is the part of geopolitics in practice. Taking into account the dubious past many scholars hesitate to comment on it, and they feel that "geopolitics dies with Haushofer and Mackinder" (Walter, R.C. 1975). But it is not like this. Nobody can deny that Hitler and his party have given more emphasis on Raum, which means a particular area, they link this lebensraum with Ratzel's organic state

theory, in which they said state as an organism requires certain area to grow.

General Hausnofer also wrote a book in 1938 entitled, "Living Space in the Battle of Culture". After publishing this book Nazis propagated the slogan that Germans should get more lebensraum. To them lebensraum simply means the area where Germans can stay. The other people can also stay there but under the dominance of German culture. Even Germans are in minority but considering the racial and cultural superiority nordics suppose to subjugate majority of the other races. Thus these are the basic nature of geopolitics which has been changed over time and contributed by the various scholars of different countries. Their basic geostrategic concepts were as under. The remaining scholars would be discussed in other chapters.

Major Alexander De Seversky:(1894-1974): He was the first person to advocate a geopolitical view of the world based on air power. He served in Russian navy during first world war.

Published two books, i.e., (i) Victory Through Air Power (1942); (ii) Air Power Key to Survive 1950. To him land and sea power had been subordinated to air power. So he argued for the development of massive air superiority.

W.M. Donald: He modified the Heartland Rimland ^{Lin} concept, 1956. His approach is modern to traditional. To him there is more variety and flexibility within the Rimland than what skyman proposed. During this period Domino theory also came into prominence in Vietnam war in 1960s. The assumption was that the U.S.A. had to fight and win Vietnam if South Vietnam went communist.

David, J.M. Hooson: Modified the heartland rimland concept in 1964. He says that as the rate of population growth, urbanisation, location of accessible resources, specialization in agriculture and industries, the ethnic factors and historical association plays a significant role in this concept. The heartland core is around the Moscow and Black Sea.

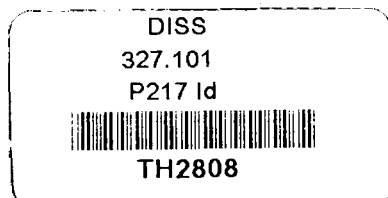
Lin Piao: Presented a world revolution theory in 1965. He was defence minister of China. He says that the world is similar to city and the surroundings countryside. The rich industrialised Western countries represents the city while poor agricultural Third World countries represents the countryside.



Patrick, O' Sullivan: The latest book on geopolitics brought out by him entitled, Geopolitics itself, in which he has given more emphasis on coordinations of the conflict. Territory and distance. According to him, "the crux of international politics is war and main reason for going to war has to command more territory and that remains the prime source of conflict, war provides the negative image of affairs among the people of a particular place"(Sullivan, P.O. 1986).

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Thus all these above mentioned scholars contributed a lot in the field of geopolitics. Therefore on the basis of available literature and interpretations of various geographers we can trace the different trends in the discipline. The initial stage of Ratzel's organic state theory



to world economic approach we have noticed that there are so many ups and downs in this branch of knowledge. One thing is very clear that every scholar has given more emphasis on the superiority of state. Ratzel and Kjellen propagated the idea of territorial expansion while on the other hand scholars, i.e., Major De Seversky hold the view of air power supremacy. The other geographer such as W.M. Donald gives the more on Ideological fight for the hegemony over the world. Therefore, considering all these concepts we can establish that geopolitics is a very dynamic discipline, which played a very significant role in the different periods and dominated by certain concepts which has been brought out by the prominent scholars of different phase. Mackinder and his heartland concept were getting currency before the World War First. While in the case of the Second World War, General Haushofer and Hitler's propaganda was dominated till the 1945. Their main emphasis was on territorial expansion at any cost. Whether on the name of racial superiority or lebensraum whatever it is.

At last we can also establish that the conflict for hegemony remains the core area of geopolitics whether it is for territorial expansion or ideological influence. It may be in different forms in the different periods but things remain the same. The conflict between the haves and havenots will continue in future also for territory, technology, ideological influence and hegemony over the world affairs. This will take different shape in proceeding period (Mattern, T. 1942).

The geopolitics has major role in the social sciences. The basic concepts may have been distorted by some scholars for their vested, personal and national interest but it plays significant role in the state's affair, regional policy, resources and technology distribution. The present time is of competition but not struggle, while cooperative competition in which every small state should be protected. Because we are more inter-connected and interlinked to each other that a single state cannot perform her function without the cooperation of neighbouring state.

The Ratzel's organic state theory and Mackinder's Heartland concepts or Rimland hypothesis of Spykman's are probably no more applicable, in present situation. Today what we need is the new world economic approach. Because that is said to be the very rational interpretation of the present global oriented economic problems of the world.

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CHAPTER - II

GEOPOLITICS AND ITS INTER-DISCIPLINARY LINKAGE

The social sciences leave enough scope for an interdisciplinary approach to the study of any phenomenon. The interdependency between two objects depends upon the mutual interaction and influence of the surrounding environment. Each and every phenomenon of the world, are directly or indirectly interrelated. This kind of interactional variations has temporal relationship.

Regarding the interdisciplinary relationship of geopolitics with other sisterly subjects such as philosophy, psychology, economics, history, sociology, demography and political science can be viewed in the context of changing man nature relationship. Geopolitics has its origin in the social sciences, therefore, it has comparatively less affinity with the natural sciences. During the 18th century and first half of 19th century, there was tremendous development in the natural sciences it presents the systematic knowledge of the nature, which is verified by the practical experiences of the particular period. An experience is the application of various laws of the social sciences as well as

natural sciences. The laws of the natural sciences are universally accepted while in the case of social sciences laws are conditional, cannot be accepted universally because of the social complexities. The important feature of natural sciences is the continuity of scientific knowledge. The new generation forms new laws on the basis of previous one. They do not discard the past experiences. While in the case of the social sciences, new formation of society requires new set of laws and experiences. The past experiences also can be taken into account but not to the same extent as in the case of natural sciences.

Considering the relationship between the disciplines of social sciences, the basic nature of their subjects can be found in all the sisterly disciplines. Philosophy is the oldest science which seeks to deal with the subjective and objective analysis of any phenomenon. In the case of subjective study, the object is perceived as it is while in the case of objective study the matter is taken as primary factor. Therefore, on the basis of these two approaches study can be done in philosophy.

There are two methods through which philosophical analysis can be conducted, i.e., "Metaphysics which deals with subjective reality, while Epistemology deals with the objective reality of any phenomenon of a particular place" (Mannheim, K. 1940).

Thus these are the basic components of philosophy, while on the other hand Marxist focuses much more emphasis on controversy over the matter and consciousness, in fact both are interdependent on each other that cannot be separated. Therefore, the question of primary or secondary does not arise at all. Regarding the relationship between the geopolitics and philosophy, one can establish that the subjective and objective image of any object has its major role in the human society. The basic philosophy is that, whatever is happening in our day to day life has its objective reality, but some people perceive it as governed by the social laws, while others take it as governed by the supernatural powers. In this context, comes the basic philosophy of geopolitics in which, a certain section of society protects the established socio-political set up at a particular region. They project the world as a subjective state of

affairs, while on the other hand scholars project this world as the objective affairs. In this way geopolitics is indirectly related to the philosophy and has its greater impact on the state's internal as well as external affairs.

The psychology is the science which deals with the behavioural patterns and this is also indirectly related to every phenomenon. Hence geopolitics is not an exception in this case. The psychology differentiates between the two states on the basis of its geostrategic behaviour. Their behaviour with each other and all these things are also determined by so many other factors also. Time and space are most important factors to determine the diplomatic relationship between various states. The same state can be a friend and foe in the different period of time, i.e., in the case of Russia she was along with axis power¹ at the initial stage during the Second World War, but later on she shifted to the Holy alliances.² United States of America and

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1. The Germany, Italy and Japan called the Berlin, Tokyo, Rome axis power during the World War II.
 2. The camp of France, Britain, U.S.A. and USSR named as Holy alliance.

Soviet Union were the fast friends during the 1940s, but today the rivalry is on between them for world hegemony.

There are so many factors which has to be seen, among them the fear of winning or losing the war is most important. So on the basis of all these assumptions one can project that the psychology plays a very significant role in the behaviour of a particular state, with another state. The state has its two way behaviour, one is the internal and another one is external behaviour. Regarding the internal behaviour the ruling elite of a particular state are supposed to understand the basic psychology of their society. The various ethnic, linguistic and cultural groups which form the different segments of society.

The ruling elites consider their interest as primary and formulate the policies of state in such a way that projects the national image before the every section of society. But the politically dominating section of society exploits the situation till people realise it. In this way "the internal behaviour of a particular state frames the external geostrategic behaviour among

the world hierarchy" (Ginsberg, M. 1921).

The sisterly relationship between geopolitics and history can be viewed in this way that, the philosophy of history is to conduct the series of inquiries of the previous events and analyse it rationally as much as possible. Therefore, the writing of history is not so easy as Aristotle pointed out that "History is less philosophical and serious than poetry. History is concerned with particular truth while poetry with general" (Carr, E.H. 1987).

The Marxists philosophers held the view that history is always created by the working class or to say it is the result of the class struggle. The constant confrontation between the two opposite classes creates the new kind of history and changes society in due course of time. The history gives more emphasis on time while geography on the space, therefore, geopolitics deals with the horizontal analysis of the state's affairs. While history seeks to study the vertical analysis of a particular state's affair. The history is only discipline in social science which has its equal affinity with natural sciences as well as social

sciences. Because the historical facts are equally important to deal with the flora and fauna.

The historical past has its major role in the study of social groups, an institution or individual of a particular period, i.e., if we want to trace the historical background of the geopolitics of Nazi regime or the basic ideas of Ratzel and General Haushofer then one has to take the help from history. Hence the objective study can be conducted for the different period of time past and on the basis of previous facts and figures one can collect the basic information about the Nazi politics and similarly General Haushofer or Hitler and their role during the war period. Thus the interdisciplinary relationship between the geopolitics and history cannot be ignored at any cost (Debabrata, S. 1975).

The sociology is the science which deals with the study of social structure. It constitutes an individual, group or institution. The primary concern of sociology is to understand the functioning of various components of society. The various components can be the social groups or

social institutions. Sociology also attempts to understand the role of their groups or institutions in the normal functioning of the social system and retain the order and stability in the society. At the more fundamental level sociology would deal with an individual's personality as it is constituted in a social system. The other field of sociology is the study of conflict, change and revolution and its impact on the social order. The facts reveal that the primary aim of sociology is to understand the basic nature and structure of society. The structure of any society is determined by the various other factors such as the socio-political and economic set up of a particular state. In this way the relationship between sociology and geopolitics can be viewed (Bottomore, T.B. 1971).

The social institutions, groups and an individual play a major role in society, directly or sometimes indirectly. The prominent individuals from a particular state play a significant role in the framing of geostrategic policy of that particular state with other neighbouring states. The basic geopolitical ideas of General Haushofer and his institution, during the world war second

played a major role in the past history of geopolitics. Considering them as an individual and social institution which are the main components of sociology. They generated the new awareness among the people in a certain period, i.e., General Haushofer and his associates propagated the lebensraum ideas. Hence their contribution in German geopolitics and society cannot be discarded.

The other primary factors which sociology seeks to attempt seriously are the confrontation and change, it has its massive effects on the social order. The change and conflict are the main components of geopolitics also, because both these factors share a greater affinity with the state's affair. The conflict between two states leads to the change in their geostrategic position. Thus geopolitics and sociology are interlinked to each other and provides the reasonable scope for interdisciplinary approach to the study of any phenomenon of a specific state. Therefore, it is indirectly related to geopolitics.

Demography has quite close relationship with geopolitics, because the size, quality and pressure

of population of a particular state determine the state's internal as well as external relationship with the other surrounding states. The density of population indicates the real extent of the pressure of population, on the resources of a certain region. The size of population also plays very significant role in geopolitics as well as in demography. The advanced countries are having small size population with the higher standard of living. While on the other hand, developing countries having large size population with the low standard of living.

The quality of population has its primary role in different sectoral activities such as the more skilled man power are found in tertiary activities followed by an industrial sector and then agriculture. Geopolitically speaking, the pressure of population led to the colonial race among the European countries during the 18th century. Regarding the racial quality of population, Hitler's notion of Nordic racial superiority and so called lebensraum propaganda of Nazi regime in Germany led to the conflict during the second world war. This kind of phenomenon created a fear

among the various communities of Europe in particular and rest of the world in general.

The foregoing observation reveals that the most populous nations are geostrategically more powerful than the others. Like China, India, Russia and the U.S.A. they are leading countries in the world. On the other side these countries are politically dominated in their respective spheres. Regarding the present population pressure, which is said to be the concern of all states. Because each and every nation is formally independent but, in practice it is much more dependent on each other. A single state cannot perform her function smoothly. Thus in this context the sisterly relationship between geopolitics and demography can be viewed. The geographical factors, i.e., climate, terrain and cultural landscape has its greater affinity with the states population, its size, density and sex ratio all these factors plays a significant role in the state's internal affairs. The higher density of population generally found in the fertile region. While the desert or in rugged topography has the scattered population.

The transportation and communication network have a correlation with the landscape and these factors determine the economic and commercial activities in the state's internal affairs. Thus the relationship between demography and geopolitics project the real strength of the state of a specific region. These demographic factors also has tremendous impact on the state's social and economic structure as well as on the political set up of a particular state.

Economics deals with the utilisation of scarce resources to satisfy the demand of the various sections of society. The resources are not abundant to satisfy all the demands of every individuals. Hence there is need to exploit the scarce resources in such a way so as to maximise the satisfaction of all individuals. Therefore, here comes the scope of economics which attempts to find out the pattern through that the limited resources can be utilised in a rational manner to satisfy the maximum population of a particular state. It further studies the nature of demand and supply as well as price behaviour and distribution of income in the different sections of society.

Political economics is the only discipline in social sciences which has the greater impact on society. Its effect varies from section to section in the social structure. The economic policies of state reflect in its every social norms, taboos, rituals, customs, and law and order. The greater discrimination among the citizens leads to the conflict, change and revolutions, thus through these means of change in society the new economic order comes into existence, this process going on and has its basic roots in the state's affair.

The shaping of the geostrategic relationship between two different countries, the economics plays a major role. The economy of Third World countries determine the relationship within the developing countries at the one level and with the developed nations at the second level. Thus the economic condition of two different states frame the basic strategic policies over the each other, and that is the real parameter of diplomatic relationship. This is generally observed that the countries those who have the same economic set up in their respective position, are more close

than compared to the others, i.e., all advanced countries are more close in their own club. While on the other side, the developing countries having the almost same economic status, feel more close to each other in their camp.

The international organisations such as common wealth, non alignment and south-south co-operation are the reflection of the same state of economy of the developing countries. While on the other hand the super power rivalry is the real conflict for the hegemony over the world economics. Thus the economics plays a major role in geo-strategic relationship among the various states and determine the political status in the world hierarchy. Geopolitically speaking the economics has its greater impact in the case of resources and income distribution among the different nations at the global level and in the various segments of society at the local level. In this context conflict arises for the distribution of scarce resources. Therefore, the interdisciplinary relationship between the geopolitics and economics cannot be undermined at any stage.

The political study is the study of the government of the state. Basically it is concerned with the political structure of a particular state, which has certain territorial expansions and constitute the various ethnic, cultural and linguistic groups within that specific region. This is one of the oldest branch of knowledge. Aristotle called it as "the master of science". The political science played a different role in the society at various stages, i.e., in the case of Tribal Society in which the notion of state was around to burgeon. The territory for hunting was demarcated on the basis of physical appearance. Those who were physically more strong could avail the much more hegemony over the weaker ones. At later stage the notion of protection of the weakers from the stronger came into being. That group urged their master to protect them from the outer intervention. In this context the notion of state laid down and certain people came into prominence as the dominating group.

Regarding the second stage, of society, i.e., feudal state. There were two separate classes in the society, they were the masters and slaves. The

feudals were the owner of means and mode of production while the slaves were just a serf. This process lasted till the industrial revolution. The new technological innovations were made in the various sectors in general and secondary sector in particular. "The new sort of means and mode of production led to the new formation of society in which the tremendous increase has been witnessed in the case of middle class" (Bottomore, T.B. 1964). The elites of any state plays main role in the state's internal and external policies. The elites are of two types, i.e., the lion and fox. The lion elite take power forcefully while foxes are very cunning, therefore they will observe the political turmoil silently and get involved in the state's affair. Thus the different sections of society has its various role in the political affair of a particular region.

The same political set up in the various countries promote the certain types of affinity with these states, like all the communist countries enjoy close friendship. On the other hand Democratic states have structural resemblance with each other in their own club. The form of government also indicates the overall development of that

particular state. The monarchy, military government and Democracy are the main parameters of the political development which show the maturity of masses of their respective states. Therefore, the political structure of any state is the manifestation of its economy and socio-political framework. The interlinkages between the geopolitics and political science cannot be separated at any cost of all levels. The political science leaves enough scope of influence on the geostrategic policies of the state.

The scope and relevance of the interdisciplinary approach in the present situation projects the image of social sciences in a new form in which every issue has been taken up in the different way by the various sisterly disciplines to sort out the main problems. Whether it is the conflict for world hegemony among the super powers or the distribution of resources and transfer of technology among the developed and developing countries. The issue of colonial rule or arm race remained in the main agenda of the social sciences. The same issue has been taken in the different outlook by the various subjects at the different stages of society (Rostow, W.W. 1978).

Considering the interconnected relationship between each and every sisterly subjects the man remained the central point of all the disciplines at the various phases of time in the past and present, and at the different stages of social development. The man's overall activity in the tribal society, feudal or in capitalist society has been traced. The all disciplines has its tremendous impact on the man's day to day life activity. The more interdependency of every discipline in the modern age led to the greater affinity over each other and massive progress in the social sciences to sort out the problems with the help of their own approach. "The interdependency got increased in the present situation because of the advanced technology which minimised the gap between the two states of the different shores of the world". (Holsti, K.J. 1981).

Geographically speaking the world has more than 150 states, but economically and practically they are so close to each other that a single state cannot perform their internal as well as external function without the cooperation of neighbouring state. Since the every individual

of the different state suffers from the same material miseries which has its solution at the global level, but various political set ups separate them from the real solutions. Thus these problems are common to every state but its socio-political and economic structure prevent them to thrash out the issues. Therefore, each and every discipline of social science are playing a very significant role in the society to generate the new laws for the further progress in a co-operative way in which the disparity can be minimised, among the various states of the world.

Taking into account the disparity which is created at the two levels in society, one is by nature itself and second by human being, i.e., the fertile plains of the Nile, Gangetic and Mississippi rivers cannot be kept with the pace of Sahara desert and Tundra region. This is the disparity created by nature, but man can utilise the scarce resources of its respective regions in such a manner that can prevent the further disparity. Therefore, whether it is matter of distribution of resources or the transfer of technology at the global level or local level the man nature relationship plays a

major role in this regard, and the man nature relationship always determined by the levels of technology in the different periods of time as well as this relationship has the spatial variation in its characteristics (Jackson, 1962).

The effects of new technology can be noticed in the every branch of knowledge. The intensity and extent of this impact also varies from one discipline to another discipline. Therefore it is very necessary to impart the interdisciplinary approach which can project the image of over all development of the social sciences as well as natural sciences.

In summary one can reveal the facts that the geostrategic status of a nation in the world hierarchy determined by all the factors which comes from every discipline and generates the mutual relationship between them, and shares greater affinity over each other. In this context one can establish the fact that if all the disciplines of social sciences are interconnected and interrelated, then the geopolitics is not an exception. It also shares all impacts and provides the interdisciplinary understanding to sort out

problems which concerned to the social sciences. Regarding methods and techniques used in the different disciplines of the social sciences, one can conclude that the historical analytical method is in wider use. The significance of this method varies from subject to subject. It is extensively being used in philosophy, history, sociology, political science, geography and economics.

Considering the application of this method in the case of philosophy and history one has to trace the past experiences and their major events through which conclusion can be drawn in present situation in the light of the past. The temporal variation is prime factor in history while geography considers spatial variation as prime factor. There are certain statistical techniques in geography as well as in sociology despite that historical analytical method is relatively much more applicable. Because in the case of the evolution of society or a particular land mass, one has to take into account the past history of that phenomenon.

In the case of philosophy and political science the historical analytical method helps to trace the forgoing development of these fields.

While in the case of economics the same method is being used at two different levels, e.g., macro and micro to bring out the real feature of particular phenomenon by putting the same into practice.

Thus the historical analytical method is said to be the prime technique in the social sciences to study any phenomenon in the present situation. The same method is being used by various disciplines according to their priorities and own way of dealing the problems. But the relevance is almost same in the entire social sciences.

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CHAPTER - III

CONTRIBUTION OF GERMAN SCHOLARS

Geopolitics was predominantly a German science till the Second World War, because they were the pioneers who developed it as a separate branch ^{from} political geography and most of geopolitical literature was German based. Therefore, the contribution of German scholars cannot be discarded. Its usage has been blamed for misuse during the Nazi period.

There were many reasons such as, the population pressure, the space was same while population was subsequently increasing. Hence they had come up with many new options. The supremacy for colonies was going on and Germans thought that very little had been left for them. The most important reason was the humiliating treaty of Versailles. All these factors led to the German intellectuals and military leaders to think about their loss and defeat in the first world war.

The Germans thought that their defeat in the first world war was due to the strategic lapses. In this context they took geopolitics as the problem solving capsules and propagated the

lebensraum ideas. This furthermore led to the creation of geopolitical school in Germany. The most important phenomenon in the German history was treaty of Versailles. Because she was forced to sign the treaty on 28th June 1919 with the allies. The most humiliating fact was that when the final draft of the treaty was ready, she was asked to send her delegates. The delegates were not allowed to communicate with anybody.

The allies made the provision that Germany alone was responsible for the war. Therefore, she had to give Alsacelorraine region to France. The Donzing city was taken away from her. Saar Valley was put under the league of Nations, for 15 years. German General staff was abolished. Total strength of army was fixed at one lakh. She was allowed to have only six battle ships, six light cruisers and tweleve destroyers and twelve torpedo boats. They were required to pay about 500 million dollars. The river Rhine was put under the control of an international commission. The allied troops deployed at the German soils did not behave courteously towards her subjects. Thus this sort of step-motherly treatment of Germany after the

First World War led her masses to demand for a revision of the treaty. But there was no possibility to do so on account of the opposition by France (Crone, G.R. 1948).

Thus these were the main circumstances in which Nazi party began to gain ground in Germany. They created the institution for Geopolitics and General Haushofer was appointed as Chairman. This institution got the massive support from all geographers of that period. The basic concepts were as follows mainly of the Ratzel and Haushofer.

Ratzel, F. (1844-1904): He was concerned about the increasing population and limited territory. According to him "The decay of every state is the result of a declining space conception" (Ratzel, quoted in Gyargy, A., p. 152). He is considered as the Father of Political Geography. Formulated the organic state theory in which he established that state's behaviour is similar to the living organism. On the basis of this concept he formulated seven laws of state's growth, i.e.,

1. The space of states having the same culture grows with the expansion of the population;

According to this law the territorial expansion

is the result of population pressure. But in the present situation this law is not applicable. Because if the states having the same culture grows with the expansion of their population then China and India should acquire much more territory than they had in the past. Because population in both these countries are very high while the spatial expansion remains the same.

This law carried weight during the nationalist movement and colonial race among the European countries. In the modern age the spatial expansion is not the solution of population pressure. But one can sort out this problem by the advanced technological innovations in each and every phenomenon of the day to day life.

Regarding the cultural homogeneity of a particular region, and how that promote the territorial expansion, the general trend has been noticed that, during the colonies, Britishers, flourished their culture all over their colonies, i.e., food habits, dressing, living style and most important was English language. These were the main components of British culture that spreaded in such a manner that the certain section of society in every colony

became the blind British supporters to subjugate their own brothers. This kind of colonial hang over is still existing in the entire developing nations. Thus the population pressure and culture had its greater impact on the territorial growth and it has even in present situation but the intensity is much less than what it projected in the previous time.

2. Territorial growth follows other aspects of development:

This law played a very significant role in the overall development of society in the different periods. But in the case of modern era, there were certain similarities in advanced technological development and social situations. Because through these innovations the gap between various states of the world was minimised. The missionaries and mass communication played a major role in the development. This kind of process led to the political advancement and unification. In the present context, territorial growth does not mean the spatial expansion, but simply apply for the sphere of influences.

3. State grows by absorbing the smaller units:

The basic notion of this law is the capturing of small states by the bigger one. The main characteristics of states has always remained in the same process, without absorbing the small units spatial expansion of bigger state is impossible. But question arises that, is it reasonable in present condition, of course not. Because every state, whether it is small or big in size or in the case of sphere of influences, has freedom to perform their function in the independent world. The smaller units have to be protected not to be absorbed at any cost, i.e., in the case of all small states of Indian subcontinent. Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives, Sri Lanka each of whom, India protects always from the outer interruption as well as from the internal rebels such as in the recent case of Sri Lanka and Maldives witnessed this kind of political turmoils. But India cannot take over or absorb them, at any stage.

4. The frontiers are the peripheral organs of the state that reflects the strength and growth of the state. So it is not permanent;

The frontiers of the state are not static

because the other indices of growth, i.e., political, cultural, and economic phenomena^a are also not permanent, and these factors also play a major role in the change of frontiers. The political structure of a particular state changes over time due to so many other factors such as economy, culture and conflict. This leaves a massive impact on the relationship between the two different states.

The frontiers reflect the strength and growth of the state. This is considered to be quite rational point but whether it is a peripheral organ or not, arises the question. Because what we have experienced in our case that, during the British period, the periphery was much more developed than the core, i.e., Calcutta, Madras and Bombay all these ports were developed much more as compared to the rest of India. Therefore, taking into account this case, one can establish the notion about the core and periphery that, these are not static. They change according to the geostrategic policies of the state. Hence the spatial and temporal changes can be witnessed in this phenomenon also. These are not permanent and its strength are the real reflection of state's strategic status among the other states.

5. State in the course of their growth seeks to absorb politically valuable territory:

The historical facts reveal that, all the states try their best to overtake the geophysically important area, i.e., rich and fertile territories such as the Kashmir Valley which created the conflict between India and Pakistan. Regarding the strategically important location, the struggle for the stronghold over the Indian Ocean, South Pacific and Afghanistan are going on between two super powers. Whether it is the Vietnam or Libya, the basic aim of respective super power is to establish their hegemony by all means. Thus this law has quite reasonable scope in the present situation also. That cannot be undermined at any level. But in the present political scenario the ideological influence is more reasonable than the territorial expansion.

6. The impetus for growth comes to a primitive state from a more highly developed civilization:

The history of modern civilization has proved the application of this law that, the small states always had the tendency to look towards the highly

developed states. The advanced states always considered as the reference point for the smaller one. Therefore, their source of aspiration is highly developed civilization which is attained by unidirectional change* in which the less developed states follow the path of the advanced ones.

This kind of process keeps on going until the peripheral states do not attain a certain level. Some scholars held the view that, highly developed civilizations make the progress at the cost of other, under developed states. They exploit the situation in such a manner that creates the further disparity between the two different states. Considering the main feature of disparity, one can distinguish that it has been created by nature upto certain extent while further gap has been maximised by human being.

7. The trend towards territorial growth is contagious and increases in the process of transmission:

The tendency of a state whether she is small

* The process of development in which the states, lower in hierarchy tends to attain the higher level.

or big remains the same to become bigger one. When the smaller state attained the equal status in terms of territory with the bigger one, then the bigger one start to struggle for becoming more bigger. Hence this trend has been witnessed as a contagious or to say long lasting process. It can be in various forms in the different periods.

This kind of tendency got currency during the colonial period in which every country involved in that race. They wanted to establish more and more colonies all over the world. France, Britain and Portugal were among the biggest empires while other European countries acquired the smaller one.

^{Re}
A regarding the present political scenario this process is still going on between the advanced countries and developing nations, but in different forms. The most important rivals are two super powers. They want to establish their hegemony all over the world. Thus this law also leaves enough scope in present circumstances.

Thus these are the main seven laws of Ratzel which he had formulated in the organic state theory. The basic notion of these laws has been distorted upto certain extent by some scholars but his geostrategic ideas played an important role during

the Second World War and some of them contributed a lot in the case of colonial race, nationalist movement. But some of his ideas are still in use in present political situation. While most of them became outdated because of simply two reasons, e.g., (i) increasing interdependency among the world states; (ii) National market replaced by single world economic market. Therefore, considering these factors one can analyse the present world affair that single state cannot perform her function without the co-operation of neighbouring countries. The regional organisations such^{as} SAARC, ASEAN and E.E.C. are the replica of this phenomenon.

Therefore, whatever he formulated in his theory was much more relevant in that period and less applicable in the modern age, but cannot be discarded absolutely. So the rational interpretation would be to analyse his theory in the light of past and present trends in the geopolitics. At last one can conclude that his approach to understand the basic framework of state, got the tremendous support during the Nazi regime in Germany which reflected in the Hitler's notion of racial superiority and General Haushofer's lebensraum, and all

considered as the prime source of geopolitics.

According to him the Pacific would have been the ocean of the future and furthermore elaborated that land power had the advantage over the sea power. He held the view that states of a small size cannot make the history over the earth.

Therefore, considering all these things, one has to recognise him as a major contributor in this field as Dickinson pointed out that "He was the greatest contributor to the development of the political geography. Unfortunately his views have been distorted by his countrymen and misinterpreted in other countries" (Dickinson, R.E., 1969).

Hence the Ratzel's contribution in German geopolitics cannot be undermined. His basic concepts require a rational interpretation which can project its relevance in the present political scenario. This would create the harmonious relationship between the various states of the world, despite their different socio-political structure. The Ratzel's geopolitical ideas are still valid up to certain extent. But in the past some

scholars presented his concepts in a distorted manner and tried to solve their pisorative purpose.* For this lapse responsibility cannot be thrown on him. Because he was compelled to write by the circumstances of that period. Thus his contribution leaves a major landmark in the history of German Geopolitics (Paterson, J.H. 1987).

Karl Haushofer (1869-1946): He was the second most prominent German geopolitician and responsible for framing the Nazi Policy. His family seat was just outside Munich and involved in the formative stages of the national socialist party. Rudolf Hess had been his assistant during the Second World War. He met Hitler several times when he was dictating *Mein Kampf* to Hess. In which the racial hatred geopolitical notions are employed. Their primary aim was to obtain control of the heartland and then destroy the naval power of U.K. and U.S.A.

* Pisorative purpose is that state of affairs in which all the means of negative approaches are adopted for the vested interest.

The geopolitics before General Haushofer came into prominence was theoretical, but he verbalised it, published and put into practice. He influenced the Nazi foreign policy and contributed a lot in this regard, and he established the geopolitical institution for data collection. He held the view about space that "Space governs mankind's history" (Fifield, R.H. & G.E. Pearcy 1944). He emphasised much more on population pressure, and economic self sufficiency while the Munich school of geopolitics takes into account the location of Capital.

Regarding the urbanisation, he felt that the proportion of the balanced relations was very necessary for strong state. Sea power to him is a most important factor he reasonable emphasised on continentalism versus oceanalism. The continents provide an end of boundary of state besides an ocean opens the scope for state. According to him Germany should attack Russia after controlling England and France. He said that France was stagnating politically and biologically. He recognised the U.S.A. as the most matured country.

The conflict to him was going on between the youthfulness versus aged (Dorpalen, 1942). He viewed geopolitics "as the generator of immense explosive power" (Heske, H. 1987). All these ideas were formulated on his previous experiences, which he has been conceived from the various places. Basically he was an army servant during the First World War. But after German's defeat in battle, he was very much disappointed for her poor show in the war and blamed on her top level politicians and generals. The other reason was that he had been for a short visit to Japan and Britain and impressed by the Geostrategic planning of these countries. He was also very much embarrassed by the treaty of Versailles. All these factors led him to the study of geopolitics. He became a Professor of geopolitics after the Nazi regime came to power in 1933.

A monthly journal was founded entitled, The Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik in which they propagated geopolitics as their new science. The name has been drawn from Kjellen. They published lots of material including articles and maps. They projected the contemporary situation in such

a manner in which the support from all sections of society was expected and they got the reasonable ^{response} also, due to the active participation and academic oriented approach. They exploited the people's sentiments over the issue of step-motherly treatment of Germany in the peace settlement after First World War. Haushofer used the Ratzel's organic state theory, Geostrategic views of Mackinder and Mahan as war weapon that led to the German chauvinism and further policy of expansionism. He suggested for German, Russian co-operation. They adopted a new method to influence the people through slogans, and pictographs. On the account of Germany's economic self sufficiency, Kjellen's advocacy of ~~A~~uterky was further elaborated. The Ratzel's basic concept of lebensraum was presented in a distorted manner (Kruszowski, C. 1940).

The Nazi government used Geo-economic policy as political weapon. The some other scholars had the view for an alliance with the Soviet Union but later on discarded when Hitler invaded that vast country. The further new branches were developed during that period such as Geo-Medicine, Geo-Psychology and Geo-Economics. The interpretations of all these branches led to play major role for

German conquest. General Haushofer's lebensraum propaganda remained in the main stream, till the end of Second World War. Hence Haushofer held the high place in German Geopolitics. The other geopoliticians of that period were Dix Otto, Hess and Henning. They played a very significant role in the Nazi politics. Dix Otto was a great painter and expressed his geopolitical views through his painting which created a national spirit among the German people. The geopolitical thinker was Baron Dietrich Von Bulow. He has ^{elaborated} his ideas in a book published in 1799, The Spirit of New System of War. He also developed the theory of political strategy.

He viewed that there would be continuously war unless and until the great powers did not reach their natural frontiers. The main Natural Frontier are mountain, sea and rivers. The rivers and sea make military operation difficult while on the other hand they promote the commercial relations. His approach seems to be a Geopolitical in international relations but practically that led to the expansionist tendencies.

The short term aim of German geopolitics was the revision of the treaty of Versailles as it was projected by General Haushofer and his associates. Because he was well known in right wing political circle for his realist policy prescriptions. He was friendly with Hitler's deputy, Rudolf Hess from 1919 onward and has been regularly meeting him for detailed discussions once in a month through out that period. Haushofer's main link in the 1930 with the political elites seems to have been through his son Albrecht. The misfortune was happened when Hess launched the abortive peace mission to Britain in 1941 and Haushofer lost what influence he had on the Nazi regime. His son^{was} executed in 1944 for his part in the failed assassination attempt on Hitler.

The contribution made by Haushofer in German geopolitics cannot be undermined. Because of his involvement in the Nazi politics, as Heske (1987) pointed out that "Geopolitics was implicated more than any other science in the legitimation of Nazi regime and Haushofer must bear the main responsibility for this". Some scholars compared German geopolitics with national

socialist doctrine and have exposed the fundamental differences in their theories. Although geopolitics was derived from Ratzel's scientific materialism. The national socialism promoted the ideas of innate human qualities enabling the racial theories of superiority.

Thus these were the contribution of Haushofer in the German Geostrategy. Ratzel has been rightly recognised as the greatest contributor to the scientific human geography and development of geopolitics. Many social scientists viewed him as a crude determinist. Whatever may be the case of his approach^{ch} to study of any phenomenon of a particular place during^{that} period but his basic concepts leave a reasonable scope to take up the issues according to the time and space. His seven laws are partially applicable in present situation. Because the territorial expansion in the context of changing man nature relationship simply means the horizontal sphere of influence, not the spatial expansion. Strategically speaking the two super powers have their sphere of influence all over the world, that is ideologically much more effective than the military take over in a particular region

Therefore, the conflict of territorial expansion has been framed in a different way in the present political situation.

The contribution of German scholars in geopolitics as well as in political geography cannot be under estimated at any stage, Ratzel and Haushofer played a major role in German geopolitics which has been witnessed over the time and especially in between the two world wars. The German geostrategy has its roots and correlation with the colonial race also, because this factor led to bound all the countries to concern about their mother state and cultivated the nationalist spirit among the subjects of their country.

Regarding the nationalist spirit and territorial expansionism, the geostrategic views of Ratzel and Haushofer played significant role to convince the people about their country and used the basic concepts of geopolitics as the problem solving pills. This kind of philosophy has been experienced in Germany in particular and in the other parts of the world in general. The rational interpretation would be that, whatever ideas they propagated during the war period, it was the demand

of the time and circumstances created by rival countries, because directly or indirectly they compelled Germans to think accordingly. After the First World War the era of decolonisation began and within the span of thirty years (1932-1962) the political situation of the world has completely changed.

Thus considering the spatial and temporal change as the characteristics of any phenomenon, German geopolitics has witnessed many ups and downs in its history. Ratzel and Haushofer held the high place and recognised as the prominent contributors in the German geopolitics. They left the long lasting impact on this discipline which cannot be removed easily. In this context they are considered as the real fore fathers of German Geopolitics.

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C H A P T E R - I V

CONTRIBUTION BY OTHER SCHOLARS

(In the context of changing man nature relationship)

The studies of geopolitics are not new one it is as old as the history of mankind. The ancient Greek scholars, e.g., Aristotle, Plato and Herodotus are ^{the} examples of the theoreticians of old geopolitics. Historically speaking, geopolitics has been experienced various trends as the result of contribution made by different scholars. The German statesmen played a very significant role in this regard. Because they took the initiative to develop geopolitics as a separate discipline. But it does not mean that geopolitics is the German monopoly.

The various other thinkers also contributed a lot in this field to develop this branch of knowledge as a discipline. Their basic geostrategic understanding were as follow:

Rudolf Kjellen (1864-1922): The term geopolitics was coined by him. He was a political scientist and member of the Swedish Parliament. According to him state behave like biological organism. A book also has been brought out by him in 1916 entitled

"State on ^{Sopodifs} form".* He compares state with an organism and have five organs such as, Krato Politick structure of government, Demo Politik - population structure, Sucipolitik - Social structure, Oeko Politik - Economic structure and Geopolitik - physical structure.

He also introduced the aspects of quality of the population. According to him state has always constant competition with other states and large states extend their power over smaller one and ultimately the world would have only a few large and extremely powerful states (Pacione, M. 1985).

He much more emphasised on five most important factors, e.g., Territory to him it consists the realm of people in which road, railways and other transportation network plays a significant role. People in this case he takes into account the generations of past, present and future. He established that state has certain responsibilities to regulate with present generation and does not harm the interest of the next generation. Household in

* Sopodifs form simple mean state as an organism.

which the territory should fulfil the basic needs of its population so the ratio can be proportionate to its resources. Society, Kjellen rejected the doctrine of society as a subordinate to the state, while sociologists considered it as a disassociated from the state. The last and most important factor is Government, to him the form of government is determined by geographical factors, ethnic, economical and historical factors all these aspects fulfil the interest of different groups in society.

Thus Kjellen's approach to understand the basic nature of state can be viewed as the foundation of geopolitics, because he took into account almost all factors of the state which plays major role in the framing of geostrategic policies of the state and its relationship with other state (Donald & Bednorz, 1988). Regarding his views on territorial expansion, one can conclude that it was quite right during that period but these are not applicable today, because at present every nation is more interdependent and interconnected to each other that even super powers cannot neglect the role of small states in the world affair.

Alfred, T. Mahan (1840-1914): He took a global view of geopolitical affairs. Basically he was naval historian and published books, e.g., The Life of Nelson 1817, The Influence of Sea Power Upon History 1890, French Revolution and Empire 1892, etc. He established that control of the sea comes to protect commerce and wage. The economics warfare was very important to a state. To him there are six fundamental aspects which affects the development and maintenance of sea power these are such as:

- (1) Geographical position (location)
- (2) Physical conformation of the state (nature of its coasts)
- (3) Extent of territory (length of the coastline)
- (4) Population numbers
- (5) National Character
- (6) Governmental policy.

According to him only the fittest nations could successfully sustain themselves in the constant grappling.* The fitness was measured in terms of

* Constant grappling means dealing problems with an enemy.

national strength. He was a practical man, and had prescriptions for united state's foreign policy because his advice did not go unheeded (Mahan, T. 1890). He advised United States to occupy the Hawaiian island, take control of the Caribbean and build a cannal to link the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The President Rosevelt's administration used several of Mahan's suggestions. A book also has been ^{published} by him entitled, "The Problem of Asia 1900". In which he recognised a core area in Asia and Russia's domination of it. He anticipated a struggle between Russian land power and British sea power. He held the view that British sea power would be able to contain Russian expansionism. The containment of Russia and control of China would become the joint concern of the United States, Britain, Germany and Japan.

Sir Halford Mackinder (1861-1947): was a Scot by birth and best known geographer in the non-geographic circle. His contribution in geopolitics considered the best known global strategic scheme in the modern period. He served in various capacities at the University of London. He presented a paper entitled, "The Geographical Pivot of History" in 1904

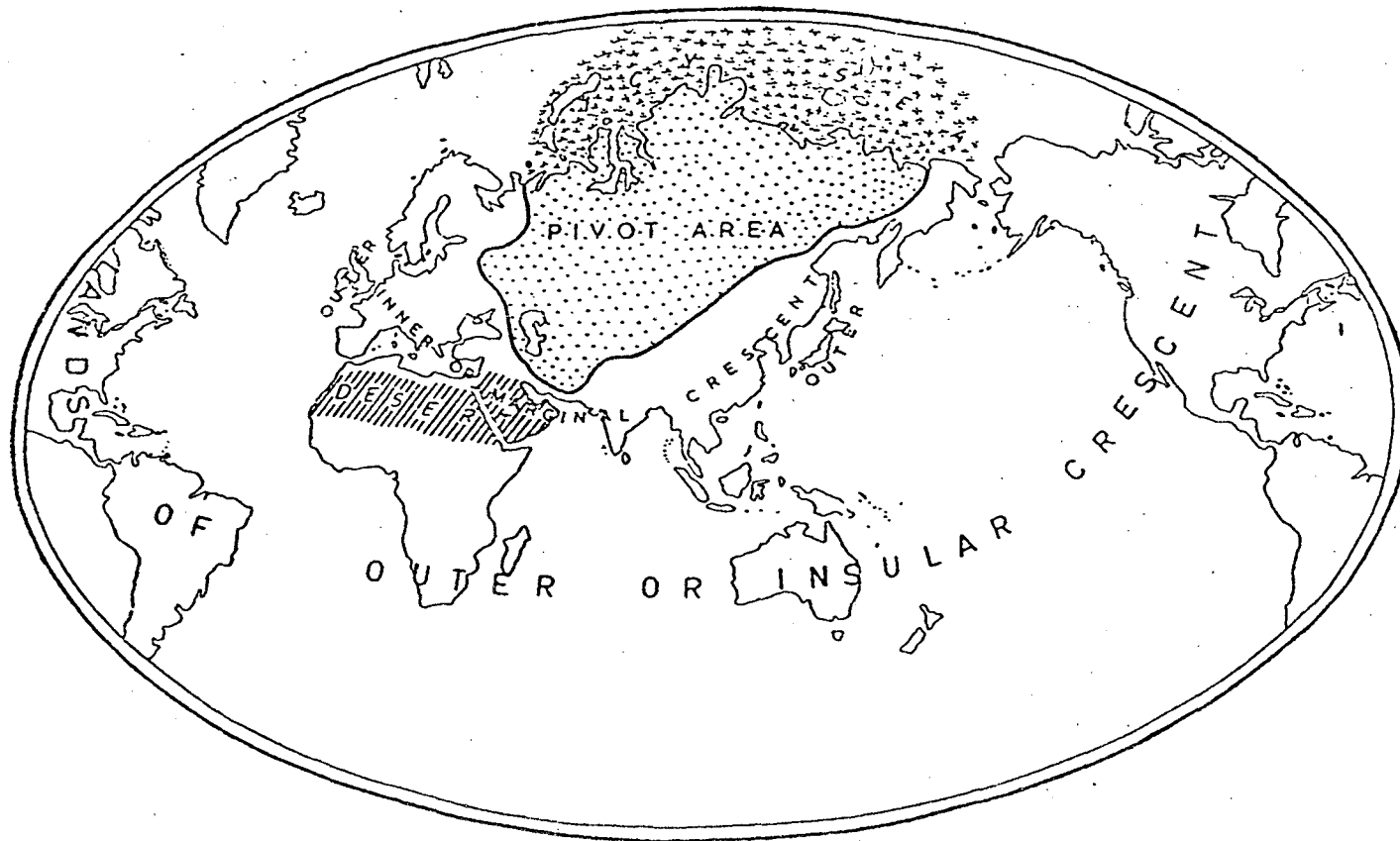
at the Royal Geographical Society of London. In this context he laid down the foundation of modern geopolitics. Because in this time he put forward the basic ideas of geographical distribution of land masses and water bodies on the earth surface in terms of political perspective. According to him the history is struggle between land and sea powers. His heartland theory created a political debate in the world affairs. Later on he defined the concepts of Heartland and presented in a different manner after the world war first.

The modified ideas, entitled, the democratic ideals and reality, in which pivot area was renamed as Heartland was came up in 1919. This period was considered as most critical because Britain was losing her economic and political leadership in the world. The situation was changing due to the drastic rise of U.S.A. and Germany. Mackinder being a leading member of liberal party, said to be the party of Free Trade. He believed that no longer simple accumulation of capital in London would be sufficient to meet the challenge of Germany's massive growth in heavy industries. His main emphasis was on the spatial structure of land power versus sea power. He identified central asia as the

pivot area of history from which the horsemen have dominated Asian and European history because of their superior mobility.

Mackinder further elaborat^{ed} his views about the colonial era in which the balance of power shifted to the coastal zones, i.e., Britain and he felt that this era is almost coming to an end. Regarding the post Columbian era new transport technology, particularly the railways would redress the balance bank in favour of land based power and the pivot area would reassert itself. Therefore, basically it was nothing more than the rationalisation of historical geography for the traditional British policy of maintaining a balance of power in Europe. So the continental power could threaten the British hegemony. He advocated to avoid the Russian German alliance. "Taking into account his views of economic and national politics he can be recognised as the man of political economist with the holistic world view" (Gilbert, E.W. 1972).

The basic philosophy of heartland thesis was to present a physical map of the world which can indirectly show the British hegemony over it. He took into account the huge continental land mass



The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line

FIGURE 4.1

MACKINDER'S HEARTLAND MODEL OF 1904 — THE NATURAL SEATS OF POWER: Pivotal-area — wholly continental; outer crescent — wholly oceanic; inner crescent — partly oceanic, partly continental.

source: Dikshit.R.D, political Geography.A contemporary perspective.

(New Delhi 1985), p. 108.

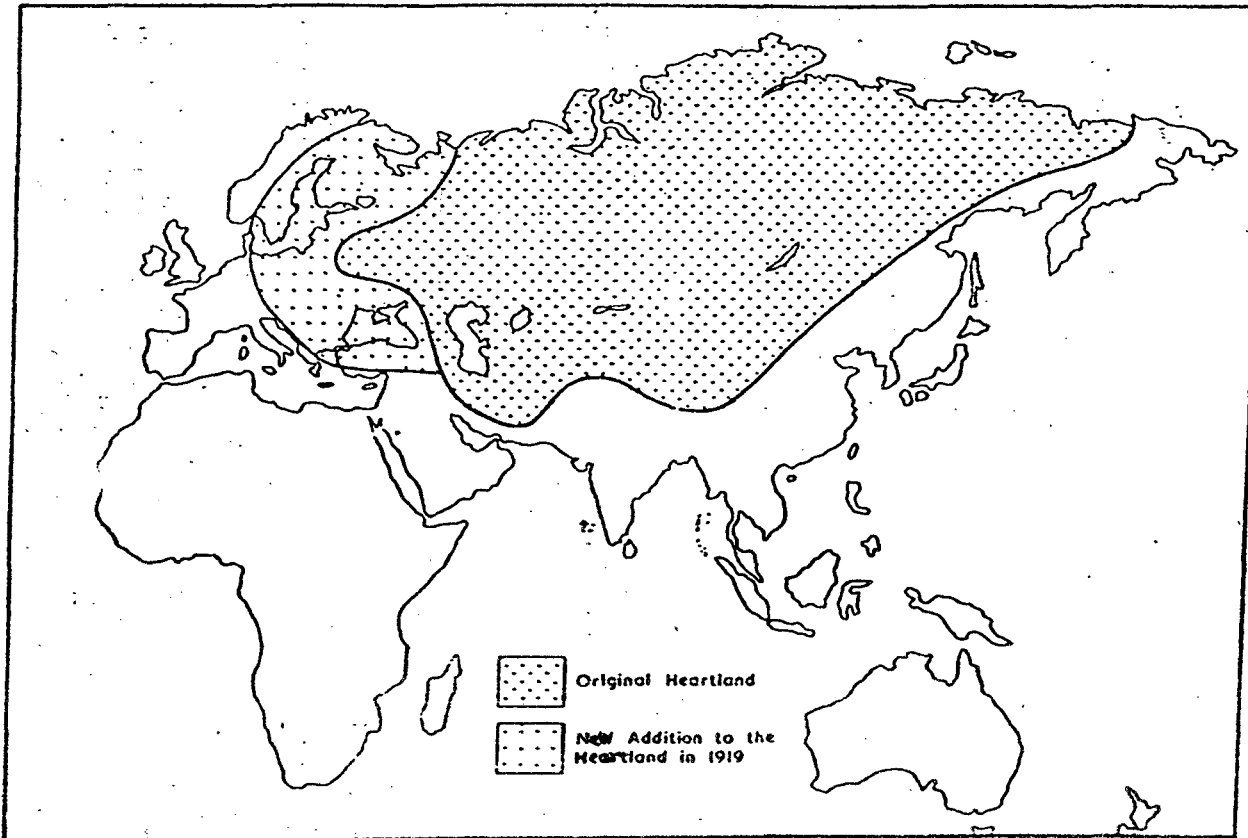
of Euresia, Asia and Africa as well as some isolated islands such as Japan, Australia, Britain, North and South America. The land mass of Asia, Europe and Africa was named as the "World Island". In the case of Africa he took the north of Sahara. Further more he explains the water and land masses ratio over the earth surface. According to him three-fourth is water and one fourth is land mass, out of this one fourth, the two third is world island and rest consist by other continents. Thus ultimately he established the supremacy of world island over the rest of land mass.

The world map presented by him in such a manner that consists the three natural seats of power and projects a world image in different ways (See Fig. 4.1). The pivot area, which is entirely continental in its nature start from the Volga river in Siberia and includes the Himalayan Mountain in the South upto the Arctic in the North. The remarkable feature of this thesis is that pivot area is surrounded by mountains on the three sides and icy sea on the north side. The second seat of power is inner or marginal crescent, which is partly oceanic and partly continental. It includes

the Europe west to Ural mountain, South west Asia, Iran, India, China and South East Asia. The third seat of power is outer or insular crescent which is almost oceanic in its nature. It consists the north and south America, Africa and Australia. Besides the island of Britain and Japan. To him the Europe had been always divided into two different political systems, the north and south.

Thus this was his heartland thesis and there are certain drawbacks in this but the greatest one was that he over emphasised on the heartland region. The second lapse was that he never gave a serious attempt on the growing power of Japan, Germany and Italy. The other thing were about the British hegemony and ignorance of African continent. He included only the north part of Africa and left rest of the continents. Therefore, this is said to be imbalanced model of the world power.

Modified Heartland Thesis (1919): The basic philosophy of his modified heartland thesis was to convince the allied forces to undermine the German demands and establish the supremacy of British policy



The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line

FIGURE 4.2

MACKINDER'S "STRATEGIC" HEARTLAND OF 1919.

source: Dikshit, R. D, political Geography. A contemporary perspective.

(New Delhi 1985), p. 113.

in the peace settlement after the World War I. Therefore, practically he was compelled by the circumstances after the war period to revive his theory. Besides the British navy were denied to enter into the Black Sea. This incidence led to further realise the strategic importance of the Heartland. Then he included the Black Sea, Tibet, Persia, Baltic Sea, Navigable Danube, Armenia, Mongolia and Asia Minor in his modified heartland thesis in 1919.

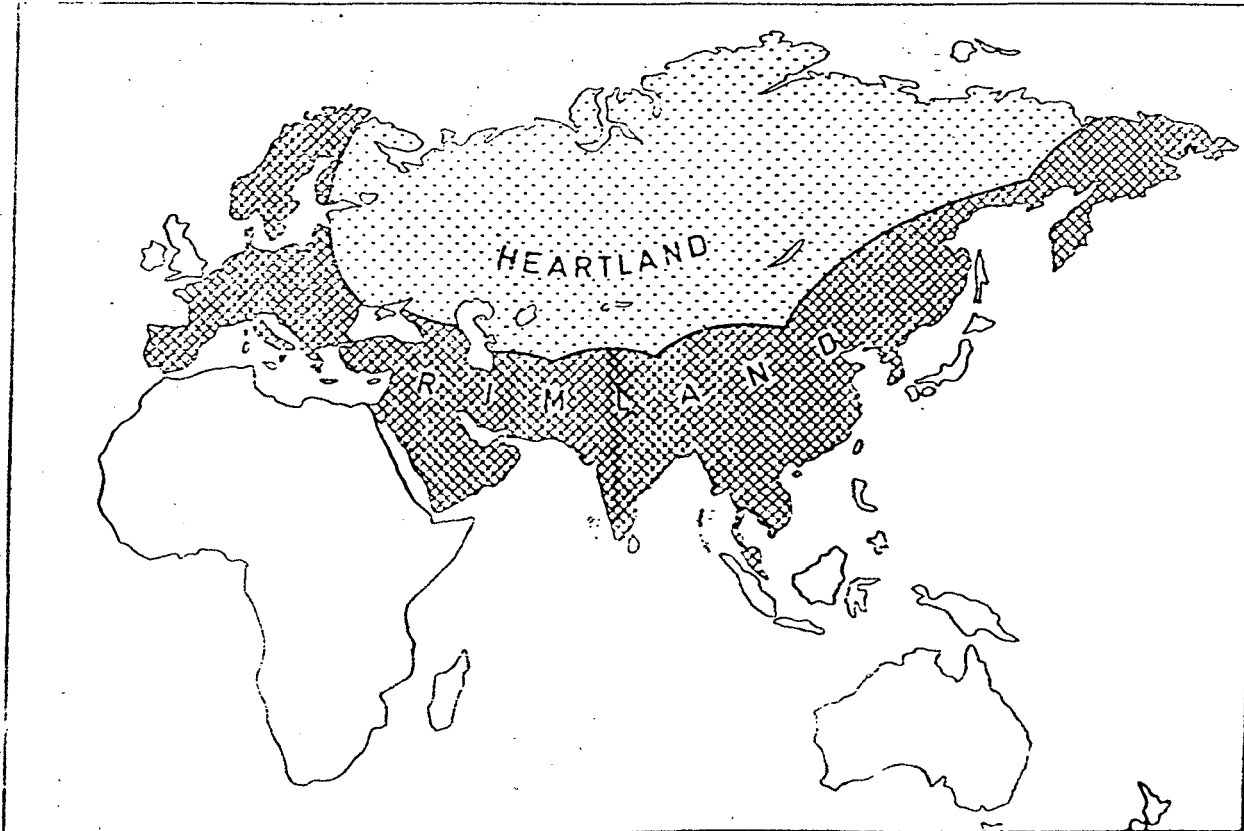
Mackinder felt that for the control of heartland, the east European corridor is the only way for outer powers to penetrate in it. He made the most relevant forecast that Germany would be the threat to the Heartland and any state who control the world island would be able to command the two-third of land mass and seven-eighth of the man power of this world. Thus the modified heartland consisted much more larger land mass than the pivot area (See Fig. 4.2).

Mackinder emphasised much more on old world and Eurasia until the 1919. But after that he shifted towards the North America and Western Europe. To him "In the United States the most

abundant rainfall and productive coal fields are to be found in the east, but in Europe they are in the west. Thus the West of Europe and all the east of North America are physical complements of one another and are rapidly becoming balanced halves of a single community" (Mackinder 1904).

The article has been brought out by him during the war period entitled, "The Round World and the Winning of Peace". In which he added a midland basin concept in the 1943s modified heartland thesis, consisting the Western Europe, North Atlantic Ocean, and Eastern United States. This view about the Soviet Union, that if ^{she} emerges from the Second World War then she would come up as a major giant of the world power. His forecast finally turns into true and rivalry is going on between the Two Super Powers to gain the hegemony over the world *politics*.

Thus these are the main geostrategic ideas of Mackinder. He assumed certain unrealistic notions, i.e., to him the history is a struggle between land power and sea power. While the facts reveal that history is the result of man's interaction with nature and conflict for the ownership of means and mode of production. He considered the heartland



The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line

FIGURE 4.3

SPYKMAN'S CONCEPT OF THE RIMLAND.

source: Dikshit, R. D, political Geography. A contemporary perspective.
(New Delhi 1985), p. 118.

as a region of permanent difficulties due to its extreme climates.

Mackinder's ideal dream did not turn into truth because the situation was some thing difficult. He advocated for the railways development in the heartland region. He did not emphasis much more on the growing air power while railways age was around to end. Regarding the great depression of world economics during the 1930s, he even did not draw the attention in his modified heartland thesis 1943. Because this phenomenon led to the world economics crisis and finally reflected in the World War II and the result was new power of balance in the world political scenario. Thus in summary one should realise that Mackinder's geo-strategic ideas played a significant role in the first world war, policies of Paris peace settlement and in the affairs of Second World War.

Nicholas, J. Spykman (1893-1943): He presented his model in 1944 named Rimland in which he took the area of heartland's partly oceanic and continental, combindly recognised as marginal crescent renamed as the Rimland (See Fig. 4.3). He considered

the maritime mobility as the prime factor of a new geopolitical framework and sea power emerged as the key factor in global geopolitical strategy. According to him "It is sea power which has made it possible to conceive the Eurasian continents as a unit and it is sea power which governs the relationship between the old and the new world" (Spykman, N.J. 1944).

The Spykman much more emphasised on Rimland because to him it possessed the central heartland area which was unified by the communication and transportation, while on the other hand he viewed that the entire steppe land area as a bearing low potentiality would come up as the highly economically developed region. But both these assumptions were not turns into truth. To him the industrial and agricultural potentiality were found relatively second at the western region of Ural mountain.

He further more argued that the mobility of automobiles, railways and aircrafts in this region can be extended to the East, north, south and west of Eurasia through the prime means of transportation in the world. The Central Asia would bear a

relatively low power potentiality in the future due to the poor transportational network. He discarded Mackinder's dictum and formulated his own, i.e.,

Who control the Rimland rules, Eurasia,
Who rules Eurasia controls the destinies
of the world.

Spykman criticised the Mackinder's heartland thesis and elaborated that the misleded the world regarding the theory of history, as a constant struggle between the sea power versus land power. He emphasised that "there has never really been a simple land power, sea power opposition. The historical alignment has always in terms of some members of the Rimland against Russia or Great Britain and Russia together against a dominating Rimland power" (Spykman, 1944).

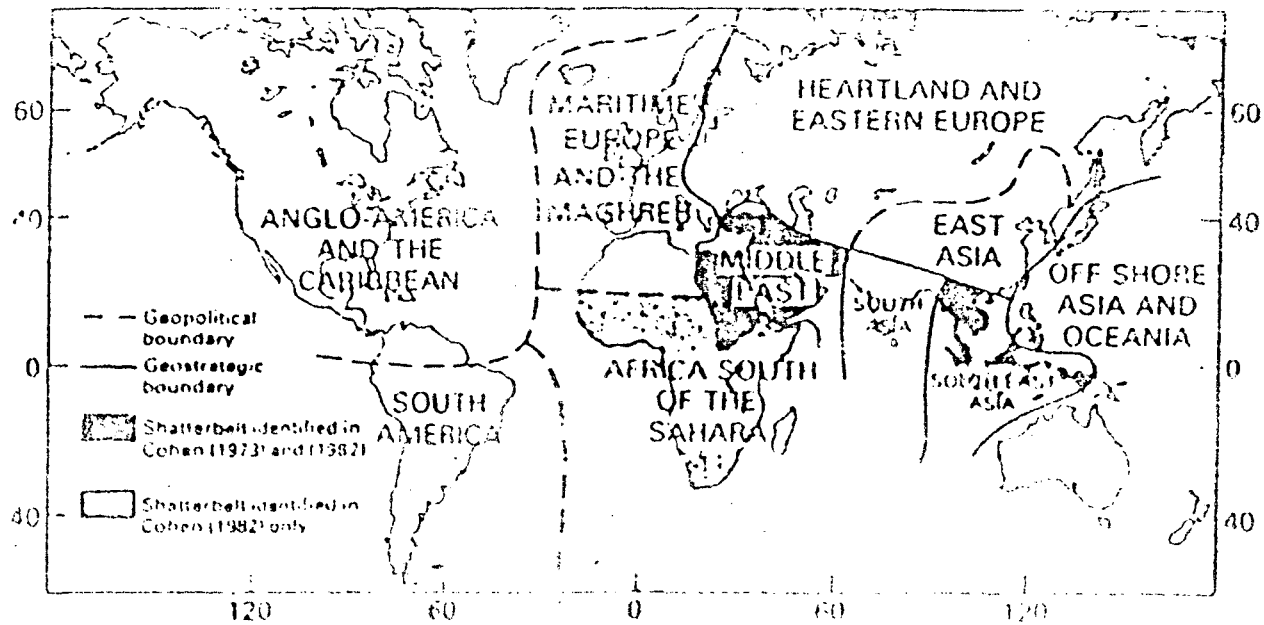
Thus these were the main geopolitical ideas of Spykman presented during the Second World War. His theory has also been reflected in American policy of containment propounded by George. F. Kennan. The U.S.A. always tried their best to prevent the Russian influence as she was emerged the sole Master of Heartland region. The Mackinder's

forecast turns into reality as he made before the world war second about Russia. He said "If USSR would emerge as the result of world war then she will become the sole master of heartland and control the world island".

The major lapse of Spykman's Rimland theory were that, he over emphasised on the sea power and under estimated the air potentiality and land mass importance. The second drawback was that he went on the same way as Mackinder. Because he also over emphasised on the Rimland and gave the second look to heartland area, which is said to be the irrational interpretation of the power balance. At last, he also never avoided the biasness in his model as the other scholars done the same. But his basic ideas are still partially applicable in the present situation that cannot be denied.

S.B. Cohen: He is an American geographer and working on the heartland and Rimland thesis. The main intention of his study is to raise the question on the containment theory. According to him entire Eurasia is a potential battle ground. The book has been brought out by him entitled, Geography and

FIGURE 4.4
Cohen's geostrategic regions and their geopolitical divisions



source: Taylor, P. J, Geopolitics Revived No. 53. seminar papers.
 (New castle 1988), p.79.

politics in a World Divided (1973) in which he presented a hierarchial and regional world model. He divided entire world into various geostrategic divisions (See Fig. 4.4). To him these regions are sub-divisions of the geopolitical divisions and they tend to be relatively homogenous in terms of one or more of culture, economics and politics. These all plays a very significant role in the state's function such as internal as well as external and place her in the world hierarchy.

The Cohen considered the two geostrategic regions each dominated by one of the two major powers and to him these are "The trade-dependent maritime world and the Eurasian continental world" (Cohen, S.B. 1982). The geostrategic regions further divided into five and geopolitical regions into two, the South Asia has been recognised as a potential geostrategic regions. The South East and Middle East Asia named as the shatter belts. Because of the chronic political instability. These geopolitical regions where the basis of multiple power nodes.

The new world powers has come up such as Japan, Europe and China to join the clubs of U.S.A

or U.S.S.R. while on the other hand the second order powers which dominates their respective geopolitical regions, i.e., India, Brazil and Nigeria. There are in total twenty-seven states in the second order region. Furthermore he divides the third, fourth and fifth order states on the basis of their influence beyond the states boundary. The S.B. Cohen also trapped into state at national biasness. Because when he named the south east and middle Asia as the shatter belt due to the political turmoil, while the same situation also persists over the Carribian Zone in which the conflict is going on between the U.S.A and Nicaragua. Even then he avoided to project the real situation due to the national interest. The major drawback was that he did not point out the super power rivalry and their involvement in the shatter belt as well as world politics.

Thus despite all these pit falls, S.B. Cohen contribution left the long lasting impact in this field.

The geostrategic ideas of T. Mahan also played a major role in the development of this disciplines. He emphasised much more on the sea

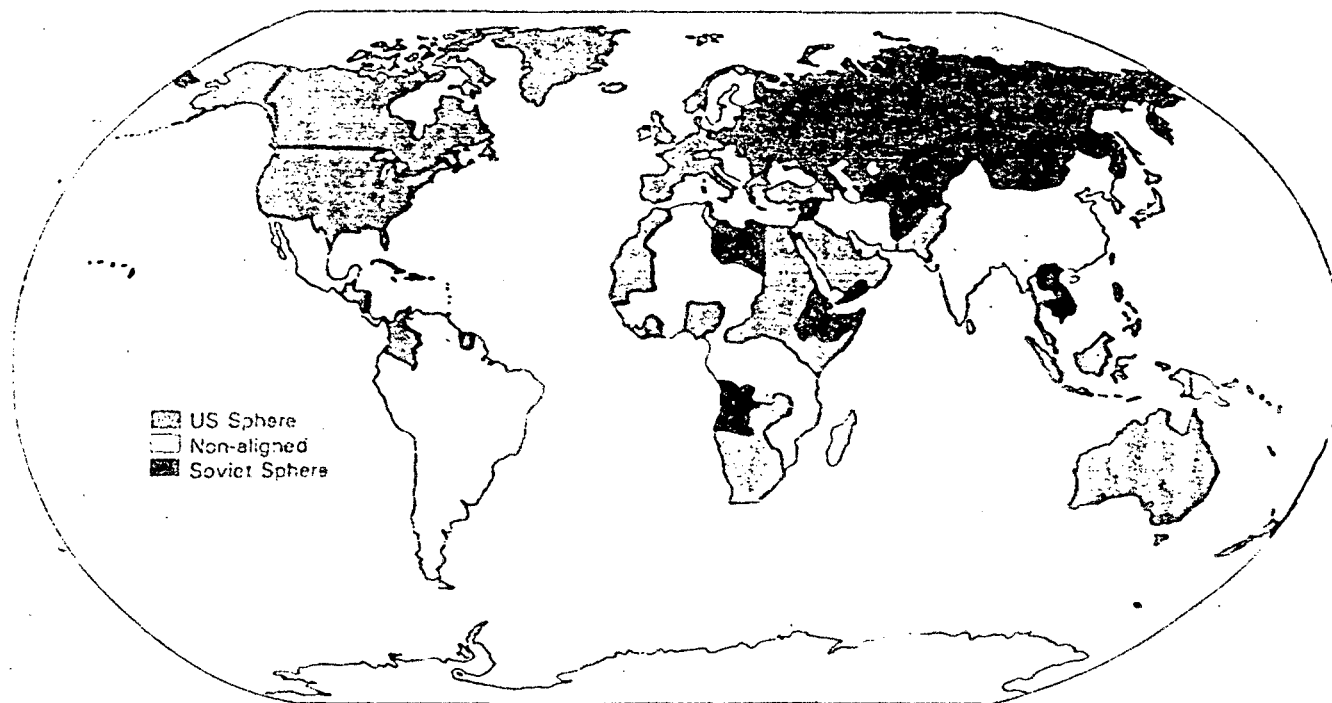
power and said that the control of sea, comes to protect commerce and wages, economic warfare is very important to a state. It is quite clear that every scholar upheld the extreme opinion, because as we have seen that somebody is advocating for sea power, and another one for land power. While the scholar like Alexander De Seversky emphasised on air power supremacy.

The most relevant and rational model can be recognised. The Wallerstein's new world economic approach. In this case the main emphasis has been given on the world economic and political structure. This is more relevant approach because it focuses on the global oriented issues and provides the universal solution.

The socio-political an economic scenario of the world has been projected in a very rational manner in this approach which is more related to the present situation.

The three tier system is a replica of the super power conflicts. Because of the intervention of big powers can be witnessed in the world politics at the various levels, e.g., local level to international organisations level. Their support

FIGURE 4.5 : SPHERES OF INFLUENCE



source: patrick. o. s, Geopolitics, (London 1986), p. 4.

in different forms can be noticed in the politics as well as in the U.N.O. This shows their degree of influence over the world affairs and physiographically they share the sphere of influence all over the world (See Fig. 4.5).

In the case of spheres of influence an ideology and state of economy plays a significant role to create the gap between the two different socio-political set ups. It is an ideology which separates the local experiences from the world reality as Wallerstein pointed out. This sort of ideological scenario represented in the two blocs of the world such as pro USA and pro USSR.

Practically speaking the concept of non-alignment does not arise at all. Because no one can remain neutral on the fundamental issues, e.g., the transfer of technology, resources distribution and apartheid. Whatever it is one has to take clear cut position. This much is also very clear that there is only two ways to uphold the opinion, either for or against. There is no third alternate in this world, on the basic issues. Absentees are always opportunists. Because wherever they forward their interest they will incline towards that side.

Hence the basic philosophy of Non-alignment is to take advantage from the both blocs, the Third World countries follows the path of Non-alignment due to their bad state of economy and technology because of this reason concerns cannot take the clear position in the international politics (Warsley, P. 1967).

Regarding the changing man nature relationship one can conclude that the human society (as a part of nature's universal process) exists, moves and changes due to a two-sided interaction - that between the organisation of nature (including the interaction between various natural process) and the organisation of mankind and that within the human social organisation among its various social units. Nature acts upon and reacts to man through various integral or conflict process (e.g., air, water, virus, earthquake, etc.) while man acts upon and reacts to nature in various opposing ways (e.g., breathing, drinking, eating, producing industrial, agricultural and mining products).

While man interact themselves either through combining their ideas and practices. He develops and controls nature by becoming more and more

knowledgable about the structure and behaviour of various natural processes (Sandbach, F. 1980).

The human knowledge, whether natural or social, and whether theoretical or practical, comes from the above said two-sided interactions. In case of the knowledge of nature, the basis of information rests in the natural objects, while their observations interpretation and formulation rest with the human thinking. Similarly in case of social knowledge the basis of information lies in the social units.

Thus in the formulation of state's policy, man-nature relationship and technological input plays a major role in geopolitical models. Therefore, every scholar has given enough emphasis on the man-nature relationship. As the result of technological development this relationship changes over time (Gray, C.S. 1977).

Thus the many scholars contributed a lot in this field in the various capacities. Their contribution in geopolitics cannot be undermined. The geostrategic ideas of Mackinder, T. Mahan and Spykman, played a significant role during the war period. Their models being put into practice in their respective

country as well as in the world politics.

The Patrik, O. Sullivan's concept of sphere of influence and Wallersten's new world economic approach land marked in the modern geopolitical theory which cannot be under estimated at any level. These are more relevant in the present situation.

95

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CHAPTER - V

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the historical evolution of geopolitics proved that there have definite learning on the entire gammat of social sciences as well as natural sciences and also vice-versa.

The major events in the history and in the discipline of geography helped geopolitics to be recognised as a separate branch of knowledge. These main events are such as First World War. Great depression of 1930s, Second World War and cold war, e.g., to Robert Walter, The basis of cold war lies in Mackinder's heartland concept. However, the geostrategic developments during the 1970s shifted from confrontation to reconciliation. While during the 1980s, geopolitics became the much more issue oriented and problem solving discipline. After the 1985, the world geostrategy inclined towards the confrontation to co-operation, e.g., I.N.F. treaty of 1987.

The attempt has been made to analyse the ideological heritage and major trends in this field. The focuses given on the changing nature of geography and placement of geopolitics within

that discipline. Therefore, the historical development has been traced for geography as well as for geopolitics. Similarly efforts have made to review the literature related to this discipline.

The geopolitics and its relationship with other subjects of social sciences have been highlighted by adopting interdisciplinary approach, because this method leaves enough scope for the study of a particular phenomenon of the specific period of a region.

The German scholars and their contribution played a very significant role in this field. Because they were the pioneers who initiated to develop geopolitics as a separate branch of knowledge. Considering this case the special attempts has been made to trace the basic geostrategic ideas of Ratzel and Karl Haushofer.

Regarding the contribution made by other scholars, the prominent thinkers have been taken into account, e.g., Mackinder, T. Mahan, N. Spykman and S.B. Cohen, et.al. Their geostrategic ideas have been placed with the changing man nature relationship and relevance in the sophisticated technological era.

The correlations have been experienced between the technological development and social progress. So far human knowledge has developed and operated the four broad types of technological mechanism with their related four broad types of social divisions on whose basis four broad types of society or social systems have existed in the history.

The food gathering and hunting technology and its related social units characterised by the clan system, lasted for thousands of years, even the pastoral technology and its related social divisions characterised by tribal system lasted several hundred years.

The levels of technological developments have been reflected in the forms of government, e.g., Agrarian technology and its related social units characterised by the military-cum-religious princely state system lasted for about two thousand years. The industrial technology and its related social divisions characterised by the nation state system, still continuing. However, the history and science show that technology (representing the part as nature, operated by man) and man have

always been inter-related, inter-dependence and inseparable. Both are creative in their ways.

The man's innovations lie in his mental and physical energy while technology's productivity comes from various forms of energy, i.e., electrical, chemical, kinetic, heat potential, radiant, nuclear etc. In fact technology creates more value than human labour, e.g., automatic machine where man contributes no physical energy. This is because an average worker daily spends and can only spend, during physical work 120 Watts of energy (which according to latest scientific research equal to 2400 calories) in comparison to the machine provides and uses tens of thousands of watts of energy in a day.

While the man lags behind technology in material productivity it leads technology in material and ideological innovation due to his mental uniqueness. Thus in human society both technology and man constitute as basic factors of modernisation.

In the present situation, the more and more interdependence has been found among the various countries. The process of inter-dependence of

nations is an unintended process of development. Because it has never been planned by any individual or nation-state. It has been the outcome of the emergence of a new technological - mechanism developed through hundreds of innovations made by various individuals and nations.

Regarding the globalisation of various material problems, e.g., environmental pollution, nuclear war and weapons, oceanic and space research, depleting raw material and energy resources, growing poverty, increasing gap between the rich and the poor people and countries, global inflation, recession, monetary system, etc. These problems cut across national boundaries. The Chernobyl nuclear disaster in the Soviet Union also influenced the Scandinavian countries. If the Ozone layer is damaged, it would affect both the socialist as well as non socialist countries alike.

The growth rate of global problems has highly increased in the current century, and their maturity-period is confined to only few decades. Since global problems were on common in the pre-interdependent period, little social knowledge is available about them. The sooner we get their knowledge the better for our world.

While the epoch of national economic model or the period of one nation welfarism is almost over, otherwise there were no need of having prestroika and glasnost in Russia. The recent demand for democracy and carnage in China, the declaration of India as Super 301, by the U.S.A. government are the sheer reflections of the bad state of national economy in the both blocs, socialist as well as Capitalist.

Despite all these facts the individuals and nation-states even today are viewing the global issues within the national perspective, simply because an experience shows that when a new process is perceived, the common human pattern is to handle it in a traditional way. While logically demand is a collective global affair, e.g., a joint international space research programme can provide as more knowledge than the individual national efforts.

The two superpowers centred world is being replaced by a collective centred world. The trend of the emergence of a new global organisation such U.N.O. World Bank, IMF, GATT, private multinational corporations (IBM, EXXON, SHELL etc.,) International Workers organisation, International Air Transport

Association, The Supra national or regional grouping, common wealth, Non-Aligned, E.E.C., ASEAN, and SAARC, (India is pursuing a regional hegemonic line in South Asia, hampering good neighbourly relations and hindering the globalisation process). Being considered as the initial trend towards the world Government. The logic can be put forward that present problems whether at local level or national level are the replica of the disorder of world economy. Therefore, dealing with global issues we need a world state through which these problems can be sort out.

The suitable alternate to globalism can be the collective response of the world community in the form of an international democracy, represented by a world democratic State, with the nation states as subordinate units.

The world democratic state, in order to safeguard the interest of the world people as well as of smaller nations, is to consist of Two Parliamentary Houses with equal Powers - the lower house consisting of representatives directly elected by the people (on population basis) and the upper house consisting of representatives elected by the nation-state legislatures with each nation state (big or small) having equal representation. The concerned electors are to possess the right to recall their elected representative at any time.

Thus this model should be seen in future Geost-
rategic context and can be applied as a global problems
solving capsules, but an experience also shows that if
a problem is not attended to at the proper time it
undergoes change and often becomes difficult to deal with
and even sometimes turns unmanageable, many global
problems (e.g., pollution) which are assuming, threat-
ening proportions have been and still are less difficult
to solve than after the lapse of moretime.

The need of global views, and strategy is much more
relevant in the increasing day to day interdependence of
the world affairs. Hence geopolitical view, both regional
as well as global, should be developed in every nation.
All these contributions would go a longway towards giving
the national explanations of the international phenomenon.

The geopolitics despite the ill-famed 'Geopolitik'
of the inter war period, remains relevant in present
situation. Because it deals with the basic geostrategic
realities of state's power. Therefore its contribution
should not be either ignored or easily discarded at
any level.

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