

EMERGING TRENDS IN THE STUDY OF POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

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D E C L A R A T I O N

Certified that the dissertation entitled "EMERGING TRENDS IN THE STUDY OF POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY" submitted by LANUSASHI LONGKUMER" 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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To my parents

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INTRODUCTION

Though political geography is varied and wide ranging field with longer pedigree than many of the new social sciences. It has not been recognized as a separate and distinct subject till the mid of this century. It has been among the most controversial subject, however, the 1960s represent the nadir of Political geography. Since then, political geography is emerging as one of the most important discipline in colleges and universities for reserach and from other point of view as well.

This dissertation will try to give a historical dimension to contemporary events, so that a full understanding of the present could be predicted based on the examination of the past. The greater part of the first and second chapter of this disertation is, therefore, looking at the roots of the present day events and structures through the unfolding of the past happenings and the articulation of previous models.

In the first chapter, I have discussed and tried to apprise the hisotrical heritage of political geography. Structures of the field of this modern discipline have been sketch. Poltical geography as an inheritence of different social sciences, does sought out a background in which to suggest questions, indicate themes, and raise issues

regarding futurology of the subject, becomes vital in contemporary situation.

The second chapter gives emphasis on the evolution thoughts and concepts in political geography. The understanding of ideological impact of international relations on development of political geography is the cornerstones and that has led to the birth of different concepts in different periods of time. The roots do go back to Aristotle's model and concepts of ideal state and the German Chauvinist manipulation of Geopolitics which form a black spot in the developmental history of political geography which have been primarily concerned with the politico geographically changes through time.

The post second world war period and its aftermath provided political geography with abundant materials for empirical investigation using earlier framework of analysis. The so called unfortunate phase in the developmental history of political geography, leading to mis - conceptions of German geopolitics and the revival and relevance of modern political geography have been discussed in the third chapter. The three above mentioned chapters form the base part of the temporal division of the trends in political geography.

Chapter four, which traces the present emerging trends in the development of political geography form the second most important part of this research. As a result of the changes in the main field of geography. Particularly in Human geography, the development in behaviouralism and Quantification of geography in the 1960s, and their impact on the present developments of political geography form vital sections. The new topics emerging in contemporary political geography, like the development of Electoral geography. New political geography of the sea, geography of public policy, welfare geography, etc. have all reflected the rebirth of global concerns in political geography and had been a great associated with the development of the new areas of study in modern political geography.

The fifth chapter is most noteworthy and draws light on the future research and development of the field and its related problems. Also included is the conceptual interdependence in political geography, which is perhaps the most important point of emphasis in the dissertation.

A focus is also drawn in general for the need of a balanced study of such subject in the developing and the developed worlds. The relevance and prospects of political

geography in the developing world is also considered as a special point so as to bring more discussion on the derelict part of the same field. In addition of these, the conclusion of this dissertation suggests to encourage the fellow researchers and teacher for more detailed studies in the field and provide with material to encourage debate and discussions.

CHAPTER 1 : HERITAGE OF POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

1.2 STRUCTURE OF POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

1.3 POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY: AN INHERENCE OF VARIOUS FIELDS AND PERIODS.

1.1 INTRODUCTION: Political geography is a dynamic subject. It is a subject that can be kept completely upto date, even though new editions are made every few years. It is upto the readers to remain alert to what is happening in the field. Watching and evaluating the shifting weight of all the factors.

Often recent researcher and writer on political geography have attempted to distance modern political geography from traditional political geography. But we cannot just develop something without the root by dismissing our past which is the root of the present development. We need to view historical heritage, the ideolgoical heritage and the revolutionary heritage. These are not meant to be antiquarin interest. Many of the development that has taken place today is the development and modification of those contributions from the past. Therefore the theme of the past are a direct relevance today. Without tracing the heritage we cannot simply study the present and the future.

While it is true that the greatest developments in the field of political geography owes their stimulus to the changes caused by the world wars, it is incorrect to consider political geography as a new field of knowledge opened up at that time or without heritage. On the contrary, it is as old as the science of geography itself. In the

Ancient Egypt and in pre-Han China there were philosophers who sought answers to the questions about political behaviour of man and his relationship with the environment. During the period 600 BC. to 300 AD, the Greek and Roman geographers contributed a lot to the field of geography which in fact, forms the base for the development of political geography. Undoubtedly there were geographers among these ancient philosophers and some of them were political geographers¹.

From the viewpoint of the theme, one of the earliest political geographers was the Greek philosopher, Aristotle (383-322 BC). In his celebrated volume, Politics, he presented the model of the ideal state in which he introduced many important ideas about the role of the interaction between the population and territory of state in their overall functioning. Several of these ideas have become important concepts in the field of political geography².

If Herodotus was a geographer, he was a political geographer; Strabo (68BC-24AD) certainly was both, as his description of the geographic basis of the Roman empire shows. In his determinist view of man-environmental relationship has been a subject of speculation of historians and philosophers as well as geographers from Plato through

Montesquieu and Kant to the present time³. These speculative students developed a great wealth of hypothesis which they were not in a position to prove, but which provide a stimulating body of ideas for present students in the field of political geography.

William Petty (1654), a pioneer of political geography known for his creation of atlas of Ireland has also discussed the evolution of urban centre, territorial, demographic elements, natural defence and more. Though he cannot be called a political geographer Petty recognized problems that still confront political geographers's today.

During the late 18th and early part of 19th century Karl Ritter, Alexander Von Humboldt brought new life to geography in general, and notably in Ritter's case, to political geography. Ritter's Allgemeine Vergeeeichende Edd Kunde (General Comperative Geography) was the real attempt to develop theory in relation to the growth of state, and the evolution of cultures. It was an important step, an initial try to the creation of models in political geography.

The foundation of the modern political geography was laid by Friedrich Ratzle whose Poletische geographie, published in 1897, is universally recognized as the first

systematic treatment of the subject. Often called the father of the modern political geography⁴.

Ratzel's prodigious output geographical writing had an enormous impact upon the development of political geography. From Ellen Churchill, Sample, Ellsworth Huntington to Swedish political scientist Kjellen, Hassert, Maul and Haushofer of Germany have all been profoundly influenced in their work by the idea of Ratzel.

The stimulus of the war and post war period had, moreover, its more permanent effects. Especially in Germany, where dissatisfaction with the territorial settlement of the peace conference greatly increased popular as well as academic interest in the subject taken their lead from Karl Haushofer is based on Ratzel's concept of the state organism. The reconstruction of education in Nazi Germany designed the concept of natural selection and survival of the fittest become wedded to a geopolitical justification of national expansion⁵.

Similarly, American and British students of political geographer success as Mackinder, Isaiah Bowman, Fainrienne Spykman, Fawcett were primarily concerned with the study of power politics. This over emphasis by geographers on the study of power politics led to the degeneration of political geography for some period. Many began to doubt the status of

political geography as a respectable branch of geographical science. Popular interest in the subject began to wane, and seems a real threat for political geography as it "become difficult to distinguish between political geography and geopolitics"⁶.

However, Hartshorne's (1950) presidential address to the Association of American geographers helped a great deal in shifting the emphasis of political geography to the study of state as a functional spatial organization with a definite objective, as a geographers, should logically be concerned with the study of particular state in the context of their natural environment.

In general, despite the dynamic change in the field of political geography-with the change in the world political system resulting in the change of theme, concept, idea, the background root remains as central importance, in the process of development on the field of political geography.

1.2 STRUCTURE OF POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY: There is a need to assess the field of political geography to provide a clear sense of focus and purpose, to suggest a Coherent conceptual structure for the field, and to attempt to integrate political geography with the development of the disciplines of geography as a whole and with social sciences generally.

Political geography has naturally tended to be structural oriented throughout its long existence as a field of study. The morphology of political regions has provided the focus of study, although the focus emphasis has shifted somewhat over the past decades. Increasingly, the aspects of structure have been studied less from the point of view of inventory evolution and more from functional cast.

Structural functional analysis in political geography has a well developed tradition in social sciences where the trend has long been dominant. Theoretically the structural functionalism attempts to provide a scientific theory of the system under study. Although many other social scientists have made valuable contribution to structural functional theory, in political science a major advance have been made on the functions of the government and the state.

Political geography, sometimes describe as the science of political area differentiation, is concerned with the spatial distribution and space relations of political process. For the purpose of this discussion such processes may be defined as a series of action of operations which man conducts to establish or maintain a political system, mostly through political institutions. Whether the study involves an analysis of boundaries. The geographical pattern resulting from the application of governmental authority, or the political viability of new state units. Generally,

however, the central subject matter of political geography has been the state. Of which the state represent a political territorial or administrative unit which again represents the organization of a particular area of the surface of the earth and the people who permanently reside there in. Ordinarily the state is conceived in terms of the 'nation state' is relatively recent origin.

The state, national or otherwise, represents not only an independently a system of relationships, which man must establish among themselves to carry on the activities and to obtain the goals they desire. Hence all the aspects of cultural, political, economic, social and physical form are institutional structure of political geography.

One of the components of the structure of the political geography is the politics that have been applied primarily to the state and its formal institutions. The role of the government is affected by political attitudes, informal groups and associations and so on. However, with which political geographers have been concerned has been the large territorial administrative region or the state. In his functional approach, Hartshorne attempted through an assessment of centrifugal and centripetal force to determine the patterns of interaction that throughout the original territory. Thus, while recognizing that the state is the

centre of political geographical study, since it or at least ~~is~~ nation-state is the embodiment of contemporary political activities, this interest must be kept in perspective. Political institutions, activities, their interaction and interrelationships with other phenomena, political patterns all these existed in the pre nation state period or pre nation state level. At whatever the period in history or whatever the level, the real case structure of political geography is the study of spatial (territorial) variations and interrelationships of political activities and systems.

1.3 POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY: AN INHERENCE OF VARIOUS HEADS AND PERIODS: Political geography a distant branch of geographical study is said its have begun with the publication of POLITISCHE GEOGRAPHIC by Friedrich Ratzel in 1897⁷. Indeed, Ratzel is generally described as the founder of modern political geography. Though as an academic discipline it is relatively new, the theme political geographers have traditionally dealt with is one of great antiquity. In a sense, it is as old as the discipline of geography and political science themselves. The relationships between states and the natural conditions of their areas have been a subject of considerably philosophical interest among students of political science, history of geography from the earliest times. Thus the

present prestigious discipline of political geography is the outcome of different ideas and contribution from various fields in different periods of time.

The interdisciplinary nature of political geography is understood from various works of different fields and periods. Selections are drawn from a wide range of related fields including philosophy, psychology, economics, sociology, history, political science, statistics, international relations and so on.

The interdependence and interlinkages between political geography and other disciplines are clear and sound and can be viewed in the context of changing man nature relationships in different periods of time. Great scholars and philosophers from Aristotle, Strabo, Ibn Khaldun to the modern times of Ratzel has been bestowing their philosophical ideas for the development of political geography. The basic philosophy of political geography is that a certain section of society protects the established socio political set up at the particular region. The state philosophical ideas contributed by different people in different periods influenced political geography in different aspects.

In political geography, we are dealing with two groups of phenomena, on one hand, man organized in political units,

on the other hand, those factors of the natural environment, as they are distributed over the earth's surface, which are significantly political activity. In the last two thousand years, states, have evolved and expanded until with few exceptions all parts of the earth are under political control. Present day politics therefore, have their roots in history, and cannot be completely understood without some reference to the past.

Man has been defined as 'political animal' and politics or political science is the study of man acting in political capacity in the state. And the primary purpose geographical environment or environments, we are justified in taking political geography to be primarily the study of an individual, group, institutions etc. which is the main element of making the state. Political geography, therefore, is directly evolved from the above mentioned disciplines. Since the geographical factors involved occur in a definite area, political geography may be considered as relation between state and space. Also the changing emphasis of the political geography in response to the changing social and economic conditions in the postwar, especially since 1960s economic boom has been reflected in the growth of approaches which focus on power, conflict and equitable distribution of life chances and resources. Thus economic situation of a

state determines the state activities and is a major contributor to the making of political geography.

William Petty in the middle of the 17th century recognised the science of political geography. In his work "Down survey and political Arithmetic" with the help of statistical data he first drew an atlas of Ireland⁸. This added a useful source for buildings of political geography.

The idea of determinism, propounded by Jean Bodin and Charles Baron and Montesquieu in the 16th century, emphasised on the interrelationship and interdependence of man and environment. These ideas are reflected in the concept of organic culture of the 19th century. Particularly under the influence of Darwin, the man land theme received new impetus. Friedrich Ratzel who is commonly regarded as the father of political geography was the first among the modern political geographers to give the systematic treatment to political geography on the basis of organic cultures of the people and the state.

Political geography utilizes a great deal of materials provided by different fields of studies especially from social sciences. Development and the strength of the study is largely depended upon the interdisciplinary research, a perspective training on the study of the related fields.

Global problems are paramount in many people's mind around the turn of the century at about the time of the emergence of political geography. It is therefore not surprising that political geography not only has roots in the mentioned disciplines of fields but has a global heritage. And it has been attempted to maintain this tradition in the additional chapters.

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3. Richard Hartshorne, "Recent development in Political geography", in : Politics and geographic relationships: Douglas Jackson and M.S.Samuels' (eds.), Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1991, p.43.

4. Douglas Jackson and Marwyn S.Samuels. "Politics and Geographic relationships", Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1971, p.1.
5. Paul Buckholts, "Political geography", Ronald Press Company, 1966, p.6.
6. Dikshit, n.2, p.2.
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CHAPTER-II : EVOLUTION OF THOUGHTS AND CONCEPTS IN POLITICAL
GEOGRAPHY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

2.2 PHASES OF EVOLUTION OF THOUGHTS AND CONCEPTS

a. Concepts of ideal state

b. Geopolitics

c. The modern geography of Functional Approach and
Unified Field Theory

2.3 IDEOLOGICAL IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL
GEOGRRAPHY

2.4 DEVELOPMENT THOUGHT OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

2.1 INTRODUCTION : Political geography is in the continuous stage of evolution and the rhythm varies from one historical point to another. In fact the evolution of thoughts and concepts in political geography read back into the ancient time of Plato. Strabo, Plotomy and many more.

The emergence of political goegraphy out of various fields of studies and its development has taken a lot of people by surprise. Though there are various contributions by different persons, political gegoraphy as a distinct branch of geographical study is said to have begun only with the publication of Politis ch Geographic by Friedrich Ratzel in 1897. Indeed, Ratzel is generally discribed as the founder of modern political geography. Ratzel, deeply influenced by the new Darwinian ethos viewed and formulate laws of the spatial growth of states and later eleborated in the concept of Lebensraum (living space)¹.

Now withstanding the overtons which the second of this acquired is more recent times by several writers and contributors towards an understanding of the change that was coming about in one of the most fundamental aspects of human experiece namely the relationship of man with his natural environment. The tradational research in the domain of political geography is quite strong in many parts of the world-though there were no special organization dealing

formally with the branch of knowledge, subject with which political geography was concerned were treated marginally and investigated by different geographers social scientists depending on current requirements and situation.

In the interwar period research in political geography mainly concentrated on the territorial factor, geographical situation and environmental conditions connected with territory, less attention was paid to the human factor. But the real development of political geography was made during the second half of the twentieth century. Sadly due to overemphasised on power and the wrong concept of geopolitics by the Germans after the first world war led to the derelict in the study of the political geography. It become an assigned subdiscipline of a tired subject, after thought, never research, a prisoner to outdated theories².

In the comparatively recent resurgence of interest in political geography two strands can be identified. The first represent an extension of the new geography of the 1950s and 1960s into the area of spatial analysis of political phenomena. Here the focus of concern is an observed political behaviour, such as voting and government expenditure, and its variation over space (e.g. TAYLOR AND Johnston 1979). The second strand, best represented in the work of Smith (1971), Johnston (1979) and Cox (1979) focus

attention. On the economic and political determinants of variations in welfare.

The political, social and economic situation created as a result of world war second has induced geographers to resume, first of all, the studies of the state territory.

Since 1970s, political geography is slowly emerging from a period of neglect. The feeling was that its present performance was poor but it has lots of potential, a feeling captured by Muir (1975). Political geography is simultaneously one of the most retarded and most under valued branch of geography and one of that offers the greatest potential for both theoretical and practical advances³.

2.2 PHASES OF THE EVOLUTION OF THOUGHTS AND CONCEPTS: As the political geography is a dynamic subject, the research is made according to the requirement of the situation. Thus phases of the evolution of thoughts and concepts of political geography can be studied accordingly.

a. Concepts of Ideal State: To Socrates "A state.. arise out of the need of mankind: no one is self sufficiency, but all of us have many wants". The felicious phase raisen d'etre include many varying reasons, but permanence depends upon the common possession of positive reasons for the actuality of the state⁴.

Political geography is concerned with the state. A state is a politically organized area; it is implicit that the state has people organized politically within a specific territory. Territory, consists of a more or less well defined area of land, together with air space above it, and usually also a zone of sea. Without territory a state cannot exist. In general, states have emerged in specific areas after a long period of active life, which involved struggles both within their own areas and against outside them in their efforts to establish their own political identity and stable institution of government. Other states, in contrast, had a more arbitrary and datable birth as a result of the successful politics of strong external powers.

The state is the dominant political phenomenon in the modern world. It has in the words of Dougals Jackson, "been accepted by geographers generally as the formal or central subject matter of political geography²."

The state exists to fulfil a function which is most often construed as the desire of a nation for a political identification with the area of land which it inhabits. The state has its policy, most simply expressed as self preservation and welfare, which it implements by means of its power. Colonies, bases, allies and trade are relevant to the study of political geography of a state because they are

among the external determinants of its power, just as location, population, resources and industry are among the internal determinants.

Considered geographically, the purpose of political organization of a state is to establish coherent unity and a certain degree of homogeneity over areas which without the state organization are more or less separate and heterogeneous. Only human political agencies can create such regions, they are not given in nature⁶.

b. Geopolitics: Geopolitics was not an invention of national socialism. However, it became one of its ideological bases. The term was created by the Swedish Rudolf Kjellen in his book *Statem Som Lifsform* (the state as a way of life) during the world war period. Kjellen advanced the idea of Ratzel, but the subsequent development of geopolitics, which was almost exclusively a German phenomenon during the war period, owed more to Karl Haushofer (1869-1946) and his followers. He used radical theory to explain the social and political processes of countries. As a result he participated in the rise of national socialism.

The social function of geopolitics has to be measured by its use for propaganda and in the context of the fundamental intention of re-writing the Versailles treaty.

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The geopolitics become so much associated with the Nazi politics of power that this idea seemed to offer the German leaders the much sought for strategy for territorial expansion and international supremacy. It was then defined as "the science of earth relationship to political developments". It was one of the lesser tragedies of the Nazi period, under which geopolitik enjoyed its short lived heyday and in so doing inevitably attracted the alarmed attention of non German press that many intelligent people in other countries, who had little knowledge or no knowledge about political geography, came to confuse the two. Wittfugel (1929) stressed that there was no dualism between political geography and geopolitics, including their modes of application and teaching⁷. Thus, in this process geopolitic become increasingly divorced from the scholarly traditional of the older German and others political geographers. Many of whose concepts it simultaneously plagiarized and distorted to produce a kind of admass political geography designed to promote the cause of German territorial expansion.

The most common result of such musings has been the virtual abandonment of geopolitics. The term geopolitics become an embarassment to be distinguish from respectable political geography. The result for the neglect of geopolitics thus led to retardation of the political



geography in the post second world war period till 1970s, when the field have witnessed a major resurgence of different ideas in political geography.

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. 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 we see the concept and idea of geopolitics changes overtime as geography witnessed the tremendous changes. Considering all these things one cannot overlook the history of geopolitics whether the place it conceived in the past.

c. The modern geography of Functional Approach and Unified Field Theory

Approaches to the study of political geography have changed with the changing perspective in the field.

The retreat from the geopolitics in geography was rapid after 1945. Political geography as a whole was developed in geography and geopolitics was downgraded within political geography. Attempting to find, a way out several leading political geographers have sought a new approach to the

state, largely in terms of how the latter functions. Indeed Richard Hartshorn's the functional approach in political geography' yet, even though Hartshorne called for a more geographical approach, with its attempt to determine the *raison d'etre* of the state and its viability through a balancing of centrifugal and centripetal forces required for more-than a passing knowledge of the institutional structure of the state.

The functional approach, as conceived by Hartshorne, is concerned with the functioning of an area as a political unit. Every political area is subdivided with subordinate areas of organization, each with its own governmental functions. These subordinate areas must have stronger political associations with the state than with one another or with outside states. For the state to function properly, it must have unity, homogeneity, coherence and viability are basic requirements for such unity. Viability of the state is related not only to domestic economic considerations, but to economic, strategic and political relations with other states⁸.

Thus, the functional approach would study state-strengthening or centralizing force, and state weakening forces as they are related to space.

Another example of the functional approach can be drawn from a state's external relations. The function of the state is to create or to maintain economic viability for its citizens.

Stephen Jones, who presented a new methodology for the study of politicogeographic problems and phenomena in his paper, "A unified field theory of political geography" published in 1954, when he thought of reducing the apparent diversity of aims and methods in political geography, found by Hartshorne and his students", and which may help to emerge not only the theories of political geography, but political theories in general. Jones, in his 'Unified field theory' has constituted a major contribution to the evolution of a more sophisticated political geography and he strongly pleaded in favour of greater interaction between geography and political science.

The idea of the unified field theory by Jones is borrowed from three eminent political geographers Drewent Whittlesey, Richard Hartshorne, and Jean Gottman. In fact, the adjective unified in the title stems from the belief that the concept of field unifies the idea of these three men, as well as unites them with political science⁹.

Movement which is essentially Gottman's circulation comes from placing it in a chain of concept relating it to

discussion. This decision create movement-some create a new kind of movement to replace or control the old. Usually persons and things move as a result of political decision. The regional or chronological approach, begining with the study of area, can lead through movement to decisions and ideas. To Jones, the chain i.e. political ideas, decision, movement, field political area are all interconnected at one level, and as it enter the chain spread to all the others. The unified field theory of political geography, simply states that 'idea' and 'state' are two ends of chain which is link.ed in the movement.

2.3 IDEOLOGICAL IMPACT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY: Any review such as this must recognize that subdisciplines do not exist independenly of the larger discipline, although the trends in the two maybe far from parallel. Most scholars only enter a subdiscipline as a whole and they bring the ideology of scientific work learned in the latter to bear on their specialized studies. With time new ideoligies may be introduced to discipline at large and thus into the sub-discipine.

From the view point of the theme the ideological root lies in the ancient period of Greek, Aristotle (383-322 BC). In his celebrated volume, Politics, Aistole introduced many important ideas about the role of the interaction between the population and territory of states in their overall functioning

Several of these ideas have become important concepts in the field of political geography.

Many of the most brilliant ideological contribution towards the development of political geography were essentially of this nature. From Strabo's 'Geography' which present ideas concerning state and the government to Ibn Khauldan (191342-1905) who emphasised man's relationship to his environment through the concept of life cycle of state.

By the begining of the 16th century geographical studies experienced a great revival in Europe. Many scholars become aware of the man's relationship with his natural environment. In the general field of political geography two names figure most prominently those of prominently - those of Jean Bodin (1530-1069) and Charles Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755). This ideas of 'determinism' is based on man's-environment relationship which is quite in time with those of Aristotle, Strabo and Ibn Khauldun.

The changes in the ideology and the approach to the study of political geography have occurred with the changing perspective in the field. Before the Ritter-Humboldt era, when political geography was viewed primarily as the study of the role of physical environment in shaping the political life of man the basic geographical approach to the study of the state consisted of political environmentalism. Karl

Ritter (1779-1859) was the first to offer a new insight into geographical theory for the study of the growth of states and evaluation of cultures Erdkunde ... taking hint from Ritters concept of organic cultures, Ratzel (1844-1904) developed a theory of states which viewed them as organic entities fixed in space and envolved in a constant struggle for larger living space. The 'Social Darwinist' theory of the state as a space of organism and the related concept of Lebensraum provided a new idea of geographical methodology to study the political geographical analysis of the state. But owing to the unfortunate use made of Ratzel's idea modified by Kjellen as the state of an organism which formed the basic foundation of German Geopolitik, and political are made of that pseudo-science to serve the interest of Nazi adventurism the concept fell into intellectual disgrace. The reason for the neglect of reversal in political geography was that it will become much dull a subject. The trouble with political geography was that which the rest of geography was fast moving away from regional discription, political geography remained stubbornly attached to the study of state as unique areas.

The cumulative effect of all this was throughout 1950s and 1960s political geography remained completely cut off from the mainstream of geography. There was, however, a definite wind of change by mid 1960s, when ACKERMAN'S

research paper frontier in Geography, helped a great deal in reviving interest in political geography and by 1970s political geographers were already making valuable contributions to electoral studies, administrative area reforms, and the study of urban politics, geography of ocean politics and so on.

The last few years have witnessed a major resurgence of different ideological development in political geography, accompanied by a substantial reduction in its substantive interests. Central to much of this work has been focus on the state, not as a regional unit, as in previous political geography incarnation but as a functioning part of the economy and society.

2.4 DEVELOPMENT THOUGHT OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The old political geography was a product of specific political and social conditions, it is primarily concern with national boundaries was not on abstract interest but the direct outgrowth of empire building and imperial conquest. In the later part of the 19th century, the acquisition of colonial territories and setting of expansion colonial boundaries was one of the primary goals of competing national power in Europe and elsewhere. In the 20th century the focus turned towards imperial expansion of the advanced nation-state themselves and this led albeit

under different circumstances, the great world wars, and a number of smaller skirmishes¹⁰.

World war first was followed by major changes in this western dominated world order, and it also inaugurated a period of considerable international instability. Despite the fact that German and Austrian empire had been roundly defeated by the alliance led by Great Britain, France and USA. The European maritime empire began to show marked signs of weakening and the United States now in economic term the most powerful state in the world, retreated into voluntary isolation. Russia, re-emerging after Bolshevik revolution as the new Soviet Union. During the 1920s and 1930s rightwing authoritarian regime came into power in Italy, Germany and Japan which preached extreme nationalism and xenophobia. During the 1930s all three embarked a course of territorial expansion which brought them inevitably into conflict with the maritime power in particular Britain and France. Much of the geopolitical thought of this period came to reflect this situation of conflict. It was the time when Geopolitik gained credence and prestige in Germany. This presented a distinctly German Weltanschauung, its object being to indicate a course of political international action which would ensure German victory in any future war¹¹.

The stimulus of the war, especially in the

reconstruction of education Nazi Germany Haushofer played an important role. Karl Haushofer the founder and editor of Zeitschrift Fur Geopolitik based his idea directly on Ratzel, but particularly on the system of Swedish political scientist Kjellen. This idea of geopolitics with the central concept of Lebensraum become a state policy which crudely enunciated ruthlessly pursued under a cloak of nationalistic, racial and anti-semitic invective. Haushofer Geopolitics provided not only strategic advice for Hess and Hitler, but also provided the overall political rationale for German geographic expansion in Europe which participated world war second.

Beside the names mentioned earlier Sir Halford Mackinder and James Fairgrieve of United Kingdom and Isaiah Bowman and Spykman of United States are the outstanding persons whose works are associated with the interwar period especially their ideas were used during the world war second.

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CHAPTER III: POST SECOND WORLD WAR DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL
GEOGRAPHY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

3.2 GEOPOLITICS AND ITS REVIVAL AND RELEVANCE

3.3 AREAS OF MAJOR SHIFTS IN THOUGHT

3.1 INTRODUCTION: Post Second World War Development Of Political Geography: In the interwar period research in political geography was mainly concentrated on the territorial factor. Geographical situation and environmental condition connected with the territory. Less attention was paid to the human factor. The political, social, and economic situation created as a result of second world war has induced geographers to resume, first of all, studies of the state territory. But within a short period of time a way was sought out of the impasse created by the collapse of German geopolitik and the dispute in which political geography had generally fallen. Thus, the academic environment in which political geography developed in the post second world war is very different from the one obtaining until the second world war. In place of earlier preoccupation with the affairs of an ideal state, attention was now focussed on the functioning of the ones under existence.

The second world war and its aftermath provided political geography with abundant material for empirical investigation using earlier framework of analysis. Political geography did attempt to change and develop their subdiscipline. Of course, and in the post war period major influence was the 'scientific method'. Thus, the effect to change was directed at method rather than substance.

Here the focus of concern is observed political behaviour such as voting and government expenditure, and its variation over space. In 1950 Hartshorne placed his emphasis on a functional approach to study political regions in which centrifugal and centripetal forces become a major concern.

The follow up development, best represented in the work of Smith (1977), Johnston and Cox (1979), focuses attention on the economic and political determinants and consequence of variation in welfare. The essential questions of this approach are who gets what? Why does who get what? This approach has opened up an exciting area of enquiry. On that left political geography back in the mainstream of contemporary social science.

According to Young (1969:369), the fundamental postwar developments in the field of political geography are on the one hand 'the growing interpenetration of the global or system wide axis of international politics' but on the other hand 'the emergence of widely divergent regional areas or sub systems.

One of the most significant development occurred in the development of political geography in recent years is the revival of geopolitics which promised to be the successful solution of the crises of geography.

3.2 GEOPOLITICS AND ITS REVIVAL AND RELEVANCE

Of all the topics of study in political geography, probably now has attracted as much controversy as geopolitics. To grasp this problem one need to find out the origin of the geopolitics. Geopolitics (Geopolitik) is the expression of the combination two well known Greek words, 'earth' and 'political'³. Many authors generally recognized geopolitics as a German science, but if we see the geopolitical doctrine it is mainly clever and tendentious new combination of old ideas from a long time of political and philosophical thoughts. Certain contemporary exponents of political geography are responsible for the further development of this geographic "Spatial Determinism" and for its application to present day world.

The geopolitical heritage come all the way from Aristotle, and led via Bodin, through Montesquieu, Buckle, Ritter, Kjellen, Ratzel and Mackinder down to present day German, French and American scholar.

Aristotle (384-322 BC) in his Politics, presented a model of ideal state in which he maintained that two chief ingredients of a state are the size of population and the nature of its territory, and that these together determine the strength or weakness of a given state. Aristotle in

fact, introduced the notion of 'world dominion' and a superior political power-both going beyond the confines of the ancient polis.

Strabo (64BC-23AD) in his work look favourably on the concentration of power in the hands of a single ruler. According to him, the larger a country the more significant and necessary is the centralization of governmental power in the hands of one ruler.

Jean Bodin (1530-1569), wrote that the national character of a state was determined chiefly by its climate and topography. Humboldt and Buckle agrees that physical nature exercise a perpetual influence on the moral condition and destiny of man. In his studies of man and organic nature, Karl Ritter (1779-1859), emphasised similar thoughts⁴.

Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904) is often credited with the earliest thinking about geopolitics. This thesis on the theory of the organic growth of the state included in his politische geographie (1896), was based in part of evolutionary biological and environmental determinism of the late nineteenth century. While Ratzel postulated such 'laws' of the state growth, he did not carry the term geopolitics or geopolitik, that credit is given to Rudolf Kjellen (1864-1922) a Swedish political scientist. His ideas on

territorial expansion (Lebensraum or living space according to Ratzel) as legitimate goal for a state influenced the writing of number of German and other European geographers, historians and political scientists⁵.

The third individual who had a major influence in the thinking about world politics was Sir Mackinder (1861-1947). In his 'pivot region' (1904) which later was termed as heartland by Fairgrieve (1915, 1922) was in continental Eurasia. That area was critical to world power and domination for whosoever controlled it would dominate the world.

It was primarily the idea and writings of Kjellen and Mackinder that attracted the German geographers and under the leadership of Karl Haushofer (1896-1946) Geopolitics, as it took the shape in writing, become very much a part of the general conservative prevalent in Germany by 1920s⁶.

Characterised by an uncompromising opposition to Versailles Treaty (1922) in which the German Reich renounced all colonies and territorial expansion.

Less immediate but no less significant, was the chauvenistic dream of the creation of a greater Pan Germany. Finally, the connection was common that the Germany faced a crisis of over population, the sole solution to which the acquisition of yet more Labensraum for national development.

Thus, the basic doctrine of German Geopolitic turned out to be the reduction of historical and political struggle to the naked idea of a space conquest.

Instead of engaging primarily in the study of geographic phenomena affecting political life, German geopolitician have left the field 'scientific endeavour' to preserve absolutist ideals of power politics and race. In so doing they fail to examine political geography from an objective high plane; they substitute rather the narrow, selfish point of New German nationalism.

The defeat of Germany in 1945 and the death of Karl Haushofer in 1946 meant the end of his school of German Geopolitics. The end of war also extinguished the geopolitical traditions in the other axis countries such as Japan, Russia, Italy. More surprising is the decline of American influence interest; which had blossomed in the early 1940's but in the postwar yet, from the late 1940s such flirtation and enthusiasm had all but disappeared from American writings. Apart from this, the whole area of study was seen by many as being an actively propagandist version of the more scholarly political geography and thus it claims to being an academic subject were often considered to be highly suspect⁸. Thus, geopolitics was shrouded in secrecy and kept removed from any contact with public opinion.

The decline is, of course, at the level of geopolitical language, and it could be argued that whilst geopolitics as a term was avoided because of its Nazi connotations, geopolitical interpretation and analysis continued, but sailed under such other colours as strategic studies or even political geography. Examples are East and Spate (1950), East and Moodie (1950), Cohen (1963), Prescott (1968) and few more whilst this work retained an interest in Mackinderesque global perspective, it distanced itself from both German geopolitik and Geopolitics in general, trying to draw a clear distinction between geopolitics and political geography and to assimilate geopolitical perspective into 'academic and objective' political geography.

In mark contrast to the persistence of such attitude to 'geopolitics', the adjective 'geopolitical' has in recent years, assumed considerable popularity with politicians, academicians and journalists alike. Almost overnight, as it were everything appeared to gain a 'geopolitical' dimension, this being understood in general terms to signify an awareness of the importance of geographical factors in human affairs. Mention of the term now a days is calculated to the conjure up version of strategic minerals, agricultural potentials, ocean and sea strategies, vulnerable frontiers and possibly, dwindling natural resources. It is no bad thing that the importance of

geography has thus come to be implicitly recognized so widely, but more precision on the exact subject of the study becomes even more important.

Since the final day of the world war second, an unheralded geopolitical revolution has transformed forever the relationship between weapons and security. It has rendered obsolete the foundations of present security strategies.

In the last decade the term geopolitics has crept back into fully use, and geopolitical analysis of both global and regional problems have become more common. Since 1980, many books have appeared with 'geopolitics' or geopolitical in their titles, the term is widely used in the media and political discussion, and is the subject of many academic and policy articles.

The revival of geopolitics are the result of its role in the analysis of global and regional strategy, geopolitics has entered popular language and political discourse.

Whatever the past may be, the studies of geopolitics are not always superficial or misleading. On the contrary, many are penetrating and perceptive contributions, opening a new theme 'geopolitics' serves as an umbrella term, encapsulating the interaction often global and regional issue with economic and local structure.

In recent years there is a sign of growing interest in the history of geopolitics which have a major field for future historical research. Nevertheless, geopolitics must come to terms with its past, and examine the nature of its discourse. It is somewhat remarkable that geopolitics has not so far attracted more attention from those interested in social theory in human geography for geopolitics is probably the outstanding example of a set of concepts originating in geographical analysis that has been absorbed into social and political practice¹¹.

3.3 AREAS OF MAJOR SHIFTS IN THOUGHT

Prior to the world wars the field of political geography was mainly dominated by the thought that the political geography was being viewed primarily as 'the study of the relations between man's political activities and organizations.....' and the natural environment or earth conditions whether stated directly, (i.e. terms of controls or 'influence') or conversely, (i.e. in terms of adjustments)¹².

After the first world war in course of the 1920s interest in Human geography and its different increased in parallel with Holistic ideas. And from 1930 onward the man nature relationship was defined in a vulgar manner as man's

strength over nature by value of his 'race' his 'blood', meaning a racial explanation.

There has been a constant shift in the thought of political geography from considerable political and intellectual turbulence. Since the world war second from the late 1940s the scene had come to be dominated by the global confrontation of the two antagonistic superpowers and the heartland theory took on a new lease of life in this context. At a time when it was again coming under strong and frequently disapproving scrutiny by political geographers, it was seized upon as a method of giving a new explanatory dimension to the world scene.

The Soviet Union had increasingly come to be viewed in the west as being dangerously aggressive state. During the 1950s, when the cold war was at its height, the Soviet Union and China, the two great communist superpower, appeared welded together to form a gigantic bloc covering a third of the worlds area and similar proportion of its population. Following America's arrival at the centre of the stage, the main anchor of American foreign policy since 1945 has been consistently portrayed as the reactor to Soviet initiatives, generally perceived in Washington as the attempt to expand Soviet influence to the European littoral.

Thus the postwar world situation was fundamentally confrontational approach. Viewed from a longer perspective, the cold war even be regarded as kind of reactivation of the 'Great Game' itself¹³. The cold war scenario can be translatable into any of the contemporary idioms of confrontation, such as NATO versus Warsaw Pact, Capitalism and Communism, West versus East, Freedom versus Totalitarian-the theory could be supportive of ideological confrontation.

The postwar United States and USSR competition, both directly in the form of the nuclear arms race and indirectly in the form of regional competition to build alliance help friends and undermine allies of the component. Thus there has been a long period of growing strong contrasting lobby under the two superpowers leading to division of states which is a universal concern and danger. What is new and frightening especially during 1970s till the early 1980s was the continuing and rapid deterioration in their relations of USA and USSR with the introduction of nuclear warfare on the agenda of possibilities. Open conflict has been waged by direct and indirect superpower intervention eg. El Salvador, Vietnam, Poland, Afganistan as well as more local concern.

During the postwar period there has been many witness and rise of the peace movement in Europe. North America and

throughout the world. Academicians were echoing a common sentiment when they call a peace studies to the prime focus and since then war and peace are emerging as a major concern in political geography. In the recent times research in political geography and in international relations has increasingly been concerned with the study of global structures. Research on issues such as the world economy, North-South and East-West relations, and the strategic of the superpowers has shifted the balance in the direction of aggregate studies, while detailed examination of regional issue and of individual places has ebbed.

Rapid growth in the number of international organization, and other regional organizations, from UNO to NATO, ASEAN, NORDIC COUNCIL, ARAB LEAGUE, SAARC and many more came up that helped in establishing relations between the states and natin of the world. Economic organizations are the major building elements for the international relations of the modern times.

The whole world is having a collective sigh of relief as cold war appears to be coming to an end. Many believes that we are entering a new era when armed aggression will no longer be an instrument of national policy. One of the recent example is the 'Openness' policy of Gorbachov towards the Western countries. One can also cite the example of 'Open Skies Negotiation' held in Ottawa in February'1990.

Foreign ministers of 23 countries, 16 countries from NATO and 7 from Warsaw Treaty Organization state attended the conference, participants would voluntarily open their airspace and accepted the concept of transparency for building confidence and to check the arms control among the states. Reunification and democratization of Germany and the treaty of 'START' for reducing US and Soviet offensive strategic nuclear arms indicates the shift in the thoughts of political geography in the modern times.

Late 1980s 'thaw of cold war' led to great environment of universal peace and goodwill man and world or states will inevitably change and so as the subfield of political geography and not always for the best but it is better to travel hopefully than to arrive.

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CHAPTER IV : PRESENT TREND IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

4.2 DEVELOPMENT PROCESS AND AND CHANGES

- a. Quantitative Revolution
- b. Behavioural Geography

4.3 CONTEMPORARY IMPORTANT WORKS ON POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

- a. Development of Electoral Geography
- b. New Political Geography of the Sea
- c. Political Geography of Public Policy and Others

4.1 INTRODUCTION: Political geography is an avowedly pluralist field of enquiry which spans the major discipline of geography and politics and maintains strong links with the related social sciences of economics and sociology. It is hardly surprising that political geography is not making quantum leaps towards an integrated, theoretically valid end point. Neither geography as a whole nor political science, for that matter, has achieved such an advance. For most of this century, however, political geography was essentially an empirically oriented subject which concentrated on the study of geographical aspects of contemporary political events at the macro and national-international scale. The development of the theoretical and methodological basis for the subject was a relatively neglected issue.

In the decades immediately following World War Second, Political geography made relatively little progress as an academic subject. The range and volume of research undertaken testifies to the healthy eclecticism of modern political geography.

Since 1964 as suggested by Karperson and Minghi, the emphasis of political geography has shifted towards analysis of the interaction of political processes and geographical area, or 'political systems', seems to refer to the technique rather than subject¹.

Since the early 1970s, the nature of political geography has undergone a radical transformation in response to a number of factors. New methodologies have been developed, particularly in the field of quantitative electoral geography, and a body of theory is accumulating.

A growing interest in the question of public policy and concern with social welfare issue; the new political geography of the sea; the development of scientific research methodology and the emergence of a new theoretical model including the political economy perspective are development taking place in the present political geography.

4.2 DEVELOPMENT PROCESS AND CHANGE:

Since political geography is a sub-branch of Human geography, there is a close link between the development of political geography and the development of geography, particularly human geography. Any change in these discipline is reflected in the political geography.

Theories and methodologies in political geography have changed through the years, with some once fashionable area becoming run down as a new area develop and attain prominence.

In the developmental process of political geography,

the range and volume of research undertaken testifies to the healthy eclecticism of modern political geography. Over the last two decades political geography has moved from being 'Moribund Backwater' into the mainstream of the discipline, and the study of political issue from a spatial perspective is an integral component of modern human geography².

Although new classical and structuralist perspective on political economy have become dominant in contemporary political geography. Other trends have emerged as counter currents of particular interest are concept of political culture, analysis of the geographic impact of legal structures and geographic perspectives on international systems.

Convergence between political urban and economic geography, is not merely the product of change in the unit of analysis and the focus of investigation by political geographer, methodological change are also occurring as well. Also there is a shift to political economy as a source of theoretical inspiration has important consequence for political geography. Renewed attention to the process and outcomes of public policy formation is a fairly evident implication³.

The search for relevance is not new and exclusive to the present generation of geographers. As the researcher

persue for the relevance of the geography for the present period, the process and idea changes. As we understand from the interacting model of man-nature relationship the concept of determination-possibilism and later shift of geographical thought to behaviouralism which has a close link with the quantitative framework. Thus behaviouralism and quantification has both been encouraged and stimulated by adoption of new methodologies in the present developmental process in the field of political geography.

a. Quantitative Revolution: After the world war second, geographers, especially those of the developed countries realized the significance of mathematical language than the language of literature, consequently, the emperical discriptive geography was disgarded and more stress was laid on the formulation of abstract models. The diffusion of statistical techniques in geography to make the subject and its theories more precise is known the "guantitative revolution" in geography⁴.

It is after the quantitative revolution, especially since 1960's that geographers are concentrating more on field studies generating datas and applying the sampling techniques. The old method was now replaced by hypothesis law or model. It was during this period, prominent political geographer like Ackerman who encouraged his students to

concentrate on quantification. Schaufer (1953) prompted quantitative geography by distinguishing ideographic (descriptive) and nomothetic (law seeking). But the subject was slow to adopt the technical and methodological innovations associated with quantification for several reasons. There was a lot of practical irregularities for the application of quantification in a subject like political geography. After the unpleasant experiences evolving earlier transformation of organic theory of the state into axis power geopolitics prior to world war second. There was a general apprehension even towards verbal models which reinforced the suspicion of quantitating techniques.

One important factor on quantitative approach on turning to traditional work in political geography found little of relevance to offer illustrations Soja (1974) adopted Berrys' geographic matrix for use in political; Hudson (1974) explored some of the legislative appointment implications on Christaller Central place theory; and Reynold's (1974) drew upon spatial diffusion theory to explain electoral process. During the past decade, quantification has come to characterise a broad range of research in political geography as indicated in review by Bennett (1981), Johnston (1980), and Taylor and Gudgin (1981)⁵.

b. Behavioural Geography: Behavioural geography banks heavily on 'behaviouralism'. Behaviouralism is an important approach adopted by philosopher and psychologists to analyse man-environment relationship. Though the history of behavioural approach in geography is as old as the period of Immanuel Kant, it achieved more popularity during 1960s.

The basic philosophy of behaviourism may be summed up "The behavioural geographer recognize that man shapes as well as responds to his environment are dynamically interrelated. Man is viewed as motivated social being whose decision and actions are mediated by his cognition of the spatial environment"⁶.

The salient feature of behavioural geography is as follows. Firstly, it argued that the environmental cognition upon which people act will differ markedly from the true nature of the real world. Secondly, behavioural geographers give more weightage to individual rather than to groups and society in the man nature relationship. The third important feature of behavioural geography is its multidisciplinary outlook.

The behavioural approach in geography is a fruitful one and it helps in establishing a scientific relationship between man and physical environment. The broad scope of behavioural geography is outstanding even for the

development of political geography. However, one of the weaknesses of behavioural geography is that it lacks in synthesis of empirical findings, poor communication, inadvertent duplication and conflicting terminology. It also lacks systematic organised theoretical basis.

The traditional studies in political geography has been challenged in recent years by the behavioural school which deals with quantitative analysis of the inter state relations. They have attempted to derive objective laws of international relations to supplement the subjective models of traditional realists. But, political geography was largely bypassed by the quantitative revolution in geography. In a sense, therefore, we are attempting the 'bounce' political geography from realistic position, the world system approach by missing out the intermediate quantitative stage⁷.

4.3 CONTEMPORARY IMPORTANT WORKS ON POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

In the decades immediately following world wars "Political Geography made relatively little progress as an academic subject. Attention continued to focus upon traditional macro-scale issues, with some consideration given to contemporary events such as the process of decolonisation. Since 1970, however, the scope and character of political geography has changed dramatically in response

to the number of factors. These include a growing interest in question of public policy at the intra state level; a concern with social welfare issue, such as equity and deprivation, and the working of the political system which produce such resource distributions; the development of scientific research methodology, and the emergence of new theoretical models including the political economy perspective.

Contemporary political geography is avowedly pluralistic, with unprecedented cross fertilization of scholarly ideas within the political geography community and between political geographers and other students of political processes in political science, economics, sociology and law.

On the contemporary work by Prescott (1975) political geographers are interested in the oceans because state claim sovereignty over part of them. Perhaps, the study of electoral geography occupies one of the foremost position in the contemporary works of political geography. We can consider few of the most important contemporary works on political geography.

(a) Development of Electoral Geography: Electoral geography is the success story of modern political geography. The professional interest of geography in the study of elections

is now more than seven decades old. The first published researches on subject included those by Sieffried (1913) and Kriebheil (1916), followed by Carl Saver (1918) and some other sporadic contributory eg. Wright(1932), Paullin (1932) in which were included a number of maps of voting results. Substantial geographical researches on elections were, however, made only in France under the leadership of Andre Siegfried, who has rightly been called the father of "Electoral Geography" Siegfrieds' book (1949) on the geography of elections of Ard eche region of France is a classic of its type⁸.

Only in the early sixties did electoral studies become an important theme in political geography and by the middle of the 1970s many had begun to think that they comprised "the most actively developing aspect of political geography", and the electrocal geography was now 'one of the main source of fresh insight into the general fields of human geography⁹.

One of the chief reasons for this increased interest has been that, in general sense "more than any other aspect of political geography, the study of voting behaviour has begun clearly to reflect the conceptual and methodological emphasis of the new mainstream of contemporary geographic research Soja (1974)¹⁰. which has been increasingly concerned

with the use of sophisticated techniques of quantitative analysis, spatial diffusion process and behavioural studies.

In our political geography elections play a keyrole at the scale of ideology in channelling conflicts safety into constitutional arenas. In all democratic countries with multi-party political systems, the electoral battle is the first step in earning to power. Elections are also major agencies of political socialization and political participation, which open up channels between the polity and the society, between the elites and the masses and between the individual and his government¹¹.

The spatial spread of political socialization and political participation is a genuine field of inquiry for political geography, which can best be understood at the time of an election.

A major underlying weakness of voting geography has been the failure to relate it to studies in political geography as whole Cox (1976)¹². It focused attention on the vital link between geography of elections and political geography as a whole is somewhat blurred at this stage and needed to be clarified. Since it was a preliminary problem, the theme needs further discussion and elaboration, as electoral studies attract a growing number of geographers in the modern times.

(b) New Political Geography of the Sea: The political geography of the sea may be defined as the portion of the law of the sea which has spatial or territorial component, including such matters as the territorial sea and the continuous zone, the exclusive economic zone, the international straits, the regime of island and archipelagos, freedom of transit for land locked states, deep seabed mining and protection and preservation of the marine environment. It also includes larger issue not formerly part of the law of the sea and Antarctica, and military use of the sea. The new law of the sea (hence the new political geography of the sea) is the latest stage in a long evaluation traceable to the ancient Greeks and Romans but accelerating since the 17th century.

The basic question of increasing interest concern involves the right of nations to use water and the resources it contains. The question was debated in the 17th and 18th centuries in Europe nations whose economic well being depended materially on the use of the sea. The result was general agreement adhered to through the 19th century, that a coastal country could claim sovereignty over a continuous belt 3 or 4 nautical miles wide. The remainders of the ocean was open to use by all¹³.

Initially, the emphasis on the need for sea space for a country defence and unrestricted commerce. No separate confidential law of the sea existed, however, and none seemed need until after world war I. Later jurisdiction was claimed for fishing, for navigation or for other special uses, and the entire picture became very confused, however, this confusion has been clarified by the recognition of right to a state territorial sea but since there was no agreement on the breadth of this territorial sea many countries extend their claims to 6, 12 and even 200 nautical miles of offshore. Thus international disputes have resulted from the extended claims eg. Britain and Iceland, USA and Peru, N. Korea and USA and so on.

There has been several attempts by the United Nations Conference on the law of the sea to codify most of what had developed in the field since its earliest days. The first conference on the law of the sea was held in the Hague (1930) was not successful. The second conference held in Geneva in 1960 also failed to produce a concrete international law. The United Nations conference convened in 1958 resolved some issues but left the important one unsettled eg. territorial water extension and the creation of exclusive fishing zones.

In 1967, Dr Arvind Pardo, came up with the idea of "the common heritage of mankind" in that resources be primarily for the benefit of the poorest and landlocked nations. This initiative set off a chain of events which led to the third UN conference on the law of the sea (UNCLOS III). Since then, numerous sessions have been followed in 1973-74 which concluded in December 1982 with the signing of the United Nations convention of the law of the sea.

Some of the loopholes over the issue of the law of the sea is that the country do not have to sign agreements if they do not want to, secondly, there is no international body, not even the international court of justice, that has the power to enforce the recommendations it makes. Thus in future, there is every possibility of competing claim to mineral resources contained in the ocean floor may occasion more conflict than fishing does.

Political geography of the sea encompasses essentially those aspects of the law of the sea that have a spatial or territorial component, that is, many of the same topics which on land have long engaged political geographers but transferred to the marine environment. Naturally, there are differences between the land the sea and these differences affects the political geography of both environment¹⁴.

(c) Political Geography of Public Policies: Dilating from the traditional study of the nature of man and environment and its relationship. Geographers in the recent past are venturing to a broader perspective of adopting a new strategy, the syllabi around the theme of social welfare making the subject as principal source of awareness of local surroundings, regional milieu and world environment.

A growing concern with the policies of international organizations, national governments and local authorities has been a recent trend in political geography. This development can be traced to the realizations are powerful forces in shaping changes in the cultural and physical landscape, and alteration in existing patterns of exchange and distributions of people and economic activities.

The term 'Public Policy' has two meanings, firstly, it refers to policies determined by governments or government agencies including international and sub-national authorities to which some powers have been delegated by national governments. Secondly, political geographers will find it useful to include in the category of public policy those policies advocated by organizations which seek political power or changes in the state's social political and economic structure political action.

'Public Policy' also refers to these policies which are known to exist because it is impossible to consider policies which are secret.....particularly those relating to defence and territorial arrangements which are not made public at the time of their formation¹⁵.

Political geographer should take some aspects into consideration for the explanation of public policy as a part of political geography. Firstly, the policy should be distinct which will best serve comparative studies in political geography. Secondly, it is necessary to understand the relationships between political geography and public policy and finally, the methods of analysis and the problems associated with them must be investigated.

Some problems confront the geographers for making progress of public policies. In recent years geographers have been pushed wider and wider that today they are closer to workers in neighbouring fields than they are to other geographers as a result, many of the important genuine works of the past have been neglected. It is also important to recognize the formation and operation of public policies and there will be other results political, legal, moral and economic factors and results may also be involved. In order to avoid these hindrances political geographers while recommending the policy should concentrate on policies where

non-geographical factors are apparently at minimum. In short, the study of policy will encourage geographers with different specialist interests to talk to each other, and mitigate to some extent the present divisive tendencies in the subject.

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CHAPTER V: FUTURE DEVELOPMENT: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

5.1 INTRODUCTION

5.2 POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY - PROSPECT IN DEVELOPING AND
DEVELOPED WORLD

5.3 THE NEED FOR INVESTIGATION IN POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

5.4 FUTURESTIC SCOPE OF POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AS A SUBJECT

5.1 INTRODUCTION: Political geography has been a bulkwork of traditional geographical studies for over half a century. It is no more and no less than political studies carried out by geographers using the techniques and ideas associated with their spatial perspectives. As we take stock of our discipline (political geography) from the perspective of the late 1960s, inspite of the major development that has taken place since then. We look back with a degree of dissatisfaction both at the lack of any adequate representation in contemporary political geography textbooks of the growing research trends in the subdiscipline and the relative paucity of research, being undertaken by so called political geographers compared to those fast developing social sciences and in other subjects of geography. The resulting theoritical imbalances and the shifting of the ideas and concepts in the subject matter had important consequences in the developmental process of political geography.

Looking at our present predicament and looking for future one can criticize political geography for its stubbornly maintained its focus at the level of the state where most modern science was urban oriental¹.

In term of geographical scale, however, this latter orientation is becoming increasingly modified; social

scientists from other discipline are adjusting to take account of the ever more active role of government in modern society. Since 1970, however, the scope and character of political geography has changed dramatically in response to a number of factors. These include a growing interest in questions of public policy at the intra-state level, a concern with social welfare issue and the resource distribution, electoral studies and the development of scientific research methodology with the broader perspectives studies of a new theoretical models including the political economy perspectives. Thus, moden political geography shares a stage with political science, economic and international relations, which has lot to do for future.

Future development of political geography depends upon the present research work. The writing and application of political geography need more careful thought in the light of the difficult of reading and understanding much modern theoretical work that will influence the nature and scope and help to shape the future development of the field. All that is changing now, however, as political geography alongwith other social sciences, is modernizing quite rapidly giving a broader and brighter scope for the development of the field.

5.2 POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY PROSPECT IN DEVELOPING AND DEVELOPED WORLD : In this chapter, prospect of political geography in developing and developed world is emphasised keenly that it may stimulate interest to form the basic framework for a more concrete theoretical concept in the study of political geography. As the study is becoming more modern and broader, covering political, economic and international relations, it will be ideal to project the problems and other developments from different angles both from the developing and developed world.

Developing and developed countries are passionate issues and their significance for the development of political geography is undisputed. Since the two worlds reflects the space and places in geography, especially in political geography, there are lot of scope for political geographers to get the material and space to work on.

There has been a lot of research and debate on the significance of the contemporary political geography, yet it had not been possible to consider the substantial geographic literature on development and the overage on all the directions such as underdeveloped, developing, and developed world, as ought to have equally studied. No doubt most of the works has been done mostly from developed countries and so often it seems that political geography is almost entirely focussed upon advanced capitalist societies. In

fact, like many social scientists, political geographers have too frequently accepted the view as the ruling elite as the view of the people and has been too prepared to assume that the only realistic option lie in a greater commitment to capitalism or developed countries². However, in recent times developing countries have been experiencing a great development in the field of electoral geography, geography of the sea and so on.

Most of the developing countries, that receives independence from foreign rule in the past second world war period, still continue to have economic and political crisis. Thus political geographers can play a vital role to cope with different problems in those countries. Lately, electoral study has become the most eye catching topic in the study of political geography. India, an example of developing country with its huge population, landmass and complex society render a very interesting electoral study but it lack research works in this particular field. Besides there are lot of interesting works for a political geographers to be done in India itself for eg. her regional set up, unique governmental system and so on.

Political geography in the recent times turned their emphasised on the international economic and political relationships within and between the countries. It has

increasingly been concerned with the study of global structure. Thus, there is a very exciting scope for future in the study of political geography in both the developing and developed world to play a role in the issues of conflict and struggle, cooperation and consenses besides its contribution as an academic discipline.

5.3 THE NEED FOR INVESTIGATION IN POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY :

There is a little indication in recent literature of any progress of emergence of political geography as an academic subject. This is because the subject has not completely broken away from the traditional studies of the state as the main theme.

Political geography is a distinct branch of geography is to be justified neither in terms of political aspects of geography nor in terms of geographic foundation of politics, since each of those constitutes but a collective of partial solution separated from the problems envolved. The lose of political geography is the study of one distinction phenomena in the total differenciation in both most marked and most important in respect to units of land at the level of state areas.

Political geography is perhaps, the most 'human' phase of geography since it deals so largely with the strength, weakness, and ambitions of men³. As things stand, so much of

field is still virgin that the political geographers have a great task ahead. Today, we have more materials available than half a century ago. The concept is clearer and materials are more promising. Unfortunately the present available books are mostly textbooks better textbooks are essential for better teaching but today we need more investigation of research oriented works that can be easily discussed in seminars, journals etc. Whatever, it is, our need is for an organized structure of scholarly knowledge, one in which student can build upon what has been written before.

In the course of the investigation, we need to step back and review the developments of the past. Reexamination of traditional geopolitical concept with a view to establish the extent to which they inform the infuse current strategic thinking and how much they form the basis of a dangerous mismatch of nuclear strategies. It is the duty of the political geographers to study all these problems carefully and reveal the misconception and confusion of the past and present. The awareness investigation of the past is valuable not only for avoiding mistakes and duplication but also for assessing the relevance of ones own work⁴.

Research in political geography should, first have a clear notion as possible of the various topics with which

such research might deal in useful manner, and then try to develop in their students the proficiencies needed for conducting such research. At the same time they should be aware of the limit of the boundaries around the content of the discipline, so as not to repeat another misfortune adventure as occurred during the world war period.

Though there has been a lot of research work explored most of the highways in the field of political geography. There is still some of the byways potential and many new things to be explored which need urgent investigation.

5.4 FUTURESTIC SCOPE OF POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AS A SUBJECT :

It is concluded in the previous analysis that political geographers have made only a limited valuable works for the discipline. This is due to the confusion caused by blurred scope and concept of the past studies in the field. But in the present time political geographers and other social scientists are reluctant to leave the fate of mankind to politicians and planner for less to hidden hands. They now seek a much more acting role in the promotion of human welfare⁵.

In the recent studies most policies are intended to shape the future and inevitably forward looking. But political geographers with a few notable exceptions, have been concerned with the present (which has usually been the

past by the time it has been analysed). Political geographers, in this stage need to develop their competence in spatial forecasting and in modelling systems which represent sections of the real world and which can be used to estimate the likely effects of changes in policy. The presenting orientations towards political geography should be done having essentially general themes suggesting way in which researches should advance on a fairly broad front. These include literature reviews, development of specific models, and more general discussions of themes on which we may expect future political geography research. However, in order to have sound future scope for the discipline. One should not forget to take into account the distinctly historical approach in order to provide a round background to examination of current trends and possible future developments. The political geography research agenda should then revisit the kind of traditional concern, to research the context to which they are still relevant. It is necessary to understand the past and present better to plan the future as the future of political geography rest on a ability to say something meaningful about the contemporary world.

The future progress of the political geography hinges on the development of theories of human decision making in institutional structure, investigation of the potential

future worlds and to consider alternative solutions to global economic, social, political and international problems. It is quite appropriate for our recent researchers in political geography to peer into the future and suggest some newer directions that are virtually new for political geographers.

Notes

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CONCLUSION

The intention of this dissertation has been to provide a preliminary account of the aspects of emerging trends in the study of political geography. It has several aims, firstly, it seeks to provide a sense of purpose in order to study political geography. Secondly, it tries to examine political geography more in line with emerging trends in contemporary geography as a whole and with other branches of social science in parts. Also emphasis has been given to study the problems confronting the political geography and finally, a focus is drawn towards the scope of the political geography for future as a subject, and its possible role in the global development perspectives as well.

Political geography is a vast subject that touches many branches of the different social sciences, particularly geography. Besides, as an academic disciplines political geography have lot to contribute to the problems that confront the world today, and it cannot be successfully accomplished without properly studying the subject matter first. The theme of the past are a direct relevance today. Without tracing the heritage we cannot simply study the present and the future. Thus, the first part of this dissertation tries to trace out the heritage of the political geography and its linkages with other discipline.

The application of a distinctly historical approach provide a sound background to an examination of emerging trends in the study of political geography.

Political geography is in the continuous phase of evolution and the rhythm varies from one historical point to another. Looking back over the progress of political geography in the last half of this century, it was discribed by many as "the Wayward Child of the Geographic family". This was due to this reason that there was no general consensus on the central theme, methods and issues of this discipline. Unfortunately modern time brought with them several conspicuous starts, notably those that had to do with the ill defined sub field called 'geopolitics' developed by German Chauvinist imperialists during the second world war. However, there were always political geographers, who remained aloof from this misconception and brought the solution to this frightening global misadventure.

The 1960s saw political geography slowly emerging from a long period political geography with abundant material for empirical investigation using earlier framework of analysis. Although research on traditional themes continue, e.g. geopolitical structure (Cohen, 1982), boundaries (House, 1981), spatial structure of state (Gottmann, 1980), etc. the real growth has been from researchers exploring new themes.

Increasing awareness of importance of political dimension in human geography has made existing field more political as well as led to a renaissance of political geography itself. With the dramatic changes in the scope and character of political geography, in response to a number of factors including growing interest in questions of the sea, and so on. One of the most significant development in the field of political geography in the modern time is the revival of geopolitics. Political geography is still largely concerned with the state, as the state has become all pervasive in almost all political activities, giving political expression to a body of ideas incorporated within a nation state.

Every problem of political geography is largely an interdisciplinary issue where theory and practice come together. The problem is that it is very difficult to differentiate between political geography, political science, political economy and international relations, as they share the common platform using same language, assumptions and topics.

There is not doubt that the contributions in the field of political geography have increased, both in volume and in its range, however, in respect of research and advisory work they still remain small by comparison with other discipline. On this point one can argue political geographers for its

stubborvly maintained its focus at the level of state when most of the modern sciences was urban oriented.

Today, the threat that political geography would be driven of the reservation has subsided. There are increasing attempts to make the discipline systematic and oriented towards generalzation and theory building as in the entire discipline of geography itself.

Taking into consideration the emerging trends in the study of political geography we can plan for the future development of this field. In this stage we need to develop competence in spatial forecasting and in modelling systems of discipline; it need more literature reviews, more discussions and seminars.

Thus, from the study of the present trend of the political geography we have noticed a distinct resurgence in the field. Thought the field of research continuous to be varied, with conventional discourses on the theory of state, etc. together with the new approaches focussing on ~~the~~ conflict resolution, peace research, public policy, decision making, etc. it ^{STILL CANNOT} ~~rejects rather a~~ reinvigorat~~ion~~^{ion} of the discipline. Inspite of all these dissatisfied developments of the past we can be sure that this "wayward child of the geographic family" shall no longer remain in the "moribund academic backwaters".

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