

Chapter – 2

CHANGING CONCEPT OF GEOPOLITICS IN COURSE OF TIME

2.1 Section A: Changing Concept of Geopolitics in Course of Time

This chapter is basically divided into two major sections. Section-A discusses the concept of geopolitics from the early Greeks period when the political conditions of the then political entity were linked to its geography. Further, an attempt has been made to elaborate the relationship between Geopolitics and International Relations.

2.1.1. Introduction

The study of international relations is difficult without a firm grasp of geography. Every State has a defined territorial base from where it conducts its policy towards other States. The relationship between States depends upon various factors, which include geographical location, natural resources and economic needs, history, political system and the present international power structure. However, throughout the world history, the geographical location has been most fundamental which is constant. In the course of world history, the populations increase and decrease, natural resources are discovered and expended, political systems frequently change, empires and states rise and fall, technologies decline and advance, but the locations of continents, islands, seas and oceans have not changed significantly.

Spykman (1938a: 29) regarded geography as the most basic factor conditioning state's foreign policy. According to him,

“War was an instrument of national policy in his (Napoleon's) time and still is today ... In such a world, the geographic area of the State is the territorial base from which it operates in time of war and the strategic position which it occupies during the temporary armistice called peace. It is the most fundamentally conditioning factor in the formulation of national policy because it is the most permanent. Ministers come and ministers go, even dictators die, but mountain ranges stand unperturbed. Because the geographic characteristics of states are relatively unchanging and unchangeable, the geographic demands of those states will remain the same for centuries, and because the world has not yet reached that happy state where the wants of no man conflict with those of another, those demands will cause friction. Thus at the door of geography may be laid the blame for many of the age-long struggles which run persistently through history while governments and dynasties rise and fall.”

This indicates the considerable permanency of geographical factors in conditioning the foreign policy of a State in comparison to other factors. Spykman (1938b: 236) commented, “Geography does not argue; it just is.”

The global strategic theories are based on geography and the subsequent distribution of power at a particular time frame. It should be noted that the advocates of land, sea and air power based on believes on their countries' circumstances and geographical location during particular eras. Hence, the geopolitical ideas correspond the changes in technology, manpower, international power structure, etc. Even, Mackinder subscribes to this idea and he elaborates : "The actual balance of political power at any given time is... the product, on the one hand, of geographical conditions, both economic and strategic, and, on the other hand, of the relative number, virility, equipment and organization of the competing peoples" (Mackinder 1904: 434).

2.1.1.1 Geography and Politics

Geography studies the interaction between people and natural environment. The interaction between man and environment has two aspects: *one*, environment influencing man and *second*, man influencing environment. It also analyses relationship between people and space, people and places and people's interaction with people through economic, social and political activities.

Whereas, 'Politics' is defined as the science of government; that part of ethics which has to do with the regulation and government of a nation or state, the preservation of its safety, peace, and prosperity, the defence of its existence and rights against foreign control or conquest, the augmentation of its strength and resources, and the protection of its citizens in their rights, with the preservation and improvement of their morals (Webster Online Dictionary). Thus, politics is management of public goods, services, and power among the peoples of a particular demarcated territory.

Both geography and politics are interrelated and affect each other. The environmental factor that affects people directly is climate and it has been suggested that it is the basic reason for man's racial difference of skin colour, size, and shape. Geography matters in the relationship between States; it may be friendly or hostile. A detailed knowledge of geography provides immediate setting for conflict and determines the outcome of war. Here, Haushofer's famous dictum is worth mentioning, "The best informed wins the final battle" (Cahnman 1943: 59). This suggests geography plays a significant role.

The importance of geographical location for the State is admitted since ancient times. Aristotle noted that Athens had hills for protection and a harbour for sea commerce to expand and it became a powerful State. Aristotle points out that region of diverse topography develop in a number of political areas (states), where as large states develop on the large expanses of the level land (Norris 1980: 42). The small countries in the mountain areas and the large countries in the flat areas of South America are good example of this idea.

The relationship between politics and geography was again seen in the writing of Jean Bodin in the Sixteenth Century. In "*Six Livres de la Republica*", Bodin said that national characteristics vary with changes both in climate and topography. Since national character differs according to the environment, then so must be the political structure of the states. Bodin illustrated his idea by pointing out that people of cold climates, are those living in mountains are strong, well disciplined, and courageous; thus they maintain political freedom. Plain areas on the other hand, are open to invasion, not only because they are difficult to defend, but because of the temperament of the plain peoples (Norris 1980: 42-43). Bodin firmly believed that the physical nature, temperament, talents, and will of the human as well as the political system that govern human are parts of the universal system of nature. Although, Bodin was a strong believer in the environmental influence on politics; he also believed that human reasoning can affect the environmental factors.

In Seventeenth Century, Montesquieu applied world geography to world politics. He was concerned especially with the effects of climate and topography on people; their laws, and their political system. He also spoke of the significance of the location of the continents and Islands on political freedom. Montesquieu restated some earlier ideas by claiming that cold climates are associated with political freedom, but that warm climate leads to despotism and slavery (Norris 1980: 43). Like Aristotle, Montesquieu thought that plain region favours large empires, but that mountain and hills fosters feelings of independence and yearning for liberty. He believed that Island people have a higher regard for freedom then landlocked people. Montesquieu advocated that the physical environment determines the nature of people and their political institution, but he said that human historical development will gradually allow human to liberate themselves from the iron bonds of nature (Norris 1980: 43).

In *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, Mackinder emphasized the paramount importance of geography to the study of history and global politics. In "*The Great wars of History*," he wrote, "...are the outcome, direct or indirect, of the unequal growth of nations, and that unequal growth... in large measure ... is the result of the uneven distribution of fertility and strategically opportunity upon the face of the globe." The "facts of geography" indicated to Mackinder that "the grouping of lands and seas, and of fertility and natural pathways, is such as to lend itself to the growth of empires, and in the end of a single world empire." In order to prevent future world conflicts, he advised, "We must recognize these geographical realities and take steps to counter their influence." He proposed to reveal those "geographical realities" by measuring "the relative significance of the great features of our globe as tested by the events of history...." (Sempa 2000).

Politics also affects the geographical boundary of a region. For instance, the imperialist policy of the European powers geometrically divided the African continent in the Berlin Conference in 1884-85, affecting the traditional boundaries of the African states based on geographical realities. At the time of the Conference, only the coastal areas of Africa were colonized by the European powers and about 80% of Africa remained under traditional and local control (Rosenberg). At the Conference, the European colonial powers scrambled to control the interior regions of Africa. They divided the African country into fifty irregular countries by drawing geometric boundaries in the interior of the continent. By doing so, they disregarded the cultural and linguistic boundaries already established by the indigenous African population. The new countries lacked homogeneity as coherent groups were divided and people of different community were put in a one political unit. The cross-border ethnic presence of Hutu and Tutsi tribes in Rwanda and Burundi, is the main reason of the conflict between the two states.

The spatial location of any states also determines the foreign policy of the State. The Maldives is a case in a point. Its prominent goal of foreign policy is to raise global awareness of the dangers posed to the Maldives by climate change. This is because, if global warming takes a dangerous course then there will be rise in sea level and the small low islands of the Maldives will be submerged in the ocean. This endangers its

territorial existence as a State. The other states do give preference to protect global warming but for the Maldives it is the most fundamental principle of its foreign policy preference.

The importance of Geography in international relations is also recognized by a realist international relations theorist Morgenthau. While discussing elements of National power, Morgenthau (2001: 127) believed 'Geography' as one of the dominant factors which decide the National power. He discusses two types of factors which determine the power of a nation, first relatively stable and second one of constant change. 'Geography', according to him, is the most stable factor which the power of a nation depends. For instance, he gives the example of the fact that the continental territory of the US is separated from other continents by bodies of water 3000 miles wide to the east and more than 6000 miles wide to the west is a permanent factor that determine the position of the US in the world (Morgenthau 2001: 127). Though there is advancement in transportation and warfare technology, but every nation has to take account of this fact while making policy towards it. He also mentioned natural resources (food, raw material, uranium, and the power of oil), industrial capacity based on coal and iron as an element of national power. For Morgenthau international politics is a struggle for power, so power is vital for national survival.

Further, the possibility of nuclear war has enhanced the importance of the size of territory as a source of power. In order to make a nuclear threat credible, a nation requires a territory large enough to disperse its industrial and population centres as well as its nuclear installations. Otherwise, small size of territory will cover up the radius of nuclear destruction and hence undermine its nuclear credibility. Thus, in these terms, the bigger territory of the US, the Russia, and China have advantage to play the role of major nuclear power in comparable to smaller size of France and Britain.

In the above discussion, it is found that geography and politics are interrelated and geographical factors matters in States' affairs, and politics also affects the geographical boundaries of State. Geography is also a factor determining national power.

2.1.1.2 What is Geopolitics?

2.1.1.2.1 Definition

Concepts on the geographic basis of national and international power date far back in the history. Rudolf Kjellen coined the term 'Geopolitik' in 1899, and out of the several terms to the 'geopolitics', he favoured the most restricted one: "the study of the State as geographic organism or phenomena in space; that is as land, territory, area or, most pregnantly, as country (Reich)" (Kristof 1960: 25). Geopolitics views a State's political position in the world on the basis of geographical context. It analyzes the space, location, size, and resources of nation states. As two states do not have similar geographic characteristics and surroundings, they do not have identical geopolitics. Each state must develop its own geopolitics based on its knowledge and political conditions.

The term 'geopolitics' was popularised by the writings of Karl Haushofer. In 1928, Haushofer and the other editors of the *Journal of Geopolitics*, (established in 1924 by Haushofer) outlined their definition of geopolitics:

"Geopolitics is the science of conditioning of political processes by the earth. It is based on the broad foundations of geography, especially political geography, as the science of political space organisms and their structure. The essence of regions as comprehended from the geographical point of view provides the framework for geopolitics within which the course of political processes must proceed if they are to succeed in the long term. Though political leaders will occasionally reach beyond this frame, the earth dependency will always eventually exert its determining influence. As thus conceived, geopolitics aims to be equipment for political action and a guidepost in political life.... Geopolitics wants to and must become the geographical conscience of the state" (Tuathail 1996: 46-47).

Geopolitics is defined as the relationship between power politics and geography (Child 1985: 19). In other words, the diplomatic and military planners need to keep in mind the geographic factors while making strategy and policy, which can hinder or enhance their actions in the world arena.

Another notation of Geopolitical is that it is a method of political analysis that

emphasized the role played by geography in international relations. Cohen (1964: 25) explained two major aspects of Geopolitical analysis

1. Description of geographical setting as they relate to political power; and
2. Laying out spatial frameworks that embrace interacting political power units.

The first aspect of the geopolitical analysis is simple as it gives the description of the location of the State which is responsible for its emergence as a power centre. For example, the Britain is an Island state and separated from mainland Europe by North Sea and English Channel. Its location protects it from the easy attack from European based power. The second aspect of the geopolitical analysis is much more complex. It is because, in this world of globalisation, the interaction between different states is complex. On some issues they ally with one and on some other issues they ally with the other. The resultant spatial framework overlap and become complex. But overall, the essence of this analysis is to establish relationship between international political powers to the geographical setting. From this analysis policy makers can draw certain political conclusions, which, in turn, help them in making projections into the future.

2.1.1.2.2 Areas of Interest

The starting point of classical geopolitical writer is the “organic theory of the State”- a concept maintaining that the nation-state is a living organism that requires living space, resources, and a purpose; the State also has a life cycle in which it is created, matures, declines and finally disappears (Child 1985: 20-21). But, there are other organic nation-states competitive for the same resources and for the same living space. Thus, all the geopolitical writings were concerned of this competitiveness and rivalry between the interacting states. Geopolitics is concerned with how geographical factors including territory, population strategic location and natural resources which were modified by modern economics and technology affect the relationship between states and struggle for world domination.

Nation-state is the basic concern in geopolitics. Geopolitics is, thus, interested in the dynamic evolution of the State and the impact of geographic, social, historical and economic factors that have influenced the evolution; and from this analysis in geopolitics one can draw certain political conclusion. The relationship of a national

space and geopolitics can be expressed as the study of how to best organize and plan for the effective utilizations of national resources. However, nation-states do not exist in isolation and geopolitics must constantly be concerned with how the development of one nation-state relates to the development of its neighbour (Child 1985: 20). So, the national security - both internal and external - and geo-strategy, which is usually defined as the application of geopolitics to the art of higher level military planning, so as to make best use of national defence and war making resources, are part of the interest of to geopolitics.

2.1.1.2.3 Different Geopolitical Perspective

Geopolitical thinkers have presented a series of global visions of international power relationship and how geography affects them (Child 1985: 24). The major geopolitical perspectives are; Maritime geopolitical perspective; the continental geopolitical perspective; the Aerospace geopolitical perspective, and the Resource geopolitical perspective.

- ***Maritime geopolitical perspective:*** The geopolitical perspective believes that the control of the oceans is the best way to project power and key in becoming a world power. To established a sea power a state has to control the sea lanes and bases in important and strategic Islands. By doing so, the State can control the trade, transport and movement of military assets.
- ***The Continental geopolitical perspective:*** This perspective views armies and control of land as the key strategic factor to establish the world domination. Navies and air force serve mainly to transport and support the soldier in the field, and it is seen as the ultimate instrument for projecting power and national will.
- ***The Aerospace geopolitical perspective:*** The aerospace perspective was a result of the technological advancement in the field of warfare. It was clear from the role of fighter planes in the World War I. The invention of Strategic bomber and the Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile (ICBM), capable of carrying nuclear warhead, had forced the geopolitical thinkers to admit the role of Air power in war strategy and subsequently in geopolitics. Its principal proponent is Alexander de Seversky.

- **The Resource geopolitical perspective:** The resource geopolitical perspective is a relatively recent world view. It received its greatest impetus with the Oil Crisis of 1973. This perspective is centred principally on the competition for scarce oil resources and other energy resources as well as the strategic minerals.

2.1.2 Geopolitics and International Relations

States pursue different grand strategies at different times based on the geopolitical circumstances at that time. The book written by A T Mahan, "*The Influence of Sea Power upon history 1660-1783*" was studied carefully by all powers and military strategist. Subsequently, naval race has begun at that time and America, England Germany and Japan scramble to produce warships and strengthen their sea power to establish influence over the vast area of seas. The policy of Hitler's Germany was greatly influenced by the geopolitical ideas of *lebensraum* (Haushofer's idea). After the end of World War II, the Cold War begun between the two super powers, Capitalist United States and Communist Soviet Union. Both the super powers tried to spread their influence area. Soviet Union becomes prominent power in Eurasia. To check the spread of communism in the Europe, the US adopted the policy of 'containment of communism.' Here Spykman's model of Rimland found geographical expression. The US tried to encircle the Soviet Union by making alliances with countries situated in Rimland through NATO in Europe, CENTO in West Asia, SEATO in South East Asia and ANZUS in Pacific Ocean front.

In the recent times, the expansion of NATO in Caspian region, US-NATO involvement in Afghanistan, and its presence in Central Asian region is seen as threat by Russia and China. This step has strategically invoking defensive responses by China and Russia, which geopolitically consider these regions their backyards. They are evolving in bilateral strategic coordination and closer ties with Iran, the regional major player also targeted by the NATO-US involvement.

In the above discussion witnessed that the geography influence the politics of nations, if not determine it in many terms. Geographical location of any country has its impact on the foreign policy of State. Hence, it affects the layout of the international spatial framework. In the ancient times, different geographer had described that what type of

political institution will possible in the given geographical setting. But, the contemporary geopolitical thinkers observe the geographical setting in terms of how it can be used to project power and could be used to achieve world domination. It means that they are concerned with the foreign policy implications and geo-strategic importance of the given geopolitical circumstances.

An attempt has been made in this chapter to briefly discuss the various geopolitical frameworks. However, it seems that none of the frameworks is complete in itself. Continental, Maritime and Air power geopolitical perspective. Different geopolitical thinkers have analysed their concept of geopolitical setting by viewing the world from their own geographical perspective. And, they have layout the world map accordingly. They reached the conclusion that the key to world domination lies in land power, sea power or air power according to the needs for their States. However, these perspectives are complementary to each other. To have a global reach states have to become powerful in all aspects *i.e.* from land power, sea power, and air power.

The area of interest in the ongoing research is to analyse the relation between Central Asia and China from geopolitical perspective. The significance of *location*, *space* and *distance* in inter-relation between Central Asian region and China will be analysed. Also, the factors that matter in the geopolitical setting of Central Asian region and China will be considered in the geopolitical analysis. The factors that matters in the geopolitical significance of any region are:

- Its geographical location in the world map;
- Unity of the region by means of mobility;
- Accessibility of the region from outside;
- Productivity of the region or Natural Resources;
- Manpower; and
- Advancement of the technology.

2.1.3 Evolution of Geopolitical Thought

In the first section of the chapter, it has been discussed that in the ancient period, the Greeks were aware of the affect of geographical setting in the political nature of the respective state. However, their geographical prescriptions were essentially local, since their knowledge about the earth surface was incomplete. Whatever knowledge

they had about the extent and pattern of land and water in the surface of earth, they drew certain conclusions about the impact of physical environment on the politics and its military significance.

2.1.3.1 Ancient

In the ancient period, the Greeks used broad climatic patterns as the basis for dividing the known world. Hecateus, in the Sixth Century B.C. drew a map dividing the world into two parts: Europe (including Siberia) and Asia-Africa. Climate was the basis of political partition, Europe representing the cold areas of the north and Asia-Africa the warm areas of the south. The Asia-Africa environment, more favourable for settlement was considered the major power (Cohen 1964: 29). While, Aristotle claimed power pre-eminence for the intermediate zone inhabited by the Greeks.

2.1.3.1.1 Herodotus

In the 5th Century B.C. Herodotus divided the world landmass into three continents, namely, the Europe, the Libya (Africa) and the Asia (Hussian 1995: 41-42). The size of the Europe was, however, taken as equivalent to Asia and Libya combined. He did not have a clear idea and could not fix the northern limit of Europe. He took the Western frontier of the Egypt as the boundary between the Asia and the Libya. The Asia and the Europe were divided by the strait of Bosforus, the Tanais (Don) river, the Caspian Sea and Araxes (Amu). Herodotus's knowledge of the Asia was confined mainly to the Persian Empire.

2.1.3.1.2 Strabo

After the Greeks, the political power shifted towards the hands of Romans. Rome became the centre of authority, which extended its territory to most of the European part. In this period, about 1st Century B.C. Strabo, in a series of books called Geography, describes the lands and seas known to him. He insisted that geography has the strongest influence on the political needs of the states (Noriss 1980: 46). Strabo points out the influence of physical features of an area on the character and history of its inhabitants. He gives the example of Italy, saying that the people of Italy are more advanced and developed because of its protected geographical location. According to him, the location of Italy, its climate and resources were responsible to the development of Roman Empire. Rome extended his area upon the advantages

derived by the geographical location of Italy that offered her protection against attacks from outside and its natural harbours gave a boost to its commerce and business activity.

Strabo views the earth from European-centred continental perspective. He divided the entire globe into quadrilaterals, within one of which he placed the habitable earth. The habitable lands are consisted of three divisions, the Europe, the Libya and the Asia, whose forms were moulded by the arms of ocean (Cohen 1964: 30). In the 2nd Century, the Roman geographer Ptolemy tried to draw the world which was very helpful for the geographers and explores of the Great age of discovery in 14th and 15th Century to explore the unknown world.

In the periods of Greeks and Romans, the knowledge of the existence of landmass and seas were not known correctly. The entire geographer at that time tried to prepare the world map from the experience of their travelling.

2.1.3.2 Renaissances and Age of Discovery

After the ancient period the significant development in the field of geopolitics took place in the 'age of discovery', from 1400 AD onwards. It was the time of Renaissance and enlightenment in the Europe after a gap of long periods of dark ages which started after the decline of Roman Empire in 3rd AD. During this time there was remarkable progress in the development of scientific knowledge and new inventions were made, which helped the people widen the existing horizon and explore the unknown worlds. Magnetic compass was invented, which has a great impact on the art of navigation. Now, the stage was set for the long journey in the sea and the discovery of the unexplored world. By getting support, from their respective rulers, many navigators tried to explore the world by making great voyage in the sea.

In 1492, Christopher Columbus reached the New World (America), and the Vasco da Gama through the Cape of Good Hope, entered into the Indian Ocean from the Atlantic, and with the help of Arabs to reach India in 1498. In 1520, Ferdinand Magellan was the first to reach Asia by sailing west from the Europe. The crew of Magellan was first to cover the circumferences the earth. From 1768-78, Capitan Cook sailed extensively in the Indian and Pacific oceans and discovered many new

Islands along with continent of Australia. Meanwhile, South America was discovered by Spanish and Portuguese travellers. Before this great travelling in the oceans, Marco Polo travelled by land route through Persia and Central Asia to reach China in the 13th Century.

With the help of these great voyages and development in cartography, especially of Mercator, new projection were invented and new and more accurate map of the world were made and new explored lands were located on it. It was during this time that the shape of the earth was finalized and first globe was made.

2.1.3.3 Age of Imperialism

Through the invention of new machines industrial revolution took place in Europe. To sell the large scale of production that comes out from the industrial revolution, all the leading states were in competition with each other to trade with newly discovered countries. Spain, Portugal, Holland, France and Britain all were in competition with each other to take control of these lands. Thus, maritime rivalry between these states started. Every state wanted safe and secure route to travel to their destiny. For this they had to take control over certain important Islands and sea route for the safe passage of the merchant ships. This was the time when some important sea routes, straits, Islands and countries were identified on the map. The entire trading nations wanted to take control of these important places so that they have maximum control and influence over the vast areas. The best example of it was conversion of Indian Ocean into a British Lake in 19th Century by controlling all the strategic places at the place of entry and exit point to the ocean. British were present in South Africa, Madagascar, Mauritius, Aden, India, Sri Lanka, Burma, and Australia.

Analysing all this situation, different strategic perspective was given to establish world domination in this world. First among them was A T Mahan who stated that the control of the ocean as the key to world domination. Before him geographers tries to relate the geography and state.

2.1.4 Modern Geopolitical Theories

2.1.4.1 Ratzel

The fundamental geopolitical concept of the nation-state as organic entity begins with

Friedrich Ratzel. The State, according to Ratzel, had many characteristics of living organism and could be usefully studied from this perspective. He said that a State as an organism has a biological need for growth in order to remain healthy. From Darwin's ideas on the "survival of the fittest", Ratzel maintained that states are involved in an endless struggle for space. All living organism are in fight for space, he believed, and the most powerful will have the largest space (Noriss 1980: 51). To Ratzel 'space' was much more than a physical concept. The term space meant the place for growth and expansion (Noriss 1980: 53). He believes that nation's strength depends on its relationship to space. Based on the concept of the organic State and space, Ratzel developed following seven laws for the expansion of the state:

- The size of the state grows with its culture;
- The growth of the state follows other manifestation such as level of agricultural development and broadness of their geographical locations;
- The growth of the state proceeds by annexation of smaller members into aggregate;
- The boundary is the peripheral organ of the state, the bearer of its growth as well as its fortification, and takes part in all of the transformations of the organism of the state;
- In its growth the state strives towards the development of politically valuable positions;
- The first stimuli to the spatial growth of the state come to them from the outside; and
- The general tendency towards territorial annexation and amalgamation is transmitted from state to state and continually increases in intensity.

2.1.4.2 A.T. Mahan

A T Mahan influenced the thinking of many nations with the publication of *Influence of Sea Power upon the History 1660-1783* in 1890, in which he suggested that world domination went to those nations who won and retained control of the sea. To Mahan the Sea was a great highway; or perhaps... a wide common space, over which men may pass in all directions, but on which some well-known paths show that controlling reasons have led them to choose certain lines of travel rather than others. Trade is normal for all states and seaborne trade especially so far those states and which

borders the sea (Adhikari 1997: 185). For Mahan sea power denotes sea transported power.

In the introductory chapter of the above mentioned book, *Elements of the Sea Power*, Mahan outlined the following six basic conditions affecting the development of sea power by states:

1. The geographical position of a state vis-à-vis the sea;
2. The physical features of a state in relation to the sea, the lengths of its coastlines, and the number, depth, and protected nature of its harbours;
3. The extent of its territory and the relationship of a physical geography to human geography;
4. The number of its population;
5. The commercial - mindedness or otherwise of the national character; and
6. The character of the government, the operational distinction between despotic states (Carthage, Spain) and the democratic states (England and US) (Tuathail 1996: 40).

Trade is important for all states and most of the world trade passes through the sea route. So, every state wants safe and secure passage through the sea route and for that it is also important for state to built strong sea power and captures some strategic locations in the sea for safe passage. And the control of the sea could only be achieved by controlling those land bases that had advantages of strategic location, coastal shape and defensive depth to their hinterlands (Cohen 1964: 45). Mahan believes that suitable oceanic location of a state offered some strategic and economic advantages and in this regard landlocked states has certain disadvantages.

Mahan's thinking about international politics underlie in four geopolitical concepts. They are:

1. A continuous and unbroken ocean and connection g seas;
2. A vast continental, nearly landlocked state, the Russian empire, extending without a break from the ice-bound arctic to the rugged desert mountain belt of inner Asia, and from Europe to a point farther eastward then Japan;
3. The maritime states of continental Europe and maritime borderlands of

southern and eastern Asia; and

4. The insular states, Great Britain and Japan, with which he also grouped the US, all wholly disconnected from the mainland of Eurasia (Sumida 1999: 42).

Mahan's views of sea power are described in his book, *The Problem of Asia* (1910). Mahan gives the example of the geographical location of Great Britain. The Great Britain, by virtue of its location and established sea power, had established worldwide empire. At the same time, the landlocked position of the Russia resulted in only becoming a dominant Asian land power. But, it cannot create a worldwide empire because of its non accessibility to sea. At the same time, Mahan noticed the invulnerable position of Russia and it was inaccessible. Mahan then describes the zone between the thirty and forty degree parallels in Asia as the zone of Conflict between the Russian land power and the British sea power. So, if not accessible, the expansion of Russia should be check by making an alliance. Mahan predicted that an alliance of the US, the UK, Germany and Japan would one day hold conman cause against Russia and China (Cohen 1964: 45). Mahan's geopolitical writings are scattered in his different writings but the core of all ideas are that naval supremacy is the key to world domination.

2.1.4.3 H.J. Mackinder

At the beginning of the 20th Century, Sir Harlford Mackinder provided a new political perspective on the geographical distribution of landmasses and water bodies on the earth surface, in a seminal paper entitled, *The geographical Pivot of the History*, presented before the Royal Geographical Society of London, in 1904. In this paper, he writes: "In the present decade we are for the first time in a position to attempt, with some degree of completeness, a correlation between the larger geographical and the larger historical generalization. For the first time we can perceive something of the real proportions of features and events on the stage of the whole world, and may seek a formula which shall express certain aspects, at any rate, of geographical causation in universal history" (Mackinder 1904: 422). According to him it seemed possible because with the 'Columbian epoch'¹ coming to an end the world had become a

¹. Columbian Epoch - The last 400 years (roughly from 1400 to 1900 AD) could be described as the Columbian epoch. Mackinder believes that the epoch was coming to an end, and the impact on international politics would be immense.

closed system. Mackinder, interpretation of the world history was basically a recurring conflict between the landmen and seamen. The most powerful centre of land power, he maintained, had always been the heart of Eurasia and it was from there that the great Asiatic hammer, had steadily struck towards into the maritime fringes (Parker 1985: 17).

Mackinder describes the heart of Eurasia as an enormous area consisting largely of steppe and desert land, surrounded by mountains on one side and with interior or Arctic drainage in the other side. It is thus a gigantic natural fortress, largely inaccessible to the seamen, but due to harsh natural conditions it is sparsely populated with nomadic population. Around this central Eurasia part, there exists a crescent which is more favourable to the development of human societies. This is the domain of the seamen and it consists of four populous areas- China, India, Europe and Middle East. Historically, this area was vulnerable to landmen attack to penetrate into the maritime crescent. This threat and pressure from the central part of Eurasia was responsible for the development of European Maritime activity. The Europeans expanded over the insular and peninsular lands which were out of the reach of the lands power. Britain, Canada, United States, South Africa, Australia, and Japan became the ring of outer and insular bases for sea power and commerce, unassailable to the land power of Euro-Asia. At the same time, Russians have consolidated themselves in the whole part of the Central Eurasia and become more powerful then ever. But after the end of Columbian era the development of trans-continental railway which replace the mobility of horse and camel, has again given advantage to the pivot area.

On the basis of above historical analysis, Mackinder believed that this centre of the Eurasian landmass was, 'the pivot of the world politics'. Then Mackinder came up with his world view, after studying the contemporary political map and said that on the earth surface landmasses and the water bodies are arranged in three tiers, *i.e. the pivot area, inner crescent or marginal crescent, and outer or insular crescent*. Mackinder named the huge landmass of Europe, Africa and Asia as the "World Island."

Pivot Area: The pivot area is a huge area stretched from the Volga River in the west

to eastern Siberia in the east, and from the Himalayas and the associated mountains in the south to the ice bounded Arctic in the north. The distinguishing features of this pivot area were that it was surrounded by mountain barriers on the three sides and an ice-bound sea on the fourth side. All the rivers in this landmass have interior or /arctic drainage system. So, this area was not accessible to sea power and was, therefore strategically secure. This area was, however, vulnerable to land forces in the south east through Eastern Europe, between the Ural mountain and the Caspian Sea, where a narrow corridor, covered by steppe grasslands offered an easy entry (Dixit 2000: 187).

The Pivot area of the World Island is surrounded by an *Inner or Marginal Crescent* made up of Germany, Austria, Turkey, India and China. Then there was the *Outer Crescent* or *Insular Crescent* made up of Britain, South Africa, Australia, the United States, Canada and Japan (Mackinder 1904: 436).

Mackinder argues that in the pre-Columbian age of overland transport the pivot region of steppe grasslands was very favourable to the mobility of horsemen and camel men so that it possessed a distinct strategic advantage over the lands of marginal crescent. During the Columbian epoch sea power had been superior to land power as the mobility upon the ocean was the natural rival of the horse and camel mobility in the heart of the continent. But, at the beginning of post Columbian era, the balance was again shifting towards the land power. The Maritime mobility which for centuries had been the greatest asset of seamen was now being challenged by Continental mobility brought about by the development of railways. That vast space would soon be as told by Mackinder "covered with a network of railways," thereby greatly enhancing the mobility and strategic reach of land power. He believed that with the advent of railroads, this area would be pivotal as it would be easy to defend and hard to conquer.

Russia possessed the pivot area but at that time Russia was not a world power. Mackinder feared that Germany, either by uniting with or conquering Russia, may obtain the Asian pivot area and posed a threat to Mackinder England and the rest of the world. Mackinder also fears that the Chinese, for instance, organised by Japanese, may overthrow the Russian empire and conquer its territory. This might constitute the

yellow peril to the world's freedom just because they would add an oceanic frontage to the resources of a great continent, an advantage yet denied to the Russian tenant of the pivot region (Mackinder 1904: 437).

Map No. 2.1

Mackinder's Concept of Pivot Area



Halford J. Mackinder (1904), 'The Geographical Pivot of History', *The Geographic Journal*, 23(4): 435.

Heartland Theory: In 1919, Mackinder published a book entitled, *The Democratic Ideals and Reality* in which he proposed extensions into his 'pivot area' and renamed it as 'Heartland'. Mackinder made important changes in his idea of the 'pivot area'. First the geographical scope of the pivot of history was expanded, and given a new name- the heartland: "the heartland for the purposes of strategic thinking includes the Baltic Sea, the navigable Middle and Lower Danube, the Black Sea, Asia Minor, Armenia, Persia, Tibet and Mongolia. Within it, therefore were Brandenburg-Prussia, and Austria-Hungary as well as Russia - a vast triple base of manpower, which was lacking to the horse-riders of history. The heartland is that region to which under modern conditions, sea-power can be refused to access" (Sloan 1999: 25). The second

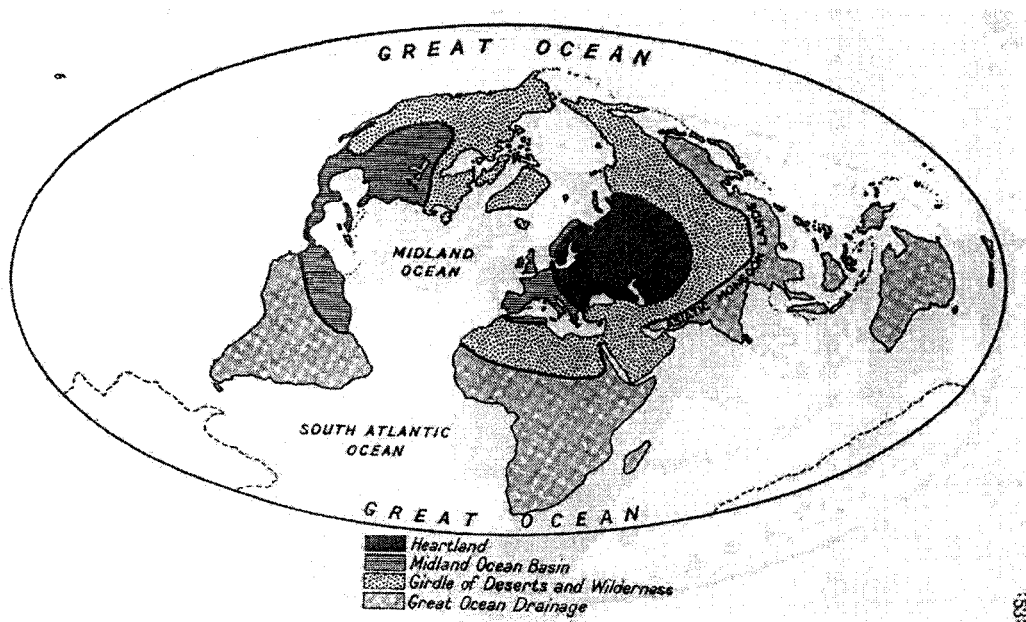
was his acceptance of the change in transport and weapons technology that would have strategic impact on the heartland.

The basis of extension of the pivot area by Mackinder was the events of the First World War, like when the navy of the Great Britain had failed to force to entry through the Turkish straits into the Black sea, and the German mines had excluded them from the Baltic Sea. Furthermore, in 1917, the German armies had advanced through the steppe corridor of south-western Russia. Mackinder convinced that the East Europe corridor now offered the only key to control the Heartland by an outside power. He discounted the possible role o China and Japan, and Emphasis that the real threat of future control of Heartland by an outside power, laid only from the side of as strong and ambitious Germany. Due to all this reasons the incorporation of East Europe was significant in Mackinder's thinking which reflects in his world view. Mackinder summarize his global view of the world power in the following words,

*"He, Who controls the East Europe controls the Heartland.
He who controls the Heartland controls the World Island,
He, who controls the World Island, controls the world."*

Map No. 2.2

Mackinder's World 1943



Source: Saul B Cohen (1964), *Geography and Politics in a Divided World*, London: Methuen; 53.

The Midland Basin: In 1943, Mackinder's third statement on global strategies appeared in an article in *Foreign Affairs*, entitled, "The Round World and Winning of the Peace" to incorporate the changes in the contemporary power politics. Mackinder reduced the size of the Heartland by separating a part of the Soviet Union which is situated in the east of Yenisei River. This area consists, mountains, plateaus and valleys which are covered with coniferous forests. He called this part as 'Lenaland' which was not politically significant.

Meanwhile, Mackinder used the term Midland Basin, which geographical scope was the North Atlantic Ocean and its dependent seas and river basin. This area is made up of three important elements; a bridge head in France, a protected aerodrome in Britain, and a reserve of trained manpower, agriculture and industries in the Eastern US and Canada (Sloan 1999: 34). According to Mackinder, the regions located on either side of North Atlantic Ocean *i.e.* Western Europe and United States constitute for many purposes a single community of nation. That fact was first fully revealed when Americans and Canadian armies crossed the Atlantic Ocean to fight in France during the World War-II. Also in the United States, the most abundant rainfall and the most productive coalfields are to be found in the east, but in Europe they are in the West (Sloan 1999: 34). Thus, the west of Europe and the east of North America are physical complements of one balanced halves of single community *i.e.* Midland Basin. Mackinder considered that the Midland Basin having vital natural resources and strategic power as an effective counterbalance to the emerging political power potential of the Eurasian Heartland.

Overall, the basis of Mackinder demarcation of the 'pivot area' in 1904 was based on two factors. First, this area was not penetrated by the sea power because the entire river in this region has internal drainage system or they empty there water in the Arctic sea which is bound. Second, this region is a united landmass by the movement of horse and camel previously and now with the development of railway network. But, Mackinder has changed the boundary in 1919 and 1943, according to importance of the 'pivot area' at that time.

Mackinder can be criticized, as he did not foresee some of the rapid changes in the 'arts of warfare'. For example, he underestimated the potential of 'Air power' and did

not even consider 'missile power' which was capable of effecting few changes in the strategic conditions. But his idea about the heartland was recognised first by the Germans during the World War-II and by Americans in the cold war periods.

2.1.4.4 Nicholas J. Spykman

Although, Spykman accepted Mackinder's geographical concept of the 'Heartland,' but he believed that Mackinder had overrated the region's power potential. To Spykman the real power of the world was based not on the 'Heartland' but in the rim of the 'Heartland', the area Mackinder called the 'inner crescent'. According to Spykman, the 'inner crescent' possess far more tangible attribute of world power than the 'Heartland.' It was well endowed in population, resources and wealth and around it was circumferential maritime highway which links the whole area together in terms of sea power (Parker 1985: 124).

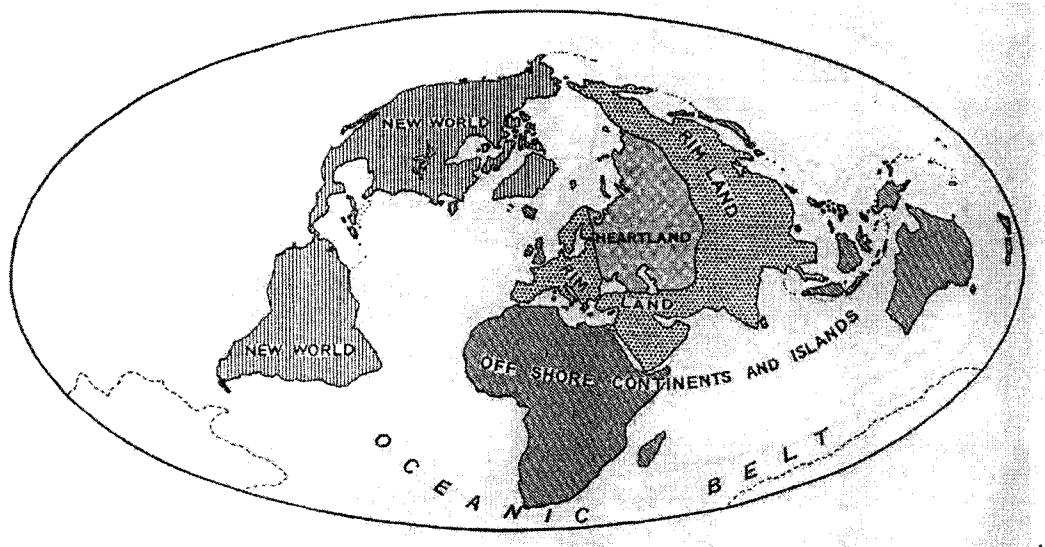
Spkman's doctrine was based on the concept of sea power. He believed that both sea and land power were important. The following statement make it clear, "the fundamental fact which is responsible for the condition of world politics is the development of ocean navigation and the discovery of sea routes to India and America. Maritime mobility is the basis for a new type of geopolitical structure, the overseas empire. Formerly, history had given us the pattern of land powers based on control of contiguous landmasses such as the Roman, Chinese and Russian empire. Now the sea has become a great power artery of communication and ... a new structure of great power and enormous extent. The British, French and Japanese empires and the sea power of the United States have all contributed to the development of a modern world which is single field for the interplay of political force. It is a sea power which has made possible to conceive the Eurasian continent as a unit and it is sea power which governs the relationship between the old and new world" (Adhikari 1997: 449). To Spykman the 'Heartland' appeared less important than the Rimland and he was convinced that it is a combination of land and sea power controlling the Rimland that would in all probability control "the essential power relation of the world" (Parker 1985: 124).

Spykman extended the area covered by the inner crescent in which he included the countries of Western Europe, the Middle East, India, South East Asia and China and

renamed as 'Rimland'. Spykman defined the Rimland as an intermediate region, lying between the heartland and the marginal sea powers. Spykman referred to the countries of the rimland as amphibian states' because of their proximity to the marginal seas and narrow water ways surrounding the Eurasian landmass. The marginal seas are peculiar to the Eurasian continent. Asian marginal countries control vital sea communication of the world and are pivotal areas in time of conflict (Noriss 1980: 40-41). The Rimland was important because this region would have access to the sea and to interior regions. Beyond the Rimland lie the off-shore Islands of Britain, Africa, Japan and Australia.

Map No. 2.3

The World of Spykman



Source: Saul B Cohen (1964), *Geography and Politics in a Divided World*, London: Methuen. Page, 47.

Spykman did not agree with the Mackinders' conclusion that history is a continuing struggle between land power and sea power. He believes that the reality is much more complicated one. According to Spykman it had considered either of situation in which land power and sea power had been allied against and intervening Rimland states are ones in which some Rimland power were in opposition to other Rimland states allied to maritime power (Parker 1985: 124). From this he deduced his own theory of Rimland, Spykman said: 'If there is to slogan for the power politics of the old world, it must be:

*“Who controls the Rimland rules Eurasia;
who rules Eurasia controls the destinies of the world.”*

It was Spykman's belief that America's national interest lay in ensuring that the rimland was never be united under any single power.

2.1.4.5 Rudolf Kjellen

Rudolf Kjellen coined the term 'geopolitics' to describe the relationship between geography and politics. He was interested in analysis of the structure of power and its geographical foundations. He defined 'Geopolitik' as the science which concerns of the state as a geographical organism or as phenomena in space (Parker 1985: 55).

Kjellen promoted Ratzell's view of living organism and theory of states. He adopted the growth laws, and said that vital states must expand their space by colonisations, amalgamation, or conquest. Kjellen believed that a state must fulfil three requirements to be a world power (Noriss 1980; 54). First, states must have 'spaciousness; that is they must be located within a large contagious area. Second, states must have interested cohesion in order to be powerful. Third, Kjellen said that great sates must have freedom of movement. Kjellen was aware of the danger of Russia's expansionist tendencies to his native Sweden, so he favoured Scandinavian block against this threat but found it inadequate to check this threat. And, then he favoured a block taking Germans in the centre.

2.1.4.6 Karl Haushofer

Karl Haushofer borrowed the term 'geopolitics' from Kjellen and distinguished it from political geography as follows: "Political Geography views the state from the standpoint of space; geopolitics views space from the standpoint of the state" (Noriss 1980: 56-57). Further, he borrowed the term *Autarky* from Kjellen, which means economic national self-sufficiency. According to Haushofer a great power has the requirement to produce everything that it needs, leaving the state in economic balance and independent of import.

Haushofer also borrowed the term *Lebensraum* which means living space, from an article "Living Space: A Bio-geographical Study", by Ratzell in 1901. Haushofer

defined *Lebensraum* in practical terms as; “the right and the duty of a nation to provide ample space and resource to all his people. Differential in population growth among nations guaranteed constant friction in the international power structure; it was thus the duty of a stronger state to expand at the cost of the weaker” (Herwig 1999: 226). He believes that the successful expansion of the state in the modern world would lead the formations of larger states in geographical sense. Haushofer referred these large states as ‘Pan-regions’. Haushofer describes the concepts of pan regions and writes, “no nation is a region unto itself, hence the necessity to extend its area(space) to include first, people of similar speech and culture and second, people of related speech and culture” (Herwig 1999: 226-227). Subsequently, Haushofer and the German geopolitician divided the globe into three Pan-regions, organised along north-south direction. They are Pan-America centred on the United States, Pan-Asia with Japan as Frontier nation and Euro-Africa under German leadership, and a fourth possible one as the Russia-India. According to Haushofer, Pan-regions needed to be territorially large and self-sufficient in economics terms.

Haushofer has put forward the concept of fluid and dynamic *frontiers*. He doesn't have faith in legal and physical borders. For Haushofer, boundaries were mere temporary halts, breathing spells, for a nation on a march to expansion of *Autarky* and *Lebensraum*. He argues that Europe has many frontiers to expand the sphere of influence. But, states have to expand rationally into maximum territory by taking into account the geography as ally and not as enemy.

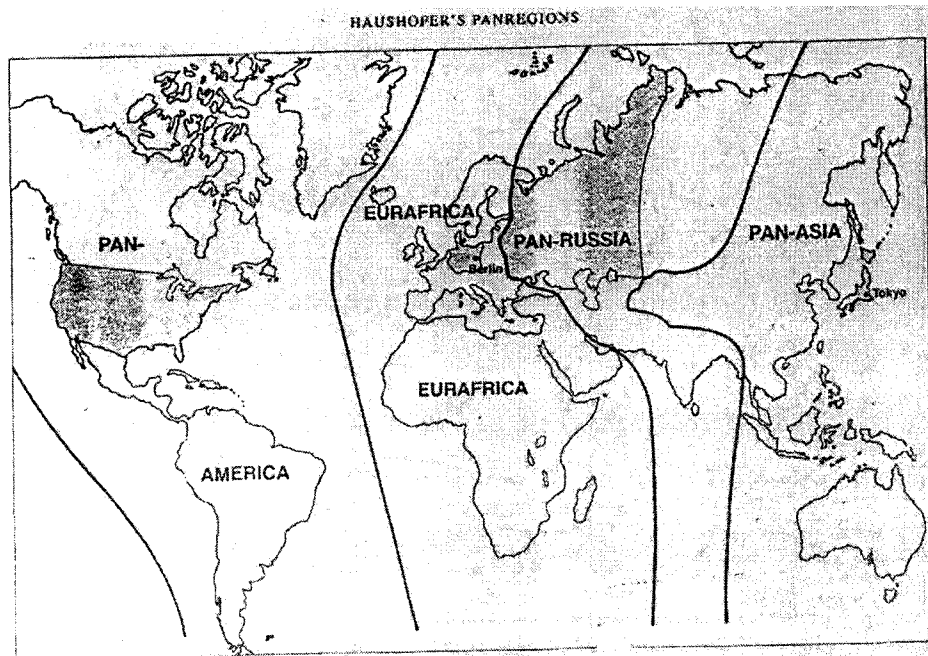
Haushofer, also analysis the warfare thought of war as having four phases and three dimensions (Parker 1985: 56-57). Phase one, psychological warfare, is aimed at the rest of the world through a states propaganda campaign. Phase two, ideological warfare, prepares the citizens of a state to think in terms of expansion and the need for space. Phase three, economic warfare, is a preparedness period in which munitions, equipment, and armies are developed for the future use. Phase four, military warfare, is the battle itself. The three dimensions of the war are, land power, sea power, and air power; although three should be developed equally, the concentration, according to the ‘Blitzkrieg² philosophy’ should be tactical equipment for swift movement. It is

² Blitzkrieg- swift large scale offensive attack used by Nazi during World War-II, attacking Poland, Belgium, Holland and Denmark

believed that all the geopolitical ideas of Haushofer were used by the then German Chancellor Hitler.

Map No. 2.4

Haushofer's Division of Pan-Regions



Source: Karl Haushofer, *Geopolitik der Pan-Ideen* (Berlin: Zentral 1931).

Source: Holger H Hettrwig, "Geopolitik: Haushofer, Hitler and Lebensraum", *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 22(2), June-September 1999, page-227.

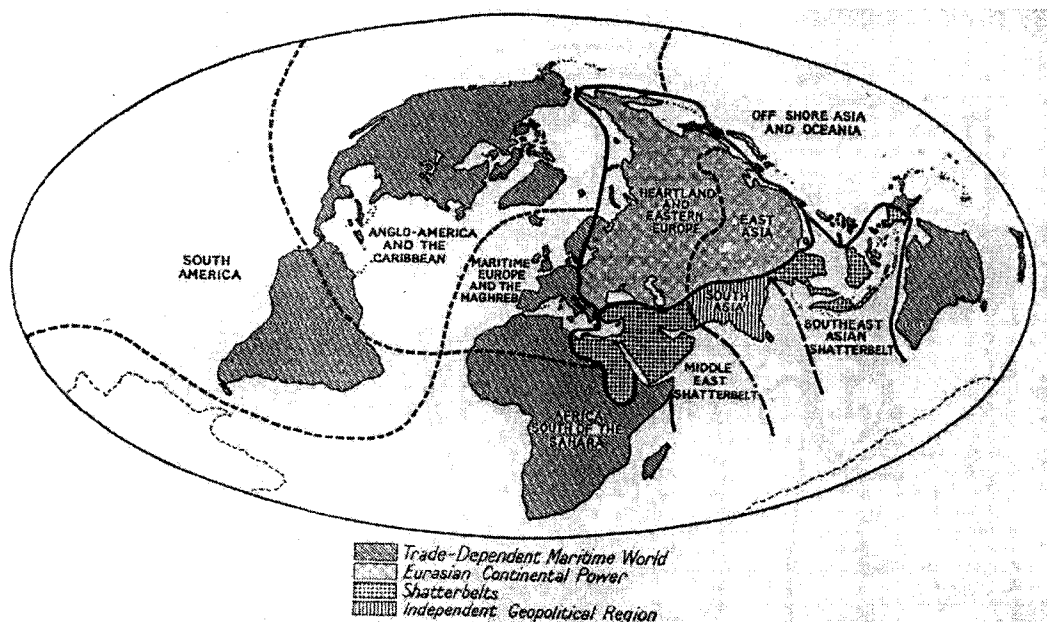
2.1.4.7 Saul B. Cohen

For the purpose of geopolitical analysis, Saul B. Cohen views the world in terms of spatial patterns and had divided the world in two regions, geo-strategic regions and geopolitical regions. According to Cohen, geo-strategic regions must have global extent and possess certain global-influencing characteristics and function, in terms of location, movement, trade orientation, and cultural or ideological bonds. It is a multi-featured region in its composition but in terms of an area over which power can be applied, it is a single feature region. The geopolitical region is subdivision of geo-strategic region. This region has unity of the geographic features and common political and economic action. Cohen (1964: 62) argues that contiguity of location and complementarities of resource are particularly distinguishing marks of the geopolitical regions.

These two geo-strategic regions are Trade-Dependent Maritime World and Eurasian Continental World. The scheme for geo strategic division is on the basis of place and movement. Place includes the location of regional population and economic cores and great barrier zones; movements includes trade orientation and ideological-cultural bonds (Cohen 1964: 65). These geo-strategic regions are further divided into various smaller geopolitical regions. The Trade-Dependent Maritime World is divided into Anglo-America and the Caribbean, Maritime Europe and the Maghreb, South America, and Off-Shore Asia and Oceania. Eurasian Continental World is divided into the Eurasian Heartland, together with Eastern Europe, and East Asia. In Trade-Dependent Maritime World, US is the core power centre while in the Eurasian Continental World, Russia is core power. Maritime Europe and Mainland China have emerged as the second power centre in the respective geo strategic regions.

Map No. 2.5

World's Geostrategic Regions and Their Geopolitical Regions



Source: Saul B Cohen (1964), *Geography and Politics in a Divided World*, London: Methuen. Page-63.

Between these two geo-strategic regions there exists a Shatterbelts of the Middle East and South East Asia. The Shatterbelts is defined by Cohen as 'a large strategically located region that is occupied a number of conflicting states and is caught between the conflicting interests of adjoining great powers' (Cohen 1964: 83). Out of this

framework, South Asia is seen as separate geopolitical entity in a near future and Africa, south of the Sahara, which has little significance as a geopolitical entity, falls under the influence of Trade- Dependent Maritime world.

2.1.5 Critical Approaches to Geopolitics

In a broad sense 'Geopolitics' is taken as the study of political power in relation to geographical space or geographical determinism of international politics. But after Mackinder's theory of Heartland in 1904, lot of intellectual debate started regarding the term 'Geopolitics' and its uses. Also, geopolitics has inspired a variety of critical readings that have sought to isolate, critique, and, in certain cases, dismiss it as an illegitimate form of knowledge. Some intellectual personalities view 'Geopolitics' as an imperialist idea to make domination over world, some viewed as unscientific subject, some viewed as war time propaganda to make psychological pressure on others. This was the time of inter-war period i.e. between First and Second World War. The geopolitics was gaining greater importance in the Nazi's Germany and in US. These intellectuals were not anti-geopolitics but explained and defined the term 'Geopolitics' from their own understanding, beliefs and national circumstances. These discussions are important for better understanding of the term 'Geopolitics'. Also, their explanations will help us to understand the con-textuality of the theoretical and political practice of 'Geopolitics'. "Critical readings of geopolitics are significant moments in the writing of a truth around "geopolitics" and about geo-politics" (Tuathail 2005: 112). In this section the critical ideas about 'Geopolitics' of Karl Wittfogel and Isaiah Bowman are discussed.

2.1.5.1 Karl Wittfogel

Karl Wittfogel was a leading intellectual in the German Communist Party. Wittfogel, in his paper "Geopolitics, Geographical Materialism, and Marxism," (1929), criticized those who suggested that Marx did not examine nature fully. In the course of defending the Marxist idea of dietetic theory of nature and its relationship to the historical development of social formations, Wittfogel gives his idea of critical theory of geopolitics. According to Wittfogel, Geopolitics represents an bourgeois ideology. He believed that geographical factors, such as location, race, soil, physical terrain and climate did not directly influence political life, but instead helped to determine politics in societies (Tuathail 2005: 115).

In this way it neglects the necessary linkages of society while connecting nature and the political sphere. According to him the geographical factors (nature) first determines the nature of economic production and relation of production which subsequently determines the nature of society existed. In this society two classes exists, the working and the bourgeois. All other things including state, law, religion, and customs are the bourgeois instruments of establishing domination in the society. In this sequence the idea of 'Geopolitics' is produced from the class perspective of the bourgeoisie. Hence, Wittfogel viewed geopolitics as unscientific as it misses the link of society in between nature and political sphere and, therefore, worthless.

2.1.5.2 Isaiah Bowman

Isaiah Bowman was a leading geographer in US. He was trained in Physiography and appointed as director of the American Geographical Society. After the World War – I, the US president Woodrow Wilson appointed Bowman the chief territorial specialist of the US delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference (Tuathail 2005: 120). He advocated bringing geographic consciousness among the foreign policy officials of the US government. He believed that scholarly study of political geography can, provide career foreign policy officials with a desirable global view. Geography, for Bowman, was about seeing the world as a unitary space. Bowman favoured geographical knowledge for the foreign policy officials for their conduct of foreign policy of the state.

But at that time all forms of work by geographers for the state was dubbed as 'geopolitics', particularly in context of Nazi's dictatorship in Germany which was favouring expansionist view. This leads to the erosion of Bowman view of geographical practice. To distinguished his views on role of geography on states affairs from 'geopolitics', Bowman wrote an article, titled "Geography vs. Geopolitics" published in the *Geographical Review*, the journal of the American Geographical Society in October 1942. According to Bowman, "Geopolitics presents a distorted view of the historical, political and geographical relations of the world and its parts.... Its arguments as developed in Germany are only made up to suit the case for German aggression. It contains, therefore, a poisonous self-defeating principle: when international interests' conflict or overlap might alone shall decide the issue"

(Bowman 1942: 646). In practice, Bowman was not an opponent of geopolitical thinking. Indeed his distancing himself from the term 'geopolitics' was part of his own geopolitical practice. He termed the enemy's foreign policy as 'geopolitics' and his own geopolitics as 'scientific geography' at the time of World War (Tuathail 2005: 123). By doing this he wants to gain psychological advantage over Germans. In general he has established the value of relationship of geographers and geographical knowledge to political power.

2.1.5.3 An Imperialist Ideology

Franz Neumann, in his classic 1942 'Critique of the Third Reich in Germany', indicated that "geopolitics is nothing but the ideology of imperialist expansion" (Neumann 1942: 147). In more precise way, it represents a specific way of organizing and advancing empire and was a manifestation of inter-imperialist rivalry. According to James Cadman geopolitics was practice by imperialist power of Britain and the most prolific thinker in the English geopolitical school was Halford Mackinder, whose ideas bear a remarkable resemblance to those of the Nazi school of Haushofer (Cadman 1942). These imperialist ideas can be traced in the writings of Mackinder and Haushofer.

Mackinder was a strong advocate of British imperialism. A primary concern motivating Mackinder's theoretical contributions to the geopolitics was the decline of British economic hegemony, leading him to conclude that British capital needed protectionism and military power to back it up (Foster 2006). In his writings, *The Geographical Pivot of the History* (1904) and *Democratic Ideals and Reality* (1919), he pointed out the fear of Germans industrialisation and military growth for Britain. In 'Democratic Ideals and Reality' Mackinder designated Eastern Europe as a strategic addition to the Heartland and the key to the command of Eurasia. So, Mackinder insisted that the most immediate foreign policy objective for the British Empire was to prevent any kind of alliance between Germany and Russia, and to keep either one from dominating Eastern Europe. Hence strong buffer states needed to be formed between these two great powers (Foster 2006). Mackinder has also pointed out that all of European history has been predominantly shaped by the struggle of sea power and land power. As Germany and Russia constitutes the Heartland he tried to protect Britain from this alliance. He also reported that although German industrialization

was rightly feared by Britain, Germany could not be allowed to collapse economically and militarily since it constituted the chief bulwark against Russia control of Eastern Europe.

It seems that by postulating the idea of 'Heartland', Mackinder seeks to prevent his on country Britain. It was the time when Germany was uniting and emerging as a great industrial and military power centre which can challenge the British interest worldwide. To check this he gives the idea of 'Heartland' and stated that who control this Heartland would control the World. By glorying Heartland he wants to diverse and distract the German expansion and domination towards this Heartland area, hence, protecting the interest of Britain. At the same time, he wants to check Russian also by stating that the Eastern Europe is key to control Heartland. By this Russia can concentrate on Eastern Europe area to hold its domination over Heartland. By stating that Heartland is the core area of world domination and Britain, America and Japan situated at the periphery of this area and projecting the European History as the struggle between land power and sea power, he tries to formed an alliance between Britain, America and Japan in case of possible German and Russian alliance.

The foremost German geopolitical thinker was Karl Haushofer, who drew upon both Ratzel and Mackinder. Haushofer insisted that Germany needed to enlarge its lebensraum (living space), the requirements of which were evident in the disproportion between the German population and the natural geographic space necessary to accommodate it. The Nazi's Germany foreign policy conducts at the Second World War was driven by imperial interest of holding supremacy in the European landmass.

After the Second World War the geopolitical ideas of Spykman of 'Rimland', got geographical expression in the American foreign policy of 'Containment of Communism.' The American policy was driven by the imperialist idea of making supremacy over the Rimland area to contain Communist Soviet Union. Spykman believes that it must be 'our' purpose to play the other powers against each other, particularly by propping up Germany as a bulwark against possible Soviet expansion, and Japan against a potential Chinese expansion (Foster 2006). Above mentioned geopolitical ideas more or less present the imperialist interest of the respective great

powers.

2.2 Section B: Review of Literature

The identified areas of China's interest in Central Asian region are in the field of strategic, security, energy and economics. Taking into consideration all these aspects of geopolitics of Central Asia and China's geopolitics interests in the region the thematic structure of the study is been as follows:

2.2.1 Geopolitics in Central Asia

Geopolitics is defined as an art plus science praxis which studies the process and principles of the development of the states, region and the world as a whole, taking into account the systems influence of geographical, political, economic, military and other factors. To make understanding about the geopolitical situation in Central Asian region, in the introduction part, Banuazizi Ali and Myron Weiner, ed., *New Geopolitics of Central Asia and its Borderland* (1994), the editors' points out three reasons for studying post-Soviet Central Asia and the Tran-Caucasus states within a geopolitical framework. The first and foremost is obvious fact of geography, borders and location of these states. The second factor is that these states have historic, ethno linguistic and religious ties with the neighbouring states. The third reason for analysing Central Asian developments within a geopolitical framework is that of the way in which each republic defines its own identity is likely to have significant ramifications for the geopolitics of the entire region. A distinguishing feature of the book is its emphasis on the long-standing religious, ethnic and cultural ties between the peoples of Central Asia and those of the four south-west Asian States of Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan and Turkey. Viewing the new alliances, rivalries and potential conflicts among these states, the author provides and informed and incisive assessment of the geopolitics of a region with a population of 300 million people where future developments will carry heavy implications for the west. In the final part Mikhail Konarovsky presents different models of rivalries for understanding the role of Central Asian states in international politics.

In Jed C. Snyder, ed., *After Empire: the Emerging Geopolitics of Central Asia* (1995) editor points out that although distinct national identities are only in formative stages today, each of the five Central Asian states is likely to move in an individual

direction, motivated by distinct national interests. The editor further elaborate that the key issue is the extent of Russia's influence in Central Asia and its long-term implications for the region's security. In the third section Ross H Munro "Central Asia: Emerging Military Strategic Issues" writes that security implications of the competition for influence among neighbouring states, China, India and Central Asia. It demonstrates why an economically dynamic and military ascendant China must be considered a major player in the region. At the end discussions and comments of experts in this region have been given on the issues, the struggle for identity, Islam and the fundamentalist revival in Central Asia, security implications of the competition for the influence among neighbouring states. The present volume makes an important contribution to the better understanding of this very complex, indeed mysterious, region.

John Anderson's book *The International Politics of Central Asia* (1997) starts and finishes with geopolitics of the region. Much of its content is devoted to the five Central Asian Republics from the time of Russian conquest to mid 1990's. The author analyses how the external actors have influenced in shaping and constraining political developments in the region. In turn, how the five republics' foreign policies and relationships with the outside world have been shaped by the internal political requirements *i.e.* economic reconstruction and security concerns. Chapter 8 "the International Politics of Central Asia" focuses more explicitly on the relations of the region with the outside world. In this chapter John Anderson examines Central Asia's search for new international partners in the Western, Islamic and Asian world, noting that in most cases the interest or possibilities of involvement by these states is often extremely limited. The competition for influence would appear to remain as sharp as ever. Important chapters like *Perestroika* years, search for identity, national building and Islamic factor, and the international politics of Central Asia are of utmost importance to understand the present security problems of the Central.

The genesis of the Uighur ethnic groups is best understood as a gradual evolution through successive stages of interaction with the Chinese nation , analysed by Dru C Gladney in article , " The Ethnogeneses of the Uighur", *Central Asian Survey* vol. 9 no. 1 1990. In this article the ethnogenesis following Hobsbawm's insightful analysis of the "invented tradition" by groups of people seeking to define themselves and be

redefined by local powers of domination, writer analysed the ethnogenesis of the Uighur as a recent ethnic collectivity re-created dialectical interaction with imagined historical tradition and geopolitical necessities. In the later part the integration of Xinjiang into China and modern Uighur identity is described. The incorporation of Xinjiang region into China in proper way is indicated by Han migration, communication, education and occupational shifts since 1940. This will help us to understand the complex identities and multiethnic character of the People of Xinjiang.

2.2.2 Central Asia and Chinese Geo-economic Relationship

A stable energy supply is a crucial requirement for substantial economic growth in an industrial nation such as China. The increasing need for energy fuels spurred on by high economic development rates is behind China's foreign policy strategy. The most obvious manifestation of which is investments on energy fuel fields in Central Asia and the Caspian region. In this context Wang, Haijiang Henery, ed., *China's Oil Industry and Market* (1999) book is very useful to understand Chinese overall picture of oil industry and policy. This book presents an overall picture of current Chinese politics, energy policy oil industry regulation, Price regulation the production distribution system, and infrastructure. It also shows the impact of reform on the oil business.

Philip Andrews Speed and Sergei Vinogradon in the article, "China's Involvement in Central Asian Petroleum, Convergent or Divergent Interest?", *Asian Survey* vol.40, no. 2, March/April 2000, assesses China's goal for expanding its source of energy supplies in the context of its foreign and energy policies. China's current energy policy has lead to extensive international investment in petroleum, despite the government and state enterprise not always sharing the same goal. The last section of this article first evaluates the interests of the different parties in China and then examines the interests of the Central Asian states in the light of China's aspirations.

Shiping Tang in the article "Economic integration in the Central Asia the Russian and Chinese Relationship" *Asian Survey* vol.40, no. 2, March/April 2000 explores the possibilities for Sino-Russian Cooperation in promoting regional economic integration. The writer argues that as the two largest economies in the region, Russia and China can and should play constructive role in jointly promoting integration in

the Central Asian region. The convergence between China and Russian interest over common Central Asian threats such as Islamic extremism, drug Trafficking, arms smuggling and terrorism. There is also divergence in other areas, particularly with respect to China's economic aspirations in the region.

James P Dorian, Brett Wigdortz and Dru C Gladney in "Central Asia and Xinjiang China: Emerging Energy, Economic and Ethnic Problem" *Central Asian Survey* vol. 16. no.4 1997, in this paper examines the emerging economic relations within Asia and Xinjiang, with special reference to lucrative oil and gas sector. Writers points out that cooperation are being influenced by centuries-old cultural and ethnic ties. The main economic aspects of ethnic relations in Xinjiang and Central Asia includes, Firsts Ethnic ties have led to surge in cross border trade, with relaxed visa and travel restrictions for those with family relations. Second, fast ethnic conflicts and a long history of inter ethnic rivalries have disrupted economic development, requiring heavy investment in security and peace keeping forces in the region. Owing to historical, cultural, ethnic and geographic similarities, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan are boosting economic ties with northwest of China. In neighbouring Xinjiang Chinese Government officials are actively promoting Economic development in Part to raise the per capita income of the poorest regions in the PRC.

Muhamedjan Barbasonin in article "An Oil Pipeline to China: An element of struggle for Caspian resources", *Central Asia and the Caucasus* No. 4 (28) 2004, first highlights the China's needs for energy fuels and its strategy, then he describes the potentials of Kazakhstan to full fill this needs. After that writers finds that Kazakhstan was the first Caspian country where Chinese oil firms appeared. In 1997 CNPC acquired 60.3% of shares for \$324 millions of Aktobemunaygaz, its present name being CNPC – Aktobemunaygaz and pleased itself to invest \$4 billion. After that China invest in many oil fields in pipeline to Razaka and China. Kazakhstan finds China and Asia-Pacific markets as the highly promising.

Sergey Smironov in article, "The Chinese Dragon Thirsty for Oil and Gas", *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, No. 6(30) 2004, describes the growing economy of China after the reform process and introduction of market economy system by Deng Xiaoping in

1978. To sustain these growth, China needs huge amount of energy. In this respect the condition of China's hydrocarbon resources is described in later section. They are in South-China sea, XUAR (Jungar, Tarim, Tuha), and East-China sea. A very important argument made in this article is that as in June 2003, a representative of Petro-China announced that the fact that no new large oil deposits have been found in Tarim and Tuha makes the economic expediency of investment in these basins dubious. So, the company has decided not to increase its investment in exploration work in XUAR. But this decision may also be explained by the fact that it is much more advantageous at present for the PRC to use its neighbour's resources and save its own deposits for more lucrative times. That's why Sergey Smironov argue that in order to satisfy growing domestic needs, Beijing is looking towards essentially all the oil rich regions of the world: the middle -east, South-East, Central Asia and Siberia. The demand for oil is growing so rapidly that no one source is in the foreseeable future will be able to satisfy it independently: not one country of the Persian Gulf, nor Kazakhstan, nor Indonesia, nor Russia. So, the Chinese are trying to wheedle their way in where ever they can.

2.2.3 Central Asian Geopolitics and Chinese Security Interest

Central Asia is part of China's vital interest, strengthening contacts with its republic's is one of the China's Foreign policy priorities. US presence in Central Asia, close proximity to the China's western borders, the importance of Central Asian sector has increased considerably in Beijing's foreign policy priorities.

In this context authors, Allison Roy and Lena Jonson, ed., (2001) *Central Asian Security, The New International Context*, Royal Institute of international Affairs, London., assess internal security policy problems and examine the security content of evolving relations between the Central Asian States and international power- specifically the interest at stakes and policies of Russia, China, Iran, Turkey and the United States. In the last part Allison Roy concludes that while new possibilities for regional security cooperation in Central Asia can be explored, however, there remains a danger of destabilizing rivalry, which would fracture the region and hamper economic development.

A significant factor in Beijing's course in Central Asia is the Contiguity to the

Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region (XUAR), China's resistive Province. Either side of the border between the China and the Central Asian States- Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan- which runs for 3000 km. is populated by representatives of the same ethnic group practicing Islam as Uighurs, Kazakhs, Dungans, Tjikis and Uzbeks. Beijing feared a "demonstration" knock-on effect that the sovereignization of the Central Asian Republics. Zhang, Yougjin (Ed.) Azizian Rouben (Ed.), "*Ethnic Challenges beyond Borders: Chinese and Russian Conundrum*" (1998) book brings together research essays by leading Chinese and Russian experts and explores, political, economic, diplomatic and strategies responses of these two continental powers to the emergence of a group of independent states in Central Asia. It should be noted, however, as is clear from the Chinese contributions in this book that although Central Asia has become increasingly important in Chinese national security strategy and in the economic development of China's underdeveloped Northwest, it remains peripheral to Chinese foreign policy, which continues to be preoccupied with the Asia-Pacific region and with China's relation with great powers. This book offers insightful and thought provoking analysis of this subject.

Russell Ong in his article, "China's Security Interests in Central Asia", *Central Asian Survey*, December 2005 examines China's interests in Central Asia in the post-cold War era. Russell Ong argues that in analyzing security it is important to note that China sees comprehensiveness as the defining feature of 'Security'. This means that the military, political and economic dimensions are all regarded as vital. Hence this article explores the military, political and economic aspects of China's security interest in Central Asia, before examining Beijing's strategy vis-à-vis other great powers in the region.

In the article "China and the New Geopolitics of Central Asia", *Asian Survey*, March 1993) J Richard Walsh examines various factors that condition China's perceptions of Central Asian Geopolitics after the Soviet disintegration and then explores Beijing's policies towards the Central Asian Republics. According to Richard J Walsh, China's involvement in Central Asia is based on classical geopolitical concepts i.e. divide and rule and revival of the Silk Road.

In Wilt Razek's article, "Xinjiang and Its Central Asia Borderlands", *Central Asian*

Survey vol.17 no. 3 1998, the concept of 'borderland' had referred to larger region on both sides of the frontier between XUAR, and present CAS. In order to have a detailed perspective of the division of these Xinjiang Western borderlands, the writers look this region from historical perspective. After that the article examine the emergence of the Central Asia's inter-imperial frontiers by looking at political and legal factors which had shaped the emerging border between the expanding Russia and China in the last hundred years. In the next section, strategic and military issues had considered. The borderlands analysed here had shown a tremendous rise in interactions over the past 10 years in area of trade, transportation and communication infrastructure, ethnic and culture relation. Writers sees that, economic and cultural equation will play a crucial role in shaping of relations along and across Xinjiang's Central Asia's borderlands.

Rizwan Zeb in his article "China and Central Asia", *Regional Studies*, Autumn 2005) discusses the Chinese relation with the Central Asian states with respect to Economic and trade, Energy and Military. As most observer focus on the military aspect of the problem and the involvement of outside actors, Rizwan Zeb mentioned the most prominent threats to the Central Asian Security and relations with China are the imbalance in the regions demography, water sharing and the drug trade. Ensuring economic development and preventing international, regional and internal instability are the two mains points of China's Central Asian policy.

2.3 Summary

In this chapter we have discussed what geography is and how it is related to politics. The political implication of any given geographical location is geopolitics. Then we discussed how geopolitics is related to International Relation. Every state's foreign policy is determined by its geographical location. Different world powers used geographical knowledge of the world to enhance their dominance in world stage. US adopted the policy of containment of communism keeping the view of Spykman's geopolitical idea of Rimland. After that the evolution of geopolitical thought since ancient time of Greek are discussed. At the Greek period some thinkers tried to link the power of state to its geographical location. Till the medieval period the location of different continents and oceans were not known. It was the age of discovery and Renaissance that made scientific progress possible which subsequently lead to the

development of ships and boats. The adventurous travelled made by Dutch, English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian people greatly helped to sketch out the distribution of land and water surface in the earth. In this period the map of the world was correctly drawn.

After industrial revolution rivalry starts between strong powers to make colonies in different parts of world. For this they want to capture strategic Island and chock points in the high seas. Different strategic ideas were propagated to established world domination. The geopolitics ideas of Ratzel, A.T. Mahan, H.J. Mackinder, Nicholas J. Spykman, Rudolf Kjellen, Karl Haushofer, and Saul B. Cohen were discussed. Some critical views of Karl Wittfogel and Isaiah Bowman about geopolitics are also discussed. In all the geopolitical views expressed above it can said that he geopolitical importance of any state or region is determined by: the geographical location in the world map; unity of the state or region by means of mobility; accessibility of the region from outside; productivity of the region or natural resources; manpower; advancement of the technology and etc.

In second section the review of literature describing the current geopolitical situation in the Central Asian region is written under thematic structure. The three main them under which the review of literature is organised are; Geopolitics in Central Asia; Central Asia and Chinese geo-economic relationship; and Central Asian geopolitics and Chinese security interest. In the next chapter the geopolitical linkages between Central Asian region and China is analysed by the above mentioned geopolitical important factors.