



Geopolitics in the nineties: one flag, many meanings

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Abstract

This article provides an overview of recent publications on geopolitics. The diversity is overwhelming. Publications are therefore divided into four 'schools': neo-classical geopolitics, subversive geopolitics, non-geopolitics and critical geopolitics. These four schools are distinguished on two dimensions. The first is the distance to the object under study (practical/applied *versus* academic/reflective). The second refers to the position towards the state system (states as the principal geopolitical actors *versus* attention for other political actors and interests). Despite their differences, the four types of studies share a growing interest in geoeconomics.

Introduction

This article provides an overview of recent publications on geopolitics. Though the review focuses on the nineties, it would be wrong to assume that the revived interest for geopolitics has been caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. The revival occurred already in the seventies. In 1986, as the fall of the Wall and the reunification of Germany still seemed an utopia, an article entitled *The revival of geopolitics* was published in the leading scientific journal *Political Geography Quarterly*. In that article, Leslie Hepple looks back on fifteen years renewed interest for this subfield of geography (Hepple, 1986).

But the term 'geopolitics' is not only in use among geographers: it is very popular among political scientists interested in international relations, among diplomats and military experts, and among journalists. This article will focus essentially but not exclusively upon the contributions of geographers. There are two reasons for that. First, there are strong historic ties between geopolitics and political geography. Second, the prolific and innovative nature of the work of political geographers in the field of geopolitics in the nineties fully warrants such attention.

Classical geopolitics

An overview of the contemporary literature on geopolitics can not avoid some problems of definition. This compulsory exercise, the definition of a key concept, is in this case extremely laborious. The concept is not only contaminated by the historical legacy of the (mis)use of the ideas of the German school of *Geopolitik* by the nazi-regime. It suffers profound confusion. There are plenty meanings and

connotations in the contemporary uses of the word 'geopolitics' which remain often implicit and are often contradictory. In most cases (but not always) it is about states, relations between them and their geographical context.

It is well known that the neologism 'geopolitics' originates from the Swedish political scientist Rudolf Kjellén. In 1899 Kjellén introduced five neologisms to label key features of the state: the other four (demopolitik, ekonomipolitik, sociopolitik, kratopolitik) did not strike root but 'geopolitik' did. With this term, he pointed at three geographical features of a state: topopolitik (the location of a state in relation to other states), morphopolitik (the form of the territory of a state) and physiopolitik (the surface and the physical characteristics of this territory) (Holdar, 1992, 1994). Right from the beginning, Kjellén introduced some confusion, as 'geopolitik' meant both the characteristics of a state and the study of these characteristics.

The neologism 'geopolitik' took hold among German geographers, under the leadership of Karl Haushofer and his colleagues of the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* (1924–1944). These geographers were mainly inspired by the work of the German geographer Friedrich Ratzel who had laid down the fundamentals of a biological theory of the state (biological analogies were prevailing at that time in the social sciences) in his book *Politische Geographie* (1897). In addition, Haushofer was inspired by the Anglo-Saxon geostrategy, especially the work of the British geographer, Sir Halford J. Mackinder, and of the American admiral, Alfred T. Mahan. Both had developed theories about the importance of controlling seas and continents for the global balance of power.

At the end of the Second World War the term Geopolitik was tightly associated with nazi-propaganda. The American geographers Isaiah Bowman and Nicholas Spykman

introduced the expression 'democratic geopolitics' to label geopolitics in service of a democratic regime (O'Loughlin, 1994, p. ix) but it was in vain, the term fell into abeyance.

The basic elements of the classical geopolitics are resumed in a few words: the state is conceived as a living organism, therefore borders are conceived as flexible (they change in the course of the 'life' of the state, in other words a state enlarges its territory when its strengths are growing at the expense of older states in decline); finally, following social Darwinism, the evolution of the political organism is determined by its environment. Typical for the classical geopolitics is geographical determinism as opposed to the 'possibilism' advocated by the French school of geography.

A few would like to reserve the use of the term 'geopolitics' for the German theories of the first half of the twentieth century and the schools they directly influenced, as in Mussolini's Italy and Franco's Spain (Raffestin, 1995; Blouet, 1994). This is completely unrealistic in view of the contemporary popularity of the word among political geographers, political scientists interested in international relations, military experts and the media. Consequently we need to examine how the term is currently used.

This article is an attempt to present recent publications¹ by classifying them into four 'approaches'. The names and the delimitation of these 'geopolitical schools' is somewhat arbitrary but it reduces effectively the great diversity encountered in the publications related in one way or the other to *geopolitics*. These four schools are distinguished on two dimensions. The first is the distance to the object under study: at the one hand practical advises to political actors are highly recommended, at the other hand academic reflections refrain from ties with geopolitical policies. The second refers to the position towards the state system: at the one hand states are conceived as the principal geopolitical actors, at the other hand attention is paid to other political actors and to the internal diversity and the conflict of interests inside the states. The four approaches are indicated in Table 1. They will be discussed below in chronological order, meaning from the moment that they have manifested themselves in the scientific community.

Neo-classical geopolitics: geopolitics en geostrategy

Academic geographers may have been scared by the role of geopolitics in the nazi-propaganda; the neglect of geopolitics at the beginning of the Cold War by military experts had a different origin. In their case, the neglect was brought about by the radical change of the relation between power, military technology and geography. To clarify this evolution, it suffices to remind of the two most important changes which gave the impression that geography did not matter any more. The first was a material cause, the technological progress both in general (especially the improvement of transportation and communication technology with essential consequences for logistics related to both trade and

strategy) and in particular regarding the waging of war (namely the production of nuclear weapons). In addition there was a political cause: the dominant view during the Cold War was that the world was divided between two ideologies: market capitalism and liberal democracy at the one side, communism and people's democracy at the other side. This global perspective reduced conflicts to an ideological struggle between Good and Evil. Territorial disputes concerning resources and the like were neglected and therefore geopolitical approaches fell into abeyance.

The revival of geopolitics is connected to the decolonisation of Asia and Africa, where many states declare themselves non-aligned to one of the two blocs, and with the emergence of conflicts between states belonging to the same bloc, such as the estrangement between China and the Soviet Union and later on the territorial disputes between China and Vietnam, Vietnam and Cambodia, Iran and Iraq. The term 'geopolitics' itself has been popularised by the American diplomat Henry Kissinger in the seventies (Hepple, 1986; O'Loughlin, 1994; Dijkink, 1996; Ó Tuathail, 1996; Parker, 1998).

In neoclassical geopolitics, the strategic value of specific attributes of territories play the leading role. Next to 'geopolitics', the core concept is 'geostrategy'. Neoclassical geopolitics correspond to what the layman expects geopolitics to be: it is about the effects of geographical location and other geographical features on the foreign policy of a state and its relations with other states. It is also concerned with the strategic value of geographical factors (resources, access to the sea, etc.). This also corresponds to the definitions provided in general dictionaries. In this context, Napoléon Bonaparte is often quoted: 'La politique d'un état est dans sa géographie' (e.g., as an epigraph in the atlas of Chaliand and Rageau, 1983)².

Neoclassical geopolitics distinguishes itself from classical geopolitics on many points. First, the state is not conceived as an organism, and borders are given. The state remains however a black box: reasoning occurs in terms of 'national interest' and 'national security' as if the state was one person. There is a sharp distinction between internal affairs and foreign policy. The world of international relations remains the domain of experts. Subsequently geographical determinism is no more at stake, but a powerful contextual effect is considered. The physical environment puts restraints and offers opportunities: 'geography does not repeat itself' states Neville Brown in a reflection about the growing length of the war front (Brown, 1992, pp. 74–76).

During the eighties, there was a growing interest for *nuclear geopolitics*, this means geopolitics and geostrategy in the nuclear age. In a reader published in a series of the NATO Scientific Affairs Division (Zoppo and Zorgbibe, 1985), the geopolitical analysis of the nuclear deterrence is introduced as an improvement to the realistic approached to international relations. It was also in the circles of the North-Atlantic Treaty Organisation that the Institut international de géopolitique/International Institute of Geopolitics

¹This article does not claim to offer an exhaustive inventory as it is obviously limited by the physical (in)capacities of the author to access publications in certain languages in certain places.

²Dijkink lets the French President François Mitterand (1981–1995) quote Napoléon! (Dijkink, 1996, p. 1).

Table 1. Four geopolitical approaches

	Practical/applied	Academic
States	neo-classical geopolitics, <i>geopolitics, géostratégie,</i> <i>geo-economics</i>	non-geopolitics <i>political geography</i>
Other political actors	subversive geopolitics <i>géopolitique interne et externe</i>	post-structuralistic geopolitics <i>critical geopolitics</i>

has been established in 1982 in Paris and Washington, under the leadership of the French Gaullist Marie-France Garaud. The institute publishes under the title *Géopolitique* two journals, one in English and one in French. Among the founding members of the institute one can find diplomats, politicians, military experts and academics (such as Huntington and Luttwak). Special issues of both journals are typically devoted to hot items in term of security: the USSR, the Gulf War, Space, Islam, etc.

The classical elements of Mackinder's geostrategy are still considered to be important, e.g., the traditional theme of maritime superpowers (Modelski and Thompson, 1988; Gray, 1988; Girardet, 1989; Gallois, 1990; Chaliand, 1990; Coutau-Bégarie, 1985a, 1995), the control of specific seas and islands (Coutau-Bégarie, 1985b, 1987, 1993; Besnault, 1992; Cordonnier, 1995; Vigarié, 1995; Catley and Keliat, 1997; Simpson-Anderson, 1997), the strategic relevance of specific regions (Hafeznia, 1994 on Kashmir; Delavaud, 1993 on Asia; Martel, 1991 on Libya) or the importance of geopolitical insights for security policy of one's country (Brill, 1994). Moreover geopolitical analyses have been published regarding new resources and energy sources, drinking water, etc. In *The Strategic Revolution* (1992) Neville Brown brings up poverty in the Third World, the global climate change and environmental issues (see also Brown, 1994, for a study of water as strategic resource, see also Sironneau 1996; and Perkins, 1997 on the relation between national security policy and high yielding agriculture).

In the eighties and nineties, many atlases have been manufactured to portray a global view of the uneven distribution of resources and of conflict sources (Chaliand and Rageau, 1983, 1985; Touscoz, 1988; de Marensches, 1988; Vallaud, 1989; Boustani and Fargues 1990; Boniface, 1993; Chaliand, 1993; Chaliand and Jan, 1993; Kidron and Segal, 1981, 1984; Kidron and Smith, 1983; Freedman, 1985; Anderson, 1993; Seager, 1995). It is also worth mentioning the noticeable handbook *Strategic Geography: NATO, the Warsaw Pact, and the superpowers* by Hugh Faringdon (1989), a revised edition of *Confrontation* first published in 1986 (see also Segal, 1986). Reference books in this tradition include a lexicon (Soppelsa et al., 1988) and two dictionaries (Zorgbibe, 1988; Plano and Olton, 1988) both rendered largely obsolete by the collapse of the Communist regime in the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless geopolitics lost strength. Regarding warfare, speed has become more important than strategic location on

the globe (some speak about chronopolitics, see Ó Tuathail, 1993b for a critical account, see also Gray, 1997), but more structurally economic power has become more important than military power. Edward Luttwak presents this point of view in his article *From geopolitics to geo-economics* (1990) and later in his book *The endangered American dream* (1993). Luttwak wrote originally about (geo-)strategy (Luttwak, 1983, 1986, 1987; Luttwak and Koehl, 1991). He posits in the two publications mentioned above, that economic power has become more important than military power (the Soviet Union has lost its position and itself for lack of economic power). But his message is also alarming, his book has therefore been given the odd subtitle *How to stop the United States from becoming a third world country and how to win the geo-economic struggle for industrial supremacy*. Geo-economics point out the fact that states compete with each other for economic power, and no more for territorial power. All the more the neologism geo-economics is odd, when the term 'ecopolitics' seems more proper³.

Just the same, the term catches on. It seems that geo-economics is becoming the twin sister of (neo-)geopolitics instead of geostrategy. Such an evolution is observable in *A dangerous peace, The geopolitical transition from bipolarity to new rivalry* (Rusi, 1997) in which the author, a Finnish diplomat, predicts the strategic landscape of the twenty-first century on the basis of the political and economic power of the states. Still more traditional geostrategic approaches are still around (see Brzezinski, 1997, or Kemp and Harkavy, 1997).

Subversive geopolitics: everything is geopolitical!

At the end of the seventies, the term 'geopolitics' acquired a subversive meaning in France with the help of Maoist geographers. Geographical knowledge is important for those waging war, hence the observation of the French geographer Yves Lacoste who entitled his radical analysis about geography *La géographie ça sert d'abord à faire la guerre* (1976). His analysis of the logic behind the bombardment of the dikes in North-Vietnam by the American army made

³Or the less elegant terms 'geo-political-economy' (in: Corbridge and Agnew, 1991) or 'geopolinomics' (in Demko and Woods, 1994). Still 'ecopolitics' is confusing because it is also used as a contraction of 'ecology' and 'politics' (for example in Kuehls, 1996 who presents an analysis of ecopolitics from a geopolitical perspective).

Lacoste famous in the United States (Ó Tuathail, 1994, pp. 325–29, 1996, p. 161; Dijkink, 1996, p. 4). According to Paul Claval it was also the failure of the guerilla activities in South-America that stimulated the interest of these ‘soixante-huitards’ for geography (Claval, 1994, pp. 127–8). Anyhow, it is clear that Lacoste wants to apply the power originating in geographical knowledge against the superpowers. He pleads for an active (political) geography, as opposed to applied geography, and seeks to connect to the work of the nineteenth century anarchist and geographer Elysée Reclus.

From 1976 on, Lacoste and his associates publish their own journal: *Hérodote*. As from number 27 in 1982, the subtitle changed into *Revue de géographie et de géopolitique*⁴ but the format remained unchanged: special issues are prefaced by Yves Lacoste who elaborates the building blocks of a new geopolitical approach. In the course of time, a specific school matures, a geographical analysis of situations in which different groups put contradictory claims on a particular territory (Foucher, 1988, p. 439). It concerns the ‘rivalités de pouvoir sur des territoires et sur les hommes qui s’y trouvent’ (Lacoste, 1993, p. 3). In addition, territorial conflicts become a matter of geopolitics according to Lacoste, only if they are the subject of a democratic debate (Lacoste, 1993, pp. 1–45; Durand and Ruano-Borbalan, 1994, p. 34).

Because there are as many points of view as there are protagonists (Lacoste, 1986, p. xvi), the word is used in the plural, *les géopolitiques*, contrary to the conventional usage in French, e.g., *la géopolitique*. Furthermore the geopolitical approach can be applied at different levels of analysis: ‘les états n’ont pas le monopole de la géopolitique’ (Lacoste, 1986, tome 1, p. xiii). The analyses focus naturally on the nature of the claims of the political actors in a particular area. Lacoste speaks of ‘représentations géopolitiques’, a reference to theatre and tragedy. Maps play a special role in the development and the diffusion of such representations. Finally, the territorial conflict (rather than the state or the state system) is the unit of analysis.

As mentioned earlier, this geopolitical approach is appropriate for all territorial conflicts: *ergo* also inside states. *Internal geopolitics* have become more and more important in Lacoste writings as witnesses by the publication in 1986 of the three volumes of *Géopolitiques des régions françaises*. The three volumes of this reference book deal with the 22 administrative regions in metropolitan France (but not the areas overseas). The analyses consist essentially of what others would call electoral geography. In democracies, elections are pre-eminent opportunities for geopolitical views to compete with each other (Lacoste, 1986, p. xiii). At the same time, a special issue entitled *Géopolitiques de la France* (*Hérodote* nr. 40, 1986) dealt with internal and external geopolitical themes (such as the formation of the *départements* in 1790 and the relationship with Germany).

Lacoste and associates published also a voluminous *Dictionnaire de géopolitique*⁵ in which ‘geopolitical situations’ and ‘geopolitical views’ were explained for a broad public

⁴Previously it was *Hérodote: Stratégies-géographies-idéologies*.

⁵See the review elsewhere in this issue.

(Lacoste, 1993, 1996). Lacoste is also a co-editor of the economic and geopolitical yearbook *L’état du monde* (Gèze et al., 1983).

At the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of *Hérodote* in 1996, a special issue was devoted to the *Périls géopolitiques en France* (nr. 80). In his introduction, Lacoste remarks that France is not threatened by foreign dangers anymore, but by internal threats: the most important threats identified are the movements appealing to regional identities, notably in Corsica, and the ties of the (grand-) children of the immigrants from North-Africa with the pan-Arabic nation. Lacoste looks for the origin of these problems at the weakening of the idea of the ‘nation’ and its declining mobilising power. The nationalistic undertone of the journal *Hérodote* and the work of Yves Lacoste has been severely criticised. It has been called ‘soft nationalism’ (Raffestin et al., 1995, p. 292): cultural differences and diversity are respected, but all revolves around the nation. These authors provide several examples of essays in which patriotism is to be valued and the world to be interpreted as a competition between nations. They also blame Lacoste for his striking anti-German feelings in a editorial introduction about the German reunification in *Hérodote* nr. 68: *La question allemande* (1993) (Raffestin et al., 1995, pp. 293–294).

A look at the themes discussed in *Hérodote* in the nineties confirms its nationalistic preoccupations, but most issues reach much further than the French nation and the French interests, for example special issues such as the Balkans (nr. 63, 1991), the remains of the Soviet Union (nr. 64, 1992), Serbia (nr. 67, 1992), Japan (nr. 78–79, 1995), the Caucasus (nr. 81, 1996), South-Africa (nr. 82–83, 1996) or Indonesia (nr. 88, 1998). Nevertheless, the nation is currently the dominant subject in the work of Lacoste as shows his recent book *Vive la nation!* (1997) and in *Hérodote* with a series of special issues on the national question (on Italy and on Spain in 1998, one on the United Kingdom has been announced).

Other publications⁶, sometimes (based on) PhD theses defended at the *Centre de Recherches et d’Analyses Géopolitiques* (Paris VIII), include the analysis of German Geopolitik by Michel Korinman (1990, 1991) and the study of the Basque Country conducted by Barbara Loyer (1997). In 1991, Michel Foucher published a revised edition of his encyclopedic study of borders and their constitution in Europe (1988, 1991, see also regarding the new states in Central Europe: Foucher, 1993, 1996).

The vitality of geopolitics in France is remarkable. Numerous introductions have been published (such as Claval, 1994; Moreau Defarges, 1994; Wackerman, 1997). Next to the publications about geopolitics and geostrategy (that have been introduced above as neoclassical geopolitics) the geopolitical approach from *Hérodote* has been influential⁷.

⁶Although the author is not directly involved in the Lacoste group, explicit reference to this approach is found in the work of Ropivia (1994) on African integration.

⁷This is not the case outside France, in spite of the reputation of Lacoste and the publication of a translated anthology from *Hérodote* (Giro and Kofman, 1987). A noticeable exception is Italy, where many *Hérodote*

The distinction between subversive and neoclassical geopolitics fades away when the first approach deals with states and their relations, although subversive geopolitics pays more attention to contradictory interpretations of the national interest. Subversive geopolitics has been influential among political scientists too, such as Pascal Lorot and François Thual who wrote extensively about the history of geopolitics and the geopolitical method (Lorot, 1995; Thual, 1993a, b, 1995b, 1996a, 1997b; Lorot and Thual, 1997; Thual and Chaumade, 1998⁸), specific regions (Thual, 1996b, 1997a) or specific religions (Thual, 1993c, 1994, 1995a, see also Botiveau and Cesari, 1997). Another interesting contribution is the *Géopolitique et géostratégies des drogues* by Labrousse and Koutzousis (1996) in which the drugs wars between drugsmafias and states have been analysed (see other publications of the Observatoire géopolitique des drogues, such as Koutzousis, 1995; see also Boekhout van Solinge, 1998).

By the end of 1996, a new geopolitical journal appeared *LiMes: Revue française de géopolitique*, a sister journal of the Italian journal *LiMes* which have been published since 1993⁹. The French and the Italian journals share the same editors-in-chief: the French Michel Korinman (until 1993 a member of the editorial board of *Hérodote*), and the Italian Lucio Caracciolo, but they have different scientific boards and networks of correspondents. The collaboration had led earlier to French publications (Korinman and Caracciolo, 1995a, b).

The first French issue of *LiMes* was entitled: *La France en question*. In 1997 an issue was devoted to the United States and another to the European Union, *L'Europe sans l'Europe*, in which attention was paid to monetary issues. The concept of 'ethnomonetarisme' is introduced to analyse the preferences of the French, Italian, German and British public opinions regarding partners for a common currency (predictably the majority of the British and the Germans would prefer to keep their own currency). As in *Hérodote*, much attention is paid here to internal geopolitics, such as the electoral support for the Front National in several French regions in *LiMes* 1997/2. Each delivery of *LiMes* (about 300 pp.) contains a large number of contributions by academics and journalists, but also diplomats and prominent politicians¹⁰ and the reports of round-table discussions. Many contributions are originally written in Italian, German

articles were translated and published in the journal *Hérodote/Italia* (1978–1982) later *Erodoto, Problemi di geografia* (1982–1984) (see Antonisch 1997; on publications of Lacoste in German, see Dürr & Sandner 1991).

⁸See the review elsewhere in this volume.

⁹The first two issues of the Italian *LiMes* dealt with the following topics: 'war in Europe' and 'the world according to the Vatican', they were published in 1993 when the crisis of the Italian state culminated: they contain articles about the Italian national interest, especially on the Balkans and in Central Europe (Raffestin et al., 1995, pp. 300–303). The crisis mood is obvious from a map of the 'geopolitical strength field' in which Italy finds itself: the map depicts many internal and external threats such as trade wars, immigration, the islam, the mafia, the instability in Albania.... (see a reproduction in Pfetsch, 1993, p. 223).

¹⁰In the first issue we find for example a contribution of the Italian Prime Minister Romano Prodi, the president of the French Assemblée Philippe Séguin, the British Foreign Minister Malcolm Rifkind, and the president of the German Bundesbank Hans Tietmeyer.

or English. This seems to point at an emerging European debate, which too often ends in the assertion of irreconcilable national positions.

Last but not least, geoeconomics has been paid attention too. One of the political scientists mentioned above, Pascal Lorot, is the director of the *Revue française de géoéconomie*. Its first issue was published in March 1997¹¹. In his introductory article *De la géopolitique à la géoéconomie* (Lorot, 1997, pp. 23–35) Lorot introduces and criticises Luttwak's approach (see above) before formulating his own research agenda. According to Lorot, geoeconomics is the analysis of the economic strategies of the states (Lorot, 1997, p. 29) especially those regarding international trade. The first issue, entitled *Pourquoi la géoéconomie?* contains further an interview with Yves Lacoste who declares himself in favour of this new approach as a complement to geopolitics, but certainly not as a substitute. Moreover contributions are devoted to the relation between states, enterprises and markets, to monetary issues and to the importance of technology.

Finally, the geographer and former *Hérodote*-editor Michel Foucher, presently the director of the Observatoire européen de géopolitique, has also discussed geoeconomics as the new dogma. He emphasises that geoeconomics is practiced by states between which war is no longer conceivable (Foucher, 1997).

Non-geopolitics: the political geography of international relations

Outside France, geographers rediscovered geopolitics too. I have called this school non-geopolitics because it is about the 'neutralisation' of geopolitics. These geographers oppose the abuse of geographical knowledge and plead for a scientific, neutral, geography of international relations. This school originates in the revival of political geography at the end of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties.

In January 1982 the first issue of *Political Geography Quarterly* is delivered. The opening is a research agenda in which the editors in chief, Peter J. Taylor and John O'Loughlin, list 21 themes that deserve the attention of political geographers. Three of them are related to geopolitics: geographical perspectives on the relations between states, one concerns the revival of geostrategic studies (Editorial Board, 1982, pp. 9–10) implicitly. The two editors also notice that the geostrategic analysis by Sir Harold Mackinder is no doubt the most famous political geographical piece outside the field. Moreover, they maintain that the East-West conflict displays many similarities with the two powers-model put forward by Mackinder, but they mention many developments that call for further research in the field (such as decolonisation, the globalisation of the economy and the advancements in the field of military technology, see also Brunn and Mingst, 1985). In the following years, many geopolitical articles have been published in the jour-

¹¹By Fall, 1998, the seventh issue was devoted to French competitiveness *La France, toujours compétitive?*

nal *Political Geography Quarterly* and since 1992 due to an increased frequency, *Political Geography*. In his review of the 75 issues of the journal published until November 1996, Stanley Waterman assesses the importance of the agenda points of the beginnings: external state relations accounts for 17% of the articles, of which half for the revival of geostrategic studies (Waterman, 1998, p. 379), and three of the 22 special issues¹² (p. 380).

In this perspective, geopolitics and political geography are almost synonymous, but the second term has scientific connotations, while the first has political connotations. For Anglo-Saxon political-geographers such as Peter J. Taylor and John O'Loughlin, geopolitics points at two types of 'theories'. They distinguish between the 'practical geopolitics' of those who conduct the foreign policy of states and the 'formal geopolitics' of academics and other observers who reflect upon international relations¹³. In practical geopolitics, there is an urge for frames of thinking to guide short term behaviour. Simplistic theories able to reduce the complexity of reality to one clear conflict between good and evil, between us and them, are welcome. They serve to define the interests of a state, to identify (possible) threats and to formulate appropriate policies dedicated to the state's interests and to the contention of the perceived threats; in short: geopolitical codes. This is what O'Loughlin calls applied political geography (O'Loughlin, 1994, p. viii) while Taylor introduces the term ordinary political geography (Taylor, 1990, pp. 1–5).

Formal geopolitics' mission is to analyse practical geopolitics critically but also to provide new insights for a 'more humane' geopolitics. The reclamation of the term 'geopolitics' is an attempt by (political) geographers to denounce the use of geographical knowledge by the state and especially by its military machine: 'It is time to reclaim the geopolitical theme from its hijackers in the strategic community' (O'Loughlin and Heske, 1991, p. 37). This is diametrically opposed to the agenda of Mackinder and his followers who wanted to put geography at the service of the state¹⁴: it is about 'understanding not promoting' foreign policy (O'Loughlin and Heske, 1991, p. 54).

Non-geopolitics is the study of the spatial distribution of power between states (Taylor, 1993, p. 330), especially between the major powers and supranational actors such as the United Nations or NATO (O'Sullivan, 1986). This school comprises, beside political geographers, the political scientists involved in the so called 'peace studies' (as opposed to strategic studies). For that reason, this approach could also be called peace-geopolitics¹⁵.

It is a matter of patterns in international relations: the political geography of war and peace (Pepper and Jenkins, 1985; Kliot and Waterman, 1991; O'Loughlin and van der

Wusten, 1993b; Williams and Williams, 1993). Jan Nijman examines the pattern of the involvement of the two super powers in armed conflicts of third parties during the Cold War (Nijman, 1992, 1993); Tom Nierop analyses regional patterns in diplomatic and political ties between states (Nierop, 1994; see also Van der Wusten and Nierop, 1990; O'Loughlin and Van der Wusten 1990; Parker, 1991; Vogeler, 1995; and Hartman and Vogeler 1993; about alliances: Starr and Siverson, 1990; see also geographies and histories of international relations such as Poulsen, 1995; Kennedy, 1987; Watson, 1992). Sloan deals with the geopolitical policy of the United States from 1890 to 1987 (Sloan, 1988) while LeDonne (1997) analyses the geopolitics of the Russian Empire from 1700 to 1917 (for the relation of Russia with Asia see also Hauner, 1992). A geopolitical analysis of Anglo-Irish relations has been provided by Sloan (1997) with an emphasis on the changing strategic importance of Ireland for the United Kingdom since the Middle Ages. The relation between geopolitics and foreign aid has been addressed as a specific topic (Conteh-Morgan, 1990; Grant and Nijman, 1995; Fielden, 1998).

Since the end of the Cold War, the configuration of the new world order to replace the familiar ideological opposition between East and West has been a major topic of investigation (Williams, 1993; O'Loughlin and Van der Wusten, 1993; see also Cohen, 1991; Taylor, 1993; Smith, 1993; Demko and Wood, 1994). Awaiting a new world order (c.q. a geopolitical order) we find ourselves in a geopolitical transition: a few options are open. The non-geopolitical authors explore these options through scenarios (O'Loughlin, 1992; Kolossov, 1996; Borko, 1997; Kolossov and Treivish, 1998; Baker Schaffer, 1998). Peter J. Taylor looks back to the previous transition, to the beginning of the Cold War to review the options available to the British government at the time and (geoeconomic, geopolitical and geostrategic) dilemmas this world power in decline had to confront (Taylor, 1990).

Political scientists are discussing the geopolitical transition as well. A recent example of their work is the collection of essays published by the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo under the title *Geopolitics in Post-Wall Europe, Security, territory and identity* (Tunander et al., 1997). This volume is an exploration of the new European order, especially regarding the position of the state in the light of the European unification. Subsequently the book scrutinises the position of Russia (inside or outside Europe?) and the consequences for the geopolitical order in Europe: will the Cold War be followed by a Cold Peace? Finally attention is paid to the construction of the 'other', the Islamic world and the specific role of the Balkan as a buffer between Europe and the 'other'.

Worth mentioning is the SOAS/GRC Geopolitics Series¹⁶ published by the UCL Press (Schofield 1994; McLachlan, 1994; Gurdon, 1994; Wright et al. 1996; Carter and Norris, 1996) and the journal edited by Richard

¹²*Political Geography Quarterly* 6:2 (1987), 8:4 (1989) and *Political Geography* 15:6 (1996).

¹³Because academics and other opinion makers such as journalists and publicists often advise ministers and presidents, the distinction is primarily analytical. Nonetheless it is an important distinction.

¹⁴'Geography enlisted as an aid to statecraft and strategy' (Mackinder, quoted in: Short, 1993, p. 18).

¹⁵See also the subtitle of O'Loughlin and Heske (1991).

¹⁶SOAS stands for School of Oriental and African Studies, GRC for Geopolitics and International Boundaries Research Centre (both in London).

Schofield: *Geopolitics and International Boundaries*¹⁷ since 1995. Many regional studies are devoted to border conflicts and other geopolitical transformations following the breakdown of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War: in Europe (Rusi, 1991), in Central Europe (Carter et al., 1996; Prévélakis, 1998; Buckwalter, 1998), in Eastern Europe (O'Loughlin et al., 1998), in Crimea (Dawson, 1997), on the Balkans (Carter and Norris, 1996; Hall and Danta, 1996; also Prévélakis, 1997); much studied countries and regions are Turkey (Fuller et al., 1993; see also Olson, 1992 about the Kurdes), the Caucasus (Wright et al., 1996), Afghanistan (Kahn, 1998; McLachlan, 1997), Iran (Fuller, 1991; McLachlan, 1994), the Gulf states (Schofield 1994), the Persian Gulf (Puri, 1993), India (Puri, 1997a, b; Bakshi, 1994; Dikshit, 1996), Kashmir (Moskalenko and Shaumian, 1995), Central Asia (Banuazizi and Weiner, 1994; Puri 1997a, b, Belokrenitsky, 1995, Houbert, 1997), East Asia (Rumley et al., 1996; Lele and Ofori-Yeboah, 1996; Rozman, 1997; So and Chin, 1998; and on Taiwan see Fu, 1992), South Asia (Gupta, 1997; see also Vaughn, 1994), the Indian Ocean (Houbert, 1992; Chaturvedi and Saigal, 1996), Eastern Africa (Gurdon, 1994; Medhanie, 1994); Chad (Joffé, 1997) the Great Lakes area (Prunier, 1997), Southern Africa (Sidaway and Simon, 1993) and the Western Sahara (Zoubir, 1997; Zoubir et al. 1993) and polar regions (Chaturvedi, 1996).

The borderline between neo- and non-geopolitics is often very slim: because these regions are often strategically important areas. Such an uncertain case is *A sense of siege: The Geopolitics of Islam and the West*. Graham Fuller and Ian Lesser deal in this book (1995) first with the perceptions the Islamic world and the Western world have of each other, as well as with the dilemmas they provide to each other, and then turn to the (geo)strategic dimension of a (possible) clash between both worlds (see also Fuller, 1991 on Iran; Fuller et al., 1993 on Turkey).

Important themes in non-geopolitics are the (territorial) features of states and the constitution of the state system. Accordingly, Van der Wusten (1993, 1997) deals with the growing gap between strong and stable, democratic and economically prosperous states on the one hand and weak states where civil war, poverty and anarchy are prevalent on the other hand. Kolossov and O'Loughlin (1999) introduce the concept of pseudo-states. New carriers of geopolitics emerge at the subnational and supranational levels (Van der Wusten, 1998), see also the special issue of *Political Geography* regarding the United Nations (Glassner, 1996) in which geopolitical themes are addressed, such as the role of the UN in border conflicts (Prescott, 1996; Rosenne, 1996), or the two most important border crossing problems: migration (Wood and Potts, 1996) and pollution (Momtaz, 1996). O'Sullivan (1995) formalises geopolitical force fields in a gravity model which he applies with two simple indicators (armed force and distance between capitals) to determine the

spheres of influence of different regional powers in Central Asia after the breakdown of the Soviet Union.

The territory of states is a major topic as shows the World Boundaries Series edited by G. Blake (Schofield, 1994; Schofield and Schofield, 1994; Grundy-Warr, 1994; Girot, 1994; Blake, 1994) and *Landlocked states* (Hodder et al., 1997 published first as a special issue of *Geopolitics and International Boundaries* 2:1). Other authors focus on the population of the states, especially on international migration (Grosfoguel, 1997; MacLaughlin, 1993; Knights, 1996; Liu and Norcliffe, 1996; also King, 1996; Wood and Potts, 1996; Chimni, 1998). The French anthropologist Albert analyses the effects of the national security doctrine of the Escola Superior de Guerra in Brazil on environmental policy and policy toward Indians lands in the Amazon (1992).

Finally, geoeconomic themes are not foreign to non-geopolitics either (e.g., O'Loughlin, 1993; Lele and Ofori-Yeboah, 1996; Gupta, 1997) but the approach is still much more state-centric than the analysis of the geopolitical consequences of capitalism provided by David Harvey a decade earlier: it focuses on the economical competition between states whereas Harvey was presenting a theory in which the dynamics of capitalist accumulation explains state formation and geopolitical relations between states (Harvey, 1985).

Political geographers also look back to the history of geopolitics to which two special issues of *Political Geography Quarterly* have been devoted: in 1987 *Historical studies of Geopolitics* (vol. 6 nr. 2) and in 1989 *Historical studies of German Political Geography* (vol. 8, nr. 4). In the last volume with Gerhard Sandner as guest-editor (Sandner, 1989a), the contributions, all from German geographers, deal with the evolution of the views on Central Europe (Schultz, 1989), the relation between ideology, (political) geography and geopolitics (Fahlbusch et al., 1989; Kost, 1989; Sandner, 1989b). The territorial ideologies after 1945 (regionalism, nationalism, peace movement) are also addressed (Ossenbrügge, 1989). *Political Geography (Quarterly)* published several additional contributions about classical geopolitics (Paterson, 1987; Bassin, 1987; Heske, 1987; Parker, 1987; Herb, 1989; Paasi, 1990; Holdar, 1992; Fukushima, 1997)

In the eighties and nineties, several overviews of the geopolitical thinking were published (O'Sullivan, 1986; Hepple, 1986; and Parker, 1985, 1988, 1991a, b; later also Claval, 1994; Moreau Defarges, 1994; Parker, 1998), as well as a *Dictionary of Geopolitics* (O'Loughlin, 1994) which introduces key authors, concepts and theories¹⁸. More focused publications include studies of classical geopolitics: Kjellén (Holdar, 1992), the German *Geopolitik* and its relations to the nazi regime and to the Weimar Republic (Bassin, 1987; Kost, 1988; Herb, 1989; Sprengel, 1994; Murphy, 1994, 1997; Rössler, 1990; Sandner and Rössler, 1994; Lariu, 1998; about Haushofer see Ebeling, 1994; Heske, 1987), but also British geopolitics (Kearns, 1993, 1997), Italian *geopolitica* (Atkinson, 1995; Gambi, 1994), Finnish geopolitics (Paasi, 1990), Japanese geopolitics (Fukushima, 1997; Takeuchi, 1994), or the French school during the interwar

¹⁷In 1999 (vol. 3) the title has been abridged into *Geopolitics*, although most contributions until now has been about borders and border disputes. David Newman is the second editor.

¹⁸See the review elsewhere in this volume.

period (Parker, 1987). The history of the geopolitical notion of Europe has been explored by Muet (1996) and Heffernan (1998).

In addition to the publications mentioned above, German contributions include a special issue of the academic journal *Geographische Zeitschrift* devoted to political geography (Sandner and Boesler, 1993). It includes a review of the revival of geopolitics in Russia (Grisai and Kolossov, 1993) and in Germany (Sandner, 1993) as well as the challenge the geopolitical transition is for political geographers (Van der Wusten, 1993).

Last but not least, some French contributions can be mentioned as 'belonging' to non-geopolitics, from both geographers and political scientists: regional studies (such as Taglioni, 1995; Prévélakis, 1997), general books (Claval, 1994; Wackermann, 1997), and the many publications about the state and its fading territoriality, globalisation and delocalisation (Durand et al., 1992; Laïdi, 1992, 1998; Dolfuss, 1994, 1995; Badie, 1995; Cohen 1996; Boniface, 1996; Ramonet, 1997¹⁹, on the position of cities in this process see also Veltz, 1996) including the surprising *Géopolitique du football* (Boniface, 1998) on the role of football in international relations.

Some of the non-geopolitical authors carefully avoid to use words related to geopolitics. Nevertheless, by the mid-nineties, the term 'geopolitics' has also become a fashionable cry²⁰: often, it is no more than a handy contraction of 'political-geographical', while 'geo-economical' does not mean much more than 'economic-geographical' (e.g., in Warf, 1997). At other occasions it points at global relations, e.g., world-politics and world economics (eg the heading of the sections of Johnston et al., 1995; on this use see Anderson, 1998; another example in Wallerstein 1991; also in Falk, 1997, about international law and false universalism). Worth mentioning is the anachronistic use of the word in studies of 'international relations' and competition between political entities in the past (such as Baugh, 1998) or even before modern states emerged (Teschke, 1997).

Post-structuralistic geopolitics: critical geopolitics

Critical geopolitics is a new flag and it is a self-designation by contrast with the other 'labels' presented here. The term has been introduced in the United States in the course of the eighties²¹: it points originally to studies of foreign policies by means of discourse analysis. This approach is embed-

¹⁹Not to be confused with the special issue of *Manière de voir* (whose editor is Boniface) published the same year by *Le Monde diplomatique* (whose director is Ramonet) with the same title: *Géopolitique du chaos*. Ramonet's book has been published in English in 1998.

²⁰For example in the title *Geopolitics and Geoculture* for a collection of articles by Immanuel Wallerstein (1991); Eronen, 1998, or the addition of 'geopolitics' in the English title of translated works such as the inviting *Blue Geopolitics* about the United Nations (Fisas, 1995; see also: Serbin, 1990, and Chorbajian et al., 1994).

²¹The oldest mention of the term I have found was the title of the PhD thesis defended by G. Ó Tuathail (1989) *Critical geopolitics: the social construction of state and place in the practice of statecraft* (Syracuse University, New York).

ded in the post-structuralism of French philosophers such as Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault in which discourses are deconstructed. Geopolitical perceptions are problematised, knowledge and discourses about the geographical features of international relations are the very research object. This approach belongs to a broad school of post-modern social sciences involved in discourse analysis. One of the authoritative authors in this subfield, Gearóid Ó Tuathail²² distinguishes three dimensions to critical geopolitics: the deconstruction of geopolitical traditions, the deconstruction of contemporary discourses and the exploration of the meaning of spatial concept such as 'place' and 'politics' (Ó Tuathail, 1994b). Ó Tuathail and Dalby (1998b) identify three kinds of geopolitics: popular geopolitics (in mass media, cinema, novels or cartoons), practical geopolitics (foreign policy, bureaucracy, political institutions) and formal geopolitics (strategic institutes, think tanks, academia) all three contributing to the spatialising of boundaries and dangers (the geopolitical map of the world) and the geopolitical representations of self and other (the geopolitical imagination).

Critical geopolitics focus at first and foremost on the geopolitical arguments in the foreign policy of the United States. In *Creating the Second Cold War, the Discourse of Politics* (1990) Simon Dalby analyses the arguments of those who agitated against the *détente* in the US at the beginning of the eighties. After the *détente* activated by the Republican President Nixon and his Foreign Affairs Secretary Henry Kissinger, a new 'freezing' was advocated. Dalby examines in the first place the publications of a lobby group called the Committee on the Present Danger which was influential during the presidency of Ronald Reagan.

In *Critical geopolitics, The politics of writing global space* (1996), Gearóid Ó Tuathail reviews the history of the geopolitical tradition. He opens his book with the 'geographical invention' of Ireland in the English geographical imagination, to illustrate the power of discourses. After two introductory chapters on geopolitics in which Mackinder gets the leading part²³ and on critical geopolitics, he deals with several geopolitical constructions: Mackinder and the British Empire, the American discourses on German Geopolitik during the second World War, critics of the classical and the neoclassical geopolitics such as Wittfogel, Lacoste or Dalby (partly published earlier in Ó Tuathail, 1994d), the American vision on Bosnia at the beginning of the nineties and the American visions and vertigo by which he describes the quest for a new vision on global relations, such as the alarming analyses by Edward Luttwak on the decline of the United States (see above) and by Samuel Huntington on the clash between the Western and other civilisations (Huntington, 1993, 1996). Ó Tuathail had exposed the 'geo-economic discourse' at an earlier occasion, with reference to the Amer-

²²Gerald Toal is the English transcription of this Irish name which he reclaims.

²³Mahan, and Spykman, but also Ratzel, Kjellén and Haushofer are presented under the heading 'other productions of global space' (Ó Tuathail, 1996, pp. 35–53).

ican perception of the Japanese danger (Ó Tuathail, 1992, 1993a).

Slightly different is John Agnew's attempt to re-visioning geopolitics. In *Mastering Space: Hegemony, territory and international political economy* John Agnew and Stuart Corbridge (1995) present new geopolitics. At the core of their reinterpretation, lies the idea that the territorial state is not an a-historical (or trans-historical) entity, and that international relations should be studied in their historical context. In the first part of the book, they present a somewhat simple periodisation of global relations. They posit three world orders: the Concert of Europe (1815–1875), the British geopolitical order (1875–1945) and the geopolitical order of the *inter-imperial rivalry* (1945–1990). Each world order fits a specific *geopolitical discourse*, which they label civilizational geopolitics, naturalized geopolitics, respectively ideological geopolitics (see also Agnew, 1998, chapter 5). In the second part of their book, they deal with the contemporary geopolitical disorder and the question of the American decline, also discussing possible competitors (Germany, Japan, China and the European Union). Their conclusion illustrates the limitations of state centred thinking: things are going bad for the American territorial economy, but the American companies are booming. We should talk about international affairs (crossing state borders) and not any more about international relations between states. Finally Agnew and Corbridge submit in the third part the ingredients of a new geopolitical discourse that would fit this new world order, a surprising turn in a critical study.

Ó Tuathail and Luke (1994) labels this new order transnational liberalism and the fitting discourse enlargement geopolitics. For Ó Tuathail the geopolitical orders and discourses distinguished by Agnew (1998, Agnew and Corbridge, 1995) are all modern geopolitics. He complements this classification of modern geopolitics, with a new category: postmodern geopolitics, using Luke's model of three geopolitical natures (1994): agrarian antiquity, modern industrial capitalism, postmodern informational capitalism. Modern and postmodern geopolitics differs on how global space is represented (maps vs. GIS), how it is divided (East/West vs. Jihad/McWorld), how global power is conceptualised, how global threats are spatialised and how major actors are identified (geopolitical man, states and leaders vs. networks and cyborgs) (Ó Tuathail, 1998b). In another article, the new *fast geopolitics* (a geopolitical imagination based on flows) is opposed to *mass geopolitics* (a geopolitical imagination centred on territorial mass) underlining tensions between acceleration and containment (Luke and Ó Tuathail, 1998).

Two special issues devoted to critical geopolitics have been published in the authoritative scientific journal *Environment and Planning D Society and Space* (1994, vol. 12 no. 5) and *Political Geography* (1996, vol. 15, no. 6/7), both featuring Simon Dalby and Gearóid Ó Tuathail as guest editors. The contributions are very diverse but they all problematise the relation between geographical knowledge and power (Dalby and Ó Tuathail, 1996). These authors have also co-edited *The Geopolitics Reader* (Ó Tuathail

et al. 1998)²⁴ and two collections of papers: *An unruly world?* (Herod et al., 1998) and in *Rethinking Geopolitics* (Ó Tuathail and Dalby, 1998a). In the meantime, the school is firmly established and it is presented as such in the most recent political geography textbooks (Anderson et al., 1995; Muir, 1997; Agnew, 1997).

Authors that can be counted under the heading critical geopolitics are working in the first place on the contemporary discourses that justify the foreign policy of the United States (Ó Tuathail and Agnew, 1992, Ó Tuathail, 1992, 1993a, b; Dalby, 1988, 1990a, b; Sidaway, 1994; Weber, 1994), but also the foreign policy of other states, such as the United Kingdom, especially about the Falklands war (Dodds, 1993b, 1994a, b, 1996, 1998), South American states (Dodds, 1993a, 1994c) and other states in the Southern Oceanic Rim (Dodds, 1997) especially South-Africa (Dodds, 1994c), Namibia (Simon, 1996), New-Zealand (Dalby, 1993) and Australia (Dalby, 1996c). Geopolitical discourses from the past are fascinating too (Crampton and Ó Tuathail, 1996; Bassin, 1996) whereas Clarke et al. analyse the meaning of the *Endlösung* in the light the lack of *Lebensraum* established by German geopolitics (Clarke et al., 1996; Doel and Clarke, 1998; see also Bassin, 1987). Paasi analyses the changing perception of the Finnish-Russian border in Finland (Paasi, 1995), Gibson the indigenous self-determination in Australia (1998, 1999). And Tyner addresses the relations between geopolitics and eugenics in the case of Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbour (Tyner, 1998). Attention is also paid to international actors and arenas such as the IMF (Popke, 1994), the environmental top in Rio (Dalby, 1996a), international trade union geopolitics and geo-economics (Herod, 1998), as well as global issues such as global trade (Corbridge and Agnew 1991), geo-governance (Roberts, 1998 on globalization-from-above and globalization-from-below), world order (Agnew and Corbridge, 1989, 1995), (Cold) war (Stephanson, 1998), global security (Dalby, 1998), cyberspace (Der Derian, 1998; Luke, 1998; Herod, 1998; Luke and Ó Tuathail, 1998) and the related notion of *global flow-motions* as 'structured events flowing in-information under high-speed acceleration' (Luke and Ó Tuathail, 1998, p. 73).

Besides policy acts and speeches by politicians and diplomats, ample attention is paid to the mass media²⁵, e.g., the construction the outside world in the *Reader's Digest* (Sharp, 1993, 1996; see also Dodds 1996, 1998; Dalby, 1996a; Myers et al., 1996; Sidaway, 1998; and Sharp, 1998 on American movies). Other topics include international migrations as threats (Teschfahoney, 1998), discourses on local workfare as opposed to federal welfare in US (Peck, 1998).

Many contributions deal with the theoretical bases of critical geopolitics (Ó Tuathail and Dalby, 1994; Dodds and Sidaway, 1994; Ó Tuathail, 1994b, c, d; Dalby and Ó Tuathail, 1996; Dalby, 1991), the connections with 'development theory' (Slater, 1993, 1994; Ó Tuathail, 1994a)

²⁴See the review elsewhere in this volume.

²⁵The deconstruction of the representation of mainland Chinese women in the media in Taiwan and Hong Kong by Shih (1998) has no direct connection to *critical geopolitics*.

or 'gender theory' (Dalby, 1994; Sparke, 1996) the meaning of key concepts such as territoriality and sovereignty after the Cold War (Luke, 1996, 1998). In the special issue in *Political Geography* (1996), Ó Tuathail and Dalby are involved in a discussion about the correct deconstructivistic approach. According to the first author, Dalby centres his analyses too much on texts and neglects the institutional and material context in which 'geopolitical discourses' are produced (Ó Tuathail, 1996b, c; Dalby, 1996b).

Finally, the deconstructivistic approach has been applied to internal conflicts regarding power and territory, e.g., political culture (Bonura, 1998), national identities in Turkey (Rygiel, 1998), the shaping of Finnish provinces (Häkli, 1998a, b), the Oklahoma bombing (Sparke, 1998), the territorial tactics of the Los Angeles police department (Herbert, 1996, 1997), movements of resistance such as the Zapatista insurgency in Chiapas (Routledge, 1998; see also Routledge, 1994, 1996, 1997; Slater, 1997; also Dalby, 1991; Roberts, 1998), or urban segregation in South Africa (Robinson, 1997), whereas Charlesworth (1994) analyses discourses about the commemoration of the holocaust.

The borderline between critical geopolitics and non-geopolitics fades away as empirical political geographers pay attention to the perceptions of geographical features, respectively to power relations between political actors. The other way round, the distinction evanesces when authors analyse 'geopolitical discourses' not only as text but also in the institutional and material context in which they are formed and popularised. The separation between internal and external affairs is then directly contested (see also Rosenberg, 1994), as in the books by David Campbell about the connection between foreign policy and national identity (1992) and the 'narratives' over the Gulf War (1994). Both types of 'academic' political geographers join efforts in several collections of essays (e.g., O'Loughlin, 1994; and Demko and Wood, 1994) and special issues of academic journals (*Geopolitics* 3:1).

In a book published in 1996, *National Identity and Geopolitical Visions, Maps of Pride and Pain*, the Dutch political geographer Gert-Jan Dijkink explores the connection between national identity and geopolitical visions. A geopolitical vision is an idea about the relation between the own place and the rest of the world (Dijkink, 1996, p. 11). A geopolitical vision contains for example naturalised territorial borders, a core area, a geopolitical code (friends and foes), a model, a national mission and/or impersonal forces (1996, pp. 12–14). Dijkink portrays the transformation of geopolitical visions in the context of the geography and the history of a state. A great virtue of this book is that it presents eight 'stories': we call on Germany, Great-Britain, the United States (twice because we also travel in time), Argentina, Australia, Russia, Serbia, Iraq and India. It is striking that in this book and in many analyses of discourses, maps are rarely used to illustrate the content of 'geopolitical discourses' or 'visions', instead reproductions of political cartoons representing leaders or enemies are more likely to be included. This is surprising when compared to the influ-

ence Lacoste and associates confer to maps in geopolitical discourses and the extensive use of maps by authors working in the three other geopolitical perspectives.

Maps themselves have been put under critical review, yet by non-geopolitical authors (Atkinson, 1995; and more generally Bell et al., 1995; Herb, 1997, 1989; Schultz, 1989; see also Retailié, 1996, for a critique of taken for granted uses of maps in geopolitical approaches by both Lacoste and Garaud).

Conclusion

This overview has presented the varied uses of the term 'geopolitics'. In all cases, geopolitics are about power and space, usually about the state and its territory, often about power relations between states. Four categories of geopolitical perspectives have been introduced (Table 1) to present the many approaches encountered. Of course, this scheme arbitrarily reduces diversity but it works well, even if the distinction is sometimes fading away (especially between the two active types, between the two academic types, and between the two state centred types).

Striking is the vitality of geopolitics in France, especially the neo-classical and the subversive variants, and to a lesser degree non-geopolitics, whereas non-geopolitics and critical geopolitics take root in the United States and the United Kingdom. By contrast, the term geopolitics is hardly used in the Netherlands or Germany.

In the different approaches, all core elements of classical geopolitics are knocked into pieces. Even the very existence of the state as a territorial construct is challenged: some authors think that state borders do not amount to anything much in the global economy, or that states are undermined by the rise of supranational and subnational authorities, whereas others consider that the feature of the state as identity construct is much more important than its territorial component. And the views regarding the actual geopolitical (dis)order diverge too, although there is a common and growing attention for the economic competition between states. Correspondingly geoeconomics supersedes more and more often geostrategy as the twin sister of geopolitics.

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