

Vindicating Neoclassical Geopolitics, Challenging Postmodernism

A New Look at an Old Problem

NUNO MORGADO

Abstract *The objective of this paper is to exhort the Academia towards a Neoclassical Geopolitics, both in terms of theory and methodology.*

The relevance of the problem – the validity of Neoclassical Geopolitics – is based on the hypothesis that geography has influence on states' foreign policies, plus limited possibility of prediction. Such assumptions are then tested against the empirical reality.

In terms of methodology, it will be elected theory testing approach, through the Popper's hypothetico-deductive model, although using essentially qualitative approach.

As for the structure, the study begins with philosophical worldview that provides a basic set of ideas for a solid theoretical framework, in which the analysis shall be accomplished. Then sequential steps from the method succeed: delimitation of the object, systematization of relations among concepts, formulation of hypothesis, deduction and empirical tests.

Keywords: Iran, nuclear weapons, United States, policy, sanctions, restrictions

Introduction

To exhort the Academia towards a *Neoclassical Geopolitics*, both in terms of theory and methodology, is the main purpose of this article.

In order to achieve such goal, several steps will be accomplished:

how could the geopolitical object be delimited? What are the relations among concepts of Strategy, Geostrategy, and Geopolitics? What is the significance of *Classical* Geopolitics – especially ideas from German School of Geopolitics – after postmodernist *Critical* Geopolitics? Did it remain any valid concept, any valid method, and any valid theory? What kind of basis *Critical* Geopolitics sustains?

Therefore, the approach of this paper connects the relevance of the problem – the validity of *Neoclassical* Geopolitics as Mamadouh stressed¹ – to the empirical fact of geography’s influence on politics, particularly foreign policy.

As for the structure, the initial philosophical worldview will provide the elementary set of ideas for a solid theoretical and methodological context, in which the analysis shall be performed. Both the definition of geopolitical studies [understood as *neoclassical geopolitics*] and the definition of concepts within its domain; the enumeration of several ethical rules concerning methods in geopolitical studies; the recapture of some concepts and theories of German School of Geopolitics, and a particular attention paid to Spanish geopolitician Vicens Vives – all these stages will be accomplished under the supreme objective of creating a framework for solidification of the argument ‘*Neoclassical* Geopolitics as a science (object, methodology and finality)’. Thus, one may find innovative aspects in this study.

Specifically in terms of methodology, theory testing approach will be elected, through Popper’s hypothetico-deductive model, using essentially qualitative procedures.

Whereas *Critical* Geopolitics seems to flourish, *Neoclassical* Geopolitics has been, somehow, waiting to be systematized. This paper tries to bring a contribution in that direction.

Methodological Considerations

Weltanschauung

Honesty shall be above all.

The philosophical worldview² (or in some sense the *Weltanschauung*) could be initially docketed with the concept of *doxa* [δόξα], mentioned in the teachings of Plato³. That *doxa* would simply correspond, in this particular case, to the answers from Philosophy, specifically Gnoseology, to questions such as: *what is knowledge? where does knowledge come from? what are the limits of knowledge?* – legitimate questions, but ques-

tions that cannot be tested through scientific methods.

Thus, choices have to be made; and in the name of Truth those choices have to be expressively declared.

CEJISS
4/2014

The existence of the external and ordered reality outside the human mind (ontological argument) and, and although some limitations⁴, the possibility of a trustworthy apprehension of that reality by that human mind (epistemological conclusion) are assumptions accepted.

Furthermore, the scientific method, which structures the reality into a framework of theories, constitutes a privileged domain on that task – ‘trustworthy apprehension of the reality’. Yet, it is believed that it is neither the only one, nor the best.

Therefore, under the scientific angle that matters for now, it is also relevant to let clear that, on the contrary of 19th century’s *Positivism*, the reality is not acknowledged as a machine, full of quantifiable and mechanic laws towards a mathematical and infallible prediction, but instead, it is believed that Science provides methods that allow reliable approach to knowledge. Simply as that.

Hence, it turns already evident that this paper is located at the antipodes of two specific Weltanschauungen: the Frankfurt School (Critical Theory), which aims somehow to analyze the marxist concept of ‘superstructure’⁵ with the deconstruction of Western Civilization⁶ as a normative goal; but also the postmodernist [and poststructuralist] approach, which pursues the same normative goal, yet through other means. As a matter of fact, in terms of methodology, one of the most well-known postmodernist authors, Michel Foucault – whose ideas are based in Marx too – suggested ‘genealogy’ as ‘anti-science’, thereby a method that shall fight – in Foucault’s worldview – against the ‘power’⁷. Consequently: the rejection of rationalism as tool, the rejection of the existence of objective reality outside Man, the rejection of the possibility to reach the reality through scientific method⁸ will be disregarded in this paper.

So, the dedication to Truth and to Rigor, from an approach focused on the scientific method, shall not be born from ‘passion’ and ‘fanaticism’ as Foucault accused, but from the sincere commitment with Reason and with Truth.

The pretension of absolute truth will be then rejected, searching instead for equilibrium between what ‘exists’ and ‘what is possible to be known’, or according to the explanation of Pope Benedict XVI¹⁰:

‘ . . . the positivist view of the World in general, is a most im-

portant dimension of human knowledge and capacity that we may in no way dispense with. But [...] it is not a sufficient culture. . .”

that is the same to support that *positivism* is needed to understand reality, although *positivism* – by itself only – is not sufficient to understand *all* reality.

Methodology

Theory testing’s approach is in this paper elected. The objective is to provide a solid methodological and theoretical framework, recapturing assumptions and concepts from *classical* geopolitics, and then testing those theoretical premises against empirical facts.

In reality, one of the weaknesses of postmodernism is to circulate widely, indeed, in the *royaume* of theories, but what concerns to the test of ideas against the material reality, the task remains undone. It might be precisely this problem that Glassner reported to¹¹.

Strictly concerning the method, the hypothetico-deductive method¹² shall be designated to test the hypothesis.

In this way, following stages should be accomplished:

1. to observe and to define the problem [*what?*];
2. to generate hypothesis as potential explanation;
3. to deduce predictions from the hypothesis;
4. and then to perform the empirical test, i.e. search for facts from the reality related with predictions.

In case that such test would not be possible, hypothesis should be abandoned, since it is not scientific – Popper’s criterion of demarcation¹³.

Concerning procedures of inquiry [*how?*], methods of the research will be essentially qualitative – direct observation, and content analysis from publicly available sources: academic papers, dissertations and books, newsletters from research centers, and think tanks; and notes from lectures, conferences, and seminars.

With the finality of assuring the validity of the information, sources shall be previously evaluated and data itself compared with data from another source – with this procedure, exact and feasible objectivity will be assured.

Hence, it is held that Episteme [ἐπιστήμη] – understood as oncoming to Truth – is possible. The scientific method as tool, as instrument, should then be guided by Ethics, which shall not allow abusive ideas,

*Vindicating
Neoclassical
Geopolitics,
Challenging
Postmodern-
ism*

CEJISS
4/2014

based on intentional misinterpretations of the reality. Honesty and accuracy will guide the procedures of intuition, introspection, and judgment of the researcher and that will be reached in practice through laws of objectivity, intelligibility and rationality. Traditionalist methodology helps too, avoiding generalizations and allowing a deep study of the problem, relying on knowledge of History, Politics, and Foreign Affairs.

Moreover, every conclusion will be, at the end, submitted to verification – that fact should seal the methodological circle¹⁴.

University is, *par excellence*, a truth-seeking institution. In fact, that is the reason why those who submit themselves to the slavery of ideology, are condemned to fail that purpose. In this way, in terms of justification of methodological choices, ‘deconstruction’ or ‘genealogy’ are methods rejected, in detriment of the stages from the scientific method previously described.

Geopolitical Studies As Science

Delimitation of Geopolitical object

In previous works¹⁵, the definition of Geopolitics given by Glassner and Fahrer has been used¹⁶.

Although that definition could be largely accepted, there is some haziness that it might be proper to go through. Ignoring the fact that ‘global’ could be too much inaccurate term¹⁷ for a field that one is trying to delimitate, the part of the definition concerning to ‘. . . understand [...] the bases of State power. . .’ builds up a bridge to strategic studies, which goes beyond the strict relevance of geographical setting on politics at international relations’ level. Nevertheless, geopolitical studies’ instruments are not detached whatsoever from this kind of approach.

Strategic Potential Analysis’ instruments would be shared both by Applied Geopolitics and by (*Grand*) Strategy, taking into account that Strategic Potential Analysis is located, in political terms, on the field of Geostrategy. Strategy, by its side, is “submitted” to Applied Geopolitics, in the sense that Strategy cannot ignore Applied Geopolitics to formulate itself¹⁸. But Applied Geopolitics (*technique*) does not necessarily follow scientific results from Geopolitical Studies (*science*). Geostrategy also may or may not take results from Geopolitical Studies, in order to achieve interests, within an ‘environment of hostility’¹⁹ – the fundamental element of Strategy. Consequently, this ‘environ-

ment of hostility' would definitely represent a key characteristic for the distinction between the domains, with academic purposes.

Therefore, and because Applied Geopolitics includes another scope, in which under strict conditions (e.g. political cooperation, joint economic benefits) cooperation among States can be achieved, Applied Geopolitics may truly be considered wider than Strategy (Fig.1).

Nuno
Morgado

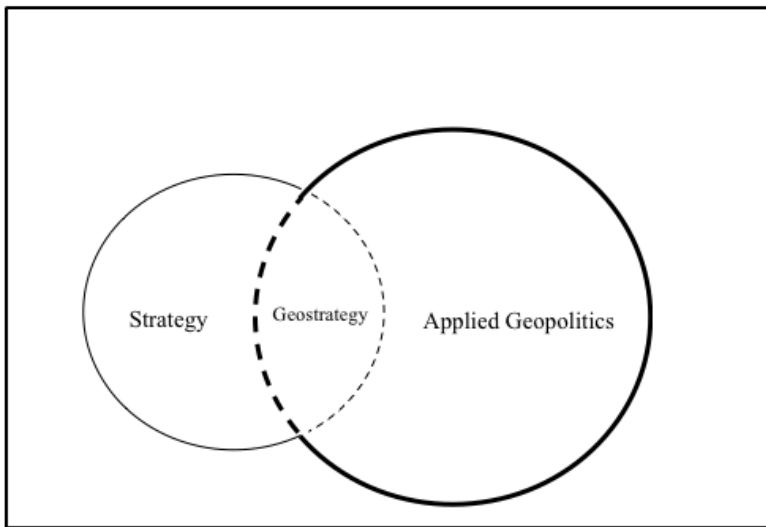


Fig. 1 – Diagram of connections: Geopolitical Studies, Strategy, Geostrategy and Applied Geopolitics

Subsequently, the arguments of a *manichaeist* distinction between an 'Organic State Theory' and 'Geostrategy' inside the label of *Classical Geopolitics*²⁰, or the argument of a 'pacific' Geostrategy against an 'expansionist' Geopolitics²¹ could then be refuted. In concrete terms, also General Karl Haushofer could fit on the Geostrategic domain, since he clearly identified the rival of Germany: the British Empire²².

This said, what are Geopolitical Studies precisely about? A minimalist definition: 'the study of relations between political activity and space'²³ could provide two main cores of the concept: *politics* (power by extension) and *space*²⁴.

However, such definition disregards a vital aspect – geopolitical studies take place on the field of 'International Relations'²⁵. In reality, from this point of view, a conclusion can be deducted – the study of internal aspects of influence of geography on power (e.g. electoral geog-

raphy, intra-state regionalism) does not concern Geopolitical Studies, but another wider discipline – Political Geography.

CEJISS
4/2014

With this respect, Political Geography comprises Geopolitics, whilst Geopolitics “autonomously” studies a specific subject – projected to International Relations²⁶ – within the sphere (but not exclusively) of Political Geography.

Consequently, geopolitical studies analyze the interactions among certain international actors with particular attention to their geography. At the end, Geopolitical Studies tries to answer questions such as: ‘how do geographical features influence *politics* [in the international environment]?’ ‘How do the political élites use space?’²⁷

‘Geopolitics allows us to place an event or action within a larger framework so that we can determine its potential significance, as well as identify connections among seemingly disparate trends’

STRATFOR declared²⁸. The corporation defended, furthermore, that even prediction is possible, under such framework. One tends to agree, namely because geopolitical studies include a diachronic dimension, in the sense that Geopolitics benefits from certain continuity in the line of time.

Chauprade²⁹ also sustained this perspective, favoring the argument of ‘continuity of geopolitics’, consequently, a continuity on foreign policy too. He also defined Geopolitical framework broadly, since he included issues such as: people’s identity into the problem³⁰. Such definition could be useful too, since the external role of the international actor derives also from its internal potential. However, the distinction between Geopolitics and Political Geography should be kept in mind.

As for the unit of analysis in geopolitical studies, it seems that the *state* still stands as an essential tool. Therefore, Geopolitical Studies remain, at some extent, as a *science of the state*. Result of the combination of ‘population’, ‘territory’ and ‘system of sovereign power’³¹, state still lasts as the most important actor in International Relations – yet, facing challenges to its supremacy, namely from supranational entities. Consequently, the state – by itself geographically materialized – assures the importance of space too. In spite of this, Vives’ approach gave a relevant contribution to the matter, since he presented ‘cultural societies’ as international actor³².

Space constitutes an objective reality, from which Man cannot release himself so far³³.

Geography – understood as basic pillar of state’s power³⁴ – studies geographical aspects; and Geopolitical Studies proceed to the analysis of the relations between geographical description/explanation and *power* at IR level.

In fact, although i) geographical setting may change³⁵, and although ii) “geopolitical” events can introduce even more drastic changes³⁶ – the reality is that Geography consists, *de facto*, into one of the most stable elements of state’s potential³⁷.

Besides, like Geography³⁸, also Geopolitical Studies are a ‘holistic science’³⁹. Geopolitical Studies, a dynamic science, deal with the past, the present and the future⁴⁰ – confirming what was stated regarding its diachronic dimension – being speculative too⁴¹. And, as it is well known, speculation is an essential component for the progress of Knowledge⁴².

Still, Geopolitical Studies cannot be confused with broad International Relations that include actors (e.g. ‘International Organizations’), realities (e.g. International Law), and other scopes, which have weak (or non-) relations with Geopolitical Studies. In this way, Geopolitical Studies fits in International Relations, but they are not synonymous with International Relations.

In their ‘first form’, Flint and Taylor attached Geopolitics to the description of ‘global rivalries in world politics’⁴³, but that would be again too vague. Geopolitics cannot be only a word to apply to rivalries among States in International Relations’ context⁴⁴.

On the other hand, because Geopolitical Studies may not be separated from practical politics that does not imply that Geopolitical Studies is *simply* an ‘imperialistic stream’, or to use *Critical* Geopolitics’ words obeying to the structures of power⁴⁵.

Geopolitical studies are constituted by theory and by praxis, are subject of Academia and may be a subject of/for foreign-policy makers – Applied Geopolitics.

Yet, Geopolitical Studies as scientific activity cultivated at the University has to obey to several rules, thus Geopolitical Studies are submit to the scientific method, in way to guarantee feasible objectivity. In fact Geopolitical Studies are – as multidisciplinary science indeed⁴⁶ and before anything else – a social science, and like any other social science is permeated by the historic-political context; hence the relevance of scientific method to approach the Truth.

Regarding methods used in Geopolitical Studies, some of them derive straight from Geography: analytical observation, to gather infor-

*Vindicating
Neoclassical
Geopolitics,
Challenging
Postmodern-
ism*

mation on fieldwork, description of geographical reality, analysis of maps, charts, the globe, use of statistics, but also handling with new technologies (e.g. satellites, Google Earth).

CEJISS
4/2014

Geopolitical Studies encompasses accurate description, interconnected with explanatory analysis – within broad environment of clash of interests – sometimes allowing prescription's deduction, or pointing out a way to action⁴⁷. And because of the relevance of this activity, to keep full attention to the methodology is extremely important.

In the past, in fact, *classical* Geopolitics⁴⁸ was not careful with methodology whatsoever, adapting methods from other fields with no major thoughtfulness. Currently, the lesson should be learned, so strict ethical rules to guarantee feasible objectivity of Geopolitical Studies should be applied. Chauprade mentioned several of them⁴⁹: to refuse to establish one single cause to explain problems (that means that is required to have more than one variable), to refuse to promote ideology, but to include ideology instead as subject to be itself analyzed (that means that there is no space to promote, for example: nationalism, expansionism, irredentism), and to be transparent regarding received influences (namely with the bibliographic references).

Such kind of guidelines, under the supreme idea of the final verification of results⁵⁰, and falsification of the hypothesis as criterion of demarcation already stated above, will remove the doubts about 'total subjectivity' that could have remained. Particularly the hypothetico-deductive method used in this paper, applying deductive logic, will grant step by step the process towards the formulation of the hypothesis and, then, its test against facts.

As science – and *not* a pseudoscience⁵¹ – Geopolitical Studies cannot admit any ideological submission.

In return, political field itself – consequently foreign policy too – may become ideological in such measure that could turn, at some moment, completely blind to Geopolitics⁵². To acknowledge this fact shall not undermine the hypothesis, but shall contribute to its falsification, instead. In fact, the stated hypothesis will be validated as general rule, and not as compulsory rule for foreign policies of all international actors. Again, determinism is rejected in all manners. Therefore, in spite of the fact that Geopolitics is theory and practice, University and Politics are not the same field, on the contrary, there is great distance among them.

Geopolitical studies as science demand a skeptical attitude, a *critical*

perspective. It requires looking for geographical patterns within political history, something that results into a powerful analytical framework⁵³.

At last, the idea of possibility of objectivity could match with Karl Haushofer's words⁵⁴:

‘no matter the conditions, a real and scientific geopolitical knowledge should remain isolated from any influences from the political parties, and it should then remain true in the same way to both far left and far right. . .’

At the end, to study the positive reality (*how it is*), rejecting an idyllic reality (*how it should be*)⁵⁵.

Nuno
Morgado

The effort towards *Neoclassical Geopolitics*

Several problems of *classical* geopolitics – which Mamadouh⁵⁶ resumed as:

‘state is conceived as living organism, therefore borders are conceived flexible. . . the evolution of the political organism is determined by its environment’

in other words: methodological weaknesses, determinism, mysticism; were already criticized by the author elsewhere⁵⁷.

Curiously enough, it is really interesting to remark that if *determinism* and the *single cause* are reasons to sustain the perspective of German School of Geopolitics as a non-scientific approach, then also Marxism – both as ‘science’ and as ideology – should be labeled as historical pseudo-scientific effort, as German School of Geopolitics was labeled. Same measure to deal with the same problem. In fact, Marxist kernels may be disqualified as such⁵⁸, taking into account that, even if the strict positivism (and/or determinism) was/were already abandoned⁵⁹, when the perspective that *class struggle* still constitutes the *single cause* that puts the *mechanism* of History working on, *determinism* and *single cause* prevail in that kind of approach.

In what to *Neoclassical* Geopolitics or Geopolitical Studies concerns – as it was mentioned in the section concerning methodological rules – an analysis based onto *single cause* cannot be accepted.

Released from the mysticism of German School of Geopolitics, but using some of its concepts and theories, a new effort to turn Geopolitical Studies into ‘exact science’⁶⁰ can take place. Subsequently, a systematic alternative must be arranged. In this way, which framework should be designed in terms of relevance of the problem: ‘towards *Ne-*

oclassical Geopolitics?

First of all, the delimitation of the object was required – and that assignment was accomplished above. At second place, one may point out methodological concerns, and at a third place the finality⁶¹.

CEJISS
4/2014

Although essentially focused above, several methodological remarks could be mentioned or reminded.

Because it is believed that Truth does exist, consequently, the possibility to search for that Truth would be admitted too. In this line, reality – as rational and ordered *creation* – may be approached by scientific knowledge, which should be rigorous, verifiable through observation, analysis of documents, and other regular named methods, i.e. empirically experimented too. This approach would be considered universally valid, thus objective at some extent. Naturally is also temporary, since it can be expanded and modified, namely by total rejection of hypothesis that in the past was taken as granted, and afterwards destroyed by a new discovery.

Description and explanation should be submitted to the logic established by facts that means objective and rational analysis of empirical facts. In this line, predictions are considered a possibility, yet far from any sort of determinism in general, or mechanism in particular. G. Friedman and R. Kaplan from STRATFOR corporation had a stimulating discussion about the possibility of forecast⁶². To sustain the argument, Friedman noticed that, although the U.S. President Barack Obama promised a ‘completely new’ foreign policy, the fact is that continuity on *power politics* in G. W. Bush and B. Obama’s foreign policy may be verified. Below, further empirical tests will recover this idea of continuity in foreign policy.

On the other hand, because *Realpolitik* describes International Relations in terms of anarchy, does such *Realpolitik* description have therefore the capacity to transform reality into anarchy itself⁶³? It does not seem so. On the contrary, reality is how ‘it is’ *a priori* and empirically verified *a posteriori*. This is what is proposed as valid position from *Neoclassical Geopolitics*’ approach to International Relations.

As for the finality, Geopolitical Studies as science have to establish, first than anything else, that research should be committed to the general and original principle of the University: *searching for Truth*. And this is not a minor question, since the reliability of the results of research has to be supported by principles of objectivity, intelligibility and rationality⁶⁴.

After all these procedures are deeply accepted and respected, it is believed that it would be no scandal if Geopolitical Studies' conclusions could be used within the context of political decision-making, namely used by foreign policy makers, in order to apply what was analyzed by the Academia – Applied Geopolitics. Naturally, there should be no idealism whatsoever, specifically, aspirations for the creation of a 'paradise on Earth', but with the clear goal to generate equilibrium of forces instead, with the supreme goal to avoid great disorders, explicitly, for instance, from the so-called *New Threats*.

At this level, all elements of the hypothesis have already been mentioned. The clear formulation of hypothesis may then take place.

*Vindicating
Neoclassical
Geopolitics,
Challenging
Postmodern-
ism*

Hypothesis: *NEOCLASSICAL GEOPOLITICS CLAIMS THAT GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING DOES HAVE INFLUENCE ON STATES' POLITICS, PARTICULARLY ON FOREIGN POLICY. IN THIS WAY, PREDICTION IS POSSIBLE IN GEOPOLITICAL STUDIES, BUT AT SOME EXTENT ONLY – TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THAT THE CAPACITIES OF HOW MAN INTERACTS WITH GEOGRAPHY CREATES A FREE-SPACE IN THE PROCESS FOR ASCERTAINING THAT SAME PREDICTION.*

In this way, the problem should not be framed anymore in terms such as: 'politics. . .driven by inexorable geographical laws'⁶⁵, i.e. deterministic mechanisms ordering the *geopolitical World* – even less towards a teleological goal – but considering seriously the relevance of geographical features in the conduction of foreign policy (vital component of IR). So, for those who reject geography as essential⁶⁶, at least they should consider it seriously – after all, the majority of features of power are somehow geographically located.

Geography is now treated, as a matter of fact, as one of the most stable factors upon which the power of a State depends on⁶⁷. In truth, the studies by Kaplan sustain these notions too⁶⁸. For all these reasons, plus the fact that such ideas are being defended after *Critical Geopolitics'* premises, the hypothesis remains, then, pertinent to the debate.

On the other hand, it was also underlined enough times so far, that truly scientific Geopolitical Studies cannot be contaminated by ideological influences. Thereby, although they are always affected by current historical and political context, Geopolitical Studies should remain completely untouched by any ideological commandment. As History already revealed, ideological fanaticism above geopolitical guidelines could have extremely high costs⁶⁹.

This stated, the article proceeds to the effort of providing solid ar-

guments, in order to support the hypothesis as logical supposition, deducing consequences from it.

CEJISS
4/2014

Theoretically based on *possibilism*⁷⁰, i.e. presuming that geography may have impact on foreign policy, refusing *determinism*⁷¹, one could recapture several concepts and theories from German School of Geopolitics, in order to use them to formulate posteriorly and briefly a basis to sustain the pillars of *Neoclassical* Geopolitics.

Naturally, the ratzelian concepts of *Raum* [space] and *Lage* [position] – parts of Strategic Potential Analysis – are perceptibly the first to be mentioned. Concerning particularly *Lage*, state's position of, for example, 'island' plus its *circumstance*⁷² could drive options either for a status of thalassocratic force, or to isolate itself. This sort of option would correspond precisely to the concept of *Raumsinn*, and matches, furthermore, with the *possibilist* perspective. So, the *Neoclassical* geopolitics approach constitutes a pattern that dismisses any deterministic method on the domain.

In fact, the concept of *Raumsinn* ['meaning of space'] would be another essential geopolitical concept⁷³, since even identity is spatially located – that means that when identity changes its location, so do expressions from that same identity change too⁷⁴. Concrete examples of that argument are, in accordance to Ratzel, that 'urban industrial life' could be seen within a sphere of 'spiritual crisis', taking into account that Man loses their interactions with the soil⁷⁵; or, on the other hand, the concept of *Raumsinn* could also be used specifically to overcome the typical opposition from *classical* geopolitics 'Sea Power/Land Power' in the name of certain complementary alliance between tellurocratic and thalassocratic states⁷⁶.

Under the realist 'theoretical tradition' of International Relations⁷⁷, one may apprehend the notion of 'States' struggle for survival' (namely for state's independence). This perspective could lead to validation of a new standpoint about the concept of *Lebensraum* ["living space"] – released from any sort of stimulus for expansionism – since a State needs a minimum of territory to assure its existence – even if it is only 2 sq km like Monaco. The fact seems to be self-sustainable, without need of further explanation, taking into account that there are no States without territory.

However, contradicting German School of Geopolitics' perspective, the state cannot be compared with a living organism.

If may be accepted, on the one hand, that the State should not be

understood merely as a legal-abstract creation or construction, i.e. if from its own definition the State relies on the Nation, thus the premise that State depends on the Nation to survive should be stated directly as consequence. That means that if the Nation – in its geographical-cultural definition – devitalizes or disappears, the State shall not survive beyond that event, i.e. after the de-vitalization or disappearance of a Nation, the structures of a State that could have survived to that experience will definitely turn into something that it is not anymore the State that used to be. So having accepted that idea, on the other hand, it should also be accepted that there is no mystical link between State and Nation, but only empirical experience – in the line of explanation by Vives.

Consequently, and opposing to Kjellén's ideas⁷⁸, one should underline that State does not have to grow continuously to avoid its extinction – for that, it would be enough to eradicate any signs of decadency (e.g. political decline, economic troubles, social instability). As a matter of fact, historical evidences sustain that State/*cultural-society's* periods of long-term decadency (e.g. Western Roman Empire, Ottoman Empire) or even short-term decadency (e.g. USSR) led sooner or later to the disappearance of those States or '*cultures*' themselves.

Yet, and just because the State is not analogous with a living organism, one may not deduce that elastic conception of border loses its validity. In fact, they are expressively two independent hypotheses.

In fact, border would not derive from any 'impulse', but accurately from the *material* – in the sense that is observable – influence (or power) of the State/*cultural society*. Vives sustained the argument with the '*vitality of the geohistorical nucleus*'⁷⁹ and, in the same direction, Ancel stated that borders are flexible, reflecting the balance of powers⁸⁰. Accordingly, there would not exist such a thing as borders settled by 'natural barriers', since borders are artificially draw⁸¹, but borders would be a direct result from State's/*cultural society's* power. Therefore, as Haushofer wisely observed⁸², a border that '*. . . would satisfy everybody [...] is practically impossible. . .*' In this way, it is reaffirmed the importance of geography, however pushed away from any sort of determinism.

In reality, *Neoclassical* Geopolitics or Geopolitical Studies would reject what Mearsheimer affirmed concerning 'stopping power of water'⁸³ outside the geostrategic sphere. This idea will be developed by the author elsewhere. At this point is simply stressed that the might of a

powerful navy should not be neglected in favor of a preference for land power forces, since the control of *choke points* still have relevance in the domain of World supremacy – or even regional supremacy⁸⁴.

CEJISS
4/2014

Bringing to the analysis Huntington's argument about 'civilizations'⁸⁵, the concept of Pan-regions could be recovered too – perceptibly and necessarily not with the same geographical contour.

In this way, Pan-Regions' doctrine could eventually include the ratzelian concept of *Großraumformen* that means something that could overcome the present-day formula of *nation-states*⁸⁶. At the end, one is dealing with Haushofer's old idea that 'large spaces should be united under a common principle'⁸⁷, but applied to the current era of Globalization. A particular proposal that such 'large spaces' thesis could possibly and mutually be related to, would be the proposal of 'multipolarity'⁸⁸. Certainly – under the idea of hierarchy of powers from the realist school – each one of those large areas would have to be leaded by a *Director-State* or *supranational entity*, in the case of nation-state would be already overpassed.

For all that has being analyzed, some of central ideas from *Classical Geopolitics* still continue to have influence over current geopolitical studies⁸⁹; and not only ideas from German School of Geopolitics – that this article focuses on – but also ideas, for example, of Admiral Mahan. As a matter of fact, in terms of Geopolitics of the Sea, once again, the control of *choke points* still has impact in terms of World/regional dominance. Moreover, Mahan remains pertinent in the sense of analysis of the possibility of a great conflict in the medium-term future taking place on and because of the World's Ocean issues⁹⁰.

At this point, after peremptory and precise use of recaptured concepts and theories from *Classical Geopolitics* and deduction of consequences from the hypothesis, one should proceed to several empirical tests. In truth, a descriptive-analytical study in Geopolitical Studies – describing and explaining how Foreign Policy may be influenced by geography – cannot be isolated from the empirical facts.

Concerning prediction particularly – as formulated in the hypothesis – the analysis should ensue cautiously, considering several variables, '...concentrat[ing] on the constraints of geography and other factors place on those decisions [from political élites]'⁹¹.

Several geographical areas of the World could be taken as example to test such ideas.

The cyclic wars and attacks from Russia (Kievan Rus', Grand Princi-

pality of Moscow, Russian Empire) to Constantinople, current Istanbul, in order to control Bosphorus strait granting access to Mediterranean Sea, could certainly serve as one of those examples. As a matter of fact, *Slavophiles* even praised for the conquest of that city and its conversion into *Tsargrad*⁹². Later on, at the beginning of the Cold War, the support from the U.S.A. in order to Turkey join NATO – blocking once again the access of USSR to Bosphorus – was more than justified in geostrategic terms.

Elsewhere⁹³, the author already tested the hypothesis of a current process for regional/world hegemony of ‘Germany’, a project traditionally extended, in geographical terms, from the mouth of Rhine to the mouth of Danube. Repetitive ‘cycles of hegemony’ through the *geohistory* of the region were identified, described and analyzed. Thus one of the most clear empirical facts pointed out in that study was the effort of former German Minister of Foreign Affairs Frank-Walter Steinmeier⁹⁴ so that excellent relations between Germany and Russia were coined – as Haushofer abundantly recommended. Apparently, the recent events in Ukraine have been disturbing such foreign policy direction, although it is believed that such old direction will be re-taken (or even maintained).

Another test about how geography may influence state’s foreign policy can be found in Serbia. In the course of History until the appearance of Kingdom of Yugoslavia – or, at the end, a Greater Serbia⁹⁵ when the country finally received an extensive coastline on the Adriatic Sea – Serbia intermittently tried to obtain access to seas: either to Adriatic Sea at the West, or to Aegean Sea at the South. And the multiple advantages (martial, political, economic) of the access to sea were tested before too⁹⁶.

In a similar vein – on the epochs that appeared on the map of Europe – the Polish state has been struggling for access to the sea at the North. After centuries of conflict with the robust State of Prussia, by the end of World War I, the Danzig corridor was granted to Poland. Predictably, a geostrategic situation that would have given to Hitler an excuse to ‘unify’ the territory of the two separated ‘Prussias’ was created. After World War II – and after the suppression of the Prussian State – Poland lastly received an entire coastline on the Baltic Sea.

At another level, also Romania and its ‘fight’ to keep the mouth of Danube ‘opened to Europe’ could have place in this kind of approach⁹⁷.

The last test is applied to the conflicts between Uzbekistan on the

*Vindicating
Neoclassical
Geopolitics,
Challenging
Postmodern-
ism*

CEJISS
4/2014

one side, and Kirgizstan and Tajikistan on the other side, materializing another situation that clearly sustains the argument of influence of geography on foreign policies. As a matter of fact, the problem of management of bodies of fresh water – particularly rivers in Ferghana Valley case – is able to reveal how geographical features may convert themselves into instruments of *power politics*⁹⁸.

If the geographical setting, and if geopolitical doctrines, have no influence at all on politics, so it cannot be traced any parallel between Mackinder's 'Midland Ocean' doctrine⁹⁹ and the establishment of NATO, aiming the break of *Pivot Area*'s power. In this case, international politics – understood in the settlement of NATO – would visibly show the relevance of Geopolitics¹⁰⁰. However, as this article already tries to defend, thalassocratic and tellurocratic states/*cultural societies* may really joined forces¹⁰¹.

If politics and foreign policies are commanded by ideology only, what would be the explanation for the alliance between the U.S., British and French democracies with the autocracies of Russian Empire/ USSR during World War I and World War II?

Furthermore, from the ideological point of view, Portugal from the 1940's would have had got more in common with the regime of Italy, rather than with the U.S.A. or Great Britain. Nevertheless, duly to patent geopolitical and geostrategic reasons, Portugal – in the person of 'Prime-Minister' Salazar – chose to become closer to the Allies during World War II. The preservation of the Portuguese territorial integrity in Europe, Africa and Asia required that decision, required an alliance with those who were ruling the Oceans. And later, in the same logic, Portugal was a NATO founding member.

Therefore, in the domain of effects of *Realpolitik* in foreign policy, what does blind ideology have to deal with an ingenious *Grand Strategy*?

The limited progress of *Critical Geopolitics*

Eventually, *Postmodern Age* could have started with World War I as Arnold Toynbee detailed. However, the effects of Postmodernism came to the University definitely later – and to Geopolitics as discipline especially later. But it came anyway.

The streams of *Critical Geopolitics* are daughters of Foucault's and Derrida's ideas indeed¹⁰². Whereas in the broad field of International Relations, Postmodernism could be seen more oriented to political ob-

jectives, rather than to academic purposes¹⁰³, particularly concerning Geopolitics, Postmodernism came with the accusation of an eventual focus on ‘writing’ (*geopolitical representations*) instead of ‘description’¹⁰⁴.

As a matter of fact, one of the main goals of *Critical Geopolitics* is ‘to denounce’ – by itself a verb that calls on Marxist methods¹⁰⁵ – the ‘obedience’ to ‘structures of power’¹⁰⁶. In this way,

‘...critical geopolitics connected political geography to the developments of human geography that, under the broad influence of postmodernism, had taken a “cultural turn” in which landscapes, media and everyday behavior were deconstructed and read to uncover power relations’¹⁰⁷.

Ó Tuathail’s *Critical Geopolitics*, peculiarly, is synonymous of exaggeration of chaos, and reveals many contradictions¹⁰⁸. In fact, Ó Tuathail aims to unmask Geopolitics as an instrument under the service of ‘oppressive power’¹⁰⁹, that means that obviously no place is left to considerer Geopolitical Studies as science, since Science itself is not even understood under a minimum *positivist* angle as such. In this way, it is really easy to escape from Academia and cross the path to other fields. In truth, Glassner and Fahrer, referring to *Critical Geopolitics*, pointed out:

‘difficulty in building a theoretical base’ and ‘approaches [which] tend to ignore reality’¹¹⁰.

Previously, this article managed ontological and epistemological assumptions stating that is considered that ‘reality exists’ and ‘it is possible to approach it’. Post-positivism does not accept such assumptions at all. Somehow, this post-positivist or reflectivist worldview could be putted on parallel with a situation such as: in a crime scene, in which a murdered man is lying on the floor, the policeman would start a procedure of self-reflection about the eventual possibilities *a priori* of the assassination, instead of investigating the evidences to lead to the identification and imprisonment of the murder. That would certainly represent weird circumstances, which would reveal a useless preoccupation with conditional situations ‘*what if?*’ and simultaneously futile activity, because at that moment there would be nothing that could be done to invert the *status quo*. Changing the analysis to the level of International Relations, that is something that Morgenthau described, indeed, as the need to accept realities that cannot be changed¹¹¹.

The scope of the example given above, not the content by any mean, might sound ridiculous. However, it is believed that the level of gro-

Nuno
Morgado

CEJISS
4/2014

tesque in the analogies of Ó Tuathail applying sexual descriptions to Geopolitics can hardly be overcome¹¹². And not even that would be enough, since Ó Tuathail linked the ‘defeat’ of Germany after World War I – something imprecise in the sense that there was no proper military defeat¹¹³ – with a ‘. . . masculinity crisis’¹¹⁴.

So far, the analysis about *Critical Geopolitics* has been focusing mainly on issues from philosophical domain, in which nobody is able to claim scientifically to be *absolutely* right. Nevertheless, theoretical and methodological difficulties in *Critical Geopolitics* are far more a serious problem.

In this way, the conundrum is not so much about the fairness of the denunciation of the alleged relations between Geopolitics and interests of Power, but the problem relies on upstream questions regarding scientific issues themselves.

Whilst broad *post-positivism* accuses *positivism* of hiding dishonest relations with the ‘institutionalized’ and ‘oppressive’ power, genealogical-archeological methodology was constructed based on incredibly partial interpretation of ideas of German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, ignoring the complexity of his mind, namely in what to its deep political intolerance concerns¹¹⁵. In truth, Foucault admitted proudly his purposes on: cognitive relativism, lack of objectivity and total disrespect for the *whole*¹¹⁶. Consequently, in this context, post-structuralism would be taken as ‘. . . silly but noncatastrophic phenomenon’¹¹⁷.

Although all these problems, difficulties, intellectual dishonesty at some extent, the framework of denunciation, destruction and deconstruction; several useful ideas arose from *Critical Geopolitics*.

Ó Tuathail tried, for instance, to demonstrate the influence of information’s technologies and Globalization, plus ‘de-territorialized dangers’ on Geopolitics¹¹⁸. Thus he promoted an ‘expansion of horizons’, through holistic perspectives¹¹⁹. On the other hand, that kind of improvement was not exclusively a result from *Critical Geopolitics*, since a central name of *Neoclassical Geopolitics* – Everett Dolman – exposed that ‘. . . roles of transportation, communication and technology. . .’ should not be ignored by Geopolitics too¹²⁰.

Still, following carefully Ó Tuathail’s criticism, scholars may apprehend an epistemological and methodological rule – to avoid the creation of a ‘homogeneous order of the spatial’¹²¹.

Nonetheless, Geography is not simply an ‘argument’ only¹²². Geog-

raphy is, as this paper explained and justified, one of the most stable elements of power. Therefore, and contradicting expressively *Critical Geopolitics*' position²³, geographical features do still count. In fact, as Kazanecki pointed out: planes, spaceships, internet came up – however space still matters²⁴.

Conclusions

This article's main result is to endeavor to create a basis, both theoretical and methodological, in order to accomplish thoughtful geopolitical analysis. As a matter of fact, the paper is transversally crossed by methodological concerns from the beginning to the end, in order to overcome difficulties from *Classical Geopolitics* and, simultaneously, to contribute to the systematization of assumptions and rules for the innovative *Neoclassical Geopolitics* that corresponds to Geopolitical Studies.

In fact, Geopolitical Studies and its main core – the influence of the geographical setting on politics at IR level – hence, a field deeply committed with the study of *Power (lato sensu)* and *State (stricto sensu)*, could be then considered under the label of *Neoclassical Geopolitics* and be treated through academic and systematic manner. The hypothesis is, indeed, confirmed by the study.

In this way, the exercise of recapturing – and in some cases reinterpreting – theories and concepts from German School of Geopolitics was not a-critical, but pointed out several mistakes about it. Only after criticism of methodological weaknesses, determinism, mysticism of German School of Geopolitics, the empirical tests of hypothesis may have occurred.

In order to be solid, all mentioned geopolitical ideas quoted the literature, and in many cases with double or triple references.

Personally, I should also add that my research trip with the objective to investigate Haushofer's documentation at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, certainly gave me extra motivation to write this article laying emphasis on German School of Geopolitics.

The last section of the paper, concerning *Critical Geopolitics*, should be understood as a clear trace for the location of this paper at the antipodes of that point of view, taking into account that *destruction* or *denunciation* without offering an alternative was not the path of these lines. Thus it was not an objective of this paper to establish a direct refutation to principles and ideas of *Critical Geopolitics*, but simply to

*Vindicating
Neoclassical
Geopolitics,
Challenging
Postmodern-
ism*

allege that nonexistence of alternatives does not contribute to the advance of scientific knowledge.

CEJISS
4/2014

As stated by Fernandes²⁵, Geopolitics has never been 'dead', but the term was not used since the end of World War II till 1970's; and also during that period a lack on such kind of approach may be identified. Currently, an effort towards *Neoclassical* Geopolitics is taking shape. And if the conclusions and results of this paper would be considered wrong, then very well – after all, at least the error is a factor for the progress of Science.

NUNO MORGADO is affiliated to the Institute of Political Studies at Charles University in Prague. He may be reached at: morgado@fsv.cuni.cz.

Author's note: This article is an output of the research project n° 267502: 'Transformation Tendency of Contemporary Political Systems' from the Institute of Political Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague. I am grateful to Dr. phil. Claudius Stein, M.A., Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter, Pfleger des Archivs und der Sammlungen des Herzoglichen Georgianums, for the access to Haushofer's files that was granted to me in June 2013. A.M.D.G.

Notes

- 1 Virgine Mamadouh, "Geopolitics in nineties: one flag, many meanings", *Geojournal*, no. 46 (1998).
- 2 John Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2009), 5-11.
- 3 For instance: Fédon – Plato, *Fédon* (Porto: Porto Editora, 1995).
- 4 And these limitations could gush from several sources, or have different natures, such as: ontological difficulties (e.g. personal experiences), epistemological troubles (e.g. cultural context), theological problems (e.g. Original Sin).
- 5 Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination. A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research 1923–1950* (London: Heinemann, 1973), 21.
- 6 Western Civilization is understood as explained by Pope Benedict XVI: "[Western Civilization] arose from the encounter between Jerusalem [Jew-

- ish-Christian tradition], Athens [Ancient Greek philosophy] and Rome [Roman law]" ([H.H.] Pope Benedict XVI. *Speech by Pope Benedict XVI in front of the German Bundestag*. (Accessed June 8, 2013). Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ehSPhWAXAjo>).
- 7 Michel Foucault, *Microfísica do Poder* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições do Graal, 1992), 171.
 - 8 José Pedro Teixeira Fernandes, *Teorias das Relações Internacionais. Da abordagem clássica ao debate pós-positivista* (Lisboa: Almedina, 2009), 111.
 - 9 Michel Foucault, *Microfísica do Poder* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições do Graal, 1992), 17-18.
 - 10 [H.H.] Pope Benedict XVI. *Speech by Pope Benedict XVI in front of the German Bundestag*. (Accessed June 8, 2013). Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ehSPhWAXAjo>
 - 11 Martin Glassner, *Political Geography* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1996), 336.
 - 12 Carlos, Amorim M. Isabel Chorão Aguiar, and M. Margarida Baptista Moreira. *Introdução à Filosofia* (Porto: Areal Editores, 2002), 159.
- Karl Popper, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (London: Routledge, 2002).
- Felipa Reis, *Como elaborar uma Dissertação de Mestrado* (Lisboa: Pactor, 2010), 8-9.
- 13 Karl Popper, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (London: Routledge, 2002), 18.
 - 14 António Marques Bessa, *O Olhar de Leviathan. Uma Introdução à Política Externa dos Estados Modernos* (Lisboa: Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa, 2012), 202.
 - 15 Nuno Morgado, "Traditionalist methodology: preference for "interpretation" besides "description"" (CEEISA 9th Convention: *Boundaries in/of International Relations*, Krakow, Poland, 20-22 September 2012).
- Nuno, Morgado, "Maritime Spatial Planning as element of Geopolitics of the Sea", *Maria Scientia Scientifica e-Journal*, no. 4 (Autumn 2012): 43 – 56.
- 16 Martin Glassner, and Chuck Fahrner, *Political Geography* (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2004), 270.
 - 17 António Marques Bessa, and Carlos Mendes Dias, *O Salto do Tigre - Geopolítica aplicada* (Lisboa: Prefácio, 2007), 24.
 - 18 Pierre Célérier, *Géopolitique et Géostratégie* (Paris: PUF, 1961), 84.
 - 19 André Beaufre, *Introdução à Estratégia* (Lisboa: Sílabo, 2004).
 - 20 Martin Glassner, and Chuck Fahrner, *Political Geography* (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2004), 270.
 - 21 Hervé Coutau-Bégarie, *Traité de Stratégie* (Paris: Economica, 2008), 765.
 - 22 Mario Losano, "I «Grandi Spazi» in un Inedito Progetto di Trattato del 1943 fra gli Stati dell'Asse", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Nuova Serie, vol. LXXVIII (2007): 284.
 - 23 Carlos Mendes Dias, *Geopolítica: Teorização Clássica e Ensinos* (Lisboa: Prefácio, 2005), 21.
 - 24 Leonhardt van Efferink, "The definition of Geopolitics – Classical, French and Critical traditions", *Exploring Geopolitics: introducing the many faces of Geopolitics*, (Accessed June 19, 2013). Available at: http://www.exploring-geopolitics.org/Publication_Efferink_van_Leonhardt_The_Definition_

Nuno
Morgado

- of_Geopolitics_Classical_French_Critical.html
- Mamadouh, Virgine, “Geopolitics in nineties: one flag, many meanings”, *Geojournal*, no. 46 (1998): 246.
- 25 Mackubin Thomas Owens, “In Defense of Classical Geopolitics” (Accessed November 13, 2013). Available at: <http://www.badgleyb.net/geopolitics/docs/theory/defenseofclassicalgeop.htm>
- CEJISS
4/2014
- 26 Haushofer affirmed ‘«*Geopolitik ist viel mehr als politische Geographie*»’ (Karl Haushofer, *Abschrift. N° 367*, [manuscript] Dr. Karl Haushofer, OC-IX-94/UAM, OC-VII-137. München: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 1939) so, to Haushofer, Political Geography studies the distribution of state’s power on the continents and the geographical conditions, in which those processes occur, whereas the subject of Geopolitics is the political activity on the ‘natural space’ (Michel Korinman, *Quand l’Allemagne pensait le Monde – grandeur et décadence d’une Géopolitique* (Saint-Armand-Montrond: Fayard, 1990), 155). One maintains the perspective that Political Geography comprises somehow Geopolitical Studies, consequently Geopolitical Studies focuses a particular subject, already delimited, within (but not exclusively) the field of Political Geography.
- 27 Philippe Moreau Defarges, *Introdução à Geopolítica* (Lisboa: Gradiva, 2003), 13.
- 28 STRATFOR. “Methodology” (Accessed June 20, 2013). Available at: <http://www.stratfor.com/about/methodology>
- 29 Aymeric Chauprade, *Introduction à l’analyse géopolitique* (Paris: Ellipses, 1999).
- Aymeric Chauprade, *Géopolitique: constantes et changements dans l’histoire* (Paris: Ellipses, 2001).
- 30 Aymeric Chauprade, “Che cos’è la geopolitica?” *Geopolitica*, Vol. 1, no.3 (Autumn 2012). (Accessed June 30, 2013). Available at: <http://www.geopolitica-rivista.org/19542/che-cose-la-geopolitica/>
- 31 António José Fernandes, *Introdução à Ciência Política. Teorias, Métodos e Temáticas* (Lisboa: Porto Editora, 1995), 81.
- 32 Jaume Vicens Vives, *Tratado general de Geopolítica. El factor geográfico y el proceso histórico* (Barcelona: Editorial Vicens-Vives, 1961), 76.
- Arlene Maykot Prates, “Geohistória na concepção de Vicens Vives”, *Geosul*, no. 2 (1986): 95.
- 33 Philippe Moreau Defarges, *Introdução à Geopolítica* (Lisboa: Gradiva, 2003), 16.
- 34 Políbio Valente De Almeida, *Do Poder do Pequeno Estado* (Lisboa: Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas, 2012), 112, 169.
- Abel Cabral Couto, *Elementos de Estratégia*. Vol I. (Lisboa: Instituto Altos Estudos Militares, 1988), 257-259.
- 35 Colin Flint, and Peter Taylor. *Political Geography: World-Economy, Nation-State and Locality* (Essex: Pearson Education, 2007), 44.
- A practical example of this idea is the current melting of ice on the Arctic Ocean (E.g. Caitlyn Antrim, “The Next Geographical Pivot: The Russian Arctic in the Twenty-first Century”, *Naval War College Review*, No. 63 (3) (2010)) that completely undermines one of the cores of Mackinder’s *Heartland* theory.

- 36 For instance: re-location of Poland, disintegration of Portugal as pluricon-
 tinental state, re-unification of Germany.
- 37 Nicholas Spykman, *The Geography of Peace* (New York: Harcourt, Brace &
 Co., 1944), 41.
- Políbio Valente De Almeida, *Do Poder do Pequeno Estado* (Lisboa: Instituto Su-
 perior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas, 2012), 112.
- 38 Martin Glassner, and Chuck Fahrer, *Political Geography* (New Jersey: John
 Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2004), 9.
- 39 António Marques Bessa, and Carlos Mendes Dias, *O Salto do Tigre - Geopo-
 lítica aplicada* (Lisboa: Prefácio, 2007), 60.
- 40 Karl Haushofer, “Why Geopolitik?” in *The Geopolitics Reader*, ed. Geróid Ó
 Tuathail (London: Routledge, 2006), 41.
- 41 António Marques Bessa, and Carlos Mendes Dias, *O Salto do Tigre - Geopo-
 lítica aplicada* (Lisboa: Prefácio, 2007), 27.
- 42 Speculation is not isolated from the historical and political contexts in-
 deed, i.e., it may be in this domain that influence upon geopolitical studies
 is produced.
- 43 Colin Flint, and Peter Taylor. *Political Geography: World-Economy, Na-
 tion-Sate and Locality* (Essex: Pearson Education, 2007).
- 44 Hence the mistake famously stressed by Robert E. Harkavy that geopolit-
 ics is almost everything, consequently almost nothing.
- 45 Geróid Ó Tuathail, *Critical Geopolitics* (Minneapolis: Borderlines, 1996).
- 46 Carlos Mendes Dias, *Geopolítica: Teorização Clássica e Ensinamentos* (Lis-
 boa: Prefácio, 2005), 62.
- Karl Haushofer, *An English Translation and Analysis of Major General Karl Ernst
 Haushofer’s – Geopolitics of the Pacific Ocean: Studies on the Relationship
 between Geography and History* (Lewistor: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2002),
 XXIII.
- 47 António Marques Bessa, and Carlos Mendes Dias, *O Salto do Tigre - Geopo-
 lítica aplicada* (Lisboa: Prefácio, 2007), 24.
- 48 And German School of Geopolitics is a *good* example of that mistake.
- 49 Aymeric Chauprade, *Géopolitique: constantes et changements dans l’histoire*
 (Paris: Ellipses, 2001).
- 50 António Marques Bessa, *O Olhar de Leviathan. Uma Introdução à Política
 Externa dos Estados Modernos* (Lisboa: Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa,
 2012).
- 51 Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf,
 1978).
- 52 This fact is logically compatible with the theoretical core of *possibilism*, in
 which *Neoclassical* Geopolitics is based on.
- For instance, since 1974, Portugal seems to be an *excellent* example of those
 circumstances of “geopolitical blindness”.
- 53 Colin S. Gray, and Geoffrey Sloan, *Geopolitics, Geography, and Strategy*
 (London: Frank Cass, 1999), 1-2.
- 54 Philippe Moreau Defarges, *Introdução à Geopolítica* (Lisboa: Gradiva,
 2003), 29.
- 55 Karl Haushofer, “Why Geopolitik?” in *The Geopolitics Reader*, ed. Geróid Ó

*Vindicating
 Neoclassical
 Geopolitics,
 Challenging
 Postmodern-
 ism*

- Tuathail (London: Routledge, 2006), 41.
- 56 Mamadouh, Virgine, “Geopolitics in nineties: one flag, many meanings”, *Geojournal*, no. 46 (1998): 238.
- 57 Nuno Morgado, “In Vindication of Neoclassical Geopolitics. Rediscovering German School of Geopolitics – overcoming Postmodernism”. (SVV - *Transformační tendence současných politických systémů*, Prague, Czech Republic, 26th September 2013).
- 58 Taking into account that Marxism is a product of the 19th century’s positivist context too – in the sense of ‘scientification’ of every aspect of reality. Evidently, this paper solemnly shields the *Prague Declaration on European Conscience and Communism* - (Accessed November 10, 2013). Available at: <http://www.webcitation.org/64otCtAyz> – signed by Václav Havel, among others, which called for education and serious academic research in order (among other issues): to cease the promotion of communist ideology, and to underline that class struggle theory has been at the origin of terrible crimes. Moreover, the declaration reminded that crimes of communism were never assessed as crimes against humanity, as Nazi crimes were assessed by the Nuremberg trial. Thus, totalitarianism: never again.
- 59 Benno Teschke, *The Myth of 1648: Class, Geopolitics and the Making of Modern International Relations* (London: Verso, 2003).
- Another example is, generally, Frankfurt School’s Critical Theory.
- 60 Karl Haushofer, “Why Geopolitik?” in *The Geopolitics Reader*, ed. Geróid Ó Tuathail (London: Routledge, 2006), 41.
- 61 José Pedro Teixeira Fernandes, *Teorias das Relações Internacionais. Da abordagem clássica ao debate pós-positivista* (Lisboa: Almedina, 2009), 31-42, 129.
- 62 STRATFORvideo. “George Friedman and Robert D. Kaplan on Geopolitical Forecasting (Agenda)”. (Accessed July 1, 2013). Available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vzZ9Bt_j2NI
- 63 Aleksandr Dugin, *Teoria do Mundo Multipolar* (E.U.: Instituto de Altos Estudos em Geopolítica & Ciências Auxiliares, 2012), 53.
- 64 António José Fernandes, *Introdução à Ciência Política. Teorias, Métodos e Temáticas* (Lisboa: Porto Editora, 1995), 57.
- 65 Mark Blacksell, *Political Geography* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 7.
- 66 Michael Heffernan, *The Meaning of Europe: Geography and Geopolitics* (London: Arnold, 1998).
- 67 Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 117.
- 68 Robert D. Kaplan, *The revenge of geography: what the map tells us about coming conflicts and the battle against fate* (New York: Random House, 2012).
- Nick Megoran, “Guest Editorial”, *Political Geography*, no 29 (2010).
- 69 The allusion applies directly to German History in 1930’s /40’s.
- 70 Jaume Vicens Vives, *Tratado general de Geopolítica. El factor geográfico y el proceso histórico* (Barcelona: Editorial Vicens-Vives, 1961), 75.
- Carlos Mendes Dias, *Geopolítica: Teorização Clássica e Ensinamentos* (Lisboa: Prefácio, 2005), 87-88.
- 71 ‘Questo o è un addebito da parte di chi non ha capito o non vuol capire, o una distorsione, un abuso di chi crede d’aver individuato un nuovo “determinismo”

- Enrico Galoppini, "La Geopolitica è "immorale"? Note su alcune obiezioni all'approccio geopolítico", *Eurasia*, (Accessed June 13, 2013) Available at: <http://www.eurasia-rivista.org/la-geopolitica-e-immorale-note-su-alcune-obiezioni-allapproccio-geopolitico/15327/>

Determinism is also easily understandable, for instance, from the adage by Bonapart '*La politique d'un état est dans sa géographie*'. Such approach should be rejected since geography may be ignored by politics at some extent.

72 Which include, for instance: 'principles of civilization', 'willpower', and 'constraints in the relation between people and soil'.

73 Karl Haushofer, Bayerisches Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München. *Probe-Vorlesung des Dr.Phil. Karl Haushofer*. [manuscript] Dr. Karl Haushofer, OC-VII-137. München: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 1919.

74 Aymeric Chauprade, "Che cos'è la geopolitica?" *Geopolitica*, Vol. I, no.3 (Autumn 2012). (Accessed June 30, 2013). Available at: <http://www.geopolitica-rivista.org/19542/che-cose-la-geopolitica/>

75 Klaus Dodds and David Atkinson, eds. *Geopolitical Traditions. A century of geopolitical thought* (London: Routledge, 2000), 46.

76 Nuno Morgado, "Portugal, Russia and a conceivable Lusophone block – a geopolitical opportunity", *Maria Scientia Scientific e-Journal*, no. 6 (Summer 2013).

Nuno Morgado, "Japan and Russia: alternative geopolitics within a multipolar international context", *Geopolitica*. Vol. 2, no. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 2013).

77 As Gunther Hellman putted it. Peter D. Feaver, Gunther Hellman, Randall L. Schweller, Jeffery W. Taliaferro, William C. Wohlforth, Jeffery W. Leggo and Andrew Moravcsik, "Correspondence: Brother, Can You Spare a Paradigm? (Or Was Anybody Ever a Realist?)", *International Security* Vol. 25, No. 1 (Summer 2000): 173.

78 Everett Dolman, *Astropolitic: Classical Geopolitics in the Space Age* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2002), 52-53.

79 Jaume Vicens Vives, *Tratado general de Geopolítica. El factor geográfico y el proceso histórico* (Barcelona: Editorial Vicens-Vives, 1961), 172.

80 Jaume Vicens Vives, *Tratado general de Geopolítica. El factor geográfico y el proceso histórico* (Barcelona: Editorial Vicens-Vives, 1961), 158.

81 Michel Foucher, *Fronts et Frontières, un tour du monde géopolitique* (Paris: Fayard, 1988), 10.

82 Karl Haushofer, "Defense of German Geopolitics" in: *The Geopolitics Reader*, ed. Geróid Ó Tuathail (London: Routledge, 2006), 54.

83 John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2001).

84 Nuno, Morgado, "Maritime Spatial Planning as element of Geopolitics of the Sea", *Maria Scientia Scientific e-Journal*, no. 4 (Autumn 2012).

85 Huntington is carefully quoted, since the choice of a *single cause* to explain reality was already criticized.

Samuel Huntington, "The clash of civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, N° 3 (Summer 1993).

86 John Agnew, Katharyne Mitchell and Geróid Ó Tuathail, eds, *A Companion to Political Geography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 195.

Nuno
Morgado

- 87 Philippe Moreau Defarges, *Introdução à Geopolítica* (Lisboa: Gradiva, 2003), 85.
- 88 Aleksandr Dugin, *Teoria do Mundo Multipolar* (E.U.: Instituto de Altos Estudos em Geopolítica & Ciências Auxiliares, 2012).
- 89 José Pedro Teixeira Fernandes, “Da Geopolítica clássica à Geopolítica pós-moderna: entre a ruptura e a continuidade”, *Política Internacional*, 24, (Autumn 2002), 3. (Accessed June 16, 2013). Available at : http://www.jpftfernandes.com/resources/GeopoliticaClassicaPos_Moderna.pdf
- EnerGeoPolitics, “Neo-classical geopolitics in practice”, (Accessed November 14, 2013). Available at : <http://energeopolitics.com/2013/08/07/neo-classical-geopolitics-in-practice/>
- 90 Friedrich Ratzel, *Das Meer Als Quelle Der Völkergrösse: eine Politische-Geographische Studie* (Charleston: Nabu Press, 2010).
- Michael Romancov, “World Ocean as Future “Battlefield” of (Super)Powers: Case Study of Indian Ocean” (3rd Annual Geopolitical Conference – *Strategic and Geopolitical Issues in the Contemporary World: Geopolitics of 21st Century: Conflict or Cooperation?* Prague, Czech Republic, 15th September 2013).
- 91 George Friedman, “Intelligence vs Journalism”, *Stratfor - Global Intelligence*, (Accessed July 8, 2013). Available at: <http://app.response.stratfor.com/e/es-?s=1483&e=711045&elq=e054f18f67de4feebc38c4a643f4a4d9>
- 92 Nuno Morgado, “Neo-Eurasianism: strategic conception of Russia, among History and Geopolitics” (RPSA 6th All-Russian Congress of Political Science: *Russia in the Global World: Institutions and Strategies of Political Interaction*, Moscow, Russia, 22-24 November 2012).
- 93 Nuno Morgado, *Império Germânico: desígnio anulado ou a renascer? Uma perspectiva geopolítica*. M.A. (Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas, Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, 2011).
- 94 Who, currently, is incumbent of German Foreign Affairs again.
- 95 Nuno Morgado, “Ex-Jugoslávia: a regra da Europa ou a exceção dos Balcãs?” *Finis Mundi, Journal of metapolitics, history & culture*, no. 6 (Winter 2013).
- 96 Nuno Morgado, “Maritime Spatial Planning as element of Geopolitics of the Sea”, *Maria Scientia Scientific e-Journal*, no. 4 (Autumn 2012).
- 97 Mircea Eliade, *Os Romanos – Latinos do Oriente* (Braga: Nova Veja, 2007).
- Nuno Morgado, *O Arco da Latinidade – uma perspectiva historico-cultural da Roménia* (Madrid: Bubok, 2010).
- 98 Nuno Morgado, “Water and Geopolitics in Central Asia – An outlook from Ferghana Valley” (ALADAA 14th International Congress: *Asia y África; Conexiones, intercambio y nuevos abordajes académicos desde América Latina*, La Plata, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 13th-17th August 2013).
- 99 Martin Glassner, *Political Geography* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1996), 326.
- 100 Although that event also ruined an original pillar of Mackinder’s own doctrine: the classical opposition Sea Power/Land Power.
- 101 Elsewhere (“Japan and Russia: alternative geopolitics within a multipolar international context”, *Geopolítica*. Vol. 2, no. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 2013):

- 125), the author identified several historical examples of alliance between tellurocratic and thalassocratic states of Europe.
- 102 Antonsich, Marco. "Dis-placing or re-placing hegemonic geopolitical discourse? Reading/writing Gearóid Ó Tuathail's 'critical geopolitics'", *Academia.edu*, (Accessed July 4, 2013). Available at: http://academia.edu/2286337/Dis-placing_or_replacing_hegemonic_geopolitical_discourse_Reading_writing_Gearoid_O_Tuathails_critical_geopolitics
- James Der Derian, *On Diplomacy: A Genealogy of Western Estrangement* (USA: Blackwell Pub, 1991).
- 103 José Pedro Teixeira Fernandes, *Teorias das Relações Internacionais. Da abordagem clássica ao debate pós-positivista* (Lisboa: Almedina, 2009), 122.
- 104 Joe Painter and Alex Jeffrey, *Political Geography* (London: SAGE, 2009), 206.
- 105 As it was pointed out by Alaerte Antonio Contini ("Da Geopolítica Clássica à Geopolítica Crítica" (Accessed November 20, 2013). Available at: http://www.ambito-juridico.com.br/site/index.php?n_link=revista_artigos_leitura&artigo_id=9954), not only Critical Geopolitics is based on Michel Foucault's ideas, but it is also based on Antonio Gramsci's thoughts, truly an authority of cultural [neo-] Marxism that aims to denounce «oppressive ideological instruments» (- Antonio Gramsci, *Cadernos do Cárcere* (Accessed November 20, 2013). Available at: <http://www.rabaneda.adv.br/download/Ci%C3%AAncias%20Pol%C3%ADticas/Gramsci-Cadernos-Do-Carcere-Vol-I.pdf>).
- Antonsich, by its side, stresses that Marxist influence on Ó Tuathail is unclear. Antonsich, Marco, "Dis-placing or re-placing hegemonic geopolitical discourse? Reading/writing Gearóid Ó Tuathail's 'critical geopolitics'", *Academia.edu*, (Accessed July 4, 2013), 28, Available at: http://academia.edu/2286337/Dis-placing_or_replacing_hegemonic_geopolitical_discourse_Reading_writing_Gearoid_O_Tuathails_critical_geopolitics
- 106 Joe Painter and Alex Jeffrey, *Political Geography* (London: SAGE, 2009), 203.
- 107 Colin Flint and Peter Taylor, *Political Geography: World-Economy, Nation-State and Locality* (Essex: Pearson Education, 2007), 42.
- 108 Geróid Ó Tuathail and Simon Dalby, eds, *Rethinking Geopolitics* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- Antonsich, Marco. "Dis-placing or re-placing hegemonic geopolitical discourse? Reading/writing Gearóid Ó Tuathail's 'critical geopolitics'", *Academia.edu*, (Accessed July 4, 2013). Available at: http://academia.edu/2286337/Dis-placing_or_replacing_hegemonic_geopolitical_discourse_Reading_writing_Gearoid_O_Tuathails_critical_geopolitics
- 109 Geróid Ó Tuathail, *Critical Geopolitics* (Minneapolis: Borderlines, 1996).
- 110 Martin Glassner and Chuck Fahrer, *Political Geograph* (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2004), 284.
- 111 Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978).
- 112 Geróid Ó Tuathail, *Critical Geopolitics* (Minneapolis: Borderlines, 1996), 108-109.

- CEJISS
4/2014
- 113 In the future, the author will elsewhere deal with the subject: “World War I and the political changes in Central Europe”.
- 114 Geróid Ó Tuathail, “Introduction to Part One” in: *The Geopolitics Reader*, ed. by Geróid Ó Tuathail (London: Routledge, 2006), 23.
- 115 José Pedro Teixeira Fernandes, *Teorias das Relações Internacionais. Da abordagem clássica ao debate pós-positivista* (Lisboa: Almedina, 2009), 122-125.
- 116 Michel Foucault, *Microfísica do Poder* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições do Graal, 1992), 81.
- 117 John Searle, “The Storm Over the University”, *The New York Times Review of Books*, (December 1990), (Accessed July 5, 2013). Available at: <http://www.ditext.com/searle/searle1.html>
- 118 Geróid Ó Tuathail and Simon Dalby, eds, *Rethinking Geopolitics* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- Geróid Ó Tuathail, *Critical Geopolitics* (Minneapolis: Borderlines, 1996).
- 119 Martin Glassner and Chuck Fahrer, *Political Geograph* (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2004), 284.
- 120 Everett Dolman, *Astropolitic: Classical Geopolitics in the Space Age* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2002), 12.
- The impact of these issues on Geopolitics – from the perspective of *Neoclassical Geopolitics* – shall be approached by the author elsewhere.
- 121 Geróid Ó Tuathail, *Critical Geopolitics* (Minneapolis: Borderlines, 1996), 42.
- 122 Geróid Ó Tuathail, *Critical Geopolitics* (Minneapolis: Borderlines, 1996), 52.
- 123 Geróid Ó Tuathail and Simon Dalby, eds, *Rethinking Geopolitics* (London: Routledge, 1998), 17.
- 124 Wojciech Kazanecki, “Is Geopolitics a Good Method of Explaining World Events? Case Study of French Foreign Policy in the 21st Century”, *Academia.edu* (Accessed November 14, 2013), 4, Available at: http://www.academia.edu/1647657/Is_Geopolitics_a_Good_Method_of_Explaining_World_Events_Case_Study_of_French_Foreign_Policy_in_the_21_st_Century
- 125 José Pedro Teixeira Fernandes, “Da Geopolítica clássica à Geopolítica pós-moderna: entre a ruptura e a continuidade”, *Política Internacional*, 26, (Autumn 2002), 24. (Accessed June 16, 2013). Available at : http://www.jpt-fernandes.com/resources/GeopoliticaClassicaPos_Moderna.pdf