

## GERMAN SCHOOL OF GEOPOLITICS. EVOLUTION, IDEAS, PROSPECTS

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**Abstract:** German School is considered the founder of the discipline simply because the geopolitical research effort in this area was one massive, bringing together many illustrious German scientists. Through their contribution in the field of geopolitics, they gave it stand-alone character, and of particular importance, different from the other branches of human geography. One of the main contributions to the achievement of geopolitical concerns, was the understanding that since the dawn of history, people have been in a constant battle for space; this has led to changes in both human consciousness and thought and geographical space.

**Key words:** State, space, civilization, location, borderline, frontier

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### THE EVOLUTION OF THE GERMAN SCHOOL OF GEOPOLITICS

“Geopolitics is to describe and explain the theories of power rivalries, national rivalries”.<sup>1</sup> Another definition of geopolitics says: “... Geopolitics is the focus of political phenomena and tries to give a geographical interpretation and also studying aspects geography of these phenomena”.<sup>2</sup>

Geopolitics is therefore a theory-oriented research which reveals the relationship of substance between the geographical position of a state and its policy. The history of the term explicitly says so, “geo” meaning *earth, ground*. Geopolitics analyzes the policy landscape in terms of takes place, it aiming to explain policy measures and guidelines based on natural a state: geographical location, extent, natural wealth, population, etc.

In the late nineteenth century, the whole earth except the polar areas is divided between the major powers, so that after the national consciousness is the consciousness of space, last driven by the rivalry between these powers, which led to the emergence of geopolitical premises. “...geopolitical consciousness or, more broadly, looked space as a field for the exercise of power”.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lacoste, Y. (1993) *Dictionnaire de Géopolitique*, Editura Flammarion, Paris.

<sup>2</sup> Kristof, L. (1960) *The Origin and Evolution of Geopolitics* in “The Journal of Conflict Resolution”, march, 1960, vol.IV.

<sup>3</sup> Moreau, P. (1995) *Introduction à la géopolitique*, Editura Points-Seuil, Paris, p.29.

Inventor of the term “geopolitics” was Swedish political scientist Rudolf Kjellen. This term was used for the first time as this formulation in 1899, naming as a scientist in training, whose aim was to examine the member bowing on the premise that they are geographical or human bodies. Kjellen was part of such a paradigm, which had been built in German political geography of Friedrich Ratzel and Karl Ritter and showing that it creates a living link between human communities and the environment inhabited by them. The intellectual origins of geopolitics were not reduced by this type of approach and were more distant.

Geopolitics has been constituted as a subject through the efforts of scientists who came from different cultural and research areas. However, the consecration of the new course, shortly after the end of World War I, was attributed almost exclusively to the German school of geopolitics. The perception was caused by intense concerns and the many works devoted to topics in this field of intellectual authors and researchers in the German world. The intellectual background that conducted to these steps must be reported to the stage and the State Historical Society traveled to Germany in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The process of unification of modern Germany has been a slow and difficult journey. This frustration generated reaction of German political and intellectual elites, who in the middle of the nineteenth century were obsessed by the idea that for over 250 years German territories were the scene of successive wars, most often caused or who otherwise participated. The powers, German nationalism developed under the influence of Johann Gottfried Herder's writings in a different paradigm of Western Germany. Generated as a counter to the cultural imperialism French, German nationalism of Herder was conceptualized in a specific form.

Unlike the British and French thinkers of the time, who had gone from the idea that man, the individual is the fundamental reality; Herder placed in the center of its concerns and gave the supreme value of the peoples. This vision and remained predominant after 1871, the year of German unification, German elites abandonment by scoring the last remnants of western European liberalism and dedicating type, by contrast, the belief that physical force is the proper instrument of any expression of thought stat. That assumed almost entirely by German elites was further increased in 1892, when the new Kaiser Wilhelm II, proclaimed policy of the World II Reich.

In this cultural and historical context, was not surprising development concepts, excite and fertile Darwinian disseminating ideas that supported the necessity of cultural triumph of the German-ethnocentric Europe. This geopolitical space to no more than a few steps were needed.

Empirical basis for the formation of German geopolitics -the political analysis system- was geography. Karl Ritter (1779-1859) was the first prominent German geographer who gave his discipline base in November. In *Erdkunde* (Geography), Ritter expressed his confidence that, until then, geography was studied as an amalgam, usually without any purpose and without internal rule. Rejecting rationalist argument that people are the same everywhere, Ritter stressed the role played by nature of men. He initiated in German thought in a specific direction, vision organics, that country, but *Heimatland*, is a natural geographic area, endowed with a natural configuration unit, natural boundaries, all of which form *natural organic territory*.

## GERMAN SCHOOL OF GEOPOLITIC'S IDEAS

### Friedrich Ratzel's contribution

A pupil of Ritter, Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904) is considered the first of the founders of German geopolitics, although he himself calls his area as concerns political geography. Ratzel has endeavored to continue his mentor's steps in order to achieve a comprehensive and efficient way to support the study areas and human habitation. In this regard, he added, when the research tools used by geographical elements, methods and findings coming from other disciplines, biology and history lies in the foreground. The main work of Friedrich Ratzel in ethnography was "Volkerkunde" vol. 3 (1885-1888; "The History of Mankind" - 1896 to 1898).<sup>4</sup>

In his first major work, "Anthropogeography", subtitled "Principles for the application of geography on history" (first volume, 1882, vol. 2 in 1891), Ratzel presented methodological-interpretive device.

This paper shows that "we do not know if the man is the ultimate goal of planet, we know that the human species is an essential part of this cosmic body. Obviously it is wrong to let the man in the shadows, as it is unscientific to think that the ultimate purpose of creation and existence of earthly body". His first effort, confessed, was that of the recovery and placement of geographical environment in the core sciences of man, not to ignore or lose its development dimension as part of nature. Ratzel said that throughout history people have always been in a competition for space. Ratzel show (taking ideas from the English philosopher D. Hume)<sup>5</sup> that the nature of different influences on people's exercise: influence of body or soul of each individual, accelerations or delays in the way of spatial expansion of populations, effects on social structure.

Because of these multiple influences, large numbers of people is considered "mehrtypisch" (poli-typical), any modern nation is the product of a mixture determined between two or more ethnic pieces (of people), which is particularly noticeable in populations/peoples of merchants and sailors; pure peoples are dull, immovable and do not advance as a show case of ancient Egypt. In the bi-typical people they are unstable because they never get to the final dominance of one type over the other. Some racial mixes can have good results in the "humanization" of a territory; examples Ratzel are first brought the crossbreeding of American Indians with French and English settlers (hunters) which allowed a better exploitation of the territories surrounding Hudson Bay (Canada), then of crossbreeding between Native Americans and which allowed the recovery of black slaves in Mexico, arid plateaus and tropical moist forest area of Central America.<sup>6</sup>

During this process, considers Ratzel, culture as an organic reality was the factor that mediated the relationship between environmental factors and physical-geographical humans. In a first stage of their social organization, people have managed to transform the environment that we lived in a more favorable area of human existence. Later, as the evolution and development of states, it became clear that different human cultures are unequally endowed and capable, to varying degrees, to capitalize on the gifts of nature.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.britanica.com>

<sup>5</sup> Appointed by Kant, as a geographer of human reason.

<sup>6</sup> Nicolae, I. (2009) *Antropogeography. A diachronic approach*, University Publishing House, Bucharest, pp.127-128.

<sup>7</sup> [http://idd.euro.ubbcluj.ro/interactive/courses/Liviu\\_Tirău/1.htm](http://idd.euro.ubbcluj.ro/interactive/courses/Liviu_Tirău/1.htm)

In Volume II (published in 1891) defines what we mean by Ratzel oikumen “the area inhabited by humans on Earth”.<sup>8</sup>

A much stronger impact had “Politische Geographie” (Political Geography), work published in 1897, this being due to the fact that she was taken into account not only geographically but also by politicians, even outlining some principles international behavior. This paper is composed of nine parts.<sup>9</sup>

In his second important work “Politische Geographie”, Ratzel pointed out that the historical development of states must be placed in a comparative politics with peoples flourishing. This latter phenomenon depends on the size and depth of relationships developed by the peoples concerned with land inhabited by them. Therefore conclude Ratzel, states should be considered organisms, like the animal and human, and are stronger or weaker. The nation was a more mobile, this feature is not characteristic of primitive societies, the gain greater political power. From this perspective, knowledge and size measurement of surface areas was directly subordinate to the circulation of people’s ideas and political projects, with higher and lower concepts about space, in particular making it the first expansion characteristic trends. Wars were such geographical transposition of the need for movement of peoples and political expansion.<sup>10</sup>

In Part II, Friedrich Ratzel analyzes historical movements and increased of state. Between these movements is the most violent war: it is led by a primitive element and primary, volunteer of humanity, whose action is ephemeral, contrary to women's values of peace, are conservative and engineering, enhancing the gains of culture.<sup>11</sup>

At the end of Part Two of “Politische Geographie”, Ratzel developed notions of territory of the state (Staatsgebiet) and the natural territory (Naturgebiet), showing both their internal structure as well as their mutual relations. These relationships create community cultural sphere, beyond the state can get at the oikumen. Ratzel sources identified the origin and formation of nations in political strength historical development of communities of individuals united by spiritual ties. In this perspective Anthropogeography was built by Ratzel method that could evaluate the criteria and means of comparison, the performance achieved by different human communities. Capturing the vision developed by Kant on space, Ratzel pointed out the fundamental role played in history of what the German philosopher, a resident of Königsberg’s, called “Mittelpunkt” core of civilization. “Mittelpunkt” became, in fact, the essential criterion for analyzing and interpreting the state in establishing its organics. Three were the basic elements which function organics it: Area (der Raum), Position (die Lage), Borders (die Grenzen).<sup>12</sup>

Area (der Raum) represented the political nature of state support, because such historical relations Ratzel called the blood and earth, the people and territory.<sup>13</sup> In his analysis, he goes beyond political geography and makes policy analysis. Thus, he talks about space as the limit of expansion that occurs

<sup>8</sup> Oikumen term was created by Aristotle, the most famous philosopher of Antiquity.

<sup>9</sup> Nicolae, I.(2009) *Antropogeography. A diachronic approach*, University Publishing House, Bucharest, p.131.

<sup>10</sup> [http://idd.euro.ubbcluj.ro/interactive/courses/Liviu Tirău/1.htm](http://idd.euro.ubbcluj.ro/interactive/courses/Liviu_Tirău/1.htm)

<sup>11</sup> Nicolae, I. (2009) *Antropogeography. A diachronic approach*, University Publishing House, Bucharest, pp.133-134.

<sup>12</sup> [http://idd.euro.ubbcluj.ro/interactive/courses/Liviu Tirău/1.htm](http://idd.euro.ubbcluj.ro/interactive/courses/Liviu_Tirău/1.htm)

<sup>13</sup> [http://idd.euro.ubbcluj.ro/interactive/courses/Liviu Tirău/1.htm](http://idd.euro.ubbcluj.ro/interactive/courses/Liviu_Tirău/1.htm)

naturally between people, the area that it tends to fill. The author makes use of two notions: concordances and discrepancies Anthropogeography. Consistency is achieved through internal colonization, meaning by homogeneous distribution of state population on the surface. He disagrees in terms of space occupied by Russia, which had an area ten times larger than Germany and a population of 2.5 times the main European countries combined. At the same time, Ratzel speaks of “the hunger for space”, which is not justified in the case of Russia, it already having a territory too large relative to need, but which becomes understandable when there is an excessive population density on a space small, as in Germany.<sup>14</sup>

In the same case will be foreign colonization, meaning a migration from the overcrowded territory to the under populated one. Friedrich Ratzel talks about the importance of space for people. He shows that if a people is rising, the rule is given and population, “the high density of people is culture”.<sup>15</sup> Political organization of the people and the land resulted in the incarnation of a custom body Anthropogeography. Body is distinguished by taking a single biological and geographical-cultural identity of the individuals of the same people. Politico-geographical consolidation of the state body could be achieved in two stages: a) setting national territory Lebensgebiete; b) the establishment and organization of vital space Lebensraum. The last stage was to decide the conservation body's vital functions and even survival of the state.<sup>16</sup>

Friedrich Ratzel uses the term “geospatial”, referring to the extension of a civilizing force forces throughout the continent (he talks about geospatial US).<sup>17</sup> It was for the historic mission of Germany to form a European geospace, pouring into first place in areas where human habitation was at a lower level. Friedrich Ratzel commonly used expression Volkohne Raum (people without space) when the Germans still assessing attainment of vital space.

Laws spatial growth, as they are represented by Ratzel, refers to a state that grows with its culture, its economic development. But to achieve this you must have a settlement that would allow you geopolitical development.

Ratzel launches the idea of “oceanic cycle”, which means that the seas and oceans value changes depending on the importance of guarding their country.

The fourth part of “Politische Geographie” generally addresses the issue of location states their position on the Earth.

Position (die Lage) has been considered by Ratzel item found in a direct relationship with the formation of Mittelpunkt civilization, putting in a position to generate favorable geographic and climatic formation of such pulsars. Only natural geographic feature was valued political power conferred by the people. When it had not been able to maintain political power, despite the geographic and climatic conditions favorable, declined, as in the case of states in Mesopotamia (Euphrates and Tigris valleys), Egypt (Nile Valley), Rome, Anthropogeography body.

The position is one that gives value space. From these considerations will have a good position the state that will hold important areas on earth, but also

<sup>14</sup> Anechitoaie, C. (2008) *Maritime systems Geopolitics, lecture notes*, Top Form Publishing, Bucharest, p.35.

<sup>15</sup> Dobrescu, P. (2000) *Geopolitica*, op.cit., p.75.

<sup>16</sup> [idd.euro.ubbcluj.ro/interactive/courses/Liviu Tirău/1.htm](http://idd.euro.ubbcluj.ro/interactive/courses/Liviu_Tirău/1.htm)

<sup>17</sup> Anechitoaie, C. (2008) *Maritime systems Geopolitics , lecture notes*, Top Form Publishing , Bucharest, p.36.

open enough to the sea. Friedrich Ratzel refers to the border as a peripheral organ of state. Borders (die Grenzen) were initiated from product movement *Mittelpunkt*.

A sixth part of "Politische Geographie" treats their border issues, products of historical movements and expressions of the type of movement that gave them birth. Frontier is a compromise between these two states. On this occasion, once again Ratzel states that "treaties guaranteeing the borders are based on that illusion that it would be possible to make a nation living barrier growth". Situated on the outskirts of the state's territory, economic and people do not remain a mere boundary line, it became a peripheral organ, but very important part of growing state. Ratzel has listed three ways to broaden *Mittelpunkt* generated boundaries: by military force and war, through trade, through the spirit and communication, meaning cultural triumph. Any state arises around a *Mittelpunkt* in focusing the energy of the people.

In 1901, Ratzel published his last major work, "On the laws of spatial growth of states" (Gesetz über die der Staaten des räumlichen Wachstums). He listed seven laws, while stage of expansion of the state. Expansion of states would occur at the expense of others. The process was generated by two factors: a) *internal input*, prominent people who were able to acquire the sense of space (Raumsinn) and school facilities (die Schule des Raumes). The two attributes authorized certain people to keep their proper space, and later to obtain even expand their living space; and b) *external input*, that under populated areas, which attracted strong outpouring of fertile and civilizations, whose territories were overcrowded.

Ratzel correlate the natural position with the political and social. Regarding the correlation he draws between the Ratzel and space position, we can truly say that when a state is economically strong, is located in geographically favorable, he can extend the natural boundaries.<sup>18</sup> So the statement "space position is perfectly true and verifiable".

Friedrich Ratzel's statement that "the space can increase position" can be tested in Germany. It is a state in terms of its geographical position has been substantially disadvantaged.<sup>19</sup> Germany along with several other nations is European oikumen center<sup>20</sup>. It did not have any large territory and population density was too high to be able to fit within the country's boundaries. However, the existence of strong neighbors would not allow him expanding the boundaries even if the necessities demanded.

This position requires a political solidity of the anchorage, while outlying areas may settle oikumen looser political ties with fragile political construction (examples are the Russian government and Amur region and northwest on the British Canada site). The political situation was eventually held to the same position favorable to increase the area of Germany, because it became too limited.<sup>21</sup>

Essentially Ratzel's thought geopolitics can be expressed in several major ideas, six in number. The first would be that states are living organisms that are

<sup>18</sup> Anechitoaie, C. (2008) *Maritime systems Geopolitics, lecture notes*, Top Form Publishing , Bucharest, p.39.

<sup>19</sup> Anechitoaie, C. (2008), *Maritime systems Geopolitics, lecture notes*, Top Form Publishing, Bucharest, p.40.

<sup>20</sup> Nicolae, I. (2009 ) *Anthropogeography: a diachronic approach*, University Publishing House, Bucharest, p.135.

<sup>21</sup> Anechitoaie, C. (2008) *Maritime systems Geopolitics, lecture notes*, Top Form Publishing , Bucharest, p.40.

born, live and die. Growth states as bodies are determined antecedently. State geographer and man have a duty therefore to discover and describe laws perennial behind this growth. The third idea refers to the geographical landscape that marks the people, citizens of a state concept of living space (Lebensraum) are central. The opposition between the powers of continental and maritime powers appears as one of the first magnitude in the relations between peoples. "Political Geography" contains a subjective dimension composed of "meaning space" (Raumsinn) and "vital energy" (Lebensenergie).

### **Karl Haushofer's contribution**

Karl Haushofer was the central figure of the German geopolitics and most of the experts are reducing the German geopolitics at this author. Plus, his ideas have served as motivation and as programme to the Nazi regime, the author himself collaborating with it a part of his life. The importance of Haushofer within the German school consists mostly of his contribution in the domain of geopolitics, being responsible for the new orientation taken by the German school in the first four decades of the XX century.

Haushofer followed the military career, entering the Bavarian army in 1889. His orientation towards geopolitics was deeply connected with his assignment within the military mission of Germany in Japan, in 1908. On his sea journey to the Japanese archipelago, as well as on the terrestrial way back through Siberia, in 1910, Haushofer was fascinated by the strategic importance of the areas, respectively of some geographical locations.

In 1912 he presented his doctoral thesis, published later under the title of "*Dai Nihon, Betrachtungen über Groß-Japans Wehrkraft, Weltstellung und Zukunft*" (Reflections on Greater Japan's Military Strength, World Position, and Future), in which he supported his thesis, according to which the geographical location and the territorial characteristics are influencing the destiny of the states. Even though he becomes general, he decides to abandon the military career and to dedicate himself to the academic one.

The institutionalized study of geopolitics is the merit of Karl Haushofer. First of all, Haushofer operated a trenchant delimitation between the political geography, described as the discipline which studies the distribution of the state power in the terrestrial spaces (areas), and geopolitics, meaning the science of political life forms in the natural spaces (areas) of life, which tries to explain the dependency of the first to the conditionality of nature. Geopolitics as stand-alone discipline happened in 1924, once with the foundation of the Institute of Geopolitics within the University of Munich and repeatedly publication, between 1924-1945, of the monthly "*Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*" (Geopolitics Journal).

After the institution of the Nazi regime, the geopolitics studies have known a wide spread, being official coordinated by the Nazi government, from 1935.

*The Association of the Researchers in Geopolitics* was founded at Heidelberg University, Karl Haushofer becoming the first president of it. At the end of the 30', his son Albrecht took the job as geopolitics professor, within The School of Advanced Political Studies (Hochschule für Politik), in Berlin. It must be specified the context in which Haushofer's conception has appeared and configured, which imprinted some characteristics on his approach. The author said: "*The genesis of the German geopolitics is at the same time its apologia*".<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> K. Haushofer, *De la géopolitique*, chapter "The Apology of German geopolitics", pp. 155-156.

The German geopolitics was born as a protest against Germany's situation at that time. He observed the fact that the political act runs its course on traditional bases, looking towards the past, while in other countries (USA, UK) the training of political men is done in specialized institutions. Germany went to war without a geopolitical vision, with ignorance regarding the balance of power, while all over the world "the storm rising at the horizon" was seen since 1904.

This is why it was absolutely necessary to appear a German geopolitics too, the author not agreeing with Ratzel and Kjellen's opinions which, he said, were derived from English sources.

On the other hand, the relationships of the Haushofer family with the Nazi politics were winding. Karl established lasting relations of friendship with Rudolph Hess before the National Socialist Party was to be established. He frequently visited Landsberg Prison, where Adolf Hitler and Rudolph Hess were detained after the putsch in 1923 failed. There are many testimonies of some witnesses, but also the notices of some specialists, which indicate the influence of Haushofer's geopolitical opinions over Hitler, traceable furthermore in "Mein Kampf".<sup>23</sup>

Right after Adolf Hitler became Chancellor, Karl Haushofer was named professor of geopolitics and dean of Science Faculty of Munich University. In 1934 was named president of the German Academy and in 1938 became with the support of Rudolph Hess, the president of Ausland Organisation, institution which was handling with the Germans living abroad. Meanwhile, his son was named special delegate of the German chancellor in Czechoslovakia from 1934 to 1938. The Haushofer family gave up the privileged relations they had with the Nazi regime after 1941, also due to the invasion of the Soviet Union by Wehrmacht, action that contravened the geopolitical thesis sustained by Karl. But his position was eased by Hess's "refuge" in United Kingdom. Albrecht was involved in the plot of the German officers against Hitler and ended up being executed in May 1945 just few days before Germany's surrender. One year later, desolated by the faith of the Third Reich and his nefarious involvement, Karl Haushofer committed suicide with his wife Martha.

*Indubitable, the biggest and the most important change in worldwide politics of our times is the formation of a strong continental block to include Europe, the North and East of Asia.*<sup>24</sup> Haushofer was taken up with the formation of a continental block to include Europe, the North and the East of Asia, not on political affinities but on geopolitical determinations. This idea appears as a counter to the great powers, England and USA, which in his opinion, have started a so called "anaconda politics". By the fact that these powers were in control of the Planetary Ocean, hence the shores (as shown by Nicholas John Spykman), they could control and the mainland, wrapping around and killing by strangling what is on the continent. Haushofer considered as the alternative to this threat would be an alliance between Russia, Germany and Japan, which would form the so called continental block.

This theory is very close to that of Mackinder's pivot area, which said that who will dominate this area will rule the world. In order to put into practice the theory of the continental block, Haushofer refers to what the Japanese political

<sup>23</sup> In *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle), Hitler makes his way from his autobiography and his ideas, forms of Nazism, fascism are all dissected here.

<sup>24</sup> K. Haushofer, *De la geopolitique*, p.113. This is the phrase that begins Haushofer study Bloc continental Central Europe-Eurasia-Japan.

leader Goto was thinking, which was speaking about the rig called troika. He was referring to a possible advance under the conditions that Japan and Germany could have hold in Russia. Only this way these reunited countries could have succeed to gain access to the Baltic Sea, Adriatic Sea and Sea of Japan, by making an expansion from north to south: Germany would have ruled the Europe (India gaining independence from England, France would have been reduce to inability, and Africa would have become the main direction of expansion of a German Europe), Japan would have dominated the Pacific and the Far East, and Russia the Indian Ocean (under the conditions of giving up the revolutionary goals). But the German author speaks about 4 areas of territorial expansion, including beside the already reminded and USA which direction of expansion would have been South Africa.

Nevertheless this theory was disproved by history because Hitler decided to attack Russia, ignoring what Haushofer was saying that "*neither of the two strong countries of the continent should raise against each other*", repeating the mistake made by Napoleon and Wilhelm the second. Karl Haushofer sees geopolitics as a way to prevent wars of any kind, considering geopolitics as being "*the best tool to avoid worldwide catastrophes*".

For this reason he totally disagreed with the decision of attacking the USSR, therefore exactly the dominant part of the continental block. Due to this decision the chances for Eurasia formed by Germany, Russia and Japan have dropped, and important coalitions against Germany appeared from the oceanic powers that felt threatened.

Here it is that Bismarck's advice, Chancellor of Germany from the past century, was completely ignored and the fact that Germany should not reveal it's desire to become a great power, because it will attract against Germany a coalition represented by the great powers. Hitler ignored the fact that history send us warnings regarding some repetitive events, some mistakes made in the past which we must avoid. Karl Haushofer believes that "*geopolitics replaces the political passion and tries to rely on natural connections*". This idea is present in his theories regarding the realization of the continental block as well and as regarding the idea that should not exist neither left or right partisan approaches.

Karl Haushofer had a significant publishing activity. At his work about Japan, he added in 1924 (reedited book in 1938) "*Geopolitik des Pazifischen Ozeans*". The geopolitical problems of the Extreme East were the first major theme debated by Hausfoher. Although he considered himself the intellectual successor of Ratzel and Kjellen, Haushofer permanently reported himself at Halford Mackinder and the projection developed by him over Eurasia. Furthermore, his interest raised by the Far East is explained by his believe that an alliance on the Berlin–Moscow–Tokyo Axis, with Russia occupying Mongolia, and Japan controlling Manchuria it would have given an transcontinental route free of Anglo Saxon pressures and interferences.

Social–Darwinist in vision, Haushofer took from Ratzel and gave supreme value to the phenomenon–objective "*Lebensraum*".

"*We consider that the foundation for any discussion about the foreign policy is the vital space. The essential duty of the foreign policy is to watch over this vital space, to preserve it at the level of the inheritances transmitted from past generations, to increase it, when it became too tight*".<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> K.Haushofer, *Les bases géographiques de la politique étrangère*, in „*De la géopolitique*”, p.203.

Situated under the impact of Germany's position after the First World War, Haushofer was permanently motivated in finding solutions to give her the possibility of surviving as great power. He agreed with Kjellen that the state is manifesting as an organism, and the perpetuation of its existence could be secured by purchase of plenty of space. The respective area would be occupied by cultural, racial and ethnic dissemination.

Haushofer developed the fundamental concept of vital space, as being the space necessary for people to live and develop. In fact it is about the 2 types of colonization about Ratzel was speaking, internal and external colonization. The fact that he was speaking about space increase when it became too tight, when Germany was in the same situation, made most of the authors to incriminate him, considering that his theories served as justification for the actions made by Nazi in their quest to conquer new territories. Even the author speaks about the German and Japanese people that had high population density ratio to hold area.

As extra justification is reminded the fact that in North of Germany are less fertile areas, and in some regions population density is quite higher. Germany, unlike Japan who had the possibility of expansion her territories in Pacific, did not have this privilege due to her strong neighbors in the area, being condemned at overpopulation.

If we consider the theory elaborated by Ratzel which said that the borders are a product of motion and the concept of "druckquotient" of Ion Conea, we can reach the conclusion that Germany's need of space was entitled. Only that this expansion once begun, did not stop at the vital space that Germany needed, Hitler continued the politics of conquer to fulfill his desire to become a great power. Regarding this concept of vital space, Haushofer's theories are taken entirely by Hitler and put into practice.

An essential role in this perspective would have played the borders<sup>26</sup>, considered "*rather places of confrontation and collisions, than juridical norms of political-state delimitations*". As for the concept of border, Haushofer took Ratzel's theories, adding at that the idea of border in motion and of political life of border.

The political life refers at the spiritual, cultural and economical phenomena that pass from the country of origin in the surrounding countries, in the moment when their intensity is quite strong. For this, he considered the detection in time of these perforations as being very important then to protect ourselves in the same way. Therefore the security of a country will not consist only in assuring the borders, but also in protecting against these perforations which can lead to modification of the borders in favor of the issuing state, when intense enough.

Here it is how Jakobsen characterizes the role played by the German author after the Nazi took power: "*Haushofer played only an outside role, without a notable influence, if we abstract his activity in favor of Volkstum, which did not exercise, truth to tell, than at periphery*".<sup>27</sup>

As for the pan-ideas (the mental map, the compass after we orient), Haushofer notices even from the beginning of the century that free Europe can be only "between the actual soviet border, Nordic seas and the Mediterranean basin".<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> See work *Grenzen in ihrer Geographischen und Politischen Bedeutung* (Geographical and political importance of the borders), Berlin, 1927.

<sup>27</sup> *Introduction. Un esquisse biografique*, p.5.

<sup>28</sup> Haushofer developed this thesis in his following works, *Geopolitik der Panideen* and *Geopolitik von Heute*.

He oversees what the European Union will be, with the specification that this “confederation” will be viable only if the internal national rights of the members will be respected, and every country will speak its language. This condition is debatable if we consider the release of the unique European currency, the disappearance of the borders, the globalization attempt. Will all these lead to a sort of frustration from the member states, to a loss of the national identity, to the destroy of the union? At present the political factor outweigh the economical one, so the future of the union is questionable.

### **Rudolf Kjellen’s contribution**

The paternity of geopolitical term belongs to the Swedish Rudolf Kjellen, teacher of political science at the University of Uppsala. Kjellen first used this term in a public lecture, in 1899, which is to be used next year in the Swedish political monograph, published by him as “*Inledning till Sveriges Geografi*” (Introduction to Geography of Sweden). Unlike Ratzel, whose sources of inspiration were the anthropology and geography communities, Kjellen turned to the geopolitical concerns about the state of science. In this perspective, he saw that the relationship between the anatomy of power and its geographical foundation is fundamental. Therefore, geopolitics was the science that conceived and studied the state as a geographical organism or as a phenomenon of space. This political organism is kept in a perpetual struggle for existence and space, Kjellen concluding that, only those organisms would be able to survive and prosper.

The area used by Kjellen geopolitics included in fact two studied subjects: states seen as manifesting the emotions and argument equally with human beings and knowing the same fate as the last (birth, growth, development and decline), also he considered the space as a essential factor and vital objective of vigorous states, but spatial limited, which had the duty to expand its territories through colonization, conquest and expansion. Kjellen gave a great attention to geographical location of Mitteleurope, which included the Scandinavian Peninsula, under the threat and danger of the Russian invasion. The solution he proposed was the expansion and unification in a German Empire, of the perimeter of Dunkirk, Hamburg, Riga and Baghdad. This huge space, which and the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires were to be embedded, was destined to become a new center of world power, for minimizing the hegemonic aspirations of England through the seas.

In his major work, some first published in Germany “Die Ideen von 1914. Eine Weltgeschichtliche Perspektive” (Ideas of 1914. A comprehensive historical perspective, Leipzig, 1915, “Staten som Lifsform” (the State as a form of life), Stockholm, 1916 (translated and published in German in 1917 at Leipzig) “Grundriss zu einem System der Politik” (Fundamentals of a political system), Leipzig, 1920 and “Die Grossmächte vor und nach dem Weltkriege” (Great powers before and after World War), published post-mortem, at Leipzig, in 1935, Kjellen Overview revealed his conception of geopolitics.

Deeply connected with German cultural traditions, he resisted and permanently discredited the political ideas of liberalism, of political citizen, also of the idea of legitimacy of the state by social contract. He forwarded instead vision of the authoritarian, corporatist and paternalistic state, to be constituted as an organics nation-state. Being opponent of excessive individualism and cosmopolitanism, Kjellen saw the National State was built on the principles of

corporate solidarity, following the development and expansion to take shape of a community based on ethnic, political and economic connections. The Achievement of such a state included the elimination of all repressive events against citizens. The politics' general system of such a state was presented by Kjellen in his well-known work called "*Staten som Lifsform*". The state would be organized on the principles of unity and interdependence of the five basic elements:

a. *Country (das Reich)* pursued in terms of its geographical internal and external position. Three subcategories making up its geographical location data: the position of the country (Topopolitica), configuration (Morfopolitics) and territory (Fisiopolitics).

b. *Nation (das Staabfolk)*, demographical composition, which is manifested by three other factors: ethnical awareness, ethnical body (Plethopolitics) and soul of the nation (Psychopolitics).

c. *Society (die Gesellschaft)* or Socialpolics was relieved through the performance of two phenomena: structure and social form (Filopolitics), also social life (biopolitics).

d. *The country's economy (Ökopolitik)* based on functions as: to feed their needs (Autarhiopolitics), foreign and trade relations (Emporopolitics) and economical life (Economopolitics).

e. *Government (Das Staatsregiment)* or Kratopolitika involves the authority of state policy through its form of government (Nomopolitics), administration (Praxiopolitics) and state authority (Arhopolitics).

Kjellen also designed the eventual European political configurations. They would take the form of pan-ethnic representations and geopolitics' pan-ethnic. Both the work in 1914 (*Die Ideen von 1914*), and in that published post-mortem (*Die Grossmächte*), he appeared confident that under internal impulses generated from Mittelpunkte three racial-ethnic bodies were to be imposed in Europe: Latin Union (under the seal of ancient Rome), able to include Latin America through its Ibero-Spanish version, Mitteleuropa, which was to become a germanic world, namely pan-Slavic idea. Last, found Kjellen, had countered the pan-German idea of the Drang nach Osten.

### **GEOPOLITICS OUTLOOK AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

Geopolitics is a relatively young science, having only a century back, with a sinuous evolution, controversial and sometimes even denied. The controversial question is: was the emergence and fast development justified or not?

Geopolitics appears during the period when the Earth is known in its fullness, when the process of formation of national states in Europe reached its climax and when the great powers begin struggle for division of the world, announcing the formation of colonial empires.

There is a mystical space, expressed by the need to conquer new territories without regard for state borders. Also appears the pan-ideas, focused on the opposition between American and British view, pointed by the relationship between the sea and earth and the German, based on the continental areas.

Geopolitics is born under the protection of political geography (a term introduced in the seventeenth century by Turgot) and German anthropogeography (a notion introduced by Friedrich Ratzel) and then, of history, international law in relation to the geographical factor.

Used for the first time by Kjellen, the term geopolitics is adopted by German literature, amplified with theories regarding of vital space, of racism and

concepts Neo-Malthusianism, which led to his compromise as a doctrine. The spirit of Nazis geopolitics has polluted Italian, Japanese and Hungarian geopolitics.

During the Cold War, there was a strong return to the geopolitical as a science, especially in the Anglo-Saxon. Geopolitics has become particularly topical in terms of power bipolar world system, illustrated by the opposition between the USSR and USA. Opinions were issued so that they varied from the definition of geopolitics as a objective science or as a method of analyses. It makes sense since almost all the important geopoliticians like Mahan, Mackinder, Spykman, Haushofer and the others, have built in fact the concepts from the perspective of the states interests they represented.

Along with the end of the Second World War, geopolitics has been carried in the field of forbidden knowledge as a consequence of the thing that it has become a tool for the preparation and justifying the expansionist policies pursued by Germany and Japan during the preceding period and during the War. The embargo over geopolitics had political connotations. The public opinion was not supposed to know that the division of spheres of influence between Germany and the USSR, in August 1939 and then between the USSR and Western powers in the autumn of 1944 was the result of geopolitical developments on the European continent. Geopolitical scenarios were well preserved in both East and West throughout the Cold War.

West' victory over East and the failure on the geopolitical and geo-strategic balance between USSR and USA has led to the collapse of the security architecture when the international relations have evolved after Second World War. In this fracture of history, geopolitics has returned to public space in an insistent manner, trying to find solutions.

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