If there ever were a time when this book was most needed, it is now. In the wake of humanitarian interventions, military invasion and terrorist attacks, the geopolitics that are invoked finally receive the historical background and critical scrutiny they require.

John Agnew, UCLA

The Geopolitics Reader is an exceptional collection, demonstrating the historical currents that flow through contemporary geopolitics. Attentive to the meanings that frame us, it offers a critical antidote to fixed assumptions about our world.

David Campbell, Durham University

An unique Reader that goes beyond the expected to inspire discussion, debate and new ways of thinking about politics and space.

Anna Secor, University of Kentucky

This extensively revised second edition of *The Geopolitics Reader* draws together the most influential and significant geopolitical readings from the last hundred years.

This Reader considers five different domains of geopolitical thought and practice: imperialist, Cold War and twenty-first century geopolitics as well as special sections that address global dangers and resistances to the practices of geopolitics. The editors provide comprehensive introductions and critical analysis for each of the five parts. Political cartoons are integrated throughout. Divergent viewpoints on geopolitics are represented in the selection of readings, which have been updated to incorporate the best critical scholarship on the geopolitics of 9/11, the Iraq War and global terrorism.

Including articles by Halford Mackinder, Theodore Roosevelt, Adolf Hitler, George Kennan, Samuel Huntington, Edward Said, Osama Bin Laden and American neo-conservatives, this volume is great for classroom instruction and debates, provoking lively discussion of how questions of discourse and power are at the centre of the critical study of geopolitics.

**Gearóid Ó Tuathail** is Professor in Government and International Affairs at Virginia Tech's campus in Washington, DC; **Simon Dalby** is Professor in the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at Carleton University in Ottawa; **Paul Routledge** is Reader in Human Geography in the Department of Geographical and Earth Sciences at the University of Glasgow, Scotland.

Geography/Politics/International Relations

Cover image: Corbis



www.routledge.com Printed in Great Britain



## **Contents**

Gearóid Ó Tuathail

Illustrations	mar control in the second seco	xi
	Xi	
Acknowledgements	Al	111
General Introduction: Thinking Critically about G	eopolitics	1
Gearóid Ó Tuathail	(oos) Francing 1	
PART ONE IMPERIALIST GEOPOLITICS	Foreign Policy  Gestoid O Tuelhail and John Agney	5
Introduction to Part One	1	7
Gearóid Ó Tuathail		
	Policy Statement of the Committee on the Propart L	
	<ol> <li>Trum Alerting Americal, The Papers of the Committee</li> </ol>	4
Halford J. Mackinder		
from Geographical Journal (1904)		
2 The Roosevelt Corollary	C from Protest and Survive (1980)	9
Theodore Roosevelt		
from A Compilation of Messages and Paper	rs of the Presidents (1905)	
3 Why Geopolitik?	4. from The National Interest (1989)	U
Karl Haushofer		
from The World of General Haushofer (194	ART THREE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY GEORGE	
4 Eastern Orientation or Eastern Policy	Suro Viorse than the Dissesse?	3
Adolf Hitler		
from Mein Kampf (1942)		
5 Geography versus Geopolitics	A	7
Isaiah Bowman	The Clash of Civilizations?	
from Geographical Review (1942)		
	from Fotelign Affairs (1993)	
6 Defense of German Geopolitics	eplatonist of Plancinies	3
Karl Haushofer	Project for a New American Century	
from Total Power: A Footnote to History (19	948)	
PART TWO COLD WAR GEOPOLITICS	5	7
Committee of the commit		
Introduction to Part Two	Thorn and the part of the part	59

7	The Truman Doctrine President Harry Truman from Public Papers of the Presidents of the Uni	ited States (1947)	75
8	The Sources of Soviet Conduct George F. Kennan from Foreign Affairs (1947)	tents	78
9	Soviet Policy and World Politics Andrei Zhdanov from The International Situation (1947)		82
10	A Geopolitical Discourse with Robert McN Gearóid Ó Tuathail, from Geopolitics (2000)	amara	85
11	The Brezhnev Doctrine Leonid Brezhnev from Pravda (1968)		91
12	Geopolitics and Discourse: Practical Geop Foreign Policy Gearóid Ó Tuathail and John Agnew from Political Geography Quarterly (1992)	olitical Reasoning in American	94
13	Policy Statement of the Committee on the Pres from Alerting America: The Papers of the Com	ent Danger	103
14	Appeal for European Nuclear Disarmamer END Committee from <i>Protest and Survive</i> (1980)	t (END)  (Geographical Journal 1904)  Rodgevelt Corollary	105
15	The End of History? Francis Fukuyama from The National Interest (1989)		
P	ART THREE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY GEO	POLITICS	117
	troduction to Part Three earóid Ó Tuathail		119
16	Samuel P. Huntington from Foreign Affairs (1993)	graphy versos (teapolitical li Bowman Gaographical Review (1942)	136
17	7 Statement of Principles Project for a New American Century from http://newamericancentury.org (1997)		145
18	Edward W. Said from The Nation (2001)	WO COLD WAR GEOPOLITICS	146

19	The Pentagon's New Map Thomas P.M. Barnett from Esquire (2003)	
20	The American Empire: The Burden Michael Ignatieff from The New York Times magazine (2003)	
21	America, Right or Wrong Anatol Lieven from America, Right or Wrong (2004)	
PA	RT FOUR THE GEOPOLITICS OF GLOBAL DANGERS	175
	oduction to Part Four non Dalby	177
22	The Coming Anarchy Robert D. Kaplan from The Atlantic Monthly (1994)	8 .35
23	The patient souts of power	197
24	The Geopolitical Economy of 'Resource Wars' Philippe Le Billon from Geopolitics (2004)	203
25	No Escape from Dependency: Looming Energy Crisis Overshadows  Bush's Second Term  Michael T. Klare  from TomDispatch.com (2004)	209
26	Oil and Blood: The Way to Take over the World Michael Renner from World Watch Magazine (2003)	213
27	Biological Threat Assessment: Is the Cure Worse than the Disease?  Jonathan B. Tucker  from Arms Control Today (2004)	217
28	AIDS and Global Security Gwyn Prins from International Affairs (2004)	224
PA	RT FIVE ANTI-GEOPOLITICS	231
	roduction to Part Five ul Routledge	233
29	Orientalism Reconsidered Edward W. Said from Europe and its Others (1984)	250

30	Frantz Fanon from The Wretched of the Earth (1963)	256
31	Antipolitics: A Moral Force George Konrad from Antipolitics (1984)	
32	Tomorrow Begins Today: Invitation to an Insurrection Subcommandante Marcos from We Are Everywhere (2003)	
33	Letter to America Osama Bin Laden from the Internet (2002)	265
34	The Clash of Barbarisms Gilbert Achar from The Clash of Barbarisms (2002)	270
35	Beyond Either/Or: A Feminist Analysis of September 11th  Jennifer Hyndman from ACME (2003)	276
36	Instant-Mix Imperial Democracy Arundhati Roy from The Ordinary Person's Guide to Empire (2003)	281
Col	pyright Information	285 289