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## CLASSICAL GEOPOLITICS, A NEW ANALYTICAL MODEL

In 2016, Stanford University Press published a book by Phil Kelly, *Classical Geopolitics, A New Analytical Model*. The book is significant in the analysis of geopolitical theories, from the choice of theory, its placement in the model to the derivation of assumptions and definitions.

The concept of the book consists of seven chapters: *Introduction, Model and Theory, Several Geopolitical Approaches in the Recent Past, Classical Geopolitical Assumptions, Classical Geopolitical Theories, Applications of the Model, Setting the Course for a Rejuvenated Geopolitics, and Annex: Classical Geopolitical Concepts / Theories, Notes and Index*. Following an overview of the development of geopolitics, the book introduces us to the history of geopolitics, but also its directions and scholars along two lines. The first line would be an organic, reflected by German concern about scientific laws, which contributed to the survival of states in an increasingly volatile world, with his two scholars Friedrich Ratzel and Rudolf Kjellén. Another would be the geostrategic British and North American interest, through the depicted geographical position of states and regions as a condition of foreign action with Alfred Thayer Mahan, Halford Mackinder, and Nicholas Spykman as their standard bearers. After World War II, these classical directions were exposed to great influence by the alleged connection with General Karl Haushofer and his geopolitical school in Munich as well as the aggression of Adolf Hitler, both directions in promoting war and racism. The book is structured to follow three main goals: first, purpose; constructed classical geopolitical model, second, objective; by its construction it outlines the usefulness and legitimacy of classical geopolitics as an important model of international relations, third, access; listed three ways that will show the benefit of classical geopolitics. Phil Kelly separates the model from theory and its application. Theory and the model are different, first, the theory is part of the second, the model. It lists sixty theories in our geopolitical model. These theories can be used to interpret actions and policies in the field of international relations

and foreign policy. Throughout the writing of the entire book, the approach of objective methodology is dominant, allowing for a modernist and positivist path free from personal, subjective adherence to either side. The book is written in very simple language, what open the door to better and easier understanding.

In the first chapter, *Introduction*, the author is aware of the fact that the term geopolitics is not sufficiently defined. Classical geopolitics focuses on structural, international, or strategic levels, and within this broader aspect it involves the study of the influence of particular geographical features, such as positions and locations of countries and regions, resources, distance, topography, shapes and sizes, and the like, on external policies and behaviors of states as an aid and as a source for theory. In contrast, political geography is local and domestic, emphasizing the influence of similar geographical features, but on policies and behaviors largely within the local political boundaries of states. In the structure of the book, the author is not concerned with the decision-making process in foreign affairs, but a process that is a reserve of critical geographers, avoiding the study of leader bias as a motivation for their actions, and instead points to the behavior of states only as relevant actors in the contrasting environments of the international scene. Theses and statements are supported by quotations and even phrases by well-known scientists who have contributed to the development in this field, such as: Spykman, Kjellin, Ratzel, Haushofer, Snyder, Gorman, Cohen, Kennan, Dodds, Clokie, O Tuathail, Dalby, Mackinder, Walton, Brzezinski and many others. Nevertheless, the focus of the book rests on the terrains of the author's model, not the authors who created them in the background.

In the second chapter, *Model and Theory*, the author explains the theories, models and draws a parallel between them, pointing out their difference but also their connection. Theories are just simple sentences of probability, composed as if - then statements. If a state occupies a central position, this location may provide the country with certain advantages and disadvantages. Models are different from theories in a much wider range of descriptions. The model covers all the relevant assumptions, concepts and theories that will extend across our entire geopolitical area, their boundaries, or entry points, that are different by definition. The absence of a clear definition was one of the major weaknesses of geopolitics in the past. Definitions of geopolitics vary, and certain ones are cumbersome, negative, contradictory and confusing. The author's proposal for a consensus definition follows the path, geopolitics is the study of the influence of certain geographical features, positions and locations of regions, states and resources, topography, climate, distances, size and shape of states, demographics,

etc., on states, foreign policies and actions as an aid to the state machine. Phil Kelly states the attitude of the realist and the power-for-security attitude. This means maximizing your drivers for power, in order to maintain your secure position. Security is equated with a high-power consensus on moderation and collective persuasion in conflict management, without radical disruption.

In chapter three, *Several Geopolitical Approaches in the Recent Past*, author lists four different geopolitical schools or approaches: (1) German or Munich geopolitics of 1920 and 1930, led by General Karl Haushofer and his associates; (2) The Cold War or The politics of power in the mid-twentieth century; (3) Postmodern critical geopolitics, which first emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, and today is led by scholars in academic political geography who challenge this author's traditional geopolitics; (4) Classical geopolitics (where the author constructs his model).

In chapter four, *Classical Geopolitical Assumptions*, author argues that geopolitical assumptions are simple, but fairly abstract statements that help define what is at the core of geopolitics, its basic beliefs, parameters, and foundations. Assumptions must simply take the leap of faith that certain truths will shape what is essential to the nature of classical geopolitics. Assumptions and theories serve different purposes. It must be borne in mind that theories explain, analyze and predict, while assumptions are merely simple abstract beliefs that underlie the general description of concepts and model theories. Assumptions reveal much more esotericism; they are simpler and not based on probability; they give no room at all to rigorous logic or statistical tests. Geopolitically defined assumption is: The immediate environment of a state determines its international behavior. Geopolitically defined theory: The position of a state, whether central or peripheral within a region, is conditioned by its international behavior. Mackinder's Heartland Assumption: State or a coalition of states that control central Eurasia has the edge for world domination. Mackinder's theory of heartland: The state or coalition of states that control central Eurasia has the edge for domination in the world. Assumption and theory are identical in this case, they are still separate by function, the first one opposing belief, the second one asserting it.

In chapter five, *Classical Geopolitical Theories*, it comes to the choice of theory. The second time to demonstrate the usefulness and legitimacy of classical geopolitics, but the stated purpose for writing a book. Very easy to understand; theory is nothing more than a mere sentence that connects the two elements in predicting probability. In contrast, the model uses a broader, complete but

passive package of assumptions, concepts, and theories, all wrapped up in a common definition. This model-like-container includes everything that classical geopolitics offers us.

In chapter six, *Applications of the Model*, it is emphasized that the usefulness of theories lies in their contribution to insights that can help to interpret events and policies more deeply in the real international environment, both historically and in contemporary cases in regional and strategic fields.

In chapter seven, *Setting the Course for a Rejuvenated Geopolitics*, we have to return to the purpose of the book: Building a refined and more visible classical model of geopolitics. A way to successfully follow the theory set in the model is described there. To enable this, it is necessary to follow the instructions of the author: first, legalize exploration of geopolitics; second, emphasize the classic over critical, postmodern geopolitics; third, isolate geopolitics from the model of realism; fourth, explain and agree on the appropriate geopolitical definition; fifth, make an agreement on important parts of geopolitical models, namely assumptions, concepts and theories that fit the definition of geopolitics; sixth, collect and refine classical geopolitical assumptions; seventh, collect and refine classical geopolitical concepts and theories; eighth, collect and refine applications within the geopolitical model; ninth, organize a support group of classical geopolitical enthusiasts.

The book provides a detailed, analytical account of the relationship between theory, model, assumption and application of theories and models. In order to elaborate the analyses, the book presents about sixty explanatory theories. The author distinguishes the visible boundary between theories and models in a very simple way that introduces the reader step-by-step into the elaboration of the topic of geopolitics by presenting directions and guidelines for future analysis. The book is highly recommended for analysis and creation of geopolitical model in the field of geopolitics but in international relations also.