

morale of Bernacchi and his companions.

Chapters 8 and 9 describe the sudden arrival of *Southern Cross* on 28 January 1900 and the first real opportunity for exploration with the cruise along the coast of Victoria Land, the location of the South Magnetic Pole, and a pioneering sledge journey over the surface of the ice shelf by Borchgrevink, Colbeck, and one of the Lapps achieving a farthest south record 78° 50' latitude. In her penultimate chapter, Mrs Crawford deals with the return to London and the aftermath of the expedition. The scientific results were patchy, notably the zoology, which suffered from Borchgrevink's inexplicable loss of Hanson's notebooks, absence of labels from specimens, and some poor taxidermy. Bernacchi, by contrast, was praised for his magnetic and meteorological work and acclaimed for his 'zeal and capacity,' all of which was to earn him a place on Scott's forthcoming *Discovery* expedition. As for the 'gold-bearing' ore, Borchgrevink fared no better than Frobisher. So it was that this curious figure received little honour in his day. Not until as late as 1936 — four years before his death — was all finally forgiven with his award of the Royal Geographical Society's Patron's Medal.

The book is rounded off with a brief review of subsequent visits to the huts at Cape Adare and plans for their conservation. Photographs taken at the time make interesting contrasts with some of recent years, appendices list items of clothing and equipment, and there are two most useful pull-out maps provided. This is a really excellent history, not just for the light it throws on a somewhat neglected expedition, but as a study of what extreme environmental stress can have on the personalities of a small ill-knit group of explorers living in total isolation. (H.G.R. King, Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge, Lensfield Road, Cambridge CB2 1ER.)

**GEOPOLITICS IN ANTARCTICA: VIEWS FROM THE SOUTHERNOCEANIC RIM.** Klaus Dodds. 1997. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons. xviii + 252 p, hard cover. ISBN 0-471-96992-3. £45.00.

Geopolitics concerns the study of states within the context of global space, in order to understand better the bases of state power and the nature of state interactions. Geopolitics thus aims to assess the impact of geography, economics, and demography upon the foreign policy of states.

*Geopolitics in Antarctica* uses the geography of polar politics as a prism to assess critically the foreign policies of six Southern Ocean Rim States (SORS), namely Argentina, Australia, Chile, India, New Zealand, and South Africa. Klaus Dodds, a lecturer in geography at Royal Holloway, University of London, has produced a serious piece of scholarship that strives to evaluate the effects of polar considerations on the foreign policies of these states, as well as the influence that each SORS's foreign policy has upon the development of Antarctic law and politics. In great measure, he succeeds in this ambitious undertaking.

Certain themes permeate Dodds' explanations of how geographical reasoning has affected the policies of these

states toward the Antarctic. Among these are the rim states' historical concern for the Antarctic–Southern Ocean region; the diplomatic role these states play as middle powers; the legal and political geographies of the polar south for sovereignty assertions made by Argentina, Australia, Chile, and New Zealand; the evolution of contemporary ocean law; and the progressive development of the constellation of agreements known as the Antarctic Treaty System (ATS). Treatment of these themes provides a fresh perspective of the Antarctic's politico-legal situation, since under the ATS national interests generally have been viewed as subsumed to a broader logic. This study also entails the first serious attempt to examine critically the role of middle powers in Antarctic geopolitics, within the analytical framework of a historical scheme for the periodization of the Antarctic events. The treatments of India and South Africa are especially welcome, since those governments' roles in Antarctic affairs have been largely neglected, and the author draws extensively upon government archives.

By way of introduction, the author briefly surveys the nature of geopolitics as a scientific study, especially as applied to Antarctica. The six principal Southern Ocean Rim States are then critically examined in separate chapters to ascertain and assess the influence of geopolitical considerations upon each state's own Antarctic policies. These chapters are organized in roughly the same way, thus providing for uniformity and easier comparative analysis. Each state's history of involvement in the Antarctic is discussed, including its government's views on law and sovereignty in the region. Likewise, perceived national interests in the polar south are set out, often as geopolitical views of prominent national authors who have influenced their government's Antarctic policy. In addition, treatment is given to each government's role in the 1959 Antarctic Treaty negotiations, the role of science in each state, territorial claims and resource interests in the Antarctic, national research programs, national security implications, and each state's participation in negotiations that in 1988 produced agreement on Antarctic minerals, only to be replaced in 1991 by the Madrid Protocol on Environmental Protection to the Antarctic Treaty.

The historical analysis of the SORS is particularly useful, since each assessment is based on primary archival sources and framed within the geopolitical thinking of the time. The role of each government in the 1957–1958 International Geophysical Year and each state's strategic concerns and resource interests in creating regimes for conserving marine living resources and regulating possible Antarctic minerals activities are critically addressed. In the main, Dodds provides assessments that are balanced, reasonable, and well researched using original documents and primary materials. Certain leitmotifs converge as Dodds seeks to evaluate the legal, resource, political, and strategic interests of the SORS in the Antarctic. The common link of perceived geographical proximity to Antarctica unites each rim state and endows its government with perceived interests in influencing events

in the region. Indeed, as is made clear, the domestic media play a notable role in each state by influencing government perceptions of strategic interests in Antarctica as salient foreign policy concerns. Further, Dodds' approach of viewing geopolitics in Antarctica from the vantage point of the six SORS casts Antarctic Treaty politics into a unique southern versus northern hemisphere context. Particularly interesting in this regard is that the SORS have been the most adamant of the Treaty's Consultative Parties pressing for denuclearization and demilitarization of the Antarctic, albeit India's nuclear weapons' tests in mid-1998 undercut the merit of that observation.

Dodds is surely right in his central conclusion that geopolitical considerations among the six SORS have figured prominently in the development of the Antarctic Treaty System. There are, however, certain constraints on such a restricted approach. For example, one cannot help but be struck by the circumscribed coverage of United States and Soviet geopolitical influence throughout the region. To be sure, the superpowers have had a pre-eminent impact upon activities on the cold continent since the 1950s — whether it be in terms of scientific enterprise, logistical supplies, economic investment, political capital, legal regime creation, or geopolitical strategy.

Likewise, no substantive explanation is given for certain geopolitically related events that should intrigue the serious reader. For example, why was 60° south latitude used to demarcate the ambit of the Antarctic Treaty, and who proposed that limit for what geopolitical reason at the 1959 Treaty conference? What prompted Australia in 1991 to declare a 200-mile exclusive economic zone offshore its claimed Antarctic territory, and what legal and geopolitical complications might this pose for the Treaty regime? What specific geopolitical ramifications stem from the contemporary law-of-the-sea regime for the Antarctic in general and for activities of the SORS in particular? Have any of the SORS been affected by salient geopolitical implications stemming from the declaration in 1994 by the International Whaling Commission of a Southern Ocean Whales Sanctuary south of 50° south latitude? What resource ramifications arise from illegal fishing activities in the Southern Ocean, and how has each SORS reacted to its own vessels engaged in fishing activities that violate the Commission for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources (CCAMLR) regulations? Addressing these queries would have added new insights and greater appreciation for the author's very useful geopolitical approach at the national level.

Still, these are merely quibbling points, certainly not fatal flaws. What makes Dodds' treatment really valuable is how his analysis adroitly weaves together contending national policies of the rim states that have affected international issues of economic and political importance to the Antarctic. Among the issues selectively addressed are the recent codification of the law of the sea, the development of an Antarctic minerals regime, the frustrations experienced by CCAMLR in trying to persuade governments to regulate their fishing activities, and the rise of the interna-

tional environmental movement to conserve and protect the Antarctic–Southern Ocean region. This study successfully ferrets out and evaluates the geopolitical aims and achievements of the six SORS in dealing with these issues, although from mainly a national perspective.

As geographical knowledge of the Antarctic has expanded, so too has the body of applicable international law created for that region. Technical advancement reveals not only knowledge about the geophysical nature of Antarctica; it also points up the needs for conservation, protection, and legal regulation of national activities there. *Geopolitics in Antarctica* underscores this realization from a multi-national perspective, and, in so doing, supplies an important resource for scholars and political analysts who are seriously interested in Antarctic law and politics. It offers new insights into how perceptions of national interest affect considerations of foreign policy options, and thereby provides greater appreciation for the role of geopolitics in contemporary Antarctic affairs and its continued relevance and saliency in the formulation of national foreign policies. Recent treatments of Antarctic affairs have been cast more in theoretical terms, usually within the context of a politico-legal regime or economic/common property resource activities. Dodds' geopolitical approach furnishes an important reminder of the strategic perspective and real-world political motives that have prompted governments to assert interest in the Antarctic.

Perceptions of Antarctica's spatial importance have varied during this century, largely on account of the complicated changes that have accompanied international economic transition, technological advancements, political transformations, and new geopolitical priorities. Dodds' treatment of the SORS reveals a history of competing sovereignties and proposals for collective management. In this respect, the author furnishes a thoughtfully insightful analysis, as he convincingly demonstrates that the struggle over geography in the Antarctic is intimately tied to national perceptions of time and place.

In conclusion, competition over the Antarctic has arisen as governments have sought to envision the Antarctic as a national territory, with its own identity. Hence perceptions of the Antarctic have changed from an empty isotropic space into a place replete with resource potential and strategic value, not only for the SORS, but for all interested states. Even so, when the Antarctic Treaty states acted in 1991 to abandon a minerals regime and create instead an environmental protection and resource conservation regime, cause arose for optimism. This profound change in ATS policy strongly suggests that the pursuit of geopolitics in Antarctica has taken a redirection, one that moves away from exploitation and national aggrandizement and heads toward regarding the Antarctic as 'a natural reserve, devoted to peace and science.' For all peoples, but for Southern Ocean Rim States in particular, this ATS policy reversal should come as a most welcome development indeed. (Christopher C. Joyner, Department of Government, Georgetown University, 37th and O Streets NW, Washington, DC 20057, USA.)