CHAPTER 8

Political Geography

How many countries can you name? Old-style geography sometimes required memorization of countries and their capitals. Today human geographers emphasize a thematic approach. We are concerned with the location of activities in the world, the reasons for particular spatial distributions, and the significance of the arrangements. Despite this change in emphasis, you still need to know the locations of countries. Without such knowledge, you lack a basic frame of reference: knowing where things are. It would be like translating an article in a foreign language by looking up each word in a dictionary.

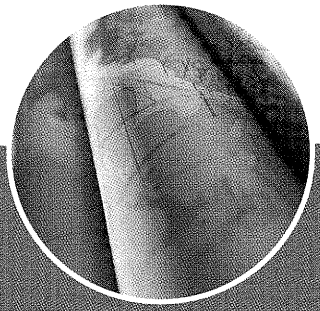
In recent years we have repeatedly experienced military conflicts and revolutionary changes in once obscure places. No one can predict where the next war will erupt, but political geography helps to explain the cultural and physical factors that underlie political unrest in the world. Political geographers study how people have organized Earth's land surface into countries and alliances, reasons underlying the observed arrangements, and the conflicts that result from the organization.

Political conflicts during the twentieth century were dominated by wars between states or collections of allied states. For the United States, World War I, World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War were the bloodiest of these conflicts with other states.

In contrast, the attack against the United States on September 11, 2001, was initiated not by a hostile state but by a group of individual terrorists. For political geography, the challenge is to explain "why" terrorism occurs if "where" facts about the terrorists, such as countries of birth and current places of residence, are not particularly important factors in the explanation. Even so, reasons for terrorist attacks may relate to the political geography of particular regions of the world.

KEY ISSUES

1. **Where are states located?**
2. **Why do boundaries between states cause problems?**
3. **Why do states cooperate with each other?**
4. **Why has terrorism increased?**



CASE STUDY

Changing Borders in Europe

Daniel Lenig lives in the village of Rittershoffen and works at a Mercedes-Benz truck factory in the town of Worth, about 50 kilometers (30 miles) away. Lenig's journey to work takes him across an international border, because Rittershoffen is in France, whereas Worth is in Germany.

As a citizen of France, Lenig has no legal difficulty crossing the German-French border twice a day; no guards ask him to show his passport or require him to pay customs duties on goods he purchases on the other side. If he is delayed, the cause is heavy traffic on the bridge that spans the Rhine River, which serves as the border between the two countries.

The boundary between France and Germany has not always been so easy to cross peacefully. The French long have argued that the Rhine River forms the logical physical boundary between France and Germany. But the Germans once claimed that they should control the Rhine, including the lowlands on the French side between the west bank of the river and the Vosges Mountains, an area known as Alsace. In fact, Alsace was initially inhabited by Germanic tribes but was annexed by France in 1670.

Two centuries later, in 1870, Alsace and its neighboring province of Lorraine were captured by Prussia (which a year later formed the core of the newly proclaimed German Empire). France regained Alsace and Lorraine after Germany was defeated in World War I and has possessed them ever since, except between 1940 and 1945 when Germany controlled them during World War II.

With the end of the Cold War and the demise of communism in Eastern Europe, France and Germany now lie at the core of the world's wealthiest market area. Most French and German people consider the pursuit of higher standards of living to be more important than rehashing centuries-old boundary disputes.

Although old boundaries between France and Germany have been virtually eliminated, new ones have been erected elsewhere in Europe. Travelers between Ljubljana and Zagreb now must show their passports and convert their cash into a different currency. These two cities were once part of the same country—Yugoslavia—but now they are the capitals of two separate countries, Slovenia and Croatia. Similarly, travelers between Vilnius and Moscow—both once part of the Soviet Union—now must show their passports and change money when they cross the international boundary between Lithuania and Russia. Russians, who once made up a majority of the Soviet Union's population, now find themselves in the minority in such countries as Estonia, Turkmenistan, and Ukraine.

For several decades during the Cold War, many countries were polarized into two ***regions***, one allied with the former Soviet Union and the other allied with the United States. But with the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, the global political landscape changed fundamentally. Geographic concepts help us to understand this changing political organization of Earth's surface. We can also use geographic methods to examine the causes of political change and instability and to anticipate potential trouble spots around the world.

When looking at satellite images of Earth, we easily distinguish ***places***: landmasses and water bodies, mountains and rivers, deserts and fertile agricultural land, urban areas and forests. What we cannot see are ***where*** boundaries are located between countries. Boundary lines are not painted on Earth, but they might as well be, for these national divisions are very real. To many, national boundaries are more meaningful than natural features. One of Earth's most fundamental cultural characteristics—one that we take for granted—is the division of our planet's surface into a collection of ***spaces*** occupied by individual countries.

In the post–Cold War era, the familiar division of the world into countries or states is crumbling. Geographers observe ***why*** this familiar division of the world is changing. Between the mid-1940s and the late 1980s two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—essentially "ruled" the world. As superpowers, they were involved in a global ***scale***. But the United States is less dominant in the political landscape of the twenty-first century, and the Soviet Union no longer exists.

Today ***globalization*** means more ***connections*** among states. Individual countries have transferred military, economic, and political authority to regional and worldwide collections of states. Power is exercised through connections among states created primarily for economic cooperation.

Despite (or perhaps because of) greater global political cooperation, ***local diversity*** has increased in political affairs, as individual cultural groups demand more control over the territory they inhabit. States have transferred power to local governments, but this does not placate cultural groups who seek complete independence. Wars have broken out in recent years—both between small neighboring states and among cultural groups within countries—over political control of territory. Old countries have been broken up in a collection of smaller ones, some barely visible on world maps.

KEY ISSUE 1

Where Are States Located?

- Problems of defining states
- Development of the state concept

The question posed in this key issue may seem self-evident, because a map of the world shows that virtually all habitable land belongs to a country. But for most of history, until recently, this was not so. As recently as a half century ago, the world contained only about 50 countries, compared to 191 members of the United Nations as of 2003 (Figure 8–1).

A **state** is an area organized into a political unit and ruled by an established government that has control over its internal and foreign affairs. A state occupies a defined territory on Earth's surface and contains a permanent population. A state has **sovereignty**, which means independence from control of its internal affairs by other states. Because the entire area of a state is managed by its national government, laws, army, and leaders, it is a good example of a formal or uniform region. The term *country* is a synonym for *state*.

The term *state*, as used in political geography, does not refer to the 50 regional governments inside the United States. The 50 states of the United States are subdivisions within a single state: the United States of America.

Antarctica is the only large landmass on Earth's surface that is not part of a state. Several states, including Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, New Zealand, Norway, and the United Kingdom, claim portions of Antarctica (Figure 8–2). Argentina, Chile, and the United Kingdom make conflicting, overlapping claims. The United States, Russia, and a number of other states do not recognize the claims of any country to Antarctica.

The Treaty of Antarctica, signed in 1959 and renewed in 1991, provides a legal framework for managing Antarctica. States may establish research stations on Antarctica for scientific investigations, but no military activities are permitted.

Problems of Defining States

There is some disagreement about the actual number of sovereign states. Among places that test the definition of a state are Korea, China, and Western Sahara (Sahrawi Republic).

Korea: One State or Two?

A colony of Japan for many years, Korea was divided into two occupation zones by the United States and former Soviet Union after they defeated Japan in World War II. The country was divided into northern and southern sections along 38° north latitude. The division of these zones became permanent in the late 1940s, when the two superpowers established separate governments and withdrew their armies. The new government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) then invaded the Republic of Korea (South Korea) in 1950, touching off a three-year war that ended with a cease-fire line near the 38th parallel.

Both Korean governments are committed to reuniting the country into one sovereign state. Leaders of the two countries agreed in 2000 to exchange visits of families separated for a half century by the division, and for

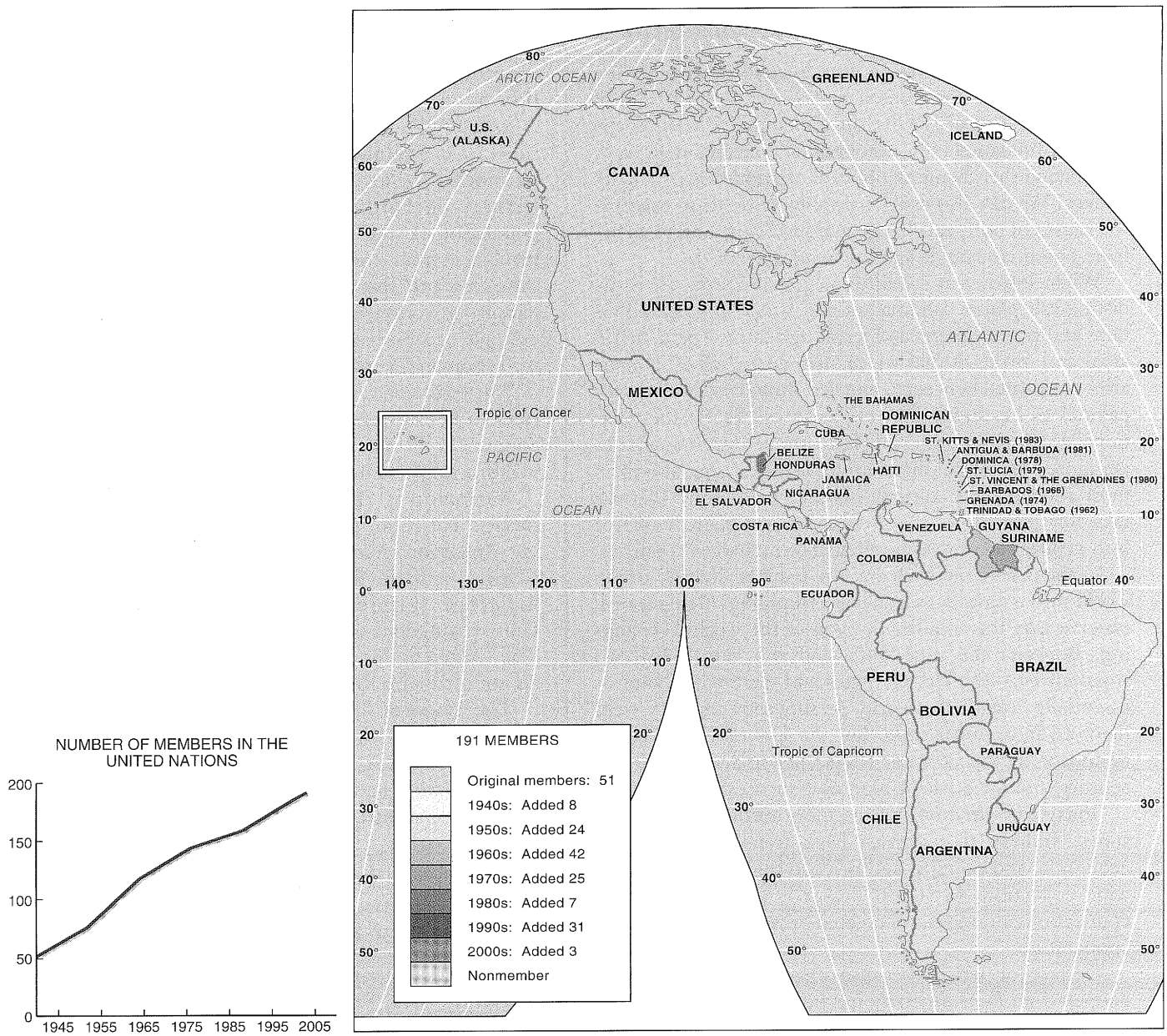


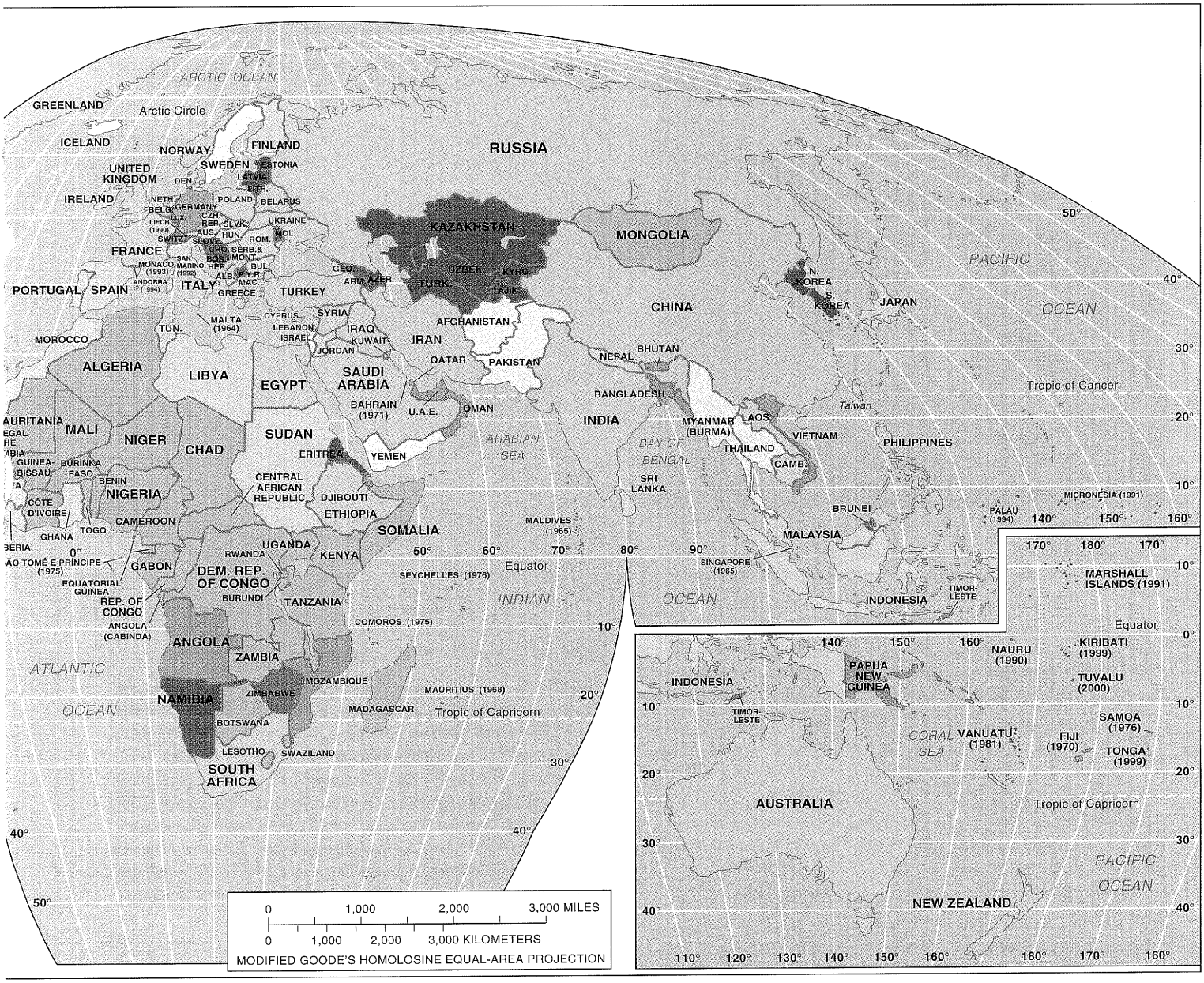
FIGURE 8–1 *United Nations members. When it was organized in 1945, the UN had only 51 members, including 49 sovereign states plus Byelorussia (now Belarus) and Ukraine, then part of the Soviet Union. The number increased to 191 in 2003. The greatest increase in sovereign states has occurred in Africa. Only four African states were original members of the UN—Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, and South Africa—and only six more joined during the 1950s. Beginning in 1960, however, a collection of independent states was carved from most of the remainder of the region. In 1960 alone, 16 newly independent African states became UN members. Creation of new sovereign states slowed during the 1980s. The breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia stimulated the formation of more new states during the early 1990s, and several microstates in the Pacific Ocean joined during the late 1990s.*

increased economic cooperation. However, progress toward reconciliation was halted by North Korea's decision to build nuclear weapons even though the country lacked the ability to provide its citizens with food, electricity, and other basic needs. Meanwhile, in 1992, North Korea and South Korea were admitted to the United Nations as separate countries.

China and Taiwan: One State or Two?

Is the island of Taiwan a sovereign state? According to China's government officials, Taiwan is not a separate sovereign state but is a part of China. Until 1999 the government of Taiwan agreed.

This confusing situation arose from a civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists in China during the late 1940s. After losing, nationalist leaders in 1949 fled to the island of Taiwan, 200 kilometers (120 miles) off the Chinese coast. The Nationalists proclaimed that they were still the legitimate rulers of the entire country of China. Until some future occasion when they could defeat the Communists and recapture all of China, the Nationalists argued, at least they could continue to govern one island of the country.



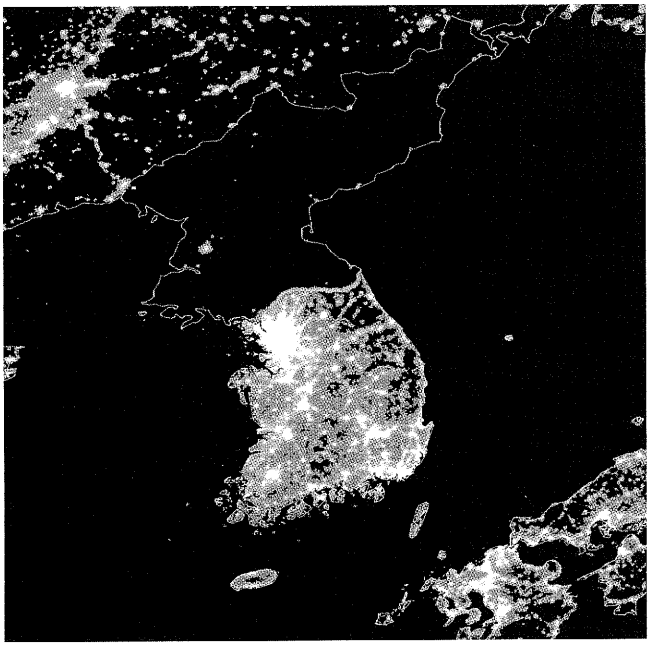
Most other governments in the world consider Mainland China (officially the People's Republic of China) and the island of Taiwan (officially the Republic of China) as two separate and sovereign states. Taiwan's president announced in 1999 that Taiwan would also regard itself as a sovereign independent state, but the government of China viewed that announcement as a dangerous departure from the long-standing arrangement between the two.

The question of who constituted the legitimate government of China plagued U.S. officials during the 1950s and 1960s. The United States had supported the Nationalists during the civil war, so many Americans opposed acknowledging that China was firmly under the control of the Communists. Consequently, the United States continued to regard the Nationalists as the official government of China until 1971, when U.S. policy finally changed, and the United Nations voted to transfer China's seat from the Nationalists to the Communists. Taiwan is now the most populous state not in the United Nations.

Western Sahara (Sahrawi Republic).

The Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, also known as Western Sahara, is considered by most African countries as a sovereign state on the continent's west coast between Morocco and Mauritania. Morocco, however, claims the territory, and to prove it has built a 3,000-kilometer wall around the territory to keep out rebels.

Spain controlled the territory until withdrawing in 1976. An independent Sahrawi Republic was declared by the Polisario Front and recognized by most African countries, but Morocco and Mauritania annexed the northern and southern portions, respectively. Three years later Mauritania withdrew and Morocco claimed the entire territory. Morocco controls most of the



North and South Korea. A nighttime satellite image recorded by the U.S. Air Force Defense Meteorological Satellite Program shows the illumination of electric lights in South Korea, whereas North Korea has virtually no electric lights.

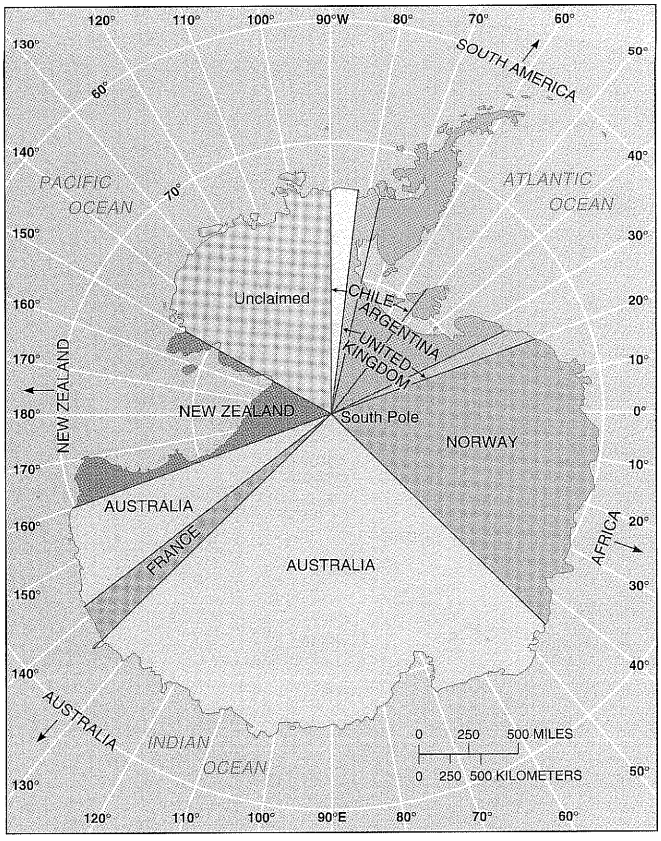


FIGURE 8-2 *National claims to Antarctica. Antarctica is the only large landmass in the world that is not part of a sovereign state. It comprises 14 million square kilometers (5.4 million square miles), 50 percent larger than Canada. Portions are claimed by Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, New Zealand, Norway, and the United Kingdom; claims by Argentina, Chile, and the United Kingdom are conflicting. In 1959 these seven countries, plus Belgium, Japan, South Africa, the Soviet Union, and the United States, signed a treaty suspending any territorial claims for 30 years and establishing guidelines for scientific research. In 1991, 24 countries agreed to extend the treaty for another 50 years, established new pollution control standards, and banned mining and oil exploration for 50 years.*

populated area, but the Polisario Front operates in the vast sparsely inhabited deserts, especially the one-fifth of the territory that lies east of Morocco's wall.

Morocco and the Polisario Front signed a cease-fire in 1991, which is supervised by United Nations peacekeeping forces. The United Nations has also attempted to hold a referendum for the residents of Western Sahara to decide whether they want independence or want to continue to be part of Morocco, but it has been repeatedly postponed.

Meanwhile, two cities in Morocco—Ceuta and Melilla—are controlled by Spain. Spain annexed the two cities along Morocco's northern Mediterranean coast around 500 years ago. The 70,000 residents of Ceuta and 60,000 residents of Melilla were given limited autonomy in 1994, but they strongly favor remaining part of Spain.

Varying Size of States

The land area occupied by the states of the world varies considerably. The largest state is Russia, which encompasses 17.1 million square kilometers (6.6 million square miles), or 11 percent of the world's entire land area. The distance between the country's borders with Eastern European countries and the Pacific Ocean extends more than 7,000 kilometers (4,300 miles).

Other states with more than 5 million square kilometers (2 million square miles) include China (9.3 million square kilometers; 3.6 million square miles), Canada (9.2 million square kilometers; 3.6 million square miles), the United States (9.2 million square kilometers; 3.5 million square miles), Brazil (8.5 million square kilometers; 3.3 million square miles), and Australia (7.6 million square kilometers; 2.9 million square miles).

At the other extreme are about two dozen **microstates**, which are states with very small land areas. The smallest microstate in the United Nations—Monaco—encompasses only 1.5 square kilometers (0.6 square miles). Other U.N. member states that are smaller than 1,000 square kilometers include Andorra, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahrain, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Kiribati, Liechtenstein, Maldives, Malta, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, San Marino, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, São Tomé e Príncipe, the Seychelles, and Singapore, Tonga, and Tuvalu. Many of these are islands, which explains both their small size and sovereignty.

Development of the State Concept

The concept of dividing the world into a collection of independent states is recent. Prior to the 1800s, Earth's surface was organized in other ways, such as city-states,

empires, and tribes. Much of Earth's surface consisted of unorganized territory.

Ancient and Medieval States

The modern movement to divide the world into states originated in Europe. However, the development of states can be traced to the ancient Middle East, in an area known as the Fertile Crescent.

Ancient States. The ancient Fertile Crescent formed an arc between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea. The eastern end, Mesopotamia, was centered in the valley formed by the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, in present-day Iraq. The Fertile Crescent then curved westward over the desert, turning southward to encompass the Mediterranean coast through present-day Syria, Lebanon, and Israel. The Nile River valley of Egypt is sometimes regarded as an extension of the Fertile Crescent. Situated at the crossroads of Europe, Asia, and Africa, the Fertile Crescent was a center for land and sea communications in ancient times (Figure 8–3).

The first states to evolve in Mesopotamia were known as city-states. A **city-state** is a sovereign state that comprises a town and the surrounding countryside. Walls clearly delineated the boundaries of the city, and outside the walls the city controlled agricultural land to produce food for urban residents. The countryside also provided the city with an outer line of defense against attack by other city-states. Periodically, one city or tribe in Mesopotamia would gain military dominance over the others and form an empire. Mesopotamia was organized into a succession of empires by the Sumerians, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians.

Meanwhile, the state of Egypt emerged as a separate empire to the west of the Fertile Crescent. Egypt controlled a long, narrow region along the banks of the Nile River, extending from the Nile Delta at the Mediterranean Sea southward for several hundred kilometers. Egypt's empire lasted from approximately 3000 B.C. until the fourth century B.C.

Early European States. Political unity in the ancient world reached its height with the establishment of the Roman Empire, which controlled most of Europe, North Africa, and Southwest Asia, from modern-day Spain to Iran and from Egypt to England. At its maximum extent, the empire comprised 38 provinces, each using the same set of laws that were created in Rome. Massive walls helped the Roman army defend many of the empire's frontiers. The Roman Empire collapsed in the fifth century A.D. after a series of attacks by people living on its frontiers, as well as internal disputes.

The European portion of the Roman Empire was fragmented into a large number of estates owned by competing kings, dukes, barons, and other nobles. Victorious nobles seized control of defeated rivals' estates, and after these nobles died, others fought to take possession of their land. Meanwhile, most people were forced to live on an estate, working and fighting for the benefit of the noble.

A handful of powerful kings emerged as rulers over large numbers of estates beginning about the year 1100. The consolidation of neighboring estates under the unified control of a king formed the basis for the development of such modern Western European states as England, France, and Spain. However, much of central Europe—notably present-day Germany and Italy—remained fragmented into a large number of estates and were not consolidated into states until the nineteenth century.

Colonies

A **colony** is a territory that is legally tied to a sovereign state rather than being completely independent. In some cases, a sovereign state runs only the colony's military and foreign policy. In others, it also controls the colony's internal affairs.

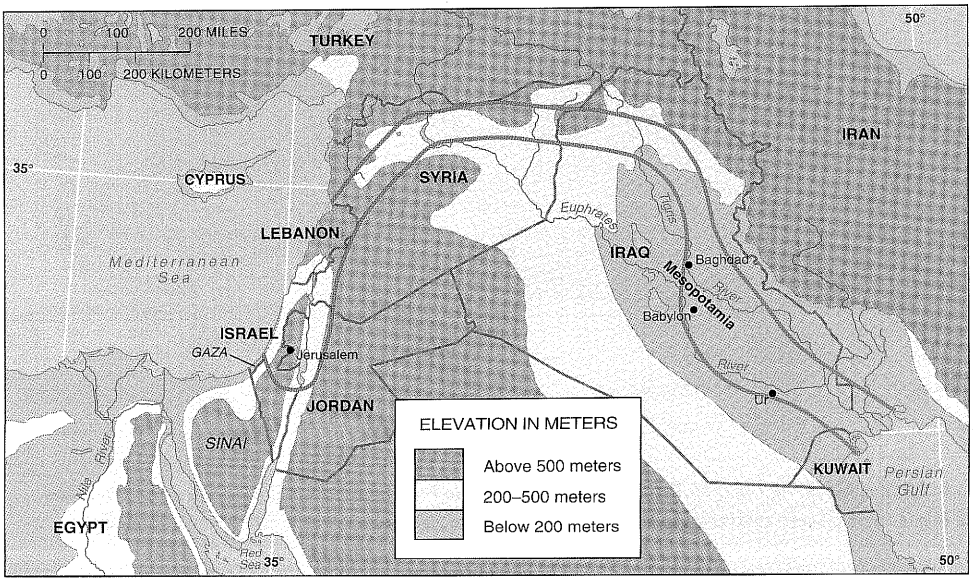


FIGURE 8–3 *The Fertile Crescent is a crescent-shaped area of relatively fertile land situated between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea. The territory was organized into a succession of empires starting several thousand years ago. As shown in Chapter 10, many important early developments in agriculture also originated in this region.*

Colonialism. European states came to control much of the world through **colonialism**, which is the effort by one country to establish settlements and to impose its political, economic, and cultural principles on such territory. European states established colonies elsewhere in the world for three basic reasons:

1. European missionaries established colonies to promote Christianity.
2. Colonies provided resources that helped the economy of European states.
3. European states considered the number of colonies to be an indicator of relative power.

The three motives can be summarized as God, gold, and glory.

The colonial era began in the 1400s, when European explorers sailed westward for Asia but encountered and settled in the Western Hemisphere instead. The European states eventually lost most of their Western Hemisphere colonies: independence was declared by the United States in 1776 and by most Latin American states between 1800 and 1824. European states then turned their attention to Africa and Asia (Figure 8–4). The European colonization of Africa and Asia is often termed **imperialism**, which is control of territory already occupied and organized by an indigenous society, whereas colonialism is control of previously uninhabited or sparsely inhabited land.

The United Kingdom assembled by far the largest colonial empire. Britain planted colonies on every continent, including much of eastern and southern Africa, South Asia, the Middle East, Australia, and Canada. The British proclaimed that the "Sun never set" on their empire. France had the second-largest overseas territory, although its colonies were concentrated in West Africa and Southeast Asia. Both the British and the French also took control of a large number of strategic islands in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian oceans.

Portugal, Spain, Germany, Italy, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Belgium all established colonies outside Europe, but they controlled less territory than the British and French. Germany tried to compete with Britain and France by obtaining African colonies that would interfere with communications in the rival European holdings.

Colonial Practices. The colonial practices of European states varied. France attempted to assimilate its colonies into French culture and educate an elite group to provide local administrative leadership. After independence, most of these leaders retained close ties with France.

The British created different government structures and policies for various territories of their empire. This

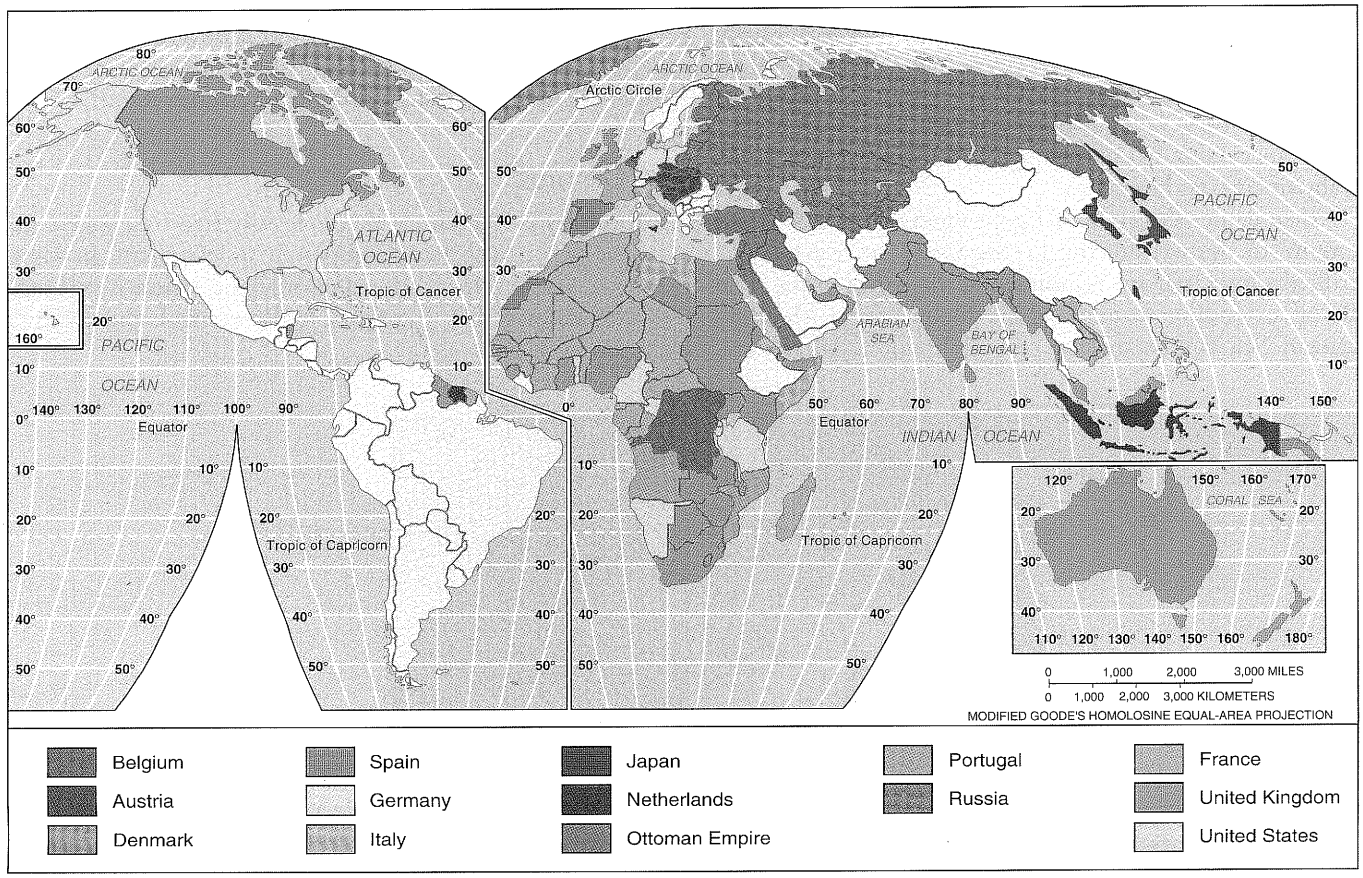


FIGURE 8–4 *Colonial possessions, 1914. At the outbreak of World War I in 1914, European states held colonies in much of the world, especially in Africa and Asia. Most of the countries in the Western Hemisphere at one time had been colonized by Europeans but gained their independence in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries.*

decentralized approach helped to protect the diverse cultures, local customs, and educational systems in their extensive empire. British colonies generally made peaceful transitions to independence, although exceptions can be found in the Middle East, Southern Africa, and Ireland, where recent conflicts can be traced in part to the legacy of British rule.

Most African and Asian colonies became independent after World War II. Only 15 African and Asian states were members of the United Nations when it was established in 1945, compared to 106 in 2003 (Table 8–1). The boundaries of the new states frequently coincide with former colonial provinces, although not always.

The Few Remaining Colonies. At one time, colonies were widespread over Earth's surface, but today only a handful remain. Nearly all are islands in the Pacific Ocean or Caribbean Sea (Figure 8–5).

TABLE 8–1
Sovereign States

MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS (190)

Afghanistan	Dominica	Liberia	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
Albania	Dominican Republic	Libya	Samoa (Western)
Algeria	Ecuador	Liechtenstein	San Marino
Andorra	Egypt	Lithuania	São Tomé e Príncipe
Angola	El Salvador	Luxembourg	Saudi Arabia
Antigua and Barbuda	Equatorial Guinea	Macedonia	Senegal
Argentina	Eritrea	Madagascar	Serbia and Montenegro
Armenia	Estonia	Malawi	Seychelles
Australia	Ethiopia	Malaysia	Sierra Leone
Austria	Fiji	Maldives	Singapore
Azerbaijan	Finland	Mali	Slovakia
Bahamas	France	Malta	Slovenia
Bahrain	Gabon	Marshall Islands	Solomon Islands
Bangladesh	Gambia	Mauritania	Somalia
Barbados	Georgia	Mauritius	South Africa
Belarus	Germany	Mexico	Spain
Belgium	Ghana	Micronesia	Sri Lanka
Belize	Greece	Moldova	Sudan
Benin	Grenada	Monaco	Suriname
Bhutan	Guatemala	Mongolia	Swaziland
Bolivia	Guinea	Morocco	Sweden
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Guinea-Bissau	Mozambique	Switzerland
Botswana	Guyana	Myanmar (Burma)	Syria
Brazil	Haiti	Namibia	Tajikistan
Brunei	Honduras	Nauru	Tanzania
Bulgaria	Hungary	Nepal	Thailand
Burkina Faso	Iceland	Netherlands	Togo
Burundi	India	New Zealand	Tonga
Cambodia	Indonesia	Nicaragua	Trinidad and Tobago
Cameroon	Iran	Niger	Tunisia
Canada	Iraq	Nigeria	Turkey
Cape Verde	Ireland	Norway	Turkmenistan
Central African Republic	Israel	Oman	Tuvalu
Chad	Italy	Pakistan	Uganda
Chile	Jamaica	Palau	Ukraine
China	Japan	Panama	United Arab Emirates
Colombia	Jordan	Papua New Guinea	United Kingdom
Comoros	Kazakhstan	Paraguay	United States
Congo Democratic Republic	Kenya	Peru	Uruguay
Congo Republic	Kiribiti	Philippines	Uzbekistan
Costa Rica	Korea, North	Poland	Vanuatu
Côte d'Ivoire	Korea, South	Portugal	Venezuela
Croatia	Kuwait	Qatar	Vietnam
Cuba	Kyrgyzstan	Romania	Yemen
Cyprus	Laos	Russia	Zambia
Czech Republic	Latvia	Rwanda	Zimbabwe
Denmark	Lebanon	Saint Kitts and Nevis	
Djibouti	Lesotho	Saint Lucia	

Not members of the United Nations (2)

Taiwan	Vatican

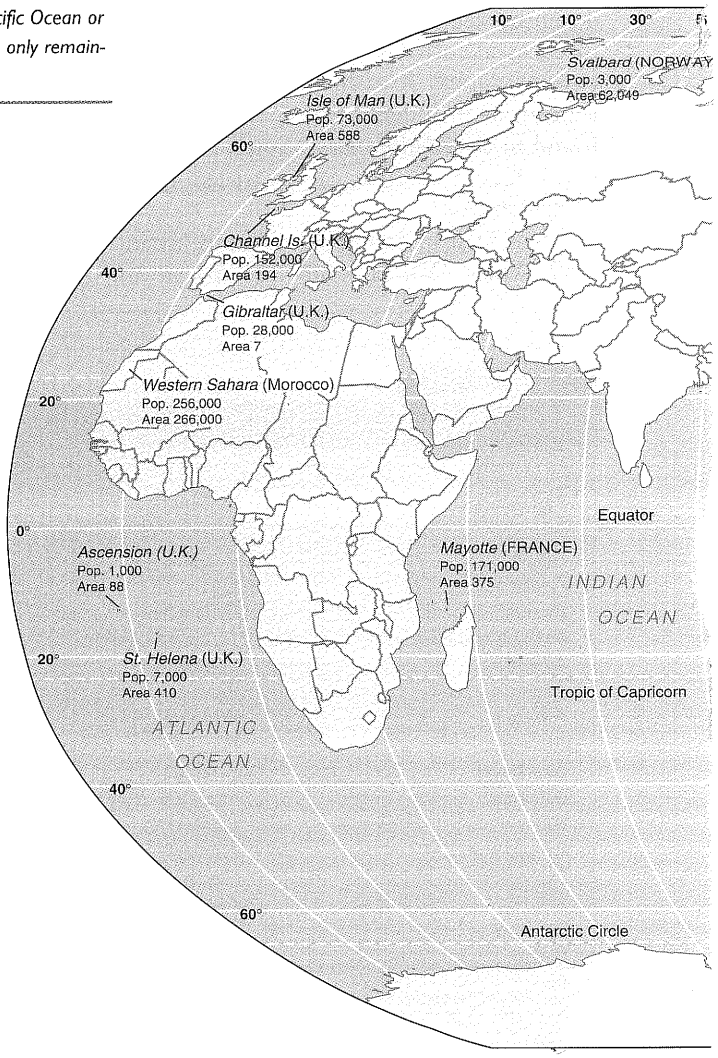
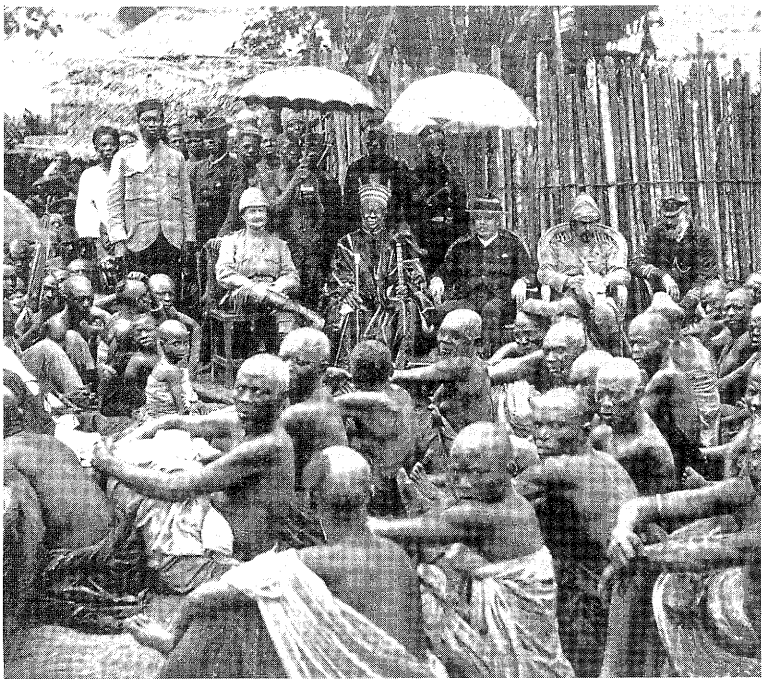


FIGURE 8–5 *Colonial possessions, 2003. Most remaining colonies are tiny specks in the Pacific Ocean or the Caribbean Sea, too small to appear on the map. Svalbard, which belongs to Norway, is the only remaining colony with a land area greater than 10,000 square kilometers.*

With the return to China of Hong Kong and Macao by the British in 1997 and Portuguese in 1999, respectively, the most populous remaining colony is Puerto Rico, which is a Commonwealth of the United States. Its 4 million residents are citizens of the United States, but they do not participate in U.S. elections, nor do they have a voting member of Congress. Puerto Ricans are split between those who want to maintain commonwealth status and those who want to see the island become a U.S. state.

Other than Puerto Rico, remaining colonies with populations between 100,000 and 300,000 include France's French Polynesia, Mayotte, and New Caledonia; the Netherlands' Netherlands Antilles; the United Kingdom's Channel Islands (Guernsey and Jersey); and the United States' Guam and U.S. Virgin Islands.

The world's least populated colony is Pitcairn Island, possessed by the United Kingdom. Pitcairn, in the South Pacific, has 54 people on an island less than 5 square kilometers (2 square miles). The island was settled in 1790 by British mutineers from the ship *Bounty*, commanded by Captain William Bligh. Today the islanders survive by selling fish and postage stamps to collectors.



European colonialism in Africa. European countries carved up much of Africa into colonies during the late nineteenth century. The United Kingdom assembled the largest collection. This 1891 photograph shows the British commanders and governors asserting control in West Africa.

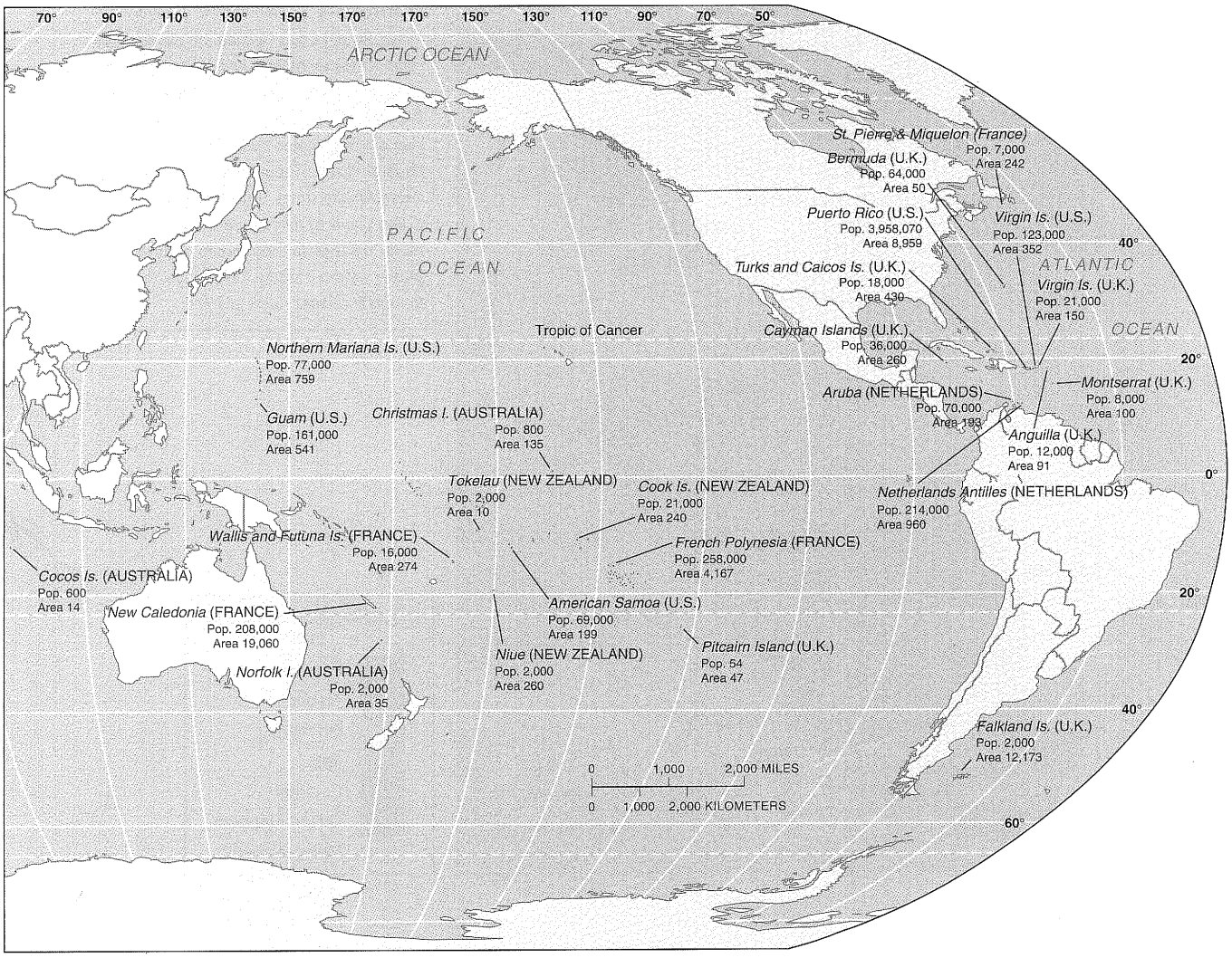
KEY ISSUE 2

Why Do Boundaries Cause Problems?

- Shapes of states
- Types of boundaries
- Boundaries inside states

A state is separated from its neighbors by a **boundary**, an invisible line marking the extent of a state's territory. Boundaries result from a combination of natural physical features (such as rivers, deserts, and mountains) and cultural features (such as language and religion). Boundaries completely surround an individual state to mark the outer limits of its territorial control and to give it a distinctive shape.

Boundaries interest geographers because the process of selecting their location is frequently difficult. Boundary locations also commonly generate conflict, both within a country and with its neighbors. The boundary line, which must be shared by more than one state, is the



only location where direct physical contact must take place between two neighboring states. Therefore, the boundary has the potential to become the focal point of conflict between them.

Shapes of States

The shape of a state controls the length of its boundaries with other states. The shape therefore affects the potential for communications and conflict with neighbors. The shape of a state, such as the outline of the United States or Canada, is part of its unique identity. Beyond its value as a centripetal force, the shape of a state can influence the ease or difficulty of internal administration and can affect social unity.

Five Basic Shapes

Countries have one of five basic shapes: compact, prorupted, elongated, fragmented, and perforated. Examples of each can be seen in southern Africa (Figure 8–6). Each shape displays distinctive characteristics and problems.

Compact States: Efficient. In a **compact state**, the distance from the center to any boundary does not vary significantly. The ideal theoretical compact state would be shaped like a circle, with the capital at the center and the shortest possible boundaries to defend.

Compactness is a beneficial characteristic for most smaller states, because good communications can be more easily established to all regions, especially if the capital is located near the center. Examples of compact states in southern African include Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda. However, compactness does not necessarily mean peacefulness, as compact states are just as likely as others to experience civil wars and ethnic rivalries.

Prorupted States: Access or Disruption. An otherwise compact state with a large projecting extension is a **prorupted state**. Proruptions are created for two principal reasons. First, a proruption can provide a state with access to a resource, such as water. When the Belgians

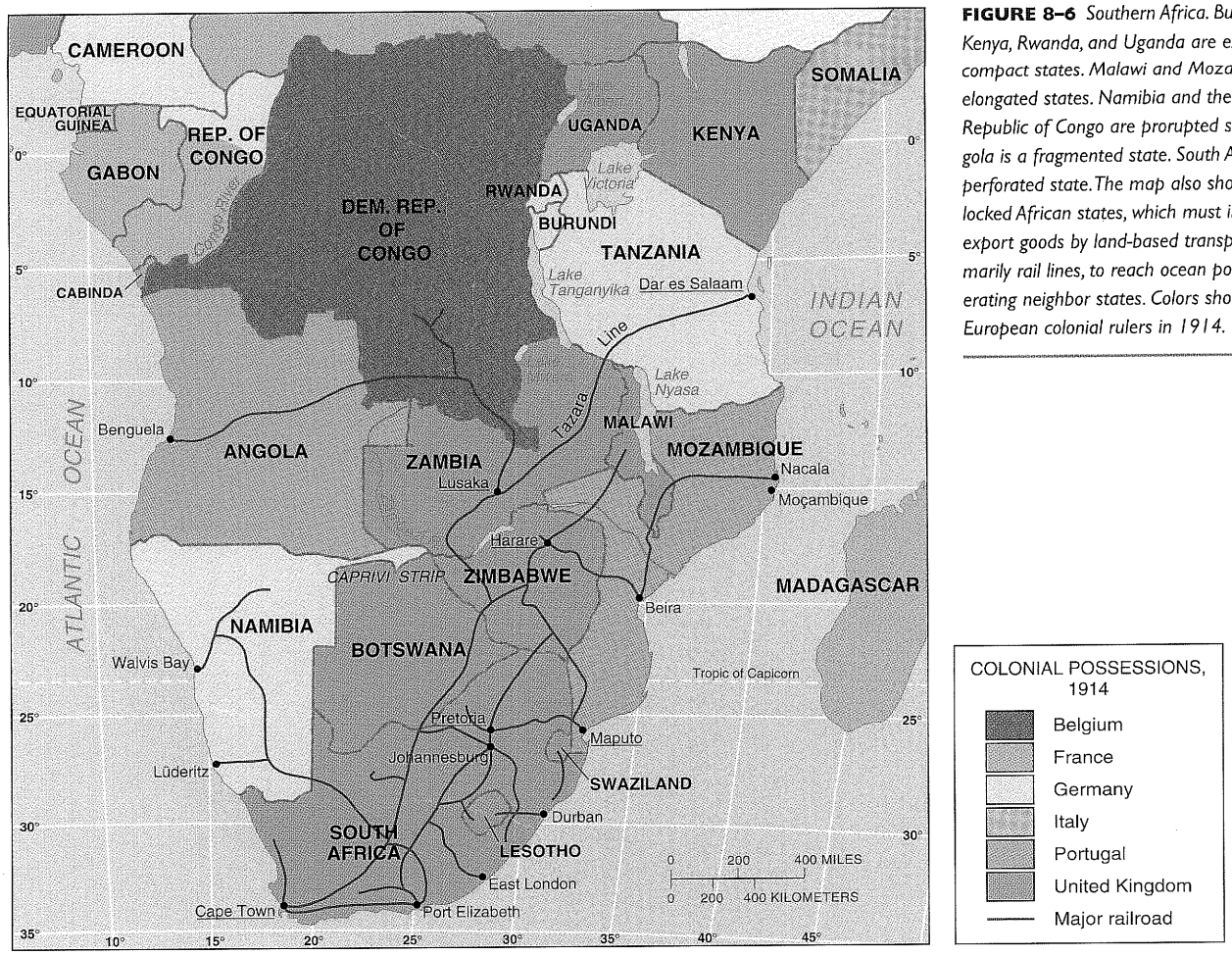


FIGURE 8–6 *Southern Africa. Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda are examples of compact states. Malawi and Mozambique are elongated states. Namibia and the Democratic Republic of Congo are prorupted states. Angola is a fragmented state. South Africa is a perforated state. The map also shows landlocked African states, which must import and export goods by land-based transportation, primarily rail lines, to reach ocean ports in cooperating neighbor states. Colors show the European colonial rulers in 1914.*

gained control of the Congo, they carved out a westward proruption about 500 kilometers (300 miles) long. The proruption, which followed the Zaire (Congo) River, gave the colony access to the Atlantic. The proruption also divided the Portuguese colony of Angola (now an independent state) into two discontinuous fragments, 50 kilometers (30 miles) apart. The northern fragment, called Cabinda, constitutes less than 1 percent of Angola's total land area.

Proruptions can also separate two states that otherwise would share a boundary. When the British ruled the otherwise compact state of Afghanistan, they created a long, narrow proruption to the east, approximately 300 kilometers (200 miles) long and as narrow as 20 kilometers (12 miles) wide. The proruption prevented Russia from sharing a border with Pakistan (refer to Figure 8–14 later in this chapter).

In their former colony of South West Africa (now Namibia), the Germans in 1890 carved out a 500-kilometer (300-mile) proruption to the east. This proruption, known as the Caprivi Strip, provided the Germans with access to one of Africa's most important rivers, the Zambezi. The Caprivi Strip also disrupted communications among the British colonies of southern Africa. In recent years South Africa, which controlled Namibia until its independence in 1990, stationed troops in the Caprivi Strip to fight enemies in Angola, Zambia, and Botswana.

Elongated States: Potential Isolation. There are a handful of **elongated states**, or states with a long and narrow shape. The best example is Chile, which stretches north-south for more than 4,000 kilometers (2,500 miles) but rarely exceeds an east-west distance of 150 kilometers (90 miles). Chile is wedged between the Pacific Coast of South America and the rugged Andes Mountains, which rise more than 6,700 meters (20,000 feet).

A less extreme example of an elongated state is Italy, which extends more than 1,100 kilometers (700 miles) from northwest to southeast but is only approximately 200 kilometers (120 miles) wide in most places. In Africa, Malawi measures about 850 kilometers (530 miles) north-south but only 100 kilometers (60 miles) east-west (refer to Figure 8–6).

In West Africa, Gambia is an elongated state extending along the banks of the Gambia River about 500 kilometers (300 miles) east-west but only about 25 kilometers (15 miles) north-south. Except for its short coastline along the Atlantic Ocean, Gambia is otherwise completely surrounded by Senegal. The shape of the two countries is a legacy of competition among European

countries to establish colonies during the nineteenth century. Gambia became a British colony, whereas Senegal was French. The border between the two countries divided families and ethnic groups but was never precisely delineated, so people trade and move across the border with little concern for its location.

Elongated states may suffer from poor internal communications. A region located at an extreme end of the elongation might be isolated from the capital, which is usually placed near the center.

Fragmented States: Problematic. A **fragmented state** includes several discontinuous pieces of territory. Technically, all states that have offshore islands as part of their territory are fragmented. However, fragmentation is particularly significant for some states. There are two kinds of fragmented states: those with areas separated by water, and those separated by an intervening state.

The most extreme example is Indonesia, which comprises 13,677 islands that extend more than 5,000 kilometers (3,000 miles) across the Indian Ocean. Although more than 80 percent of the country's population live on two of the islands—Java and Sumatra—the fragmentation hinders communications and makes integration of people living on remote islands nearly impossible. To foster national integration, the Indonesian government has encouraged migration from the more densely populated islands to some of the sparsely inhabited ones.

Not all of the fragments joined Indonesia voluntarily. A few days after East Timor gained its independence from Portugal in 1975, Indonesia invaded. A long struggle against Indonesia culminated in a 1999 U.N.-managed referendum, when the overwhelming majority of Timorese voted for independence. Pro-Indonesia soldiers then went on a rampage, terrorizing the population, until an international peacekeeping force restored order. U.N. officials took over administration of the territory until an independent sovereign state was established in 2002.

West Papua, another fragment of Indonesia (the western portion of the island shared with Papua New Guinea), followed East Timor's lead, claiming that it too should be an independent country. However, West Papua's attempt to break away from Indonesia gained less support from the international community. Unlike Indonesia's takeover of East Timor, other countries had never challenged Indonesia's right to govern West Papua.

A difficult type of fragmentation occurs if the two pieces of territory are separated by another state. Picture the difficulty of communicating between Alaska and the lower 48 states if Canada were not a friendly neighbor. All land connections between Alaska and the rest of the United States must pass through a long expanse of Canada. The division of Angola into two pieces by Congo's proruption creates a fragmented state.

Even Russia, the world's largest state, is fragmented by other independent states. Kaliningrad (Konigsberg), an area measuring 16,000 square kilometers (6,000 square miles), is along the Baltic Sea. It is west of the remainder of Russia by 400 kilometers (250 miles), separated by the states of Lithuania and Belarus (refer to Figure 7–11). The area was part of Germany until the end of World War II, but the Soviet Union seized it after the German defeat. The German population fled westward after World War II, and virtually all of the area's 1 million residents are Russians. Russia wants Kaliningrad because it has the country's largest naval base on the Baltic Sea.

Perhaps the most intractable fragmentation results from a tiny strip of land in India called Tin Bigha. The Tin Bigha corridor measures only 178 meters (about 600 feet) by 85 meters (about 300 feet). It fragments Dahagram and Angarpota from the rest of Bangladesh (Figure 8–7). The problem is a legacy of the late 1940s, when the British divided the region according to religion, allocating predominantly Hindu enclaves to India and predominantly Muslim ones to Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan, refer to Figure 7–16).

India agreed to lease the Tin Bigha corridor to Bangladesh in perpetuity, so that Dahagram and Angarpota could be connected to the rest of Bangladesh. But by eliminating one fragmentation, India created its own: Cooch Behār is now fragmented from the rest of India. The agreement between the two countries gives Indians the right to move between Cooch Behār and the rest of India at certain times without submitting to passport inspection, customs declarations, and other international border controls. But given the long history of unrest between Hindus and Muslims, maintaining peace in the Tin Bigha corridor is difficult.

Panama was an example of a fragmented state for most of the twentieth century, divided in two parts by the Canal, built in 1914 by the United States. U.S. ownership of the canal and the surrounding Canal Zone was a source of tension for many years, until the two countries signed a treaty turning over the canal and Canal Zone to

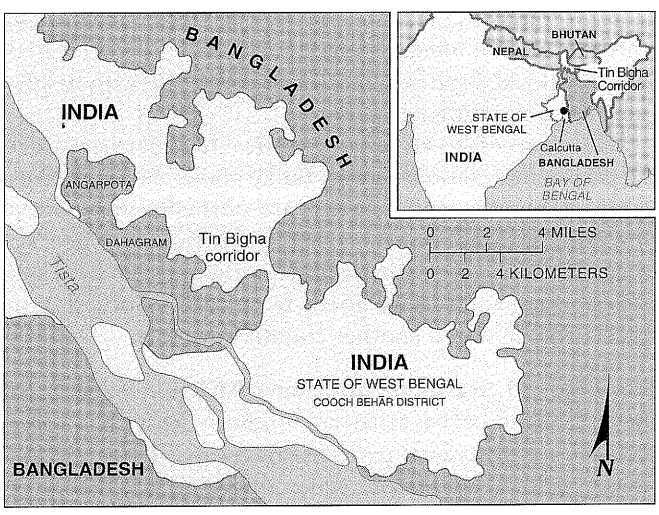


FIGURE 8–7 *The Tin Bigha corridor. Less than 300 meters (900 feet), the Tin Bigha corridor is a part of India that fragments Dahagram and Angarpota from the rest of Bangladesh. India agreed to lease the corridor to Bangladesh in perpetuity, so that Dahagram and Angarpota could be connected to the rest of Bangladesh. But by eliminating one fragmentation, India created another one: Cooch Behâr is now fragmented from the rest of India.*

Panama on December 31, 1999. The treaty guaranteed the neutrality of the canal and permitted the United States to use force if necessary to keep the canal operating. After the United States withdrew from the Canal Zone, Panama became an elongated state, 700 kilometers (450 miles) long and 80 kilometers (50 miles) wide.

Perforated States: South Africa. A state that completely surrounds another one is a **perforated state**. The one good example of a perforated state is South Africa, which completely surrounds the state of Lesotho. Lesotho must depend almost entirely on South Africa for the import and export of goods. Dependency on South Africa was especially difficult for Lesotho when South Africa had a government controlled by whites who discriminated against the black majority population.

Landlocked States

Lesotho is unique in being completely surrounded by only one state, but it shares an important feature with several other states in southern Africa, as well as in other regions: it is landlocked. A **landlocked state** lacks a direct outlet to the sea because it is completely surrounded by several other countries (only one country in the case of Lesotho). Landlocked states are most common in Africa, where 14 of the continent's 54 states have no direct ocean access. The prevalence of landlocked states in Africa is a remnant of the colonial era, when Britain and France controlled extensive regions.

The European powers built railroads, mostly in the early twentieth century, to connect the interior of Africa with seaports. Railroads moved minerals from interior mines to seaports, and in the opposite direction, rail lines carried mining equipment and supplies from seaports to the interior. Now that the British and French empires are gone, and former colonies have become independent states, some important colonial railroad lines pass through several independent countries. This has created new landlocked states, which must cooperate with neighboring states that have seaports.

Direct access to an ocean is critical to states because it facilitates international trade. Bulky goods, such as petroleum, grain, ore, and vehicles, are normally transported long distances by ship. This means that a country needs a seaport where goods can be transferred between land and sea. To send and receive goods by sea, a landlocked state must arrange to use another country's seaport.

Landlocked States in Southern Africa. Cooperation between landlocked states in southern Africa has been complicated by racial patterns. Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland are landlocked states that ship 90 percent of their exports by rail through neighboring South Africa. Congo Democratic Republic, Zambia, and Zimbabwe must also transport most of their imports and exports through South Africa.

In the past, the states of southern Africa had to balance their economic dependency on South Africa with their dislike of the country's racial policies. Although they constitute more than 80 percent of South Africa's population, blacks suffered from discrimination (see Chapter 7). But if neighboring states had severed ties with South Africa because of its racial discrimination, they could have faced economic disaster.

Zimbabwe's particularly delicate problem can be understood by looking back about three decades, when it was a British colony called Southern Rhodesia. When the white minority in this landlocked colony unilaterally declared itself the independent country of Rhodesia in 1965, most other countries reduced or terminated trade with it. But the impact of trade sanctions on Rhodesia was limited because its major seaports were in South Africa, also ruled by a white minority government. As shown in Figure 8–6, Rhodesia's main rail line ran through black-ruled Botswana to reach South Africa. Botswana was not cooperative, so the Rhodesian government completed a new rail line directly to South Africa in 1974, bypassing Botswana.

The white-minority government of Rhodesia agreed in 1979 to give blacks the right to vote, and blacks were elected to lead the government. The following year, Britain formally recognized the independence of the country, which was renamed Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwe government, now controlled by the black majority, faced a new set of relationships in southern Africa. Instead of working closely with South Africa, Zimbabwe tried to reduce its dependency on the neighboring white-minority government. The key element in Zimbabwe's strategy was to use railroads that connected to seaports outside South Africa. That turned into a very complex problem. Reference to Figure 8–6 will make this explanation easier to follow.

The closest seaport to Zimbabwe is Beira, in Mozambique. A railroad known as the Beira corridor runs west from the seaport to the Zimbabwean capital of Harare. Between 1976 and 1992, however, Mozambique was caught in a devastating civil war between its Marxist-oriented government and rebels backed by South Africa. Zimbabwe sent soldiers to Mozambique to keep the 500-kilometer (300-mile) Beira corridor repaired and protected from rebel attack, but the seaport of Beira itself was not well maintained.

More distant seaports were not reliable either. Mozambique's other two major deep-water ports—Nacala in the north and Maputo in the south—suffered even more than Beira from the civil war. The Benguela railway, which runs from the Atlantic Coast eastward across Angola to Zaire and Zambia, has also been disrupted since 1975 by a civil war in Angola.

The Tazara line, which runs from Zambia to Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, remains open, but service is unreliable. The equipment, much of it supplied by the Chinese in the 1970s, frequently breaks down, and landslides have periodically closed the line. As a result of these obstacles, Zimbabwe ships more than half of its freight through the South African seaport of Durban.

Types of Boundaries

Historically, frontiers rather than boundaries separated states. A **frontier** is a zone where no state exercises complete political control. A frontier is a tangible geographic area, whereas a boundary is an infinitely thin, invisible, imaginary line. A frontier provides an area of separation, often kilometers in width, but a boundary brings two neighboring states into direct contact, increasing the potential for violent face-to-face meetings. A frontier area is either uninhabited or sparsely settled by a few isolated pioneers seeking to live outside organized society.

Almost universally, frontiers between states have been replaced by boundaries. Modern communications systems permit countries to monitor and guard boundaries effectively, even in previously inaccessible locations. Once-remote frontier regions have become more attractive for agriculture and mining.

The only regions of the world that still have frontiers rather than boundaries are Antarctica and the Arabian Peninsula. Frontiers separate Saudi Arabia from Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, and Yemen. These frontier areas are inhabited by a handful of nomads who cross freely with their herds from one country to another. Until recently, part of Saudi Arabia's border with Iraq included an 8,000-square-kilometer (3,000-square-mile) frontier marked on maps as "Neutral Zone" (Figure 8–8). However, by stationing troops on either side of an east-west line across the Neutral Zone, Saudi Arabia and Iraq in 1990 transformed the frontier into a boundary, although not one officially ratified by the governments of the two countries.

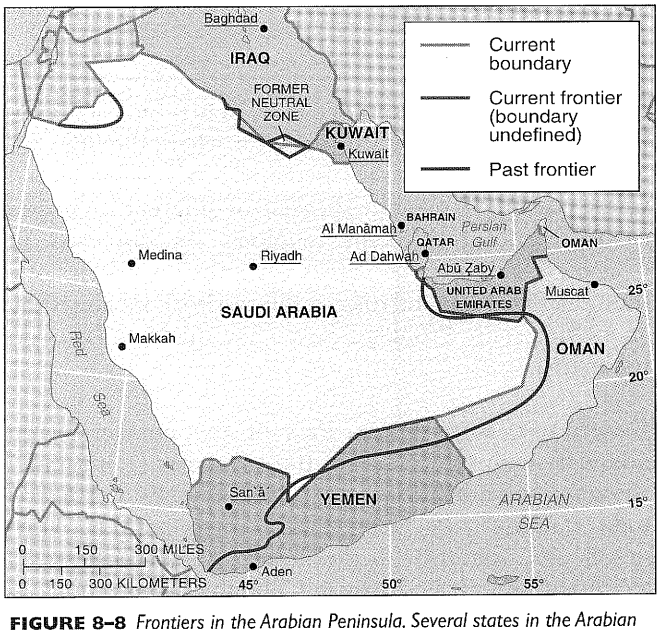


FIGURE 8–8 *Frontiers in the Arabian Peninsula. Several states in the Arabian Peninsula are separated from each other by frontiers rather than by precisely drawn boundaries. The principal occupants of this desert area have been nomads, who have wandered freely through the frontier. A frontier known as the neutral zone existed between Saudi Arabia and Iraq until the two countries split it during the 1991 Gulf War.*

Boundaries are of two types: physical and cultural. Physical boundaries coincide with significant features of the natural landscape (mountains, deserts, water), whereas cultural boundaries follow the distribution of cultural characteristics. Neither type of boundary is better or more "natural," and many boundaries are a combination of both types. The best boundaries are those to which all affected states agree, regardless of the rationale used to draw the line.

Physical Boundaries

Important physical features on Earth's surface can make good boundaries because they are easily seen, both on a map and on the ground. Three types of physical elements serve as boundaries between states: mountains, deserts, and water.

Mountain Boundaries. Mountains can be effective boundaries if they are difficult to cross. Contact between nationalities living on opposite sides may be limited, or completely impossible if passes are closed by winter storms. Mountains are also useful boundaries because they are rather permanent and usually are sparsely inhabited.

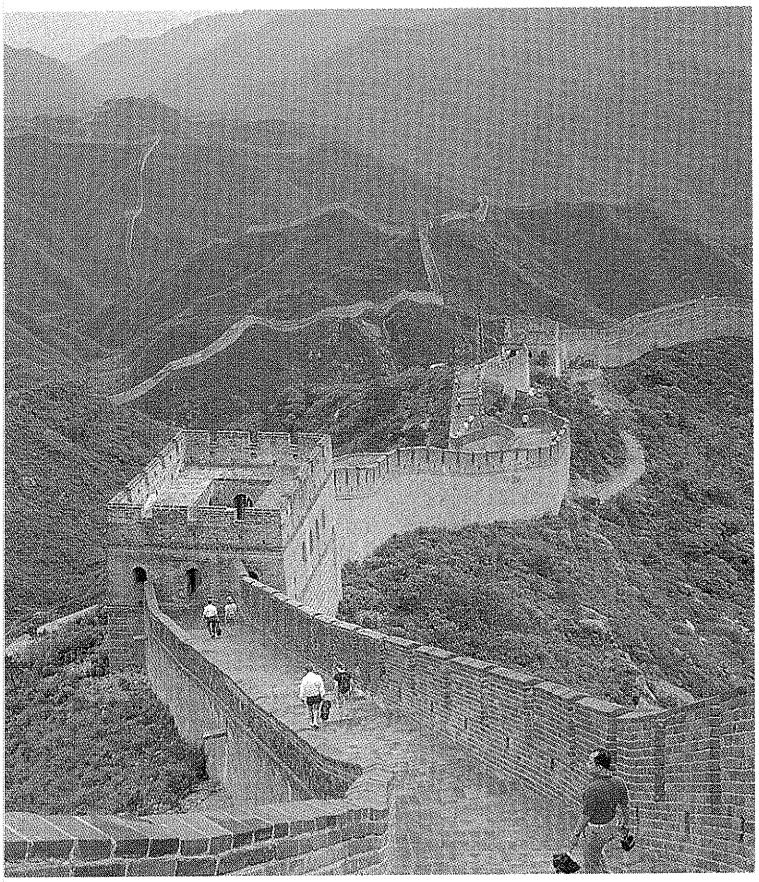
Mountains do not always provide for the amicable separation of neighbors. Argentina and Chile agreed to be divided by the crest of the Andes Mountains but could not decide on the precise location of the crest. Was the crest a jagged line, connecting mountain peak to mountain peak? Or was it a curving line following the continental divide (the continuous ridge that divides rainfall and snowmelt between flow toward the Atlantic or Pacific)? The two countries almost fought a war over the boundary line. But with the help of U.S. mediators, they finally decided on the line connecting adjacent mountain peaks.

Desert Boundaries. A boundary drawn in a desert can also effectively divide two states. Like mountains, deserts are hard to cross and sparsely inhabited. Desert boundaries are common in Africa and Asia. In North Africa, the Sahara has generally proved to be a stable boundary separating Algeria, Libya, and Egypt on the north from Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Chad, and the Sudan on the south. (For an illustration, look back to Figure 1–14, the world climate map.) The Libyan army moved south across the desert during the early 1980s to invade Chad but retreated in 1987 following French intervention.

Water Boundaries. Rivers, lakes, and oceans are the physical features most commonly used as boundaries. Water boundaries are readily visible on a map and are relatively unchanging.

Water boundaries are especially common in East Africa (refer to Figure 8–6). For example:

- The boundary between Congo Democratic Republic and Uganda runs through Lake Albert.



The Great Wall of China. One of the world's most visible boundaries, the wall was built in the third century B.C. during the Qin (Ch'in) dynasty and extended the following century during the Han dynasty to keep out nomadic horsemen. The wall was partially reconstructed between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D. during the Ming dynasty.

- The boundary separating Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda runs through Lake Victoria.
- The boundary separating Burundi, Congo Democratic Republic, Tanzania, and Zambia runs through Lake Tanganyika.
- The boundary between Congo Democratic Republic and Zambia runs through Lake Mwera.
- The boundary between Malawi and Mozambique runs through Lake Malawi (Lake Nyasa).

Boundaries are typically in the middle of the water, although the boundary between Malawi and Tanzania follows the north shore of Lake Malawi (Lake Nyasa). Again, the boundaries result from nineteenth-century colonial practices: Malawi was a British colony, whereas Tanzania was German.

Water boundaries can offer good protection against attack from another state, because an invading state must transport its troops by air or ship and secure a landing spot in the country being attacked. The state being invaded can concentrate its defense at the landing point.

The use of water as boundaries between states can cause difficulties, though. One problem is that the precise position of the water may change over time. Rivers, in particular, can slowly change their course. The Rio Grande, the river separating the United States and Mexico, has frequently meandered from its previous course since it became part of the boundary in 1848. Land that had once been on the U.S. side of the boundary came to be on the Mexican side, and vice versa. The United States and Mexico have concluded treaties that restore land affected by the shifting course of the river to the country in control at the time of the original nineteenth-century delineation.

Ocean boundaries also cause problems because states generally claim that the boundary lies not at the coastline but out at sea. The reasons are for defense and for control of valuable fishing industries. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, some states recognized a boundary, known as the territorial limit, that extended 3 nautical miles (about 5.5 kilometers or 3.5 land miles) from the shore into the ocean. Some states claimed more extensive territorial limits, and others identified a contiguous zone of influence that extended beyond the territorial limits.

The Law of the Sea, signed by 117 countries in 1983, standardized the territorial limits for most countries at 12 nautical miles (about 22 kilometers or 14 land miles). Under the Law of the Sea, states also have exclusive rights to the fish and other marine life within 200 miles (320 kilometers). Countries separated by less than 400 miles of sea must negotiate the location of the boundary between exclusive fishing rights. Disputes can be taken to a Tribunal for the Law of the Sea or to the International Court of Justice.

Cultural Boundaries

The boundaries between some states coincide with differences in ethnicity, especially language and religion. Other cultural boundaries are drawn according to geometry; they simply are straight lines drawn on a map, although good reasons always exist for where the lines are located. Boundaries between countries have been placed where possible to separate speakers of different languages or followers of different religions. As discussed in Chapter 7, a nation-state exists when the boundaries of a state match the boundaries of the territory inhabited by an ethnic group. Problems exist when the boundaries do not match.

Geometric Boundaries. Part of the northern U.S. boundary with Canada is a 2,100-kilometer (1,300-mile) straight line (more precisely, an arc) along 49° north latitude, running from Lake of the Woods between Minnesota and Manitoba to the Strait of Georgia between Washington State and British Columbia. This boundary was established in 1846 by a treaty between the United States and Great Britain, which still controlled Canada.

At the time, some people in the United States wanted the boundary to be fixed 600 kilometers (400 miles) farther north, at 54° 40 north latitude. Before a compromise was reached, U.S. militants proclaimed "fifty-four forty or fight." The United States and Canada share an

additional 1,100-kilometer (700-mile) geometric boundary between Alaska and the Yukon Territory along the north-south arc of 141° west longitude.

The 1,000-kilometer (600-mile) boundary between Chad and Libya is a straight line drawn across the desert in 1899 by the French and British to set the northern limit of French colonies in Africa (Figure 8–4). But subsequent actions by European countries created confusion over the boundary. Italy seized Libya from the Turks in 1912 and demanded that the boundary with French-controlled Chad be moved southward. France agreed to move the boundary 100 kilometers (60 miles) to the south in 1935, but the Italian government was not satisfied and never ratified the treaty. The land that the French would have ceded is known as the Aozou Strip, named for the only settlement in this 100,000-square-kilometer (36,000-square-mile) area (Figure 8–9).

When Libya and Chad both became independent countries, the boundary was set at the original northern location. Claiming that it had been secretly sold the Aozou Strip by the president of Chad, Libya seized the territory in 1973, as well as a tiny bit of northeastern Niger that may contain uranium ore. In 1987 Chad expelled the Libyan army with the help of French forces and regained control of the strip.

Religious Boundaries. Religious differences often coincide with boundaries between states, but in only a few cases has religion been used to select the actual boundary line. The most notable example was in South Asia, when the British partitioned India into two states on the basis of religion. The predominantly Muslim portions were allocated to Pakistan, whereas the predominantly Hindu portions became the independent state of India (see Figure 7–16).

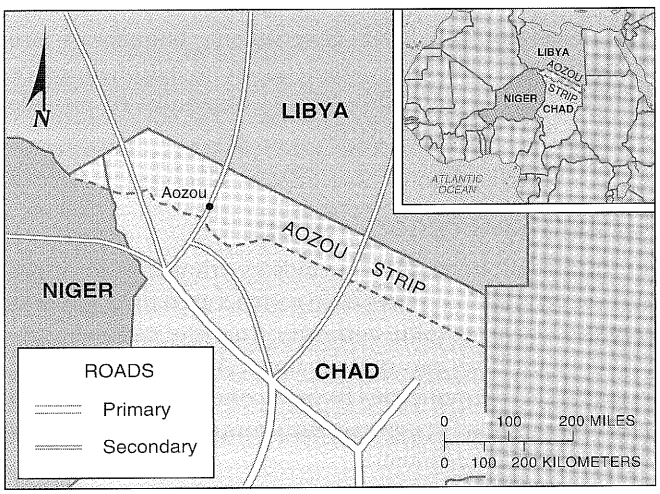


FIGURE 8–9 *Aozou Strip. The boundary between Libya and Chad is a straight line, drawn by European countries early in the twentieth century when the area comprised a series of colonies. Libya, however, claims that the boundary should be located 100 kilometers to the south and that it should have sovereignty over the Aozou Strip.*

Religion was also used to some extent to draw the boundary between two states on the island of Eire (Ireland). Most of the island became an independent country, but the northeast—now known as Northern Ireland—remained part of the United Kingdom. Roman Catholics comprise approximately 95 percent of the population in the 26 counties that joined the Republic of Ireland, whereas Protestants constitute the majority in the six counties of Northern Ireland (see Figure 6–17).

Language Boundaries. Language is an important cultural characteristic for drawing boundaries, especially in Europe. By global standards, European languages have substantial literary traditions and formal rules of grammar and spelling. Language has long been a significant means of distinguishing distinctive nationalities in Europe.

The French language was a major element in the development of France as a unified state in the seventeenth century. The states of England, Spain, and Portugal coalesced around distinctive languages. In the nineteenth century, Italy and Germany also emerged as states that unified the speakers of particular languages.

The movement to identify nationalities on the basis of language spread throughout Europe in the twentieth century. After World War I, leaders of the victorious countries met at the Versailles Peace Conference to redraw the map of Europe. One of the chief advisers to President Woodrow Wilson, the geographer Isaiah Bowman, played a major role in the decisions. Language was the most important criterion the allied leaders used to create new states in Europe and to adjust the boundaries of existing ones.

The conference was particularly concerned with Eastern and Southern Europe, regions long troubled by political instability and conflict. Boundaries were drawn around the states of Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and Romania to conform closely to the distribution of Bulgarian, Hungarian (Magyar), Polish, and Romanian speakers. Speakers of several similar South Slavic languages were placed together in the new country of Yugoslavia. Czechoslovakia was created by combining the speakers of Czech and Slovak, mutually intelligible West Slavic languages (refer to Figure 7–21).

Although the boundaries imposed by the Versailles conference on the basis of language were adjusted somewhat after World War II, they proved to be relatively stable, and peace ensued for several decades. However, during the 1990s, the map of Europe drawn at Versailles in 1919 collapsed. Despite speaking similar languages, Czechs and Slovaks found that they could no longer live together peacefully in the same state. Neither could Croats, Macedonians, Serbs, and Slovenes.

Cyprus's "Green Line" Boundary. Cyprus, the third-largest island in the Mediterranean Sea, contains two nationalities: Greek and Turkish (Figure 8–10). Although the island is physically closer to Turkey, Greeks comprise 78 percent of the country's population, whereas Turks

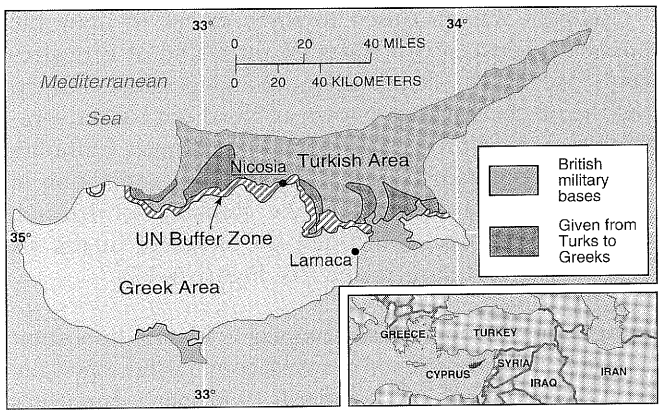
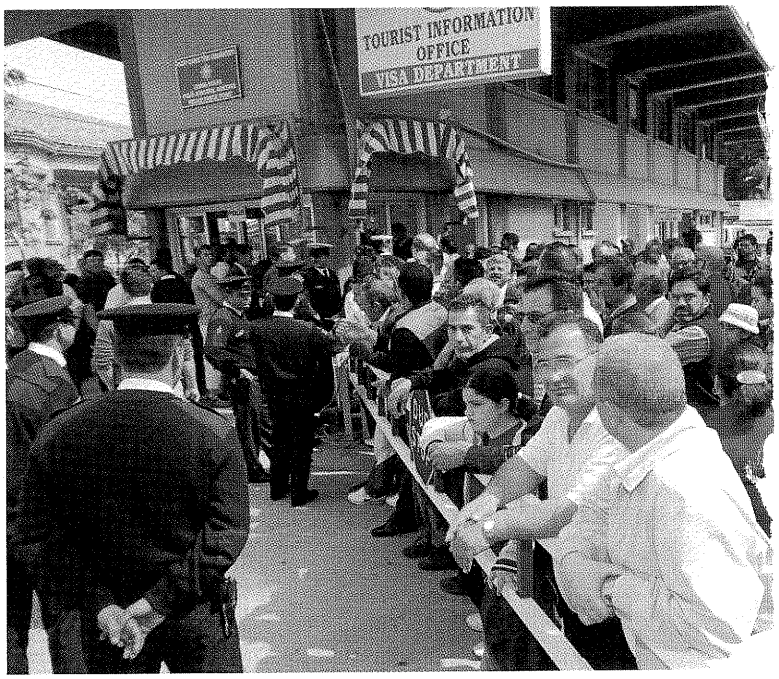


FIGURE 8–10 *Cyprus. Since 1974, Cyprus has been divided into Greek and Turkish portions, with little mingling between the two groups. The Turkish sector has declared itself to be the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, but only Turkey recognizes it as an independent country. Beginning in 2003, restrictions were eased on crossing between the Greek and Turkish sides. In the photograph, Turkish Cypriots wait at a checkpoint to cross over to the Greek side for the first time since 1974.*



account for 18 percent. When Cyprus gained independence from Britain in 1960, its constitution guaranteed the Turkish minority a substantial share of elected offices and control over its own education, religion, and culture.

Cyprus has never peacefully integrated the Greek and Turkish nationalities. Several Greek Cypriot military officers who favored unification of Cyprus with Greece seized control of the government in 1974. Shortly after the coup, Turkey invaded Cyprus to protect the Turkish Cypriot minority, occupying 37 percent of the island. The Greek coup leaders were removed within a few months, and an elected government was restored, but the Turkish army remained on Cyprus.

Traditionally, the Greek and Turkish Cypriots mingled, but after the coup and invasion, the two nationalities became geographically isolated. The northeastern part of the island is now overwhelmingly Turkish, whereas the southern part is overwhelmingly Greek. Approximately one-third of the island's Greeks were forced to move from the region controlled by the Turkish army, whereas nearly one-fourth of the Turks moved from the region now considered to be the Greek side. The percentage of one nationality living in the region dominated by the other nationality is now very low. The Turkish sector declared itself the independent Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 1983, but only Turkey recognizes it as a separate state.

A buffer zone patrolled by U.N. soldiers stretches across the entire island to prevent Greeks and Turks from crossing. The barrier even runs through the center of the capital, Nicosia. Only one official crossing point has been erected, and crossing is difficult except for top diplomats and U.N. personnel. Nevertheless, some cooperation continues between sectors: the Turks supply the Greek side with water and in return receive electricity.

The United Nations put together a plan to reunite the two portions of Cyprus into a single country with considerable autonomy for each side. Adding pressure to the reunification movement, the European Union agreed to accept the entire island of Cyprus as a member in 2004. The Turkish Cypriots opened the borders between the two sides in 2003. For the first time in nearly three decades, Greek Cypriots could buy lower priced groceries and gamble at casinos on the Turkish side, and Turks could shop for luxury and high fashion goods on the Greek side. People displaced during the 1970s could also visit their childhood homes for the first time in three decades. However, many generations of distrust made resolution and implementation of a final agreement difficult.

Boundaries Inside States

Within countries, local government boundaries are sometimes drawn to separate different nationalities or ethnicities. They are also drawn sometimes to provide advantage to a political party.

Unitary and Federal States

In the face of increasing demands by ethnicities for more self-determination, states have restructured their governments to transfer some authority from the national government to local government units. An ethnicity that is not sufficiently numerous to gain control of the national government may be content with control of a regional or local unit of government.

The governments of states are organized according to one of two approaches: the unitary system or the federal system. The **unitary state** places most power in the hands of central government officials, whereas the **federal state** allocates strong power to units of local government within the country. A country's cultural and

physical characteristics influence the evolution of its governmental system.

In principle, the unitary government system works best in nation-states characterized by few internal cultural differences and a strong sense of national unity. Because the unitary system requires effective communications with all regions of the country, smaller states are more likely to adopt it. Unitary states are especially common in Europe.

In reality, multinational states often have adopted unitary systems, so that the values of one nationality can be imposed on others. In a number of African countries, such as Ghana, Kenya, and Rwanda, for instance, the mechanisms of a unitary state have enabled one ethnic group to extend dominance over weaker groups. When Communist parties controlled the governments, most Eastern European countries had unitary systems, to promote diffusion of Communist values.

In a federal state, such as the United States, local governments possess more authority to adopt their own laws. Multinational states may adopt a federal system of government to empower different nationalities, especially if they live in separate regions of the country. Under a federal system, local government boundaries can be drawn to correspond with regions inhabited by different ethnicities.

The federal system is also more suitable for very large states because the national capital may be too remote to provide effective control over isolated regions. Most of the world's largest states are federal, including Russia (as well as the former Soviet Union), Canada, the United States, Brazil, and India. However, the size of the state is not always an accurate predictor of the form of government: tiny Belgium is a federal state (to accommodate the two main cultural groups, the Flemish and Waloons, as discussed in Chapter 5), whereas China is a unitary state (to promote Communist values).

Trend Toward Federal Government

In recent years there has been a strong global trend toward federal government. Unitary systems have been sharply curtailed in a number of countries and scrapped altogether in others.

France: Curbing a Unitary Government. A good example of a nation-state, France has a long tradition of unitary government in which a very strong national government dominates local government decisions. Their basic local government unit is the *département* (department). Each of the 106 departments has an elected general council, but its administrative head is a powerful *préfet* appointed by the national government rather than directly elected by the people. Engineers, architects, planners, and other technical experts working in the department are actually employed by national government ministries.

A second tier of local government in France is the *commune*. Each of the 36,000 communes has a locally elected mayor and council, but the mayor can be a member of the national parliament at the same time. Further, the average commune has only 1,500 inhabitants, too small to govern effectively, with the possible exception of the largest ones, such as in Paris, Lyon, Lille, and Marseille.

The French government has granted additional legal powers to the departments and communes in recent years. Local governments can borrow money freely to finance new projects without explicit national government approval, formerly required. The national government gives a block of funds to localities with no strings attached. In addition, 22 regional councils that previously held minimal authority have been converted into full-fledged local government units, with elected councils and the power to levy taxes.

Poland: A New Federal Government. Poland switched from a unitary to a federal system after control of the national government was wrested from the Communists. The federal system was adopted to dismantle legal structures by which Communists had maintained unchallenged power for more than 40 years.

Under the Communists' unitary system, local governments held no legal authority. The national government appointed local officials and owned public property. This system led to deteriorated buildings, roads, and water systems, because the national government did not allocate sufficient funds to maintain property, and no one had clear responsibility for keeping property in good condition.

Poland's 1989 constitution called for a peaceful revolution: creation of 2,400 new municipalities, to be headed by directly elected officials. To these municipalities, the national government turned over ownership of housing, water supplies, transportation systems, and other publicly owned structures. For existing schools, each local authority decided case by case whether to operate the school, let the national government continue to run it, or hand it over to a private group, such as a church. Similarly, businesses owned by the national government, such as travel agencies, were either turned over to the municipalities or converted into private enterprises. Local authorities were allowed for the first time to levy income and property taxes; as in France, the national government also allocated funds for localities to use as they see fit.

The transition to a federal system of government proved difficult in Poland and other Eastern European countries. In May 1990, Poles elected 52,000 municipal councilors; given the absence of local government for a half century, not one of these officials had experience in governing a community. The first task for many newly elected councilors was to attend a training course in how to govern.

To compound the problem of adopting a federal system, Poland's locally elected officials had to find thousands of qualified people to fill appointed positions, such as directors of education, public works, and planning. Municipalities had the option of hiring some of the 95,000 national government administrators who

previously looked after local affairs under the unitary system. However, many of these former officials were rejected by the new local governments because of their close ties to the discredited Communist party. The national government was not allowed to intervene in local decisions on whether to retain or replace the former administrators.

Electoral Geography

The boundaries separating legislative districts within the United States and other countries are redrawn periodically to ensure that each district has approximately the same population. Boundaries must be redrawn because migration inevitably results in some districts gaining population, whereas others are losing. The districts of the 435 U.S. House of Representatives are redrawn every ten years following release of official population figures by the Census Bureau (see Chapter 2).

The job of redrawing boundaries in most European countries is entrusted to independent commissions. Commissions typically try to create compact homogeneous districts without regard for voting preferences or incumbents. A couple of U.S. states, including Iowa and Washington, also use independent or bipartisan commissions, but in most U.S. states the job of redrawing boundaries is entrusted to the state legislature. The political party in control of the state legislature naturally attempts to redraw boundaries to improve the chances of its supporters to win seats. The process of redrawing legislative boundaries for the purpose of benefiting the party in power is called **gerrymandering**.

The term gerrymandering was named for Elbridge Gerry (1744–1814), governor of Massachusetts (1810–12) and vice president of the United States (1813–14). As governor, Gerry signed a bill that redistricted the state to benefit his party. An opponent observed that an oddly shaped new district looked like a "salamander," whereupon another opponent responded that it was a "gerrymander." A newspaper subsequently printed an editorial cartoon of a monster named "gerrymander" with a body shaped like the district.

Types of Gerrymandering. Gerrymandering takes three forms. "Wasted vote" spreads opposition supporters across many districts but in the minority. "Excess vote" concentrates opposition supporters into a few districts. "Stacked vote" links distant areas of like-minded voters through oddly shaped boundaries. (Figure 8–11)

Gerrymandering works like this: suppose a state has 2.5 million voters to be allocated among five Congressional districts of 500,000 voters each. Party A has 1.3 million supporters, or 52 percent of the state total, and Party B has 1.2 million, or 48 percent.

- If Party A controls the redistricting process it could do a "wasted vote" gerrymander by putting in each of the five districts 260,000 of its voters and 240,000 of Party B voters, thereby giving Party A the opportunity to win all five districts despite holding a statewide edge of only 52-48 percent.
- If Party B controls the redistricting process it could do an "excess vote" gerrymander by putting 260,000 of its voters and 240,000 of Party A voters in four of the five districts and concentrating 340,000 Party A voters and only 160,000 Party B voters in the fifth district, thereby giving Party B the likelihood of winning four of five districts.

"Stacked Vote" Gerrymandering. In reality, recent gerrymandering in the United States has been primarily

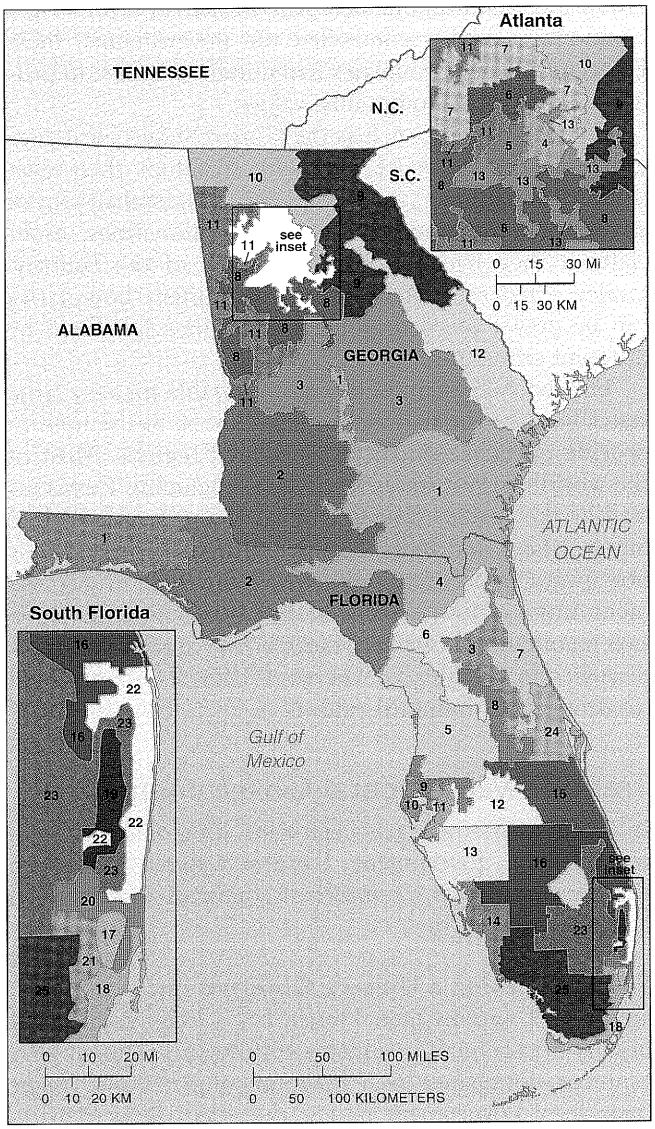


FIGURE 8–11 *Gerrymandering. Florida's Republican-controlled state legislature gerrymandered Congressional district boundaries to concentrate Democratic voters using a combination of "wasted vote" and "stacked vote" strategies. Although Republican voters outnumbered Democrats slightly in Florida, the gerrymandering resulted in electing 18 Republicans and only 7 Democrats in 2002. Gerrymandered boundaries are especially clear on the southeast coast, where Republicans were able to win three of six districts in a region that has a substantial Democratic majority. Meanwhile in Georgia, Democrats tried to "stack" and "waste" Republican votes, but Republicans ended up winning 8 of 13 seats in 2002.*

"stacked vote." If Party A in the previous example controls the redistricting process, the trend has been for state legislatures to create three districts each with 300,000 of its voters and 200,000 of Party B's voters and two districts both with 200,000 of its voters and 300,000 of Party A's voters. That way, all five districts are safely in possession of one party, with a majority of three for Party A and two for Party B. When Party A members are especially partisan, they have been creating four "safe" districts each with 300,000 of its voters and 200,000 of Party B's voters, while conceding the fifth district with 400,000 of Party B supporters and only 100,000 of Party A's supporters.

"Stacked vote" gerrymandering has been especially attractive to create districts inclined to elect ethnic minorities. Because the two largest ethnic groups in the United States (African Americans and most Hispanics other than Cubans) tend to vote Democratic—in some elections more than 90 percent of African Americans vote Democratic—creating a majority African American district virtually guarantees election of a Democrat. Republicans support a "stacked" Democratic district because they are better able to draw boundaries favorable to their candidates in the rest of the state.

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled gerrymandering illegal in 1985 but did not require dismantling of existing oddly shaped districts, and a 2001 ruling allowed North Carolina to add another oddly shaped district that ensured the election of an African American Democrat. Through gerrymandering, only about one-tenth of Congressional seats are competitive, making a shift of more than a few seats increasingly improbable from one election to another in the United States.

KEY ISSUE 3

Why Do States Cooperate with Each Other?

- Political and military cooperation
- Economic cooperation

Chapter 7 illustrated examples of threats to the survival of states from the trend toward local diversity. The principal challenge has been the desire of ethnicities for the right of self-determination as an expression of unique cultural identity. In a number of cases, especially in Eastern Europe, the inability to accommodate the diverse aspirations of ethnicities has led to the breakup of states into smaller ones.

The future of the world's current collection of sovereign states is also threatened by the trend toward globalization. All but a handful of states have joined the United Nations, although it has limited authority. But states are willingly transferring authority to regional organizations, established primarily for economic cooperation.

Political and Military Cooperation

During the Cold War era (late 1940s until early 1990s) most states joined the United Nations, as well as regional organizations. These international and regional organizations were established primarily to prevent a third world war in the twentieth century and to protect countries from a foreign attack. With the end of the Cold War, some of these organizations have flourished and found new roles, whereas others have withered.

The United Nations

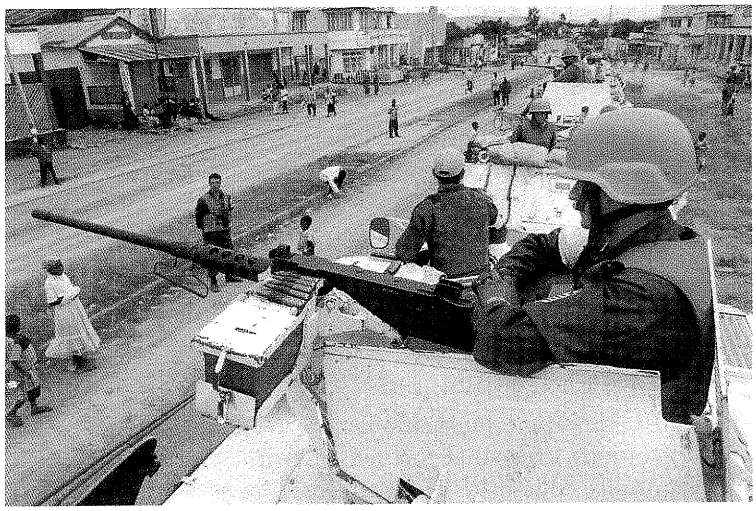
The most important international organization is the United Nations, created at the end of World War II by the victorious Allies. When established in 1945, the United Nations comprised 49 states, but membership grew to 191 in 2003, making it a truly global institution (Table 8–1).

The number of countries in the United Nations has increased rapidly on three occasions: 1955, 1960, and the early 1990s. Sixteen countries joined in 1955, mostly European countries that had been liberated from Nazi Germany during World War II. Seventeen new members were added in 1960, all but one a former African colony of Britain or France. Twenty-six countries were added between 1990 and 1993, primarily from the breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. UN membership also increased in the 1990s because of the admission of several microstates.

The United Nations was not the world's first attempt at international peacemaking. The UN replaced an earlier organization known as the League of Nations, which was established after World War I. The League was never an effective peacekeeping organization. The United States did not join, despite the fact that President Woodrow Wilson initiated the idea, because the U.S. Senate refused to ratify the membership treaty. By the 1930s, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the Soviet Union had all withdrawn, and the League could not stop aggression by these states against neighboring countries.

UN members can vote to establish a peacekeeping force and request states to contribute military forces. During the Cold War era, UN peacekeeping efforts were often stymied because any one of the five permanent members of the Security Council—China, France, Russia (formerly the Soviet Union), the United Kingdom, and the United States—could veto the operation. In the past, the United States and Soviet Union often used the veto to prevent undesired UN intervention. The major exception came in 1950, when the UN voted to send troops to support South Korea, after the Soviet Union's delegate walked out of a Security Council meeting. More recently, the opposition of China, France, and Russia prevented the United Kingdom and the United States from securing support from the United Nations for the 2003 attack on Iraq to overthrow Saddam Hussein.

The United Nations is playing an important role in trying to separate warring groups in a number of regions,



U.N. peacekeeping forces in the Democratic Republic of Congo, 2003. These soldiers came from Uruguay, part of a 8,000-person U.N. force in the Congo, to help restore peace after a civil war.

especially in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and sub-Saharan Africa. Because it must rely on individual countries to supply troops, the UN often lacks enough of them to keep peace effectively. The UN tries to maintain strict neutrality in separating warring factions, but this has proved difficult in places such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, where most of the world sees one ethnicity (Bosnian Serbs) as a stronger aggressor and another (Bosnian Muslims) as a weaker victim. Despite its shortcomings, though, the United Nations represents a forum where, for the first time in history, virtually all states of the world can meet and vote on issues without resorting to war.

Regional Military Alliances

In addition to joining the United Nations, many states joined regional military alliances after World War II. The division of the world into military alliances resulted from the emergence of two states as superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union.

Era of Two Superpowers. During the Cold War era, the United States and the Soviet Union were the world's two superpowers. Before then, the world typically contained more than two superpowers. For example, during the Napoleonic Wars in the early 1800s, Europe boasted eight major powers: Austria, France, Great Britain, Poland, Prussia, Russia, Spain, and Sweden.

Before the outbreak of World War I in the early twentieth century, eight great powers again existed. Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States replaced Poland, Prussia, Spain, and Sweden on the list. By the late 1940s most of the former great powers were beaten or battered by the two world wars, and only the United States and the Soviet Union remained as superpowers.

When a large number of states ranked as great powers of approximately equal strength, no single state could dominate. Instead, major powers joined together to form temporary alliances. A condition of roughly equal strength between opposing alliances is known as a **balance of power**.

Historically, the addition of one or two states to an alliance could tip the balance of power. The British in particular entered alliances to restore the balance of power and prevent any other state from becoming too strong. In contrast, the post–World War II balance of power was bipolar between the United States and the Soviet Union. Because the power of these two states was so much greater than all others, the world comprised two camps, each under the influence of one of the superpowers.

Other states lost the ability to tip the scales significantly in favor of one or the other superpower. They were relegated to a new role, that of ally or satellite. The two superpowers collected allies like works of art. The acquisition of one state not only added to the value of one superpower's collection but also prevented the other superpower from acquiring it.

An ally could cause trouble for a superpower. Other states could remain in an alliance, either as willing and effective partners in pursuing the objectives of the superpower or as balky and unreliable members with limited usefulness. When the United States attacked Libya by air in 1986, the planes took off from England. The most direct route was over France, but the French refused to give the U.S. aircraft permission to fly through their airspace. Rather than risk a confrontation with an ally, the U.S. planes flew a more circuitous route over the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, a route that added 1,200 kilometers (800 miles) to the total round-trip mission.

Both superpowers repeatedly demonstrated that they would use military force if necessary to prevent an ally from becoming too independent. The Soviet Union sent its armies into Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and Afghanistan in 1979 to install more sympathetic governments. Because these states were clearly within the orbit of the Soviet Union, the United States chose not to intervene militarily. Similarly, the United States sent troops to the Dominican Republic in 1965, Grenada in 1983, and Panama in 1989 to ensure that they would remain allies.

As very large states, both superpowers could quickly deploy armed forces in different regions of the world. To maintain strength in regions that were not contiguous to their own territory, the United States and the Soviet Union established military bases in other countries. From these bases, ground and air support gained proximity to local areas of conflict. Naval fleets patrolled the major bodies of water.

Military Cooperation in Europe. After World War II, most European states joined one of two military alliances dominated by the superpowers: NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) or the Warsaw Pact (Figure 8–12, left). NATO was a military alliance among 16 democratic states, including the United States and Canada, plus 14 European states.

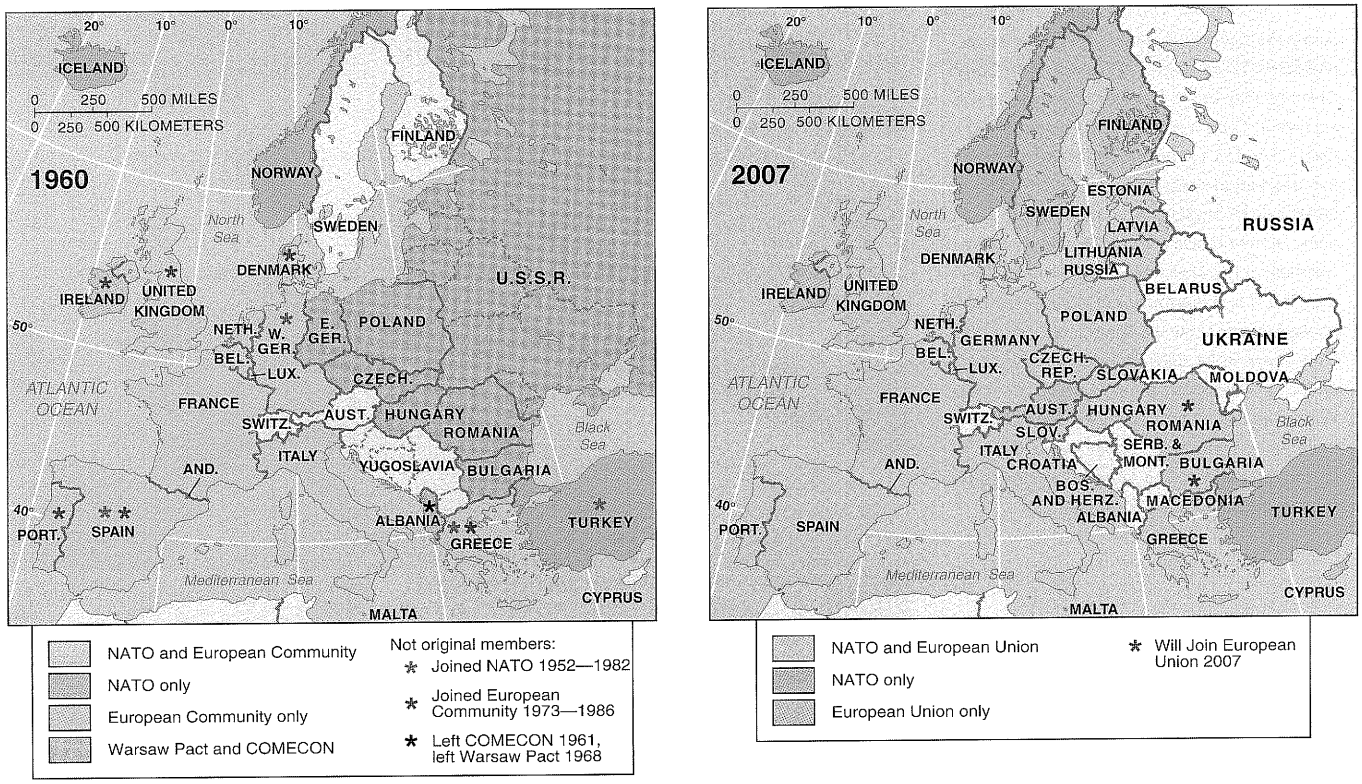


FIGURE 8–12 *(left) Economic and military alliances in Europe during the Cold War. Western European countries joined the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), whereas Eastern European countries joined COMECON and the Warsaw Pact. (right) Current economic and military alliances in Europe. COMECON and the Warsaw Pact have been disbanded, whereas the European Union and NATO have accepted or plan to accept new members.*

Twelve of the 14 European NATO members participated fully—Belgium, Denmark, West Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. France and Spain were members but did not contribute troops. NATO headquarters, originally in France, moved to Belgium when France reduced its involvement.

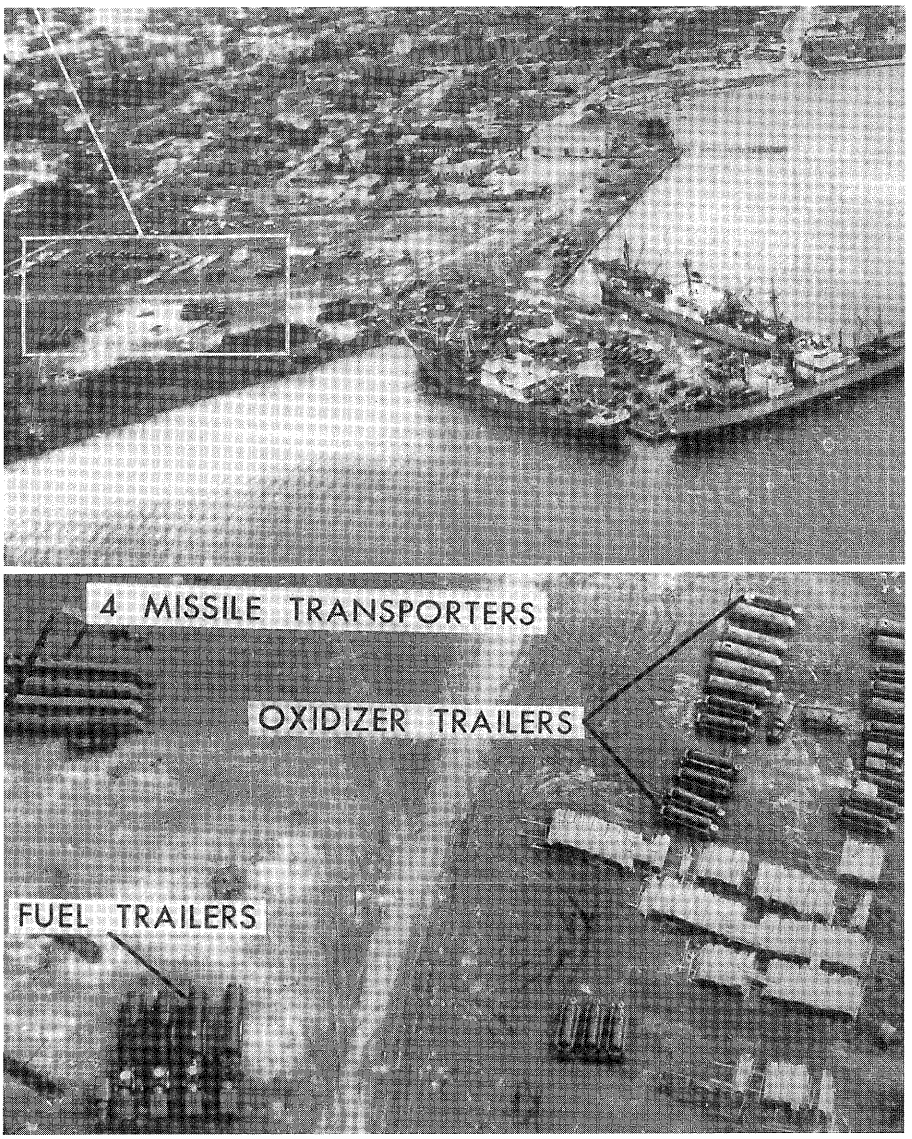
The Warsaw Pact was a military agreement among Communist Eastern European countries to defend each other in case of attack. Seven members joined the Warsaw Pact when it was founded in 1955: the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. Some of Hungary's leaders in 1956 asked for the help of Warsaw Pact troops to crush an uprising that threatened Communist control of the government. Warsaw Pact troops also invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968 to depose a government committed to reforms.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact were designed to maintain a bipolar balance of power in Europe. For NATO allies, the principal objective was to prevent the Soviet Union from overrunning West Germany and other smaller countries. The Warsaw Pact provided the Soviet Union with a buffer of allied states between it and Germany to discourage a third German invasion of the Soviet Union in the twentieth century.

In a Europe no longer dominated by military confrontation between two blocs, the Warsaw Pact and NATO became obsolete. The number of troops under NATO command was sharply reduced, and the Warsaw Pact was disbanded. Rather than disbanding, NATO expanded its membership to include most of the former Warsaw Pact countries, including Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland in 1997, and Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia in 2003. Membership in NATO offers Eastern European countries an important sense of security against any future Russian threat, no matter how remote that appears at the moment, as well as participation in a common united Europe (Figure 8–12, right).

The Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) had 55 members, including the United States, Canada, and Russia, as well as most European countries. When founded in 1975, the Conference on Security and Cooperation comprised primarily Western European countries and played only a limited role. With the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, the renamed OSCE expanded to include Warsaw Pact countries and became a more active forum for countries concerned with ending conflicts in Europe, especially in the Balkans and Caucasus. Although the OSCE does not directly command armed forces, it can call upon member states to supply troops if necessary.

Other Regional Organizations. The Organization of American States (OAS) includes all 35 states in the Western Hemisphere. Cuba is a member but was suspended from most OAS activities in 1962. The organization's headquarters, including the permanent council and



Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962. A major confrontation during the Cold War between the United States and Soviet Union came in 1962 when the Soviet Union secretly began to construct missile launching sites in Cuba, less than 150 kilometers (90 miles) from U.S. territory. President Kennedy demanded that the missiles be removed and ordered a naval blockade to prevent further Soviet material from reaching Cuba. The crisis ended when the Soviet Union agreed to dismantle the sites. The U.S. Department of Defense took aerial photographs to show the Soviet buildup in Cuba. (Top) Three Soviet ships with missile equipment are being unloaded at Mariel naval port in Cuba. Within the outline box (enlarged below and rotated 90° clockwise) are Soviet missile transporters, fuel trailers, and oxider trailers (used to support the combustion of missile fuel).

general assembly, are located in Washington, D.C. The OAS promotes social, cultural, political, and economic links among member states.

A similar organization encompassing all countries in Africa is the Organization for African Unity (OAU). Founded in 1963, the OAU has promoted the end of colonialism in Africa. For most of its four decades, the OAU had as its priority the elimination of minority white-ruled governments in southern Africa.

The Commonwealth of Nations includes the United Kingdom and 53 other states that were once British colonies, including Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, India, Nigeria, and Pakistan. Most other members are African states or island countries in the Caribbean or Pacific. Commonwealth members seek economic and cultural cooperation.

Economic Cooperation

The era of a bipolar balance of power formally ended when the Soviet Union was disbanded in 1992. Instead, the world has returned to the pattern of more than two superpowers that predominated before World War II.

But the contemporary pattern of global power displays two key differences:

1. The most important elements of state power are increasingly economic rather than military; Japan and Germany have joined the ranks of superpowers on their economic success, whereas Russia has slipped in strength because of economic problems.
2. The leading superpower in the 1990s is not a single state, such as the United States or Russia, but an economic union of European states led by Germany.

European Union

With the decline in the military-oriented alliances, European states increasingly have turned to economic cooperation. Western Europe's most important economic organization is the European Union (formerly known as the European Economic Community, the Common Market, and the European Community).

CONTEMPORARY GEOGRAPHIC TOOLS

Satellite Imagery of Military Sites

Geographers interpret images sent from satellites to understand what is going on in places that cannot be reached by foot or motor vehicle. A place in the United States that has been recently interpreted through remotely sensed images is Groom Dry Lake Air Force Base, 140 kilometers (85 miles) northwest of Las Vegas, Nevada. Until recently, the Air Force kept information about the base secret and did not even acknowledge its existence. Because of interpretation of remotely sensed imagery, details of the base are now known to the public.

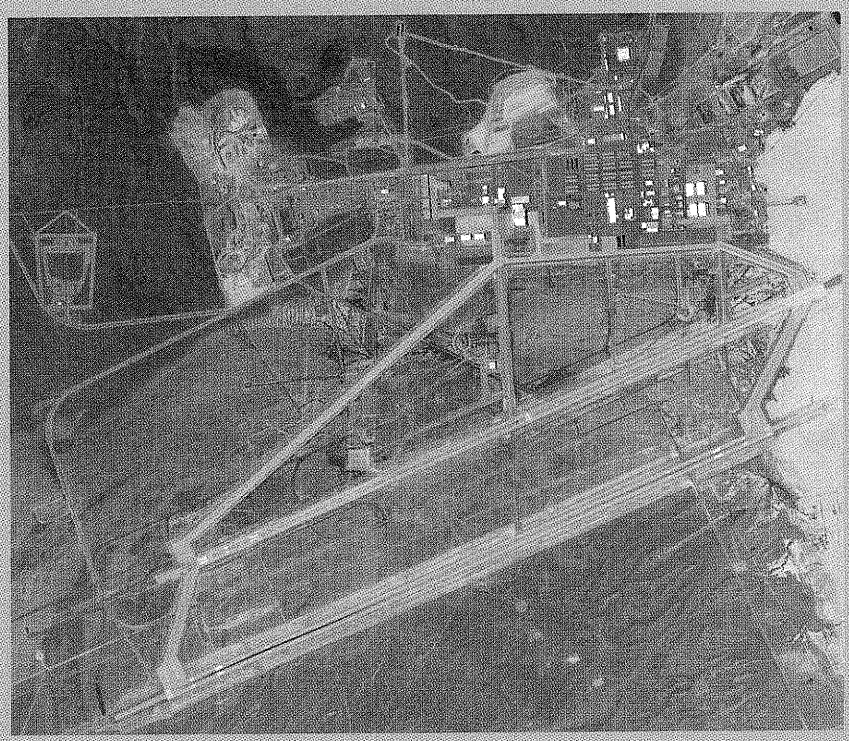
Civilian motor vehicles are not allowed to drive into a 2,500-square-kilometer (1,000-square-mile) area surrounding Groom Lake, and aircraft are not allowed to fly over the base to take photographs. But in 2000 several Web sites posted images taken from satellites launched by Space Imaging and by Aerial Images.

Photographs taken by reconnaissance aircraft have long been an important military tool. A major confrontation during the Cold War between the United States and Soviet Union came in 1962 when the Soviet Union secretly began to construct missile-launching sites in Cuba, less than 150 kilometers (90 miles) from U.S. territory. President Kennedy went on national television to demand that the missiles be removed, and he ordered a naval blockade to prevent further Soviet material from reaching Cuba. As proof of the Soviet buildup in Cuba, President Kennedy displayed on television aerial photographs taken by the U.S. Department of Defense. The crisis ended when the Soviet Union agreed to dismantle the sites (see page 284).

The United States and other countries have long depended on satellite imagery to monitor military activities elsewhere in the world. Governments have kept these images secret. Release of imagery of once secret military sites such as Groom Dry Lake has resulted from two changes.

First, governments are unable to prevent civilian companies from cooperating with other governments to launch satellites and release images of any place on Earth. An American company, Aerial Images, launched one of the satellites that took the Groom Dry Lake images in 1998 for the Russian government. Aerial Images then purchased the images of Groom Dry Lake from Sovinformsputnik, the commercial arm of the Russian Aviation and Space Agency. The second set of images came from another American company, Space Imaging, which launched its own satellite in 1999. Space Imaging in 1996 had acquired the Earth Observation Satellite Company (EOSAT), which was formed in 1984 to commercialize the U.S. Landsat program, an early source of high-quality satellite images.

The second recent trend is improvement in the resolution of the images taken by the satellites. When civilian reconnaissance satellites were first launched in 1972, they could identify objects no smaller than 100 meters. The Aerial Images satellite had a 2-meter resolution, and Space Imaging was the first to release images with a 1-meter resolution. At resolutions of 1 or 2 meters, images can distinguish roads, buildings, cars, tanks, jets, and missiles.



Groom Dry Lake Air Force Base, Nevada. North is to the right.

When it was established in 1958, the European Union included six countries: Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. Membership was widened to include Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom in 1973, Greece in 1981, Portugal and Spain in 1986, and Austria, Finland, and Sweden in 1995 (Figure 8–12, right). A European Parliament is elected by the people in each of the member states simultaneously.

The main task of the European Union is to promote development within the member states through economic cooperation. At first the European Union played a limited role, such as providing subsidies to farmers and to depressed regions such as southern Italy. Most of the European Union's budget still goes to these purposes.

However, the European Union has taken on more importance in recent years, as member states seek greater economic and political cooperation. It has removed most barriers to free trade: with a few exceptions, goods, services, capital, and people can move freely through Europe. Trucks can carry goods across borders without stopping, and a bank can open branches in any member country with supervision only by the bank's home country. The introduction of the Euro as the common currency in 11 European Union countries eliminated most of the remaining differences in prices, interest rates, and other economic policies within the region. The effect of these actions has been to turn Western Europe into the world's wealthiest market.

Former Communist Countries and the European Union. In 1949, during the Cold War, the seven Eastern European Communist states in the Warsaw Pact formed an organization for economic cooperation, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON). Cuba, Mongolia, and Vietnam were also members of the alliance, which was designed to promote trade and sharing of natural resources. Like the Warsaw Pact, COMECON disbanded in the early 1990s after the fall of communism in Eastern Europe.

Germany lost much of its territory after World War I (Figure 8–13, upper right). Although the boundaries of states in Southern and Eastern Europe were fixed to conform when possible to those of ethnicities, Germany's new boundaries were arbitrary. Germany became a fragmented state, with East Prussia separated from the rest of the country by the Danzig Corridor, created to give Poland a port on the Baltic Sea. Nazi takeovers of Austria, Poland, and portions of Czechoslovakia during the 1930s were justified by the Germans as attempts to reconstruct a true German nation-state (see Global Forces, Local Impacts box).

After Germany was defeated in World War II, the victorious Allies carved the country, and its capital city of Berlin, into four zones. Each zone was controlled by one of the victors: the United States, France, the United Kingdom, and the former Soviet Union. When sharp political differences at the start of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the other three made reestablishment of a single Germany impossible, two new countries were created: East Germany (the German Democratic Republic) in the Soviet zone, and West Germany (the Federal Republic of Germany) in the other three zones (Figure 8–13, lower left).

Two Germanys existed from 1949 until 1990. East Germany was a Soviet ally and member of the Warsaw Pact and COMECON, and West Germany was a U.S.

Global Forces, Local Impacts

German Domination of Western Europe

Economic and political unity may have reduced the importance of nation-states in Western Europe, but many Europeans, especially those old enough to remember World War II, fear that Germany has become more powerful than the region's other nation-states.

Germany is a newer nation-state than the others of Western Europe, for a state known as Germany was not created until 1871. Prior to that time, the map of the central European area now called Germany was just a patchwork of small states—more than 300 during the seventeenth century, for example.

Under Frederick the Great (1740–86), the previously obscure state of Prussia gained control of a continuous stretch of territory abutting the Baltic Sea from Memel on the east to beyond the Elbe River on the west. Other consolidations reduced the number of states in the area to approximately two dozen by 1815. In 1871 Prussia's prime minister, Otto von Bismarck, was instrumental in forcing most of the remaining states in the area to join a Prussian-dominated German Empire, which extended westward beyond the Rhine River (refer to Figure 8–13, upper left). Bismarck failed to consolidate all German speakers into the empire, as Austria, Switzerland, and Bohemia were excluded. The German Empire lasted fewer than 50 years.

As the most populous and economically strongest member of the European Union, Germany has taken the lead in setting the political agenda for a united Europe. When the European Union was founded, Germany was a quiet member. Defeated in World War I and again World War II, Germany sought acceptance as a respectable ally and reliable trading partner. In exchange, Germany subsidized inefficient French farmers and impoverished southern Italians.

A half-century after the European Union was created, Germany has succeeded through economic competition in achieving what previous generations failed to obtain through military means: to become the most powerful state in the midst of the world's largest market. This prospect worries its European neighbors.

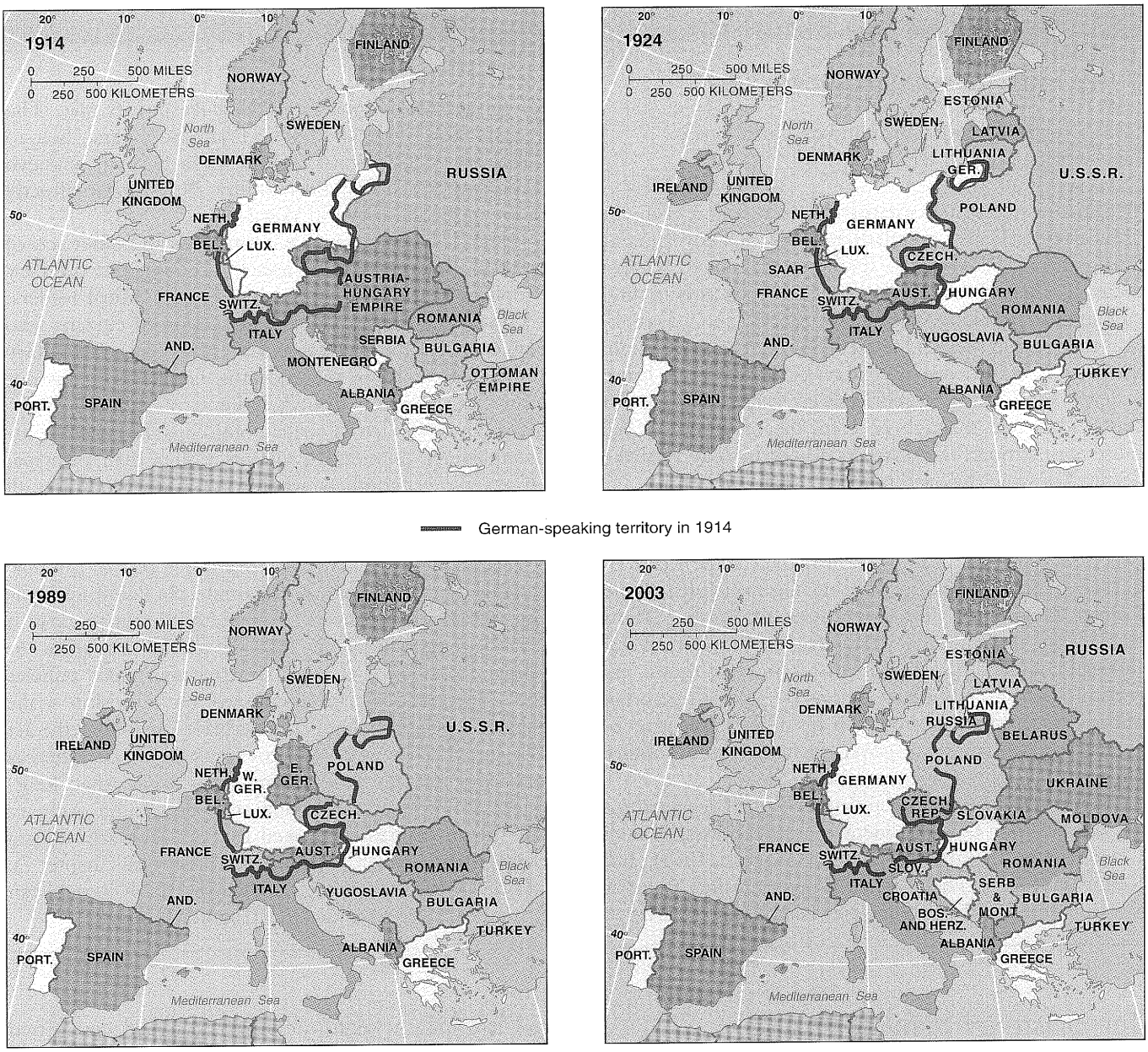


FIGURE 8–13 *Europe's twentieth-century boundary changes. (upper left) In 1914, at the outbreak of World War I, Germany extended 1,300 kilometers (800 miles) from east to west. Germany's boundaries at the time coincided fairly closely to the German-speaking area of Europe, although German was also spoken in portions of Switzerland and the Austria-Hungary Empire. (upper right) After losing World War I, Germany was divided into two discontinuous areas, separated by the Danzig Corridor, part of the newly created state of Poland. (lower left) Germany's boundaries changed again after World War II, as eastern portions of the country were taken by Poland and the Soviet Union. (lower right) With the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe, East Germany and West Germany were united. Because of forced migration of Germans (as well as other peoples) after World War II, the territory occupied by German speakers today is much farther west than the location a century ago.*

ally and member of NATO and the European Union. In 1990, at the fall of Communist governments in Eastern Europe, the German Democratic Republic ceased to exist, and its territory became part of the German Federal Republic (Figure 8–13, lower right).

Joining the European Union in 2004 were eight former Communist Eastern European countries that had made the most progress in converting to market economies: the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Slovak Republic, and Slovenia. Also joining in 2004 were the island countries of Cyprus and Malta. Bulgaria and Romania expect to join by 2007, and Turkey hopes to join, but the European Union has not set a timetable. Current European Union members are wary of admitting a large number of relatively poor Southern and Eastern European countries—per capita income in the ten new members is only half the level in the fifteen older members. Admission would create administrative nightmares—such as expanding the number of languages spoken in the European Union—and dilute the economic benefits that current members enjoy.

KEY ISSUE 4

Why Has Terrorism Increased?

- Terrorism by individuals and organizations
- State support for terrorism

Terrorism is the systematic use of violence by a group in order to intimidate a population or coerce a government into granting its demands. Terrorists attempt to achieve their objectives through organized acts such as bombing, kidnapping, hijacking, taking of hostages, and assassination that spread fear and anxiety among the population. Violence is considered necessary by terrorists to bring widespread publicity to goals and grievances that are not being addressed through peaceful means. Belief in the cause is so strong that terrorists do not hesitate to strike despite knowing they will probably die in the act.

The term *terror* (from the Latin "to frighten") was first applied to the period of the French Revolution between March 1793 and July 1794 known as the Reign of Terror. In the name of protecting the principles of the French Revolution, the Committee of Public Safety, headed by Maximilien Robespierre, guillotined several thousand of its political opponents. In modern times, terrorism has been applied to actions by groups operating outside government rather than by official government agencies, although some governments provide military and financial support for terrorists.

Violence to foster political aims has long been a part of the world. Four U.S. presidents have been assassinated: Lincoln (1865), Garfield (1881), McKinley (1901), and Kennedy (1963). The Roman Emperor Julius Caesar's assassination 2,000 years ago has been vividly recreated for future generations through Shakespeare's play. The assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, by a Serb in Sarajevo (capital of present-day Bosnia) June 28, 1914, led directly to the outbreak of World War I.

Terrorism differs from assassinations and other acts of political violence because attacks are aimed at ordinary people rather than military targets or political leaders. Victims of terrorism are a cross section of citizens who happen to be there at the time. Other types of military action can result in civilian deaths: bombs can go astray, targets can be misidentified, and enemy's military equipment can be hidden in civilian buildings. But average individuals are unintended victims rather than principal targets in most conflicts, whereas a terrorist considers all citizens responsible for the actions being opposed, so therefore equally justified as victims.

Distinguishing terrorism from other acts of political violence can be difficult. For example, if a Palestinian suicide bomber kills several dozen Israeli teenagers in a Jerusalem restaurant, is that an act of terrorism or wartime retaliation against Israeli government policies and army actions? Spokespersons on television make competing claims: Israel's sympathizers denounce the act as a terrorist threat to the country's existence, whereas advocates of the Palestinian cause argue that long-standing injustices and Israeli army attacks on ordinary Palestinian civilians provoked the act. Similarly, Russia claims that Chechen rebels are terrorists (see Chapter 7), and the British have long claimed that Irish Republican Army rebels are terrorists (see Chapter 6).

Terrorism by Individuals and Organizations

The United States suffered several terrorist attacks during the late twentieth century. A terrorist bomb destroyed Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, on December 21, 1988, killing all 259 aboard, plus 11 on the ground. A car bomb parked in the underground garage damaged New York's World Trade Center on February 26, 1993, killing 6 and injuring about 1,000. A car bomb killed 168 people in the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995. A truck bomb blew up an apartment complex in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, on June 25, 1996, killing 19 U.S. soldiers who lived there and injuring more than 100. U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed on August 7, 1998, killing 190 and wounding nearly 5,000. The USS *Cole* was bombed while in the port of Aden, Yemen, in 2000, killing 17 U.S. service personnel.

With the exception of the Oklahoma City bombing, Americans generally paid little attention to the attacks and had only a vague notion of who had committed them. It took the attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001, for most Americans to feel threatened by terrorism.

American Terrorists. Some of the terrorists during the 1990s were American citizens operating alone or with a handful of others. Theodore J. Kaczynski, known as the Unabomber, was convicted of killing 3 people and injuring 23 others by sending bombs through the mail during a 17-year period. His targets were mainly academics in technological disciplines and executives in businesses whose actions he considered to be adversely affecting the environment.

Timothy J. McVeigh was convicted and executed for the Oklahoma City Federal Building bombing, and for assisting him Terry I. Nichols was convicted of conspiracy and involuntary manslaughter but not executed. McVeigh claimed his terrorist act was provoked by rage against the U.S. government for such actions as the Federal Bureau of Investigation's 51-day siege of the Branch

Davidian religious compound near Waco, Texas, culminating with an attack on April 19, 1993, that resulted in 80 deaths.

Al-Qaeda. Responsible or implicated in most of the anti-U.S. terrorism during the 1990s, as well as the September 11, 2001, attack, was the al-Qaeda network, founded by Osama bin Laden. His father, Mohammed bin Laden, a native of Yemen, established a construction company in Saudi Arabia and became a billionaire through close connections to the royal family. Osama bin Laden, one of about 50 children fathered by Mohammed with several wives, used his several hundred million dollar inheritance to fund al-Qaeda.

Bin Laden moved to Afghanistan during the mid-1980s to support the fight against the Soviet army and the country's Soviet-installed government. Calling the anti-Soviet fight a holy war or *jihad*, bin Laden recruited militant Muslims from Arab countries to join the cause. After the Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989, bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia, but he was expelled in 1991 for opposing the Saudi government's decision permitting the United States to station troops there during the 1991 war against Iraq. Bin Laden moved to Sudan but was expelled in 1994 for instigating attacks against U.S. troops in Yemen and Somalia, so he returned to Afghanistan, where he lived as a "guest" of the Taliban-controlled government.

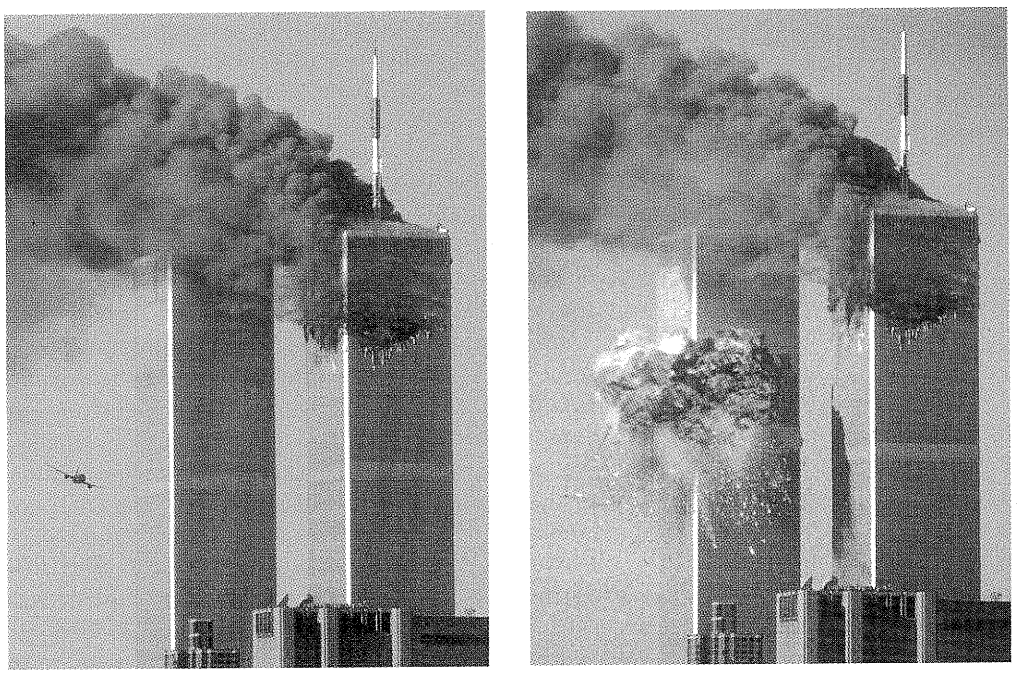
Al-Qaeda (an Arabic word meaning "the base") was created around 1990 to unite *jihad* fighters in Afghanistan, as well as supporters of bin Laden elsewhere in the Middle East. Estimates of al-Qaeda membership at the time of the World Trade Center attack ranged from 3,000 to 35,000, dispersed in as many as 34 countries. Its size has been hard to estimate because the organization consists of a large number of isolated autonomous cells, whose members have minimal contact with those in other cells or even others in the same cell.

Some al-Qaeda cell members have been responsible for reconnaissance activities, such as identifying targets and collecting maps, drawings, and statistics; some have provided lodging, cash, credit cards, cars, and other logistical support; and some have actually executed attacks. Reconnaissance specialists have reported to a military committee, which in turn has reported to a consultation council known as *Majiis al shura*. Finance, media, and legal-religious policy committees have also reported to the *Majiis*, which reported to Osama bin Laden.

Most al-Qaeda cell members have lived in ordinary society, supporting themselves with jobs, burglary, and credit card fraud. They are examples of "sleepers," so-called because they await their cell leader's order to "awake" and perform a job for the network. The cell's planners and attackers typically do not have direct contact with each other, whereas the support members encounter both planners and attackers but do not know the target or attack plan. If arrested, members of one cell are not in a position to identify members of other cells.

Bin Laden issued a declaration of war against the United States in 1996, because of U.S. support for Saudi Arabia and Israel. In a 1998 *fatwa* ("religious decree"), bin Laden argued that Muslims had a duty to wage a holy war against U.S. citizens because the United States was responsible for maintaining the Saud royal family as rulers of Saudi Arabia and a state of Israel dominated by Jews. Destruction of the Saudi monarchy and the Jewish state of Israel would liberate from their control Islam's three holiest sites of Makkah (Mecca), Madinah, and Jerusalem.

Al-Qaeda's holy war against the United States culminated in simultaneous attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001. The attacks resulted in nearly 3,000 fatalities:



On September 11, 2001, at 9:03 A.M., United Flight 175 approaches World Trade Center south tower (left) and crashes into it (right), with north tower already burning from crash of American Flight 11 at 8:45 A.M.

- 93 (5 terrorists, 77 other passengers, and 11 crew) on American Airlines flight 11, which crashed into World Trade Center Tower 1;
- 65 (5 terrorists, 51 other passengers, and 9 crew) on United Airlines flight 175, which crashed into World Trade Center Tower 2;
- 2,605 on the ground at the World Trade Center;
- 64 (5 terrorists, 53 other passengers, and 6 crew) on American Airlines flight 77, which crashed into the Pentagon;
- 125 on the ground at the Pentagon;
- 44 (4 terrorists, 33 other passengers, and 7 crew) on United Airlines flight 93 which crashed near Shanksville, Pennsylvania, after passengers fought with terrorists on board, preventing an attack on another Washington, D.C., target.

Heightened security prevented al-Qaeda from launching another attack in the United States. Instead, al-Qaeda turned to targets in other countries that were lightly guarded. Al-Qaeda bombings killed 180 mostly Australian tourists at a Bali, Indonesia, resort and 10 Kenyans and 3 Israeli tourists at a Mombasa, Kenya, resort, both in 2002. Simultaneously with the Mombasa bombing, two missiles were fired at an Israeli airplane taking off from the Mombasa airport. A 2003 al-Qaeda attack killed 10 Americans and 1 Australian in a Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, apartment complex.

Al-Qaeda's use of religion to justify attacks has posed challenges to both Muslims and Americans. For many Muslims, the challenge has been to express disagreement with U.S. policies yet disavow the terrorist's approach to opposing the United States. For many Americans, the challenge has been to distinguish between the peaceful but unfamiliar principles and practice of the world's 1.3 billion Muslims and the misuse and abuse of Islam by a handful of terrorists.

State Support for Terrorism

Several states in the Middle East have provided support for terrorism in recent years, at three increasing levels of involvement:

- Providing sanctuary for terrorists wanted by other countries;
- Supplying weapons, money, and intelligence to terrorists;
- Planning attacks using terrorists.

In response to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack against the United States, the U.S. government accused first Afghanistan, then Iraq, and then Iran of providing at least one of the three levels of state support for terrorists. As part of its war against terrorism, the U.S. government in cooperation with other countries attacked Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003 to depose those country's government leaders considered supporters of terrorism. A generation earlier, the United States also attacked Libya in retaliation for using terrorists to plan attacks during the 1980s.

Libya

After deposing the King of Libya in a 1969 military coup, Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi provided terrorists with financial aid to kill his opponents living in exile in Europe. U.S. relations with Libya deteriorated in 1981 after U.S. aircraft shot down attacking Libyan warplanes while conducting exercises over waters that the United States considered international but that Libya considered inside its territory.

Terrorists sponsored by Libya in 1986 bombed a nightclub in Berlin popular with U.S. military personnel then stationed there, killing two U.S. soldiers (three including one civilian). In response, U.S. bombers attacked the Libyan cities of Tripoli and Benghazi in a failed attempt to kill Col. Qaddafi. In 1990, investigators announced that the 1988 destruction of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, was conducted by Libyan agents. Following 8 years of U.N. economic sanctions, Col. Qaddafi turned over the suspects for a trial that was held in the Netherlands under Scottish law. One of the two was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment, whereas the other was acquitted.

Afghanistan

The United States attacked Afghanistan in 2001 when its leaders, known as the Taliban, sheltered Osama bin Laden and other al-Qaeda terrorists. The Taliban (Arabic for "students of Muslim religious schools") had gained power in Afghanistan in 1995, temporarily suppressing a civil war that had lasted for more than 2 decades and imposing strict Islamic fundamentalist law on the population (see Chapter 6).

Afghanistan's civil war began when the King was overthrown by a military coup in 1973 and replaced 5 years later in a bloody coup by a government sympathetic to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union sent 115,000 troops to Afghanistan beginning in 1979 after fundamentalist Muslims, known as *mujahedeen*, or "holy warriors," started a rebellion against the pro-Soviet government.

Although heavily outnumbered by Soviet troops and possessing much less sophisticated equipment, the *mujahedeen* offset the Soviet advantage by waging a guerrilla war in the country's rugged mountains, where they were more comfortable than the Soviet troops and where Soviet air superiority was ineffective. Unable to subdue the *mujahedeen*, the Soviet Union withdrew its troops in 1989, and the Soviet-installed government in Afghanistan collapsed in 1992. After several years of infighting among the factions that had defeated the Soviet Union, the Taliban gained control over most of the country.

Six years of Taliban rule came to an end in 2001 following the U.S. invasion. Destroying the Taliban was necessary for the United States in order to go after al-Qaeda leaders, including Osama bin Laden, who were

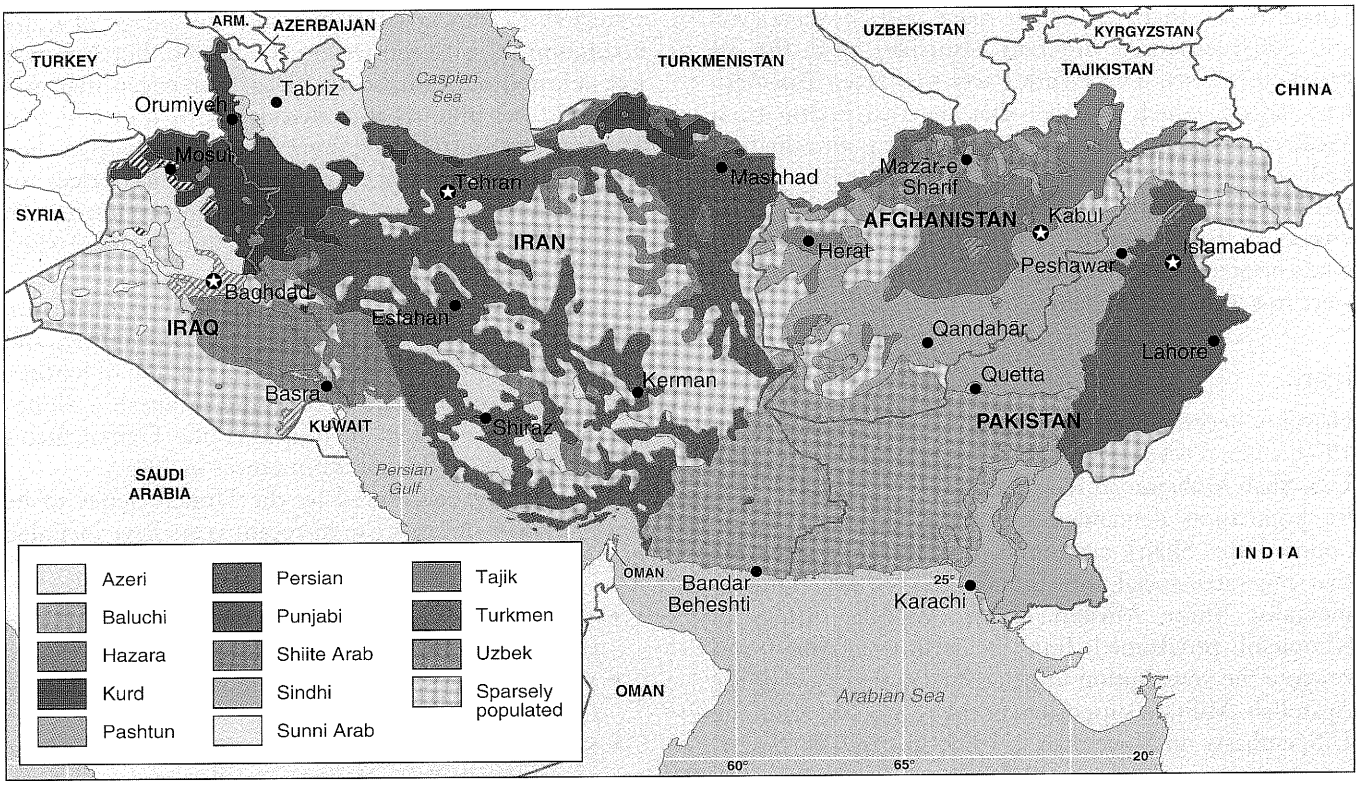


FIGURE 8–14 *Ethnic groups in Southwest Asia. During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union viewed conflicts in this region as part of a global struggle in support or against the spread of communism. More recently, U.S. officials have regarded conflicts in Southwest Asia as part of the global war on terrorism. As the map shows, boundaries between ethnic groups do not match boundaries between countries in Southwest Asia, especially Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. This mismatch plays a critical role in the region's many wars.*

living in Afghanistan as guests of the Taliban. Removal of the Taliban unleashed a new struggle for control of Afghanistan among the country's many ethnic groups (Figure 8–14).

Iraq

The United States attacked Iraq in 2003 in order to remove from power the country's longtime President Saddam Hussein. U.S. officials, supported by the United Kingdom and a few other countries, argued that Hussein was developing weapons of mass destruction that could be turned over to terrorists.

UN inspectors found the following evidence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq in 1998:

- A nuclear radiation weapon program, including 40 nuclear-research facilities and 3 uranium-enrichment programs;
- A program for making weapons from the VX nerve agent;
- A biological weapons program, including production of botulinum, anthrax, aflatoxin, and clostridium, and bombs to deliver toxic agents.

Iraq prevented inspectors from viewing weapons-producing sites after 1998, so more recent initiatives could not be verified. In an attempt to forestall a U.S. attack, Iraq permitted the United Nations to resume inspections in 2002, but the United States considered the inspectors ineffective because Iraq was hiding the weapons.

The U.S. confrontation with Iraq predated the war on terrorism. After Iraq invaded neighboring Kuwait in 1990 and attempted to annex it, the U.S.-led coalition launched the 1991 Gulf War known as Operation Desert Storm to drive Iraq out of Kuwait. Poorer Arab countries had little sympathy for Kuwait, a petroleum-rich country that shared little of its wealth and mistreated its large contingent of guest workers from its poorer neighbors. But Desert Storm was supported by nearly every country in the United Nations, because the purpose was to end one country's unjustified invasion and attempted annexation of another.

Although Iraq was defeated in the 1991 Gulf War, Saddam Hussein and the Ba'ath Party remained in power for another dozen years until deposed by the United States in the 2003 war. In contrast with the 1991 Gulf War, most UN-member states did not support the U.S.-led attack in 2003. Most other countries did not view as sufficiently strong the evidence that Iraq still possessed weapons of mass destruction or intended to use them. Hussein's brutal treatment of Iraqis over several decades was widely acknowledged by other countries but not accepted as justification for military action against him.

U.S. assertion that Hussein had close links with al-Qaeda was also challenged by most other countries, as well as by U.S. intelligence agencies. One reason was that

Hussein's Ba'ath Party, which ruled Iraq between 1968 and 2003, espoused different principles than the al-Qaeda terrorists. The Ba'ath Party supported Pan-Arab nationalism, which is belief that the vast region from Western Africa to Central Asia should be politically unified, with financial strength from sharing the region's extensive oil wealth. Al-Qaeda terrorists justified their attacks on the basis of their interpretation of Islamic religious principles, whereas the Ba'ath Party and its leaders were not observant Muslims.

Iran

Hostility between the United States and Iran dates from 1979, when a revolution forced abdication of Iran's pro-U.S. Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. Iran's majority Shiite population demanded more democratic rule and opposed the Shah's economic modernization program that generated social unrest. Supporters of exiled fundamentalist Shiite Muslim leader Ayatollah Ruholiah Khomeini proclaimed Iran an Islamic republic and rewrote the constitution to place final authority with the Ayatollah. Militant supporters of the Ayatollah seized the U.S. embassy on November 4, 1979, and held 62 Americans hostage until January 20, 1981.

Iran and Iraq fought a war between 1980 and 1988 over control of the Shatt al-Arab waterway, formed by the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers flowing into the Persian Gulf. Forced to cede control of the waterway to Iran in 1975, Iraq took advantage of Iran's revolution to seize the waterway in 1980, but Iran was not defeated outright, so an 8-year war began that neither side was able to win. Because both Iran and Iraq were major oil producers, the war caused a sharp decline in international oil prices, reducing both gas prices for motorists and revenues for oil-producing countries. An estimated 1.5 million died in the war, until it ended when the two countries accepted a UN peace plan.

As the United States launched its war on terrorism, Iran was a less immediate target than Afghanistan and Iraq. However, the United States accused Iran of harboring al-Qaeda members and of trying to install a Shiite-dominated government in Iraq after the United States removed Saddam Hussein from power in 2003.

Other states considered by the United States to be state sponsors of terrorism in recent years have included the following:

- Yemen, which served as a base for al-Qaeda cells and sheltered terrorists who attacked the USS *Cole*;
- Sudan, which sheltered Islamic militants, including Osama bin Laden;
- Syria, which was charged with supporting Iraq's deposed Ba'ath Party leaders as well as terrorists from Iran and Libya;
- North Korea, which was developing nuclear weapons capability.

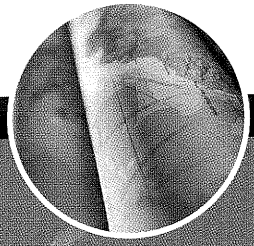
SUMMARY

Two political trends dominate the start of the twenty-first century. First, after a half-century dominated by the Cold War between two superpowers—the United States and the former Soviet Union—the world has entered a period characterized by an unprecedented increase in the number of new states created to satisfy the desire of nationalities for self-determination as an expression of cultural distinctiveness. Turmoil has resulted because in many cases the boundaries of the new states do not precisely match the territories occupied by distinct nationalities.

At the same time, with the end of the Cold War, military alliances have become less important than patterns of global and regional economic cooperation and competition among states. Economic cooperation has increased among neighboring states in Western Europe and North America, and competition among these two blocs, as well as Japan, has increased.

Here is a review of issues raised at the beginning of the chapter.

1. **Where are states located?** A state is a political unit, with an organized government and sovereignty, whereas a nation is a group of people with a strong sense of cultural unity. Most of Earth's surface is allocated to states, and only a handful of colonies and tracts of unorganized territory remain.
2. **Why do boundaries between states cause problems?** Boundaries between states, where possible, are drawn to coincide either with physical features, such as mountains, deserts, and bodies of water, or with such cultural characteristics as geometry, religion, and language. Boundaries affect the shape of countries and affect the ability of a country to live peacefully with its neighbors. Problems arise when the boundaries of states do not coincide with the boundaries of ethnicities.
3. **Why do states cooperate with each other?** Following World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union, as the world's two superpowers, formed military alliances with other countries. With the end of the Cold War, nationalities now are cooperating with each other, especially in Western Europe, primarily to promote economic growth rather than to provide military protection.
4. **Why has terrorism increased?** Terrorism initiated by individuals, organizations, and states has increased, especially against the United States. Terrorists consider all U.S. citizens justified targets because all U.S. citizens are responsible for U.S. government policies and cultural practices.



CASE STUDY REVISITED

Future of the Nation-State in Europe

The importance of the nation-state has diminished in Western Europe, the very world region most closely associated with development of the concept during the past 200 years. European nation-states have put aside their centuries-old rivalries to forge the world's most powerful economic union.

European economic integration has been pushed further in recent years with the introduction of a single currency: the Euro. France's franc, Germany's mark, and Italy's lira—powerful symbols of sovereign nation-states—have disappeared. European leaders are betting that every country in the region will be stronger economically with national currencies replaced by the Euro.

Dislike of the Euro persists in parts of Europe where inefficient companies have lost business to more efficient competitors based in other countries. National identity may still matter to Europeans who are suffering economic hardship after introduction of the Euro, but boundaries where hundreds of thousands of soldiers once stood guard now have little more economic significance than boundaries between states inside the United States.

Western Europeans may one day carry European Union rather than national passports, even though they won't need to show them when traveling within Western Europe. But they will still observe cultural differences when they cross borders. For example, highways in the Netherlands are more likely than those in neighboring Belgium to be flanked by well-manicured vegetation and paths reserved for bicycles.

The most fundamental obstacle to Western European integration is the multiplicity of languages. The European Union must spend a very high percentage of its annual budget translating documents and speeches into all nine of the community's official languages: Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish. Businesses must figure out how to effectively advertise their products in several languages. English, understood by an increasing number of Europeans, may in the future become the principal language of business—the lingua franca—within the European Union, despite French opposition.

At the same time that residents of Western European countries are displaying increased tolerance for cultural values of neighboring nationalities, opposition has increased to the immigration of people from the south and east, especially those who have darker skins and adhere to Islam. Immigrants from poorer regions of Europe, Africa, and Asia fill low-paying jobs, such as cleaning streets and operating buses, that Western Europeans are not willing to perform. Nonetheless, many Western Europeans fear that large-scale immigration will transform their nation-states into multi-ethnic societies.

Underlying this fear of immigration is recognition that natural increase rates are higher in most African and Asian countries than in Western Europe as a result of higher crude birth rates. Many Western Europeans believe that Africans and Asians who immigrate to their countries will continue to maintain relatively high crude birth rates and consequently will constitute even higher percentages of the population in Western Europe in the future.

Even more troubling to Western Europeans is the prolonged unrest in the Balkans. Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Kosovo lie only 250 kilometers (150 miles) from the borders of the European Union states of Austria and Italy. The barbaric practices of the combatants, such as ethnic cleansing, and the primitive conditions under which survivors must live, stand in stark contrast to the prosperity of European Union members.

For Europeans, Bosnia, Serbia, and Kosovo represent an uncomfortably nearby reminder that nationalities are still willing to throw away the prospect of economic prosperity through regional and global economic cooperation in order to preserve their individual cultural identities.

KEY TERMS

Balance of power (p. 282)
Boundary (p. 270)
City-state (p. 267)
Colonialism (p. 268)
Colony (p. 267)
Compact state (p. 271)
Elongated state (p. 272)
Federal state (p. 278)
Fragmented state (p. 273)
Frontier (p. 275)
Gerrymandering (p. 280)
Imperialism (p. 268)
Landlocked state (p. 274)
Microstate (p. 266)
Perforated state (p. 274)
Prorupted state (p. 271)
Sovereignty (p. 263)
State (p. 263)
Unitary state (p. 278)

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY

1. In his book *1984*, George Orwell envisioned the division of the world into three large unified states, held together through technological controls. To what extent has Orwell's vision of a global political arrangement been realized?
2. In the Winter 1992/93 issue of *Foreign Policy*, Gerald Helman and Steven Ratner identified countries that they called "failed nation-states," including Cambodia, Liberia, Somalia, and Sudan, and others that they predicted would fail. Helman and Ratner argue that the governments of these countries were maintained in power during the Cold War era through massive military and economic aid from the United States or the Soviet Union. With the end of the Cold War, these failed nation-states have sunk into civil wars, fought among groups who share language, religion, and other cultural characteristics. What obligations do other countries have to restore order in failed nation-states?
3. Given the movement toward increased local government autonomy on the one hand and increased authority for international organizations on the other, what is the future of the nation-state? Have political and economic trends since the 1990s strengthened the concept of nation-state or weakened it?
4. The world has been divided into a collection of countries on the basis of the principle that ethnicities have the right of self-determination. National identity, however, derives from economic interests as well as from such cultural characteristics as language and religion. To what extent should a country's ability to provide its citizens with food, jobs, economic security, and material wealth, rather than the principle of self-determination, become the basis for dividing the world into independent countries?
5. A century ago the British geographer Halford J. Mackinder identified a heartland in the interior of Eurasia (Europe and Asia) that was isolated by mountain ranges and the Arctic Ocean. Surrounding the heartland was a series of fringe areas, which the geographer Nicholas Spykman later called the *rimland*, oriented toward the oceans. Mackinder argued that whoever controlled the heartland would control Eurasia and hence the entire world. To what extent has Mackinder's theory been validated during the twentieth century by the creation and then the dismantling of the Soviet Union?

ON THE INTERNET

Our cyberspace exercises for Chapter 8 (**www.prenhall.com/rubenstein**) centers on political geography and such issues as the establishment of a European Union peacekeeping force for the first time, or the military expansion of Japan, China, and India. We examine the fragmentation and separation of political entities such as East Timor from Indonesia, Québec from Canada, Spain and the Basques, England and Ireland and Scotland, among many others. Issues like political and military cooperation, shapes and types of boundaries, nationalism and symbolism, combine questions of the organization of power with those of geographical definition. These and other issues will be considered using a number of geopolitical maps found in our Thinking Spatially exercise, a Concept Review exercise on the geopolitics of the world order including imperialism, colonization, and more.

The European Union maintains a Web site (**europa.eu.int**) in 11 languages, reflecting the diversity of member states. Maps are available at the scale of Europe as a whole, as well as local and regional government boundaries within individual countries. The Web site has a direct link to the EU's Statistical Office Eurostat.

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