

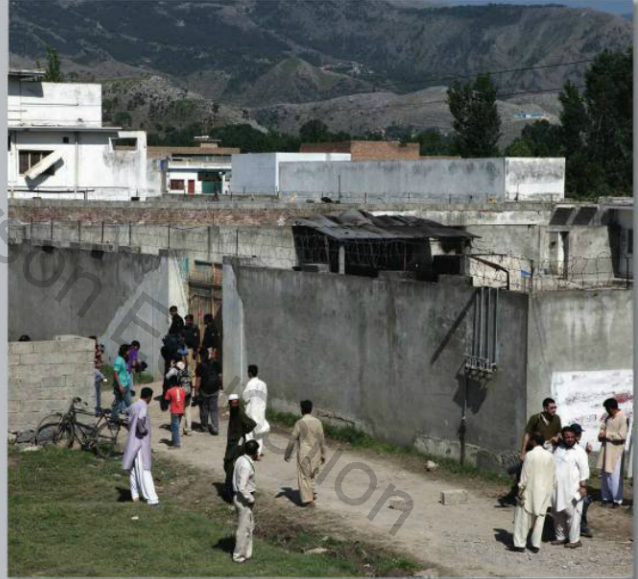
Chapter

8

Political Geography



Why did Morocco build this wall across the Sahara Desert?
Page 265



Who lived here? Page 293

KEY ISSUE 1

Where Are States Distributed?



A World of States p. 261

Earth is divided into approximately 200 states. This was not always the case.

KEY ISSUE 2

Why Are Nation-States Difficult to Create?

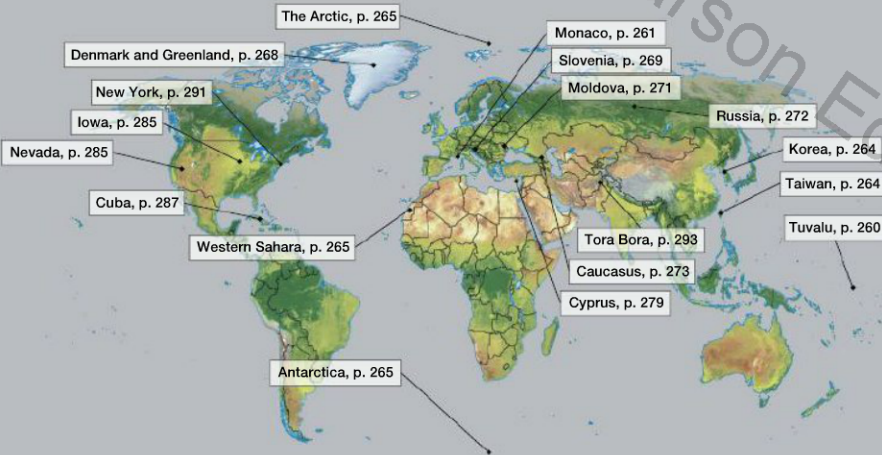


Nation-States and Multinational States p. 268

Dividing the world into states of single ethnicities has been difficult. States with multiple ethnicities are often in turmoil.



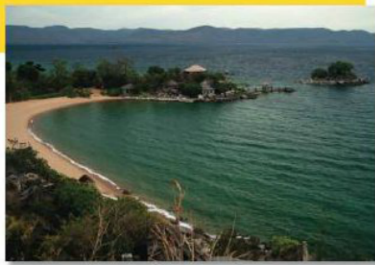
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▲ This bicyclist is crossing the Rhine River on the Passerelle Mimram Pedestrian Bridge. He is heading from Strasbourg, France, to Kehl, Germany. France and Germany fought for centuries over control of Strasbourg and the Rhine. These former enemies are now allies, having joined with other European countries to eliminate passport checks and other border controls. Travel between France and Germany is now as easy as travel between two U.S. states.

KEY ISSUE 3

Why Do Boundaries Cause Problems?



Drawing a Line in the Sand (or Somewhere Else) p. 276

Boundaries between states and within states are hard to set and are often controversial.

KEY ISSUE 4

Why Do States Cooperate and Compete with Each Other?



States in War and Peace p. 286

States increasingly cooperate economically, but violence is increasingly led by terrorists.

Introducing Political Geography

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.

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.

During the Cold War (the late 1940s until the early 1990s), two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—essentially “ruled” the world. As superpowers, they competed at a global *scale*. Many countries belonged to one of two *regions*, one allied with the former Soviet Union and the other allied with the United States.

With the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, the global political landscape changed fundamentally. In the post-Cold War era, the familiar division of the world into countries or states is crumbling. The United States is less dominant in the political landscape of the twenty-first century, and the Soviet Union no longer exists.

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 into collections of smaller ones, some barely visible on world maps (Figure 8-1).

Geographic concepts help us to understand the altered political organization of Earth's surface. Geographers observe why this familiar division of the world is changing. We can also use geographic methods to examine the causes of political change and instability and to anticipate potential trouble spots around the world.

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 have demanded more control over the territory they inhabit. States have transferred power to local governments, but this has not placated cultural groups that seek complete independence.



▲ **FIGURE 8-1 TUVALU** The island of Tuvalu, with 10,000 inhabitants, became an independent country in 1978. It is the world's fourth-smallest country.

No one can predict where the next war or terrorist attack 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.

- **KEY ISSUE 1** describes *where* states are distributed. Nearly the entire land area of the world is divided into states, although what constitutes a state is not always clear-cut.
- **KEY ISSUE 2** explains *why* states can be difficult to create. *Local diversity* has increased in political affairs, as individual cultural groups have demanded more control over the territory they inhabit.
- **KEY ISSUE 3** looks at boundaries between states and within states. Boundary lines are not painted on Earth, but they might as well be, for these national divisions are very real.
- **KEY ISSUE 4** discusses competition and cooperation among states. Political conflicts during the twentieth century were dominated by the *globalization* of warfare, including two world wars involving most of the world's states and collections of allied states. Into the twenty-first century, the attacks against the United States on September 11, 2001, were initiated not by a hostile state but by a terrorist organization.

KEY ISSUE 1

Where Are States Distributed?

- A World of States
- Challenges in Defining States
- Development of State Concept

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. It occupies a defined territory on Earth's surface and contains a permanent population. The term *country* is a synonym for *state*. 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 *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.

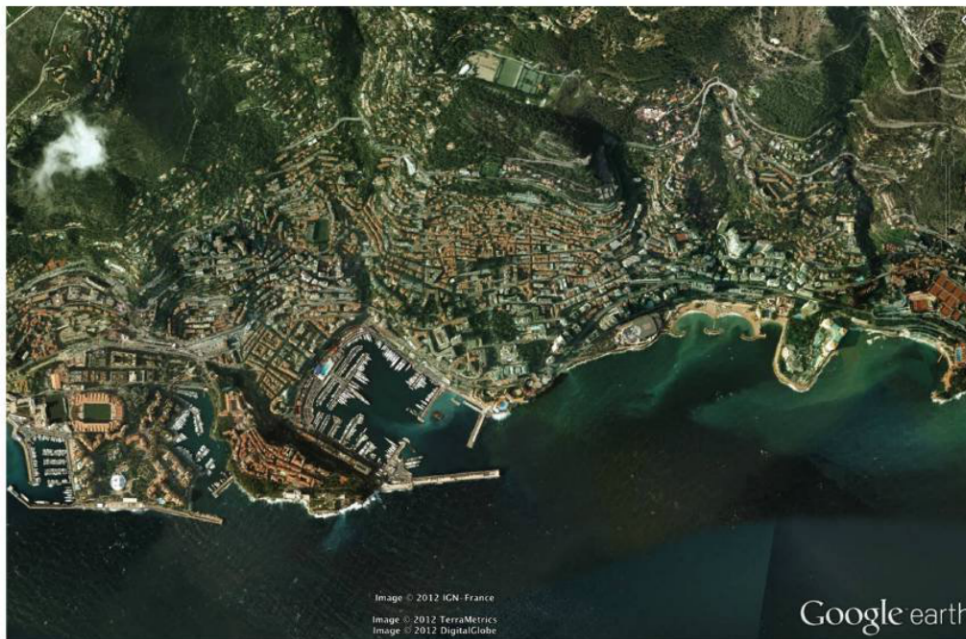
How many of these states can you name? Old-style geography sometimes required memorization of countries

and their capitals. Human geographers now 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 states. Without such knowledge, you lack a basic frame of reference—knowing where things are.

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. Other states with more than 5 million square kilometers (2 million square miles) include Canada, the United States, China, Brazil, and Australia.

At the other extreme are about two dozen **microstates**, which are states with very small land areas. If Russia were the size of this page, a microstate would be the size of a single letter on it. The smallest microstate in the United Nations—Monaco (Figure 8-2)—encompasses only 1.5 square kilometers (0.6 square miles).

Other UN member states that are smaller than 1,000 square kilometers (400 square miles) include Andorra, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahrain, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Kiribati, Liechtenstein, Maldives, Malta, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, St. Kitts & Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent & the Grenadines, San Marino, São Tomé e Príncipe, the Seychelles, Singapore, Tonga, and Tuvalu (refer to Figure 8-1). Many of the microstates are islands, which explains both their small size and sovereignty.



◀ **FIGURE 8-2**

MICROSTATE: MONACO The smallest microstate in the United Nations, Monaco is a principality, ruled by a prince.

A World of States

Learning Outcome 8.1.1

Explain the three eras of rapid growth in UN membership.

A map of the world shows that virtually all habitable land belongs to some country or other. But for most of history, until recently, this was not so. As recently as the 1940s, the world contained only about 50 countries, compared to approximately 200 today.

THE UNITED NATIONS

The most important global organization is the United Nations, created at the end of World War II by the victorious Allies. During this era of rapid changes in states and their relationships, the UN has provided a forum for the discussion of international problems. On occasion, the UN has intervened in conflicts between or within member states, authorizing military and peacekeeping actions. In addition, the UN seeks to promote international cooperation to address global economic problems, promote human rights, and provide humanitarian relief.

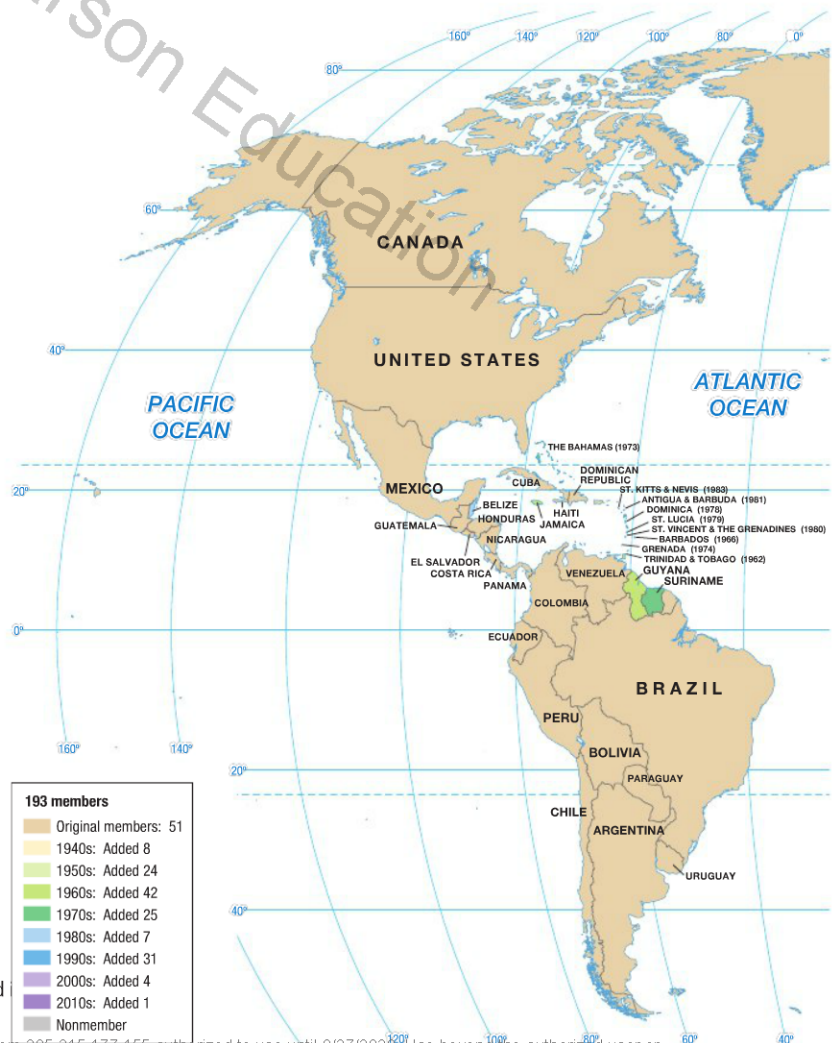
When it was organized in 1945, the UN had only 51 members, including 49 sovereign states plus Byelorussia (now Belarus) and Ukraine, then part of the Soviet Union (Figure 8-3). The number of UN members reached 193 in 2011.

The UN membership increased rapidly on three occasions (Figure 8-4):

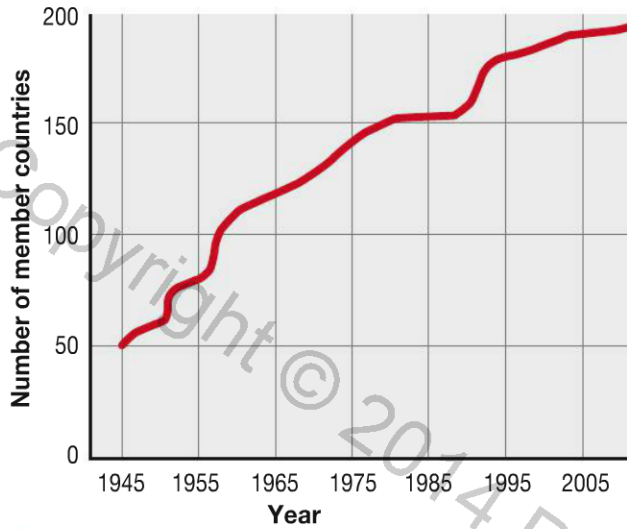
- **1955.** Sixteen countries joined in 1955, mostly European countries that had been liberated from Nazi Germany during World War II.
- **1960.** Seventeen new members were added in 1960, all but one a former African colony of Britain or France. Only four African states were original members of the United Nations—Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, and South Africa—and only six more joined during the 1950s.
- **1990–1993.** Twenty-six countries were added between 1990 and 1993, primarily due to 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 of Nations was never an effective peacekeeping organization. The United States did not join it, 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 of Nations 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. The UN is playing an important role in trying to separate warring groups in a number of regions, especially in Eastern Europe, Central and Southwest Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa. However, 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—can veto a peacekeeping operation. During the



► **FIGURE 8-3 UN MEMBERS** Nearly the entire land area of the world part of the UN.



▲ **FIGURE 8-4 GROWTH IN UN MEMBERSHIP** UN membership has increased from 51 to 193.

Cold War era, the United States and the Soviet Union used the veto to prevent undesired UN intervention, and it was only after the Soviet Union’s delegate walked out of a Security Council meeting in 1950 that the UN voted to send troops to support South Korea. More recently, the opposition of China and Russia has made it difficult for the international community to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons.

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 two ethnicities (Bosnia’s Serbs and Croats) as aggressors undertaking ethnic cleansing against weaker victims (Bosnian Muslims). Despite its shortcomings, though, the UN 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.

Pause and Reflect 8.1.1

How might UN membership substantially increase in the future beyond the current level?



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Challenges in Defining States

Learning Outcome 8.1.2

Explain why it is difficult to determine whether some territories are states.

There is some disagreement about the actual number of sovereign states. This disagreement is closely tied to the history and geography of the places involved and most often involves neighboring states. In some disputes about sovereignty, multiple states lay claim to a territory. Among places that test the definition of a state are Korea, China, Kosovo, Western Sahara (Sahrawi Republic), and the polar regions of Antarctica and the Arctic Ocean.

KOREA: ONE STATE OR TWO?

A colony of Japan for many years, Korea was divided into two occupation zones by the United States and the former Soviet Union after they defeated Japan in World War II (Figure 8-5). 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 allow exchange visits of families separated for a half century by the division and to increase economic cooperation. However, progress toward reconciliation was halted by North Korea's decision to build nuclear



▲ **FIGURE 8-5 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, a measure of its poverty and limited economic activity.

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?

Are China and the island of Taiwan two sovereign states or one? Most other countries consider China (officially the People's Republic of China) and

Taiwan (officially the Republic of China) as separate and sovereign states. According to China's government, Taiwan is not sovereign but a part of China. This confusing situation arose from a civil war in China during the late 1940s between the Nationalists and the Communists. After losing in 1949, Nationalist leaders, including President Chiang Kai-shek, fled to Taiwan, 200 kilometers (120 miles) off the Chinese coast (Figure 8-6).

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. In 1999 Taiwan's president announced that Taiwan would 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.



▲ **FIGURE 8-6 TAIWAN** Taiwanese wave flags at Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall in Taipei, Taiwan. The hall is named for the last Nationalist president of mainland China.



▲ **FIGURE 8-7 WESTERN SAHARA** Morocco built sand walls during the 1980s to isolate Polisario Front rebels fighting for independence.

WESTERN SAHARA (SAHRAWI REPUBLIC)

The Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, also known as Western Sahara, is considered by most African countries as a sovereign state. Morocco, however, claims the territory and to prove it has built a 2,700-kilometer (1,700-mile) wall around the territory to keep out rebels (Figure 8-7).

Spain controlled the territory on the continent's west coast between Morocco and Mauritania 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 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. The United Nations has tried but failed to reach a resolution among the parties.

POLAR REGIONS: MANY CLAIMS

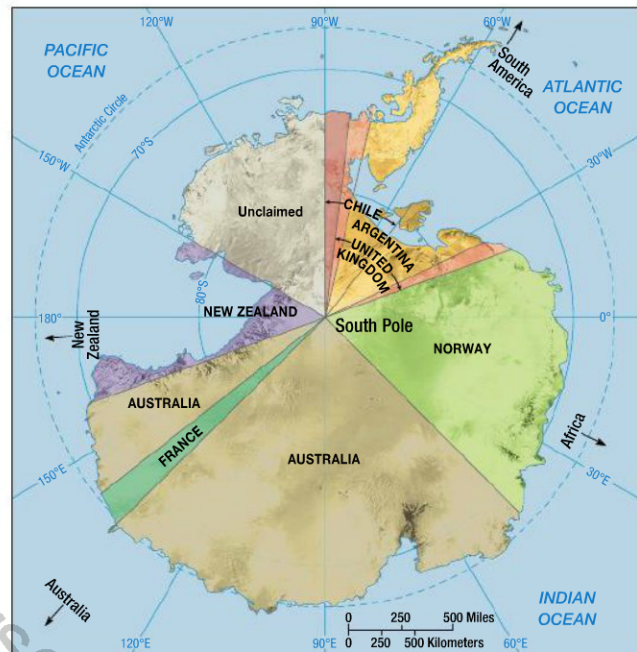
The South Pole region contains the only large landmasses on Earth's surface that are not part of a state. Several states claim portions of the region, and some claims are overlapping and conflicting.

Several states, including Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, New Zealand, Norway, and the United Kingdom, claim portions of Antarctica (Figure 8-8). Argentina, Chile, and the United Kingdom have made conflicting, overlapping claims. The United States, Russia, and a number of other states do not recognize the claims of any country to Antarctica. The Antarctic Treaty, signed in 1959 by 47 states, provides a legal framework for managing Antarctica. States may establish research stations there for scientific investigations, but no military activities are permitted.

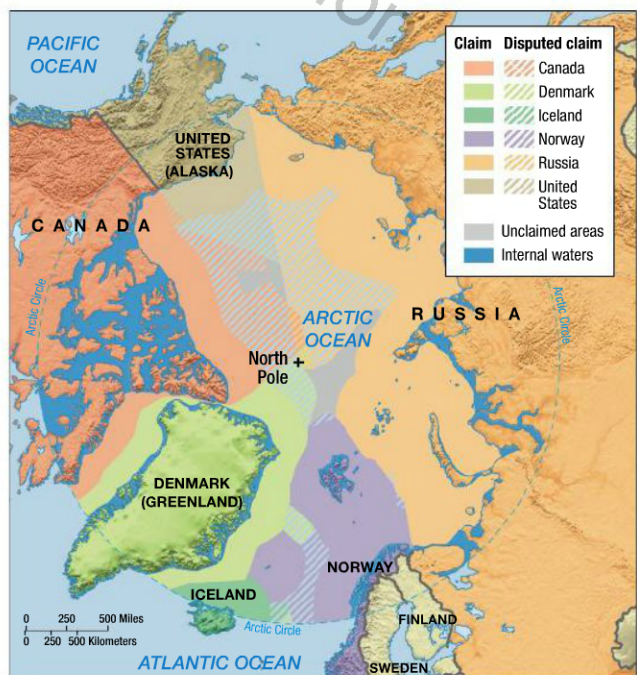
As for the Arctic, the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea permitted countries to submit claims inside the Arctic Circle by 2009 (Figure 8-9). The Arctic region is thought to be rich in energy resources.

Pause and Reflect 8.1.2

The polar ice caps are receding with the warming of Earth. How might this affect competing territorial claims?



▲ **FIGURE 8-8 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), which makes it 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.



▲ **FIGURE 8-9 NATIONAL CLAIMS TO THE ARCTIC** Under the Law of the Sea Treaty of 1982, countries had until 2009 to submit claims to territory inside the Arctic Circle. Some of these claims overlap.

Development of the State Concept

Learning Outcome 8.1.3

Explain the concept of nation-state and how it differs from earlier ways to govern.

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 into city-states, empires, kingdoms, and small land areas controlled by a hereditary class of nobles, and much of it consisted of unorganized territory.

ANCIENT STATES

The development of states can be traced to the ancient Middle East, in an area known as the Fertile Crescent. The ancient Fertile Crescent formed an arc between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea (Figure 8-10). 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.

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



▲ **FIGURE 8-10 THE FERTILE CRESCENT** The crescent-shaped area of relatively fertile land was organized into a succession of empires starting several thousand years ago.

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.

Pause and Reflect 8.1.3

What is the importance of the Fertile Crescent in the development of religions, as discussed in Chapter 6? How do you think the development of ancient states and religions in the region are related?

MEDIEVAL 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 (Figure 8-11). At its maximum extent, the empire comprised 38 provinces, each using the same set of laws that had been created in Rome. Massive walls helped the Roman army defend many of the empire's frontiers.

The Roman Empire collapsed in the fifth century, after a series of attacks by people living on its frontiers and because of 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.

A handful of powerful kings emerged as rulers over large numbers of these European 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 European states as England, France, and Spain (Figure 8-12). Much of Europe consolidated into a handful of empires, including Austrian, French, Ottoman, and Russian (Figure 8-13, top).



▲ **FIGURE 8-11 ROMAN EMPIRE, A.D. 100** At its height, the Roman Empire controlled much of Europe and Southwest Asia & North Africa.



▲ FIGURE 8-12 EUROPE, 1300 Much of Europe was fragmented into small estates controlled by nobles.



NATION-STATES IN EUROPE

To preserve and enhance distinctive cultural characteristics, ethnicities seek to govern themselves without interference. A **nation-state** is a state whose territory corresponds to that occupied by a particular ethnicity. Ethnic groups have pushed to create nation-states because desire for self-rule is a very important shared attitude for many of them. The concept that ethnicities have the right to govern themselves is known as **self-determination**.

Some ethnicities were able to form nation-states in Europe during the nineteenth century, and by the early twentieth century most of Western Europe was made up of nation-states (Figure 8-13, bottom).

The movement to identify nationalities on the basis of language spread elsewhere in Europe during 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.

During the 1930s, German National Socialists (Nazis) claimed that all German-speaking parts of Europe constituted one nationality and should be unified into one state. After it was defeated in World War II, Germany was divided into two countries ((refer ahead to Figure 8-43). Two Germanys existed from 1949 until 1990.

With the end of communism, the German Democratic Republic ceased to exist, and its territory became part of the German Federal Republic. The present-day state of Germany, though, bears little resemblance to the territory occupied by German-speaking people prior to the upheavals of the twentieth century.



▲ FIGURE 8-13 NATION-STATES IN EUROPE, 1800 AND 1924 (Top) In 1800, much of Europe was organized into empires. (bottom) After World War I, much of Europe was organized into nation-states.

CHECK-IN: KEY ISSUE 1

Where Are States Distributed?

- ✓ The world is divided into approximately 200 states, all but a handful of which are members of the United Nations.
- ✓ It is not always clear-cut whether a territory can be defined as a single state.
- ✓ Organizing Earth into nation-states is a recent concept; other methods of controlling territory prevailed in the past.

KEY ISSUE 2

Why Are Nation-states Difficult to Create?

- Nation-states and Multinational States
- Colonies

Learning Outcome 8.2.1

Understand the difference between a nation-state and a multinational state.

There is no such thing as a perfect nation-state because the territory occupied by a particular ethnicity never corresponds precisely to the boundaries of countries:

- In some multinational states, ethnicities coexist peacefully, while remaining culturally distinct. Each ethnic group recognizes and respects the distinctive traditions of other ethnicities.
- In some multinational states, one ethnicity tries to dominate another, especially if one is much more numerous than the others. The people of the less numerous ethnicity may be assimilated into the cultural characteristics of the other, sometimes by force.

Nation-states and Multinational States

A state that contains more than one ethnicity is a **multiethnic** state. Because no state has a population that is 100 percent of a single ethnicity, every state in the world is to a varying degree multiethnic. In some multiethnic states, ethnicities all contribute cultural features to the formation of a single nationality. The United States has numerous ethnic groups, for example, all of which consider themselves as belonging to the American nationality.

A **multinational state** is a country that contains more than one ethnicity with traditions of self-determination. The Soviet Union was an especially prominent example of a multinational state until its collapse in the early 1990s. Russia, which comprised the largest portion of the Soviet Union, is now the world's largest multinational state. Relationships among ethnicities vary in multinational states.

NATION-STATES IN EUROPE

Two relatively clear examples of nation-states are Denmark and Slovenia, yet even these two are not perfect examples.

DENMARK. Ninety percent of the population of Denmark consists of ethnic Danes. The Danes have a strong sense of unity that derives from shared cultural characteristics



▲ **FIGURE 8-14 DENMARK AND GREENLAND** Greenland's official language is now Greenlandic, an Inuit language. Greenland is now officially known as Kalaallit Nunaat, and the capital city was changed from Godthaab to Nuuk.

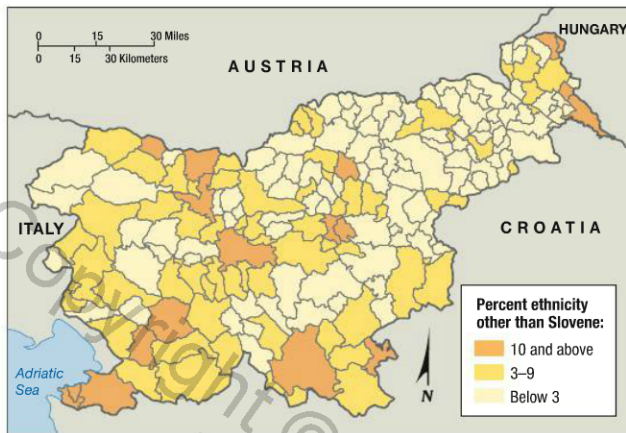
and attitudes and a recorded history that extends back more than 1,000 years. Nearly all Danes speak the same language—Danish—and nearly all the world's speakers of Danish live in Denmark.

However, 10 percent of Denmark's population consists of ethnic minorities. The two largest groups are guest workers from Turkey and refugees from ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia. Further diluting the concept of a nation-state, Denmark controls two territories where few ethnic Danes live (Figure 8-14):

- Faeroe Islands, a group of 21 islands, has been ruled by Denmark for more than 600 years. The nearly 50,000 inhabitants of the Faeroe Islands speak Faeroese.
- Greenland, the world's largest island, is controlled by Denmark. Only 12 percent of Greenland's 58,000 residents are considered Danish; the remainder are native-born Greenlanders, primarily Inuit. Greenlanders control most of their own domestic affairs.

SLOVENIA. Slovenia was a republic within Yugoslavia that became an independent country in 1991 (Figure 8-15). Slovenes comprise 83 percent of the population of Slovenia, and nearly all the world's 2 million Slovenes live in Slovenia. The relatively close coincidence between the boundaries of the Slovene ethnic group and the country of Slovenia has promoted the country's relative peace and stability, compared to other former Yugoslavian republics, as discussed in Chapter 7.

A census in 1948 showed that Slovenes comprised 97 percent of Slovenia's population. The percentage has declined steadily since then. When it was part of Yugoslavia, Slovenia was the most prosperous republic, and it attracted migrants from other republics. Many of them remained in



▲ **FIGURE 8-15 SLOVENIA** The percentage of ethnicities other than Slovene is higher in localities bordering neighboring countries, especially Hungary and Italy.

Slovenia after the country became independent. Slovenia's 90-member National Assembly reserves one seat each for Hungarian and Italian ethnic groups living in Slovenia. The province of Italy bordering Slovenia has a population that is approximately one-fifth Slovene. Boundary changes after World War II resulted in a number of Slovenes living in Italy and Italians living in Slovenia.

Pause and Reflect 8.2.1

Referring to Figure 7-40, where do the boundaries of Slovenia not match language boundaries?

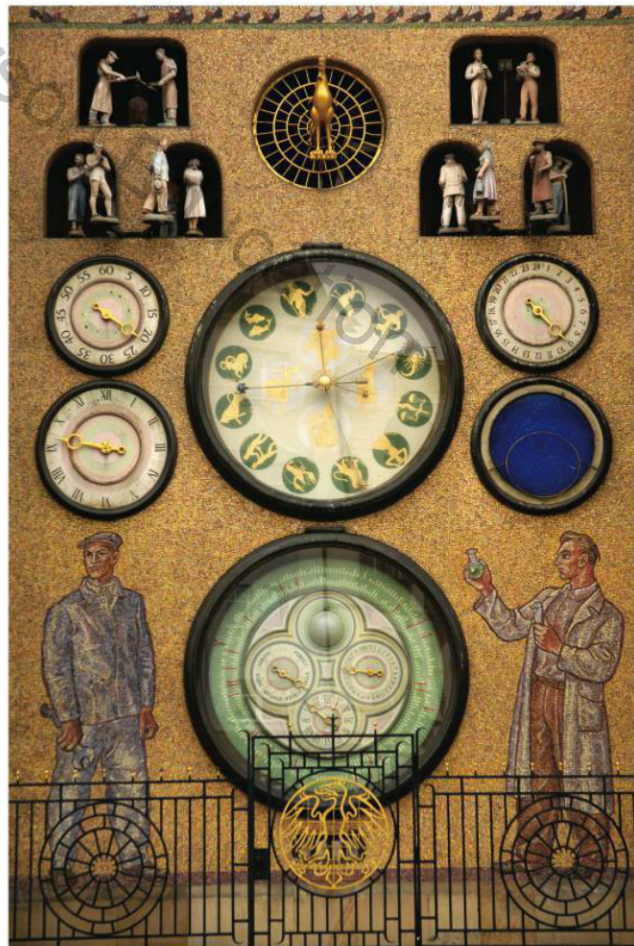
NATION-STATES AND ETHNIC IDENTITY. Europeans thought that ethnicity had been left behind as an insignificant relic, such as wearing quaint costumes to amuse tourists. Karl Marx wrote that nationalism was a means for the dominant social classes to maintain power over workers, and he believed that workers would identify with other working-class people instead of with an ethnicity.

In the twenty-first century, ethnic identity has once again become important in the creation of nation-states in much of Europe. The breakup of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia during the 1990s gave more-numerous ethnicities the opportunity to organize nation-states. But the less-numerous ethnicities found themselves existing as minorities in multinational states or divided among more than one of the new states. Especially severe problems have occurred in the Balkans, a rugged, mountainous region where nation-states could not be delineated peacefully.

Until they lost power around 1990, Communist leaders in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union used centripetal forces to discourage ethnicities from expressing their cultural uniqueness. Writers and artists were pressured to conform to a style known as “socialist realism,” which emphasized Communist economic and political values. Use of the Russian language was promoted as a centripetal device throughout the former Soviet Union. It was taught as the second language in other Eastern European

countries. The role of organized religion was minimized, suppressing a cultural force that competed with the government (Figure 8-16).

The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia were dismantled largely because minority ethnicities opposed the long-standing dominance of the most numerous ones in each country—Russians in the Soviet Union, Serbs in Yugoslavia, and Czechs in Czechoslovakia. The dominance was pervasive, including economic, political, and cultural institutions. No longer content to control a province or some other local government unit, ethnicities sought to be the majority in completely independent nation-states. Republics that once constituted local government units within the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia generally made peaceful transitions into independent countries—as long as their boundaries corresponded reasonably well with the territory occupied by a clearly defined ethnicity.



▲ **FIGURE 8-16 COMMUNIST ART** After the Communists took over Czechoslovakia in 1948, they altered this sixteenth-century clock in the city of Olomouc to conform to socialist realism art. Because they discouraged religion, the Communists removed the statues of the 12 apostles and replaced them with statues of workers.

INDEPENDENT NATION-STATES IN FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS

Learning Outcome 8.2.2

Describe differences among states formerly in the Soviet Union.

For decades, the many ethnicities within the Soviet Union were unable to realize their nationalist aspirations and form independent nation-states. The Soviet Union consisted of 15 republics, based on its 15 largest ethnicities (Figure 8-17). The 15 republics that once constituted the Soviet Union are now independent states. These 15 states consist of five groups:

- Three Baltic states: Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania
- Three European states: Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine
- Five Central Asian states: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan
- Three Caucasus states: Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia
- Russia

Reasonably good examples of nation-states have been carved out of the Baltic, European, and some Central Asian states. On the other hand, peaceful nation-states have not been created in any of the small Caucasus states, and Russia is an especially prominent example of a state with major difficulties in keeping all its ethnicities contented. With the breakup of the Soviet Union into 15 independent countries, a number of these less-numerous ethnicities are now divided among these states.



▲ **FIGURE 8-17 STATES IN THE FORMER U.S.S.R.** The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics included 15 republics, named for the country's largest ethnicities. With the breakup of the Soviet Union, the 15 republics became independent states.



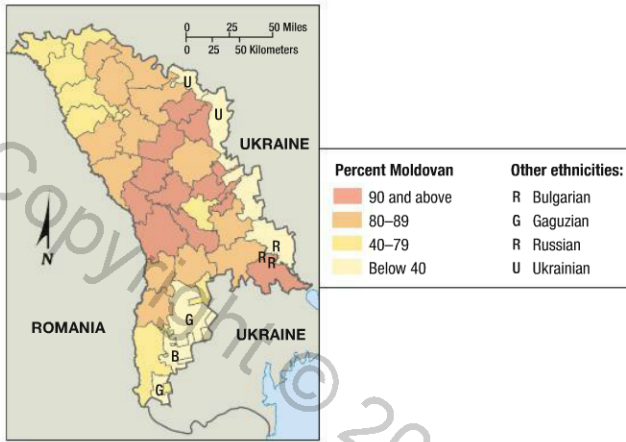
▲ **FIGURE 8-18 BORDER CROSSING BETWEEN ESTONIA AND LATVIA** This is the border between the towns of Valga, Estonia, and Valka, Latvia.

BALTIC STATES. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are known as the Baltic states for their location on the Baltic Sea. They were independent countries between the end of World War I in 1918 and 1940, when the former Soviet Union annexed them under an agreement with Nazi Germany. These three small neighboring Baltic countries have clear cultural differences and distinct historical traditions:

- **Lithuania.** Of the three Baltic states, Lithuania most closely fits the definition of a nation-state because ethnic Lithuanians comprise 85 percent of its population. Most Lithuanians are Roman Catholic and speak a language of the Baltic group within the Balto-Slavic branch of the Indo-European language family (Figure 8-18).
- **Estonians.** In Estonia, ethnic Estonians comprise only 69 percent of the population. Most Estonians are Protestant (Lutheran) and speak a Uralic language related to Finnish.
- **Latvians.** In Latvia, only 59 percent are ethnic Latvians. Latvians are predominantly Lutheran, with a substantial Roman Catholic minority, and they speak a language of the Baltic group.

EUROPEAN STATES. To some extent, the former Soviet republics of Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine now qualify as nation-states. Belarusians comprise 81 percent of the population of Belarus, Moldovans comprise 78 percent of the population of Moldova, and Ukrainians comprise 78 percent of the population of Ukraine. The ethnic distinctions among Belarusians, Ukrainians, and Russians are somewhat blurred. The three groups speak similar East Slavic languages, and all are predominantly Orthodox Christians (some western Ukrainians are Roman Catholics):

- **Belarus and Ukraine.** Belarusians and Ukrainians became distinct ethnicities because they were isolated from the main body of Eastern Slavs—the Russians—during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This was the consequence of Mongolian invasions and conquests by Poles and Lithuanians. Russians conquered the Belarusian and Ukrainian homelands in the late 1700s, but after five centuries of exposure to non-Slavic influences, the three Eastern Slavic groups displayed



▲ **FIGURE 8-19 ETHNICITIES IN MOLDOVA** Ethnicities other than Moldovan predominate in the eastern portion of the country.

sufficient cultural diversity to consider themselves three distinct ethnicities.

- **Moldova.** Moldovans are ethnically indistinguishable from Romanians, and Moldova (then called Moldavia) was part of Romania until the Soviet Union seized it in 1940. When Moldova changed from a Soviet republic back to an independent country in 1992, many Moldovans pushed for reunification with Romania, both to reunify the ethnic group and to improve the region's prospects for economic development. But it was not to be that simple. When Moldova became a Soviet republic in 1940, its eastern boundary was the Dniester River. The Soviet government increased the size of Moldova by about 10 percent, transferring from Ukraine a 3,000-square-kilometer (1,200-square-mile) sliver of land on the east bank of the Dniester. The majority of the inhabitants of this area, known as Trans-Dniestria, are Ukrainian and Russian. They, of course, oppose Moldova's reunification with Romania (Figure 8-19).

Pause and Reflect 8.2.2

To what branches of Indo-European do the principal languages of Moldova belong? How might these linguistic differences affect politics in Moldova?

CENTRAL ASIAN STATES. The five states in Central Asia carved out of the former Soviet Union display varying degrees of conformance to the principles of a nation-state (Figure 8-20). Together the five provide an important reminder that multinational states can be more peaceful than nation-states:

- **Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.** In Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, the leading ethnic group has an overwhelming majority—85 percent Turkmen and 80 percent Uzbek, respectively. Both ethnic groups are Muslims who

speak an Altaic language; they were conquered by Russia in the nineteenth century. Turkmen and Uzbeks are examples of ethnicities split into more than one country—Turkmen between Turkmenistan and Russia, and Uzbeks among Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.

- **Kyrgyzstan.** Kyrgyzstan is 69 percent Kyrgyz, 15 percent Uzbek, and 9 percent Russian. The Kyrgyz—also Muslims who speak an Altaic language—resent the Russians for seizing the best farmland when they colonized this mountainous country early in the twentieth century.
- **Kazakhstan.** In principle, Kazakhstan, twice as large as the other four Central Asian countries combined, is a recipe for ethnic conflict. The country is divided between Kazakhs, who comprise 67 percent of the population, and Russians, at 18 percent. Kazakhs are Muslims who speak an Altaic language similar to Turkish, whereas the Russians are Orthodox Christians who speak an Indo-European language. Tensions exist between the two groups, but Kazakhstan has been peaceful, in part because it has a somewhat less depressed economy than its neighbors.
- **Tajikistan.** In contrast to Kazakhstan, Tajikistan—80 percent Tajik, 15 percent Uzbek, and 1 percent Russian—would appear to be a stable country, but it suffers from a civil war among the Tajik people, Muslims who speak a language in the Indic group of the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European language. The civil war has been between Tajiks, who are former Communists, and an unusual alliance of Muslim fundamentalists and Western-oriented intellectuals. Fifteen percent of the population has been made homeless by the fighting.



▲ **FIGURE 8-20 ETHNICITIES IN CENTRAL ASIA** The map shows the distribution of ethnicities in Central Asia.

THE LARGEST MULTINATIONAL STATE: RUSSIA

Learning Outcome 8.2.3

Describe patterns of distribution of ethnicities in Russia and the Caucasus.

Multinational states face complex challenges in maintaining unity and avoiding fragmentation as discontented ethnicities seek to break away and form new nation-states. Russia officially recognizes the existence of 39 ethnic groups as nationalities, many of which are eager for independence. Russia's ethnicities are clustered in two principal locations (Figure 8-21). Some are located along borders with neighboring states, including Buryats and Tuvians near Mongolia, and Chechens, Dagestani, Kabardins, and Ossetians near the two former Soviet republics of Azerbaijan and Georgia. Overall, 20 percent of the country's population is non-Russian.

Other ethnicities are clustered in the center of Russia, especially between the Volga River basin and the Ural Mountains. Among the most numerous in this region are Bashkirs, Chuvash, and Tatars, who speak Altaic languages similar to Turkish, and Mordvins and Udmurts, who speak Uralic languages similar to Finnish. Most of these groups were conquered by the Russians in the sixteenth century, under the leadership of Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible).

Independence movements are flourishing because Russia is less willing to suppress these movements forcibly than the Soviet Union once was. Particularly troublesome for the Russians are the Chechens, a group of Sunni

Muslims who speak a Caucasian language and practice distinctive social customs.

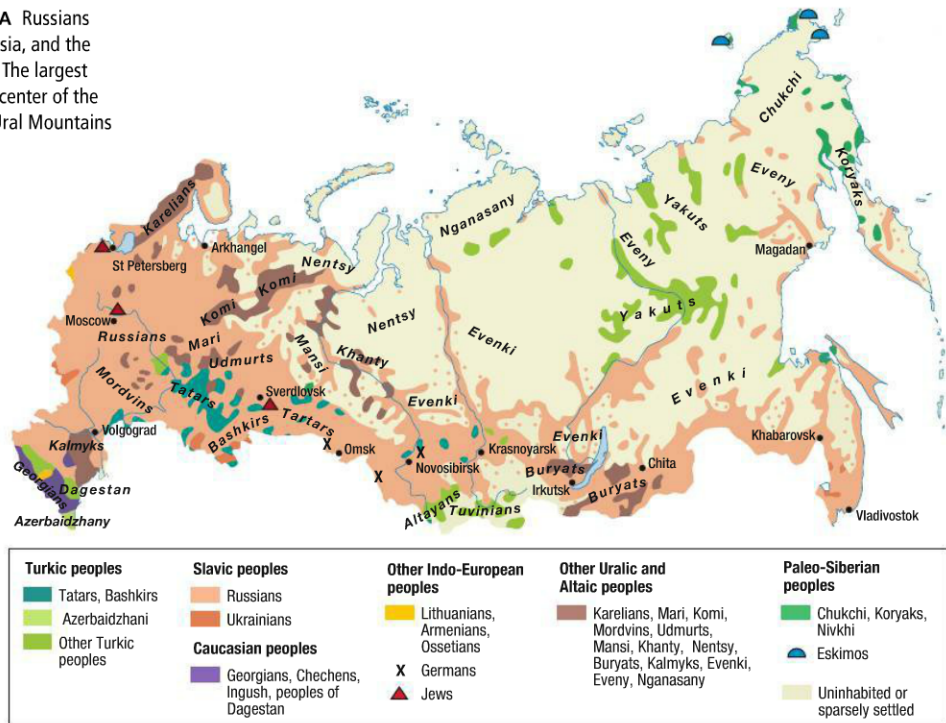
Chechnya was brought under Russian control in the nineteenth century only after a 50-year fight. When the Soviet Union broke up into 15 independent states in 1991, the Chechens declared their independence and refused to join the newly created country of Russia. Russian leaders ignored the declaration of independence for 3 years but then sent in the Russian army in an attempt to regain control of the territory. Russia fought hard to prevent Chechnya from gaining independence because it feared that other ethnicities would follow suit. Chechnya was also important to Russia because the region contained deposits of petroleum. Russia viewed political stability in the area as essential for promoting economic development and investment by foreign petroleum companies.

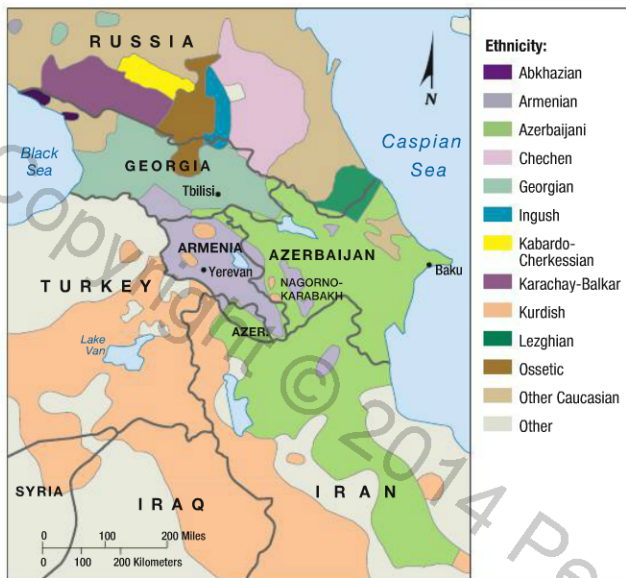
TURMOIL IN THE CAUCASUS

The Caucasus region, an area about the size of Colorado, is situated between the Black and Caspian seas and gets its name from the mountains that separate Russia from Azerbaijan and Georgia. The region is home to several ethnicities, with Azeris, Armenians, and Georgians the most numerous (Figure 8-22). Other important ethnicities include Abkhazians, Chechens, Ingush, and Ossetians. Kurds and Russians—two ethnicities that are more numerous in other regions—are also represented in the Caucasus.

When the entire Caucasus region was part of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government promoted allegiance to communism and the Soviet state and quelled disputes among ethnicities, by force if necessary. With the breakup

► **FIGURE 8-21 ETHNICITIES IN RUSSIA** Russians are clustered in the western portion of Russia, and the percentage declines to the south and east. The largest numbers of non-Russians are found in the center of the country between the Volga River and the Ural Mountains and near the southern borders.





▲ FIGURE 8-22 ETHNICITIES IN THE CAUCASUS Armenians, Azeris, and Georgians are examples of ethnicities that were able to dominate new states during the 1990s, following the breakup of the Soviet Union. But the boundaries of the states of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia do not match the territories occupied by the Armenian, Azeri, and Georgian ethnicities. The Abkhazians, Chechens, Kurds, and Ossetians are examples of ethnicities in this region that have not been able to organize nation-states.

of the region into several independent countries, long-simmering conflicts among ethnicities have erupted into armed conflicts. Each ethnicity has a long-standing and complex set of grievances against others in the region. But from a political geography perspective, every ethnicity in the Caucasus has the same aspiration: to carve out a sovereign nation-state. The region's ethnicities have had varying degrees of success in achieving this objective, but none have fully achieved it.

AZERBAIJAN. Azeris (or Azerbaijanis) trace their roots to Turkish invaders who migrated from Central Asia in the eighth and ninth centuries and merged with the existing Persian population. An 1828 treaty allocated northern Azeri territory to Russia and southern Azeri territory to Persia (now Iran). In 1923, the Russian portion became the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic within the Soviet Union.

With the Soviet Union's breakup in 1991, Azerbaijan again became an independent country. The western part of the country, Nakhichevan (named for the area's largest city), is separated from the rest of Azerbaijan by a 40-kilometer (25-mile) corridor that belongs to Armenia.

More than 7 million Azeris now live in Azerbaijan, 91 percent of the country's total population. Another 16 million Azeris are clustered in northwestern Iran, where they constitute 24 percent of that country's population. Azeris hold positions of responsibility in Iran's government and economy, but Iran restricts teaching of the Azeri language.

ARMENIA. More than 3,000 years ago Armenians controlled an independent kingdom in the Caucasus. Converted to Christianity in 303, they lived for many centuries as an isolated Christian enclave under the rule of Turkish Muslims.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, hundreds of thousands of Armenians were killed in a series of massacres organized by the Turks. Others were forced to migrate to Russia, which had gained possession of eastern Armenia in 1828.

After World War I the Allies created an independent state of Armenia, but it was soon swallowed by its neighbors. In 1921, Turkey and the Soviet Union agreed to divide Armenia between them. The Soviet portion became the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic and then an independent country in 1991. Armenians comprise 98 percent of the population in Armenia, making it the most ethnically homogeneous country in the region.

Armenians and Azeris both have achieved long-held aspirations of forming nation-states, but after their independence from the Soviet Union the two went to war over the boundaries between them. The war concerned possession of Nagorno-Karabakh, a 5,000-square-kilometer (2,000-square-mile) enclave within Azerbaijan that is inhabited primarily by Armenians but placed under Azerbaijan's control by the Soviet Union during the 1920s. A 1994 cease-fire has left Nagorno-Karabakh technically part of Azerbaijan, but in reality it acts as an independent republic called Artsakh. Numerous clashes have occurred since then between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

GEORGIA. The population of Georgia is more diverse than that in Armenia and Azerbaijan. Ethnic Georgians comprise 71 percent of the population. The country also includes about 8 percent Armenian, 6 percent each Azeri and Russian, 3 percent Ossetian, and 2 percent each Abkhazian, Greek, and other ethnicities.

Georgia's cultural diversity has been a source of unrest, especially among the Ossetians and Abkhazians. During the 1990s, the Abkhazians fought for control of the northwestern portion of Georgia and have declared Abkhazia to be an independent state. In 2008, the Ossetians fought a war with the Georgians that resulted in the Ossetians declaring the South Ossetia portion of Georgia to be independent.

Russia has recognized Abkhazia and South Ossetia as independent countries and has sent troops there. Only a handful of other countries recognize the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, although the two operate as if they were independent of Georgia.

Pause and Reflect 8.2.3

If Abkhazia, Artsakh, and South Ossetia were widely recognized independent states, how would they compare in size to microstates described earlier in this chapter?

Colonies

Learning Outcome 8.2.4

Explain the concept of colonies and describe their current distribution.

Although we live in an era when state creation has been a frequent phenomenon, some territories remain that have not achieved self-determination and statehood. 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.

COLONIALISM

European states came to control much of the world through **colonialism**, which is an effort by one country to establish settlements in a territory and to impose its political, economic, and cultural principles on that territory (Figure 8-23). European states established colonies elsewhere in the world for three basic reasons:

- To promote Christianity.
- To extract useful resources and to serve as captive markets for their products.
- To establish relative power through the number of their colonies.

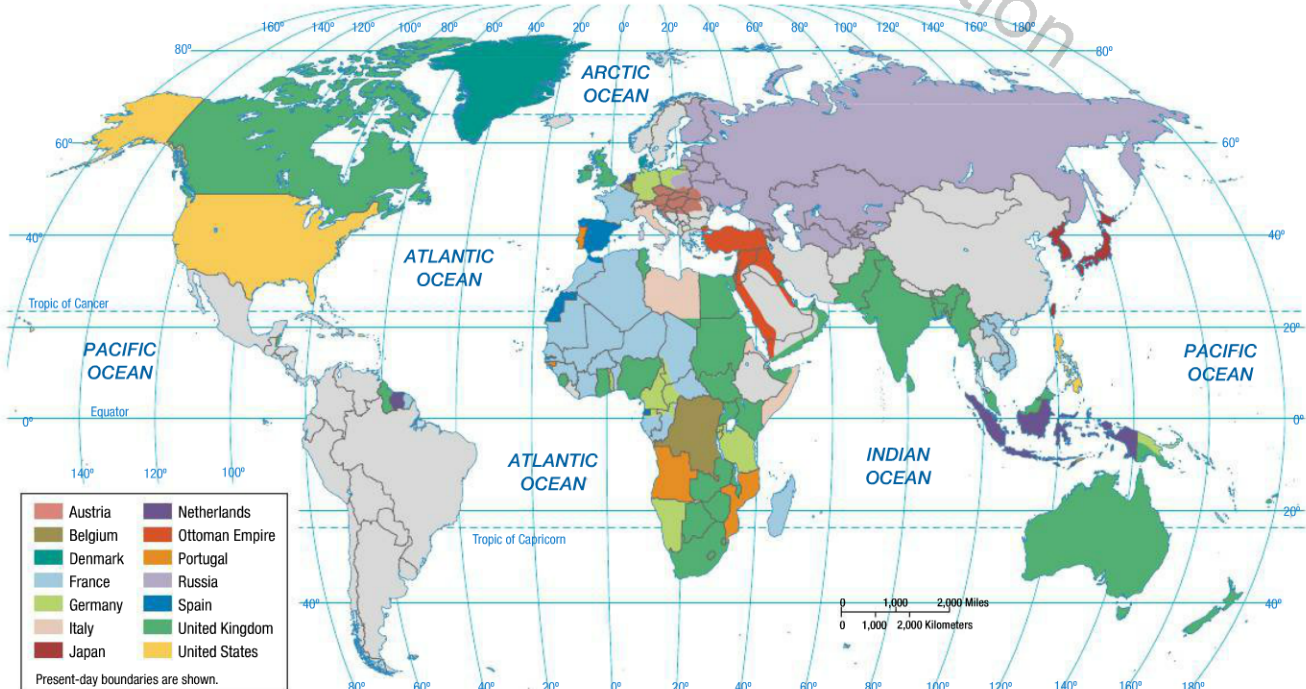
These three motives could be summarized as God, gold, and glory.

The colonial era began in the 1400s, when European explorers sailed westward for Asia but encountered and settled in the Western Hemisphere instead. Eventually, the European states 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.

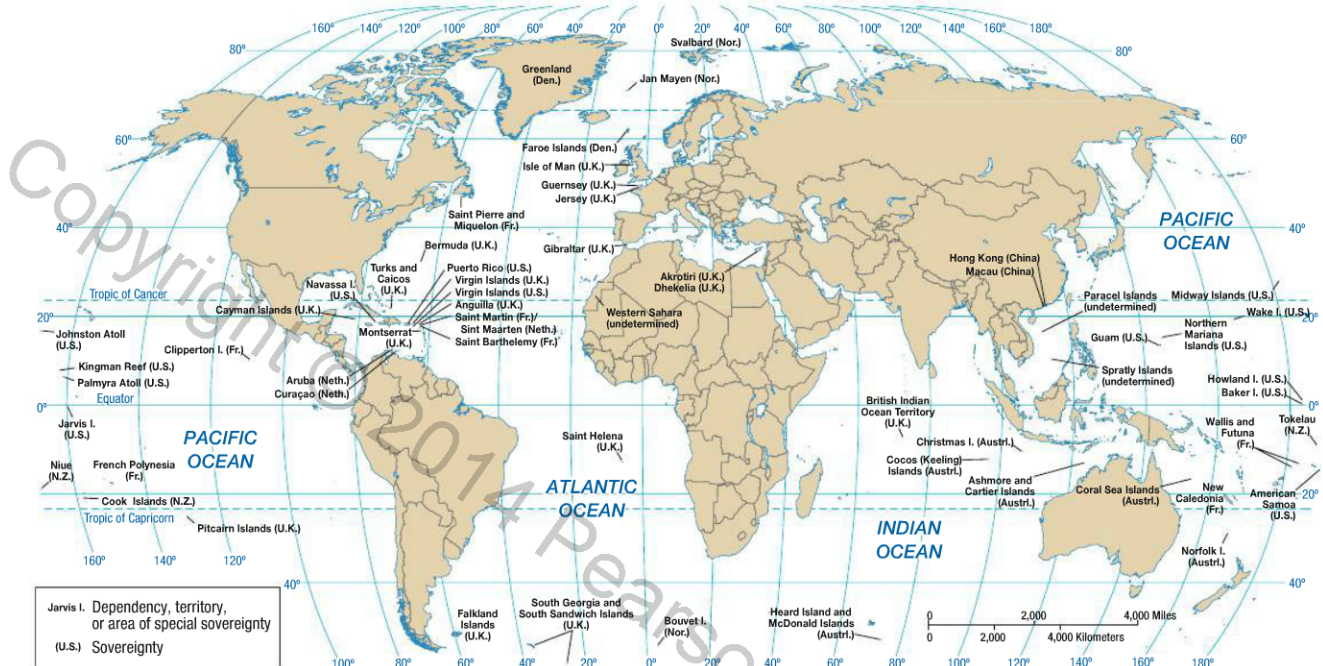
European states then turned their attention to Africa and Asia

- **United Kingdom.** The United Kingdom planted colonies on every continent, including much of eastern and southern Africa, South Asia, the Middle East, Australia, and Canada. With by far the largest colonial empire, the British proclaimed that the “Sun never set” on their empire.
- **France.** France had the second-largest overseas territory, primarily in West Africa and Southeast Asia. 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.

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 2012. The boundaries of the new states frequently coincide with former colonial provinces, although not always.



▲ **FIGURE 8-23 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 were at one time colonized by Europeans but gained their independence in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries.



▲ **FIGURE 8-24 COLONIAL POSSESSIONS, 2012** Most remaining colonies are tiny specks in the Pacific Ocean and the Caribbean Sea, too small to appear on the map.

THE REMAINING COLONIES

At one time, colonies were widespread over Earth's surface, but only a handful remain today. The U.S. Department of State lists 68 places in the world that it calls dependencies and areas of special sovereignty (Figure 8-24). The list includes 43 with indigenous populations and 25 with no permanent population. Most current colonies are islands in the Pacific Ocean and Caribbean Sea.

The most populous is Puerto Rico, a commonwealth of the United States, with 4 million residents on an island of 8,870 square kilometers (3,500 square miles). Puerto Ricans are citizens of the United States, but they do not participate in U.S. elections or have a voting member of Congress.

One of the world's least-populated colonies is Pitcairn Island, a 47-square-kilometer (18-square-mile) possession of the United Kingdom. The island in the South Pacific was settled in 1790 by British mutineers from the ship *Bounty*, commanded by Captain William Bligh. Its 48 islanders survive by selling fish as well as postage stamps to collectors.

The U.S. State Department list does not include several inhabited islands considered by other sources to be colonies, including Australia's Lord Howe Island, Britain's Ascension Island, and Chile's Easter Island. On the other hand, the State Department list includes several entities that others do not classify as colonies:

- Greenland has a high degree of autonomy and self-rule and makes even foreign policy decisions independently of Denmark, as discussed earlier in the chapter. Greenland regards the Queen of Denmark as its head of state.

- Hong Kong and Macao, attached to the mainland of China, were colonies of the United Kingdom and Portugal, respectively. The British returned Hong Kong to China in 1997, and the Portuguese returned Macao to China in 1999. These two areas are classified as special administrative regions with autonomy from the rest of China in economic matters but not in foreign and military affairs.

Pause and Reflect 8.2.4

What would need to change for Puerto Rico to no longer be classified as a colony of the United States?

CHECK-IN: KEY ISSUE 2

Why Are Nation-States Difficult to Create?

- ✓ Good examples of nation-states can be identified, though none are perfect.
- ✓ The Soviet Union was once the world's largest multinational state; with its breakup, Russia is now the largest.
- ✓ Much of Earth's land area once comprised colonies, but only a few colonies remain.

KEY ISSUE 3

Why Do Boundaries Cause Problems?

- Types of Boundaries
- Shapes of States
- Governing States
- Electoral Geography

Learning Outcome 8.3.1

Describe the types of physical boundaries between states.

A state is separated from its neighbors by a **boundary**, an invisible line that marks the extent of a state's territory. 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.

Historically, frontiers rather than boundaries separated states. A **frontier** is a zone where no state exercises complete political control. It is a tangible geographic area, whereas a boundary is an infinitely thin line. Frontier areas were either uninhabited or sparsely settled. Frontiers between states have been replaced by boundaries. Modern communications systems permit countries to monitor and guard boundaries effectively, even in previously inaccessible locations.

Types of Boundaries

Boundaries are of two types:

- *Physical boundaries* coincide with significant features of the natural landscape.
- *Cultural boundaries* follow the distribution of cultural characteristics.

Neither type of boundary is better or more “natural” than the other, and many boundaries are a combination of both types.

Boundary locations can generate conflict, both within a country and with its neighbors. A 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. 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



▲ **FIGURE 8-25 DESERT BOUNDARY** The unmarked border between Mali and Mauritania runs through the Sahara Desert.

and on the ground. Three types of physical elements serve as boundaries between states: deserts, mountains, and water.

DESERT BOUNDARIES. A boundary drawn in a desert can effectively divide two states because 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 (Figure 8-25). An exception is the boundary between Chad and Libya (refer ahead to Figure 8-30).

MOUNTAIN BOUNDARIES. Mountains can be effective boundaries if they are difficult to cross (Figure 8-26). 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 are usually 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

▼ **FIGURE 8-26 MOUNTAIN BOUNDARY** The Andes serve as the boundary between Argentina (foreground) and Chile.



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.

WATER BOUNDARIES. Rivers, lakes, and oceans are the physical features most commonly used as boundaries. Water boundaries are readily visible on maps and aerial imagery. Historically, water boundaries offered good protection against attack from another state because an invading state had to transport its troops by air or ship and secure a landing spot in the country being attacked. The state being invaded could concentrate its defense at the landing point.

Water boundaries are especially common in East Africa:

- The boundary between the Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda runs through Lake Albert.
- The boundary separating Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda runs through Lake Victoria.
- The boundary separating Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania, and Zambia runs through Lake Tanganyika.
- The boundary between the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia runs through Lake Mweru.
- The boundary between Malawi and Mozambique runs through Lake Nyasa, which is also known as Lake Malawi (Figure 8-27).



▲ **FIGURE 8-27 WATER BOUNDARY** The boundary between Malawi (foreground) and Mozambique (background) runs through Lake Nyasa (Lake Malawi).

Water boundaries may seem to be set permanently, but the precise position of 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. The International Boundary and Water Commission, jointly staffed by the United States and Mexico, oversees the border treaties and settles differences.

Pause and Reflect 8.3.1

Where outside Africa is an example of a physical boundary?

SUSTAINABILITY AND INEQUALITY IN OUR GLOBAL VILLAGE

The Law of the Sea

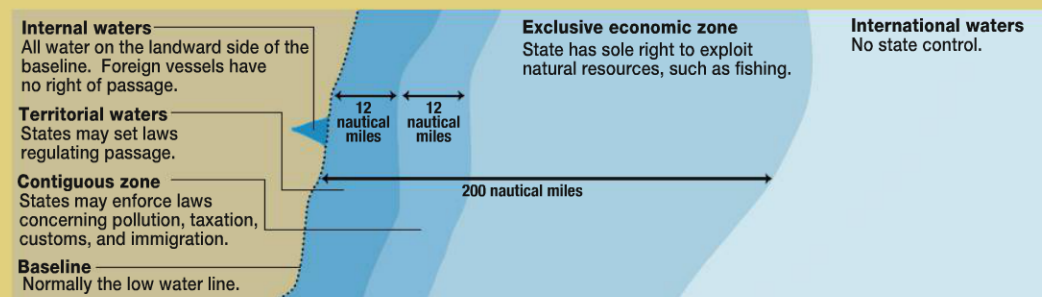
Some states have ocean boundaries, and some do not. The ones that do are able to claim vast areas of the ocean for defense and for control of valuable fishing areas (see Chapter 10).

Beginning in the late eighteenth century, some states recognized a boundary, known as the territorial limit, which 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 158 countries, has 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). (Figure 8-28). Disputes can be taken to a tribunal for the Law of the Sea or to the International Court of Justice.



◀ **FIGURE 8-28 THE LAW OF THE SEA**

CULTURAL BOUNDARIES

Learning Outcome 8.3.2

Describe types of cultural boundaries between states.

Two types of cultural boundaries are common: geometric and ethnic. Geometric boundaries are simply straight lines drawn on a map. Other boundaries between states coincide with differences in ethnicity, especially language and religion.

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 (Figure 8-29). This boundary was established in 1846 by a treaty between the United States and Great Britain, which still controlled Canada. The two countries 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.

Pause and Reflect 8.3.2

Where does the boundary between Canada and the United States follow physical features rather than geometry?

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 8-30). Libya claimed that the straight line should be 100 kilometers (60 miles) to the south. Citing an agreement between France and Italy in 1935, Libya seized the territory in 1973. In 1987, Chad

FIGURE 8-29 GEOMETRIC BOUNDARY BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park is located in both Canada and the United States. The international boundary between the United States (left) and Canada (right) is marked by the line of cut trees.

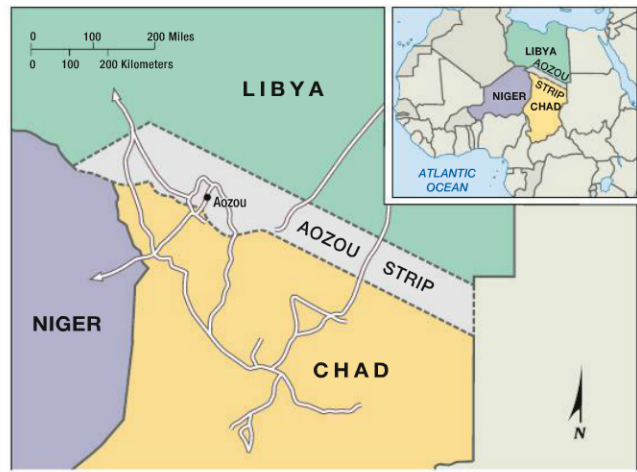


FIGURE 8-30 GEOMETRIC BOUNDARY BETWEEN CHAD AND LIBYA The boundary between Chad and Libya is a straight line, drawn by European countries early in the twentieth century, when the area comprised a series of colonies. Libya, however, claims that the boundary should be located 100 kilometers (60 miles) to the south and that it should have sovereignty over the Aozou Strip.

expelled the Libyan army with the help of French forces and regained control of the strip.

ETHNIC BOUNDARIES. Boundaries between countries have been placed where possible to separate speakers of different languages or followers of different religions. 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 7-31). 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 6-47).

Language is an important cultural characteristic for drawing boundaries, especially in Europe. England, France, Portugal, and Spain are examples of European states that coalesced around distinctive languages before the nineteenth century. Germany and Italy emerged in the nineteenth century as states unified by language.

CYPRUS'S "GREEN LINE" BOUNDARY. Cyprus, the third-largest island in the Mediterranean Sea, contains two nationalities: Greek and Turkish (Figure 8-32). Although the island is physically closer to Turkey, Turks comprise only 18 percent of the country's population, whereas Greeks account for 78 percent. When Cyprus gained independence from Britain in 1960, its constitution guaranteed the Turkish minority a substantial share of elected offices and

CONTEMPORARY GEOGRAPHIC TOOLS

Demarcating Boundaries with GPS

GPS was defined in Chapter 1 as a system that determines the precise position of something on Earth. It is most commonly used for navigation, although GPS in a cell phone is used to identify the location of an individual. Surveyors are using the ability of GPS to pinpoint location to determine the precise boundary between North Carolina and South Carolina.

The original boundary between the two Carolina colonies, as decreed by the King of England in 1735, was drawn by eighteenth-century surveyors using the best technology then available—poles, chains, and compasses. The boundary was recorded with hatchet marks on trees, most of which have disappeared. The two states established a Joint Boundary

Commission in 2010 to demarcate the boundary more precisely and mark it with stakes and stones. Surveyors found that nearly 100 properties thought to be in one state were actually in the other.

Shifting the boundary is not difficult on a map or on the ground, but the problems are considerable for the people and businesses suddenly shifted to the other state. In the U.S. system of federal government, taxes, services, and regulations vary considerably among states. The two state governments are trying to minimize the impact on the affected properties, essentially by ignoring the



▲ **FIGURE 8-31 BOUNDARY BETWEEN NORTH CAROLINA AND SOUTH CAROLINA** South of the Border is a large entertainment complex located on the South Carolina side of the border with North Carolina. After surveying, the complex remains on the South Carolina side.

new precisely demarcated boundary (Figure 8-31).



▲ **FIGURE 8-32 ETHNIC BOUNDARY BETWEEN GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRUS** Since 1974, Cyprus has been divided into Greek and Turkish areas, separated by a United Nations buffer zone. The photo shows a crossing between the Greek side (foreground) and Turkish side (background), through the UN buffer zone (middle).

control over its own education, religion, and culture. But 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. The Greek coup leaders were removed within a few months, and an elected government was restored, but the Turkish army remained on Cyprus. The northern 36 percent of the island controlled by Turkey declared itself the independent Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 1983, but only Turkey recognizes it as a separate state.

A wall was constructed between the two areas, and a buffer zone patrolled by the United Nations was delineated across the entire island. Traditionally, the Greek and Turkish Cypriots had mingled, but after the wall and buffer zone were established, the two nationalities became geographically isolated. The northern 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 regarded as the Greek side.

The two sides have been brought closer in recent years. A portion of the wall was demolished, and after three decades the two nationalities could again cross to the other side. The European Union accepted the entire island of Cyprus as a member in 2004. A UN Peace Plan for reunification was accepted by the Turkish side but rejected by the Greek side.

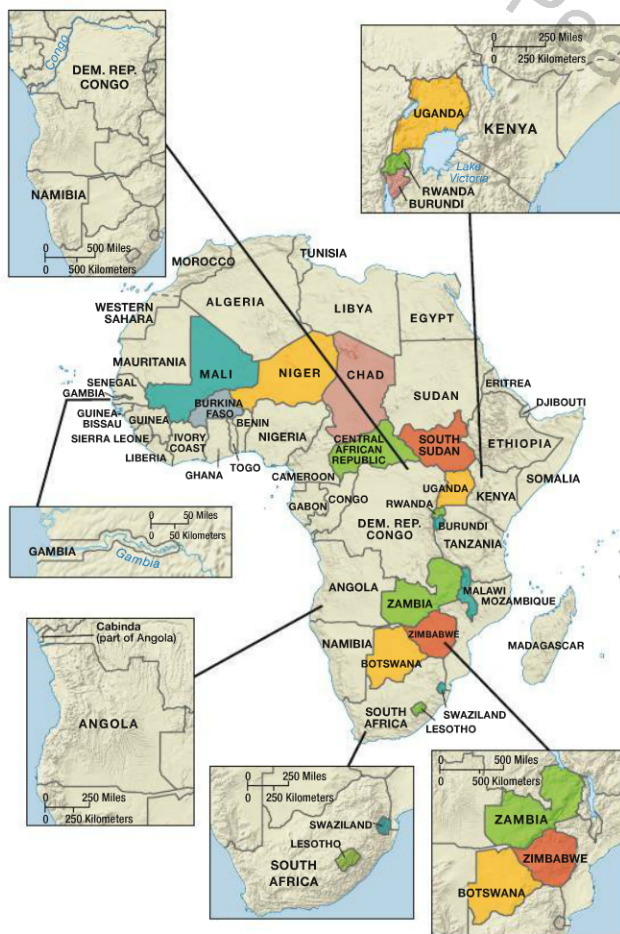
Shapes of States

Learning Outcome 8.3.3

Describe five shapes of states.

The shape of a state controls the length of its boundaries with other states. The shape therefore affects the potential for communication and conflict with neighbors. The shape also, as in 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.

Countries have one of five basic shapes—compact, prorupted, elongated, fragmented, or perforated—and examples of each can be seen in southern Africa (Figure 8-33). Each shape displays distinctive characteristics and challenges.



▲ **FIGURE 8-33 SHAPES OF STATES IN 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 and Tanzania are fragmented states. South Africa is a perforated state. The countries in color are landlocked African states, which must import and export goods by land-based transportation, primarily rail lines, to reach ocean ports in cooperating neighbor states.

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 with the shortest possible boundaries to defend.

Compactness can be a beneficial characteristic for smaller states because good communications can be more easily established with all regions, especially if the capital is located near the center. However, compactness does not necessarily mean peacefulness, as compact states are just as likely as others to experience civil wars and ethnic rivalries.

ELONGATED STATES: POTENTIAL ISOLATION

A handful of **elongated states** have a long and narrow shape. Examples in sub-Saharan Africa include:

- Malawi, which measures about 850 kilometers (530 miles) north–south but only 100 kilometers (60 miles) east–west.
- Gambia, which extends along the banks of the Gambia River about 500 kilometers (300 miles) east–west but is only about 25 kilometers (15 miles) north–south.

Chile, a prominent example in South America, 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).

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.

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:

- **To provide a state with access to a resource, such as water.** For example, in southern Africa, the Democratic Republic of Congo has a 500-kilometer (300-mile) proruption to the west along the Zaire (Congo) River. The Belgians created the proruption to give their colony access to the Atlantic.
- **To separate two states that otherwise would share a boundary.** For example, in southern Africa, Namibia has a 500-kilometer (300-mile) proruption to the east called the Caprivi Strip. When Namibia was a colony of Germany, the proruption disrupted communications among the British colonies of southern Africa. It also provided the Germans with access to the Zambezi, one of Africa's most important rivers.

Elsewhere in the world, the otherwise compact state of Afghanistan has a proration approximately 300 kilometers (200 miles) long and as narrow as 20 kilometers (12 miles) wide. The British created the proration to prevent Russia from sharing a border with Pakistan.

PERFORATED STATES: SOUTH AFRICA

A state that completely surrounds another one is a **perforated state**. In this situation, the state that is surrounded may face problems of dependence on, or interference from, the surrounding state. For example, South Africa 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. Elsewhere in the world, Italy surrounds the Holy See (the Vatican) and San Marino.

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, and both may face problems and costs associated with communications and maintaining national unity:

1. FRAGMENTED STATES SEPARATED BY WATER. An example in sub-Saharan Africa is Tanzania, which was created in 1964 as a union of the island of Zanzibar with the mainland territory of Tanganyika. Although home to different ethnic groups, the two entities agreed to join together because they shared common development goals and political priorities.

Elsewhere in the world, Indonesia comprises 13,677 islands that extend more than 5,000 kilometers (3,000 miles) between the Indian and Pacific oceans. 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 Timor-Leste (East Timor) gained its independence from Portugal in 1975, Indonesia invaded. A long struggle against Indonesia culminated in independence in 2002. West Papua, another fragment of Indonesia (the western portion of the island shared with Papua New Guinea), also claims that it should be an independent country. However, West Papua's attempt to break away from Indonesia gained less support from the international community.

2. FRAGMENTED STATES SEPARATED BY AN INTERVENING STATE. An example in sub-Saharan Africa is Angola, which is divided into two fragments by the Congo proration described above. An independence movement is trying to detach Cabinda as a separate state from Angola, with the justification that its population belongs to distinct ethnic groups.

Elsewhere in the world, Russia has a fragment called Kaliningrad (Konigsberg), a 16,000-square-kilometer (6,000-square-mile) entity 400 kilometers (250 miles) west of the remainder of Russia, separated by the states of Lithuania and Belarus. The area was part of Germany until the end of World War II, when the Soviet Union seized it after the German defeat. The German population fled westward after the war, and virtually all of the area's 430,000 residents are Russians. Russia wants Kaliningrad because it has the country's largest naval base on the Baltic Sea.

Panama was a fragmented state for most of the twentieth century, divided in two parts by the canal built in 1914 by the United States. After the United States withdrew from the Canal Zone in 1999, Panama became an elongated state, 700 kilometers (450 miles) long and 80 kilometers (50 miles) wide.

LANDLOCKED STATES

A **landlocked state** lacks a direct outlet to a sea because it is completely surrounded by several other countries (or only one country, in the case of Lesotho). Landlocked states are most common in Africa, where 15 of the continent's 55 states have no direct ocean access (refer to the countries in colors on Figure 8-33). 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 the sea. 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.

Pause and Reflect 8.3.3

Where outside of Africa is an example of a landlocked state?

Governing States

Learning Outcome 8.3.4

Describe differences among the three regime types.

A state has two types of government: a national government and local governments. At the national scale, a government can be more or less democratic. At the local scale, the national government can determine how much power to allocate to local governments.

NATIONAL SCALE: REGIME TYPES

National governments can be classified as democratic, autocratic, or anocratic (Figure 8-34). A **democracy** is a country in which citizens elect leaders and can run for office. An **autocracy** is a country that is run according to the interests of the ruler rather than the people. An **anocracy** is a country that is not fully democratic or fully autocratic, but rather displays a mix of the two types. According to the Center for Systemic Peace, democracies and autocracies differ in three essential elements:

Selection of Leaders:

- A democracy has institutions and procedures through which citizens can express effective preferences about alternative policies and leaders.
- An autocracy has leaders who are selected according to clearly defined (usually hereditary) rules of succession from within the established political elite.

Citizen Participation:

- A democracy has institutionalized constraints on the exercise of power by the executive.
- An autocracy has citizens' participation sharply restricted or suppressed.

Checks and Balances:

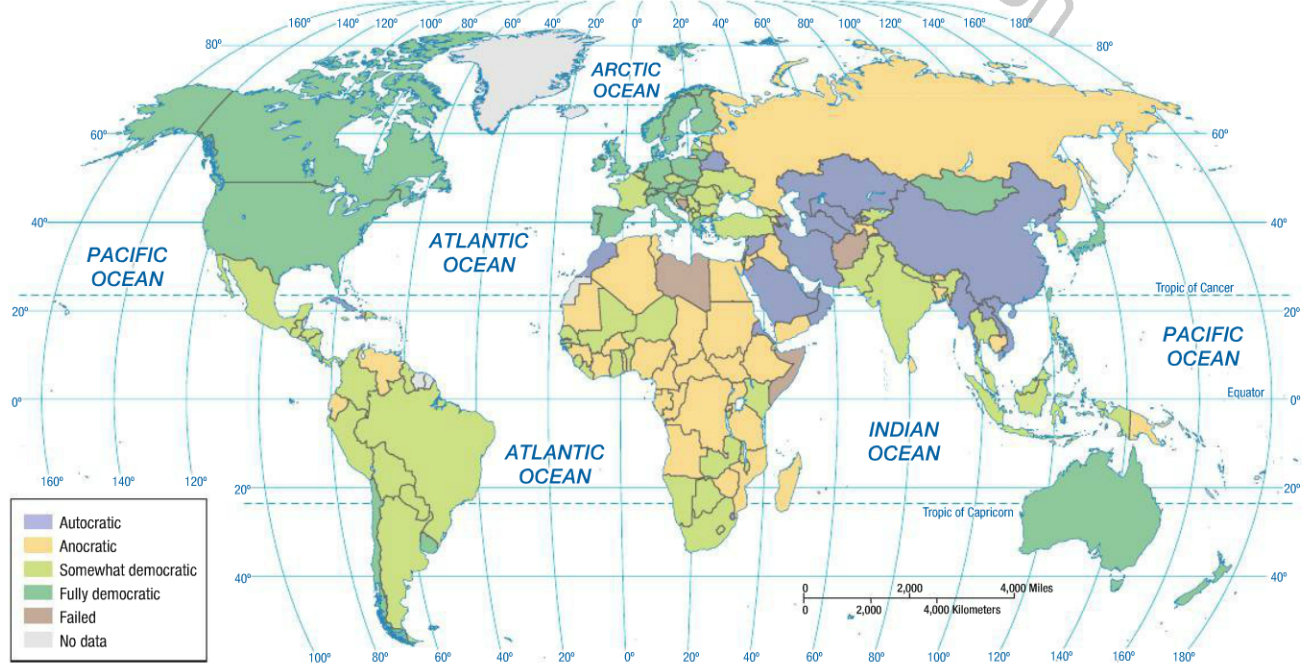
- A democracy has guarantees of civil liberties to all citizens in their daily lives and in acts of political participation.
- An autocracy has leaders who exercise power with no meaningful checks from legislative, judicial, or civil society institutions.

TREND TOWARD DEMOCRACY. In general, the world has become more democratic (Figure 8-35). The Center for Systemic Peace cites three reasons for this:

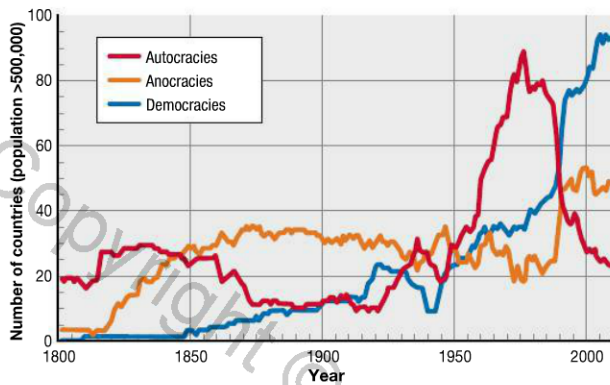
- The replacement of increasingly irrelevant and out-of-touch monarchies with elected governments that are able to regulate, tax, and mobilize citizens in exchange for broadening individual rights and liberties.
- The widening of participation in policy making to all citizens through universal rights to vote and to serve in government.
- The diffusion of democratic government structures created in Europe and North America to other regions of the world.

Pause and Reflect 8.3.4

What region of the world appears to have the greatest concentration of autocratic regimes?



▲ **FIGURE 8-34 REGIME TYPE** Most states are either democratic, autocratic, or anocratic. In a few “failed” states, such as Somalia and Haiti, government institutions have broken down because of civil war, extreme poverty, or natural disasters—or some combination of the three.



▲ **FIGURE 8-35 TREND TOWARD DEMOCRACY**
The number of autocracies has declined sharply since the late 1990s.

ARAB SPRING. The most dramatic shift in governments in recent years has been Arab Spring, which began in late 2010 and reached its peak during spring 2011. Arab Spring consisted of major protests in a dozen countries in Southwest Asia and North Africa. The protests resulted in forcing from power autocratic rulers in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, and Yemen (Figure 8-36).

The protests included demonstrations, rallies, strikes, and other forms of civil disobedience, many led by college-age people. Especially noteworthy was the use of social media and portable electronic devices to organize protests, communicate information, and distribute real-time images of events. Long-standing practices by autocratic regimes to suppress TV and newspaper coverage of opponents proved ineffective in the face of Facebook and Twitter, iPhones and iPads.

LOCAL SCALE: UNITARY AND FEDERAL STATES

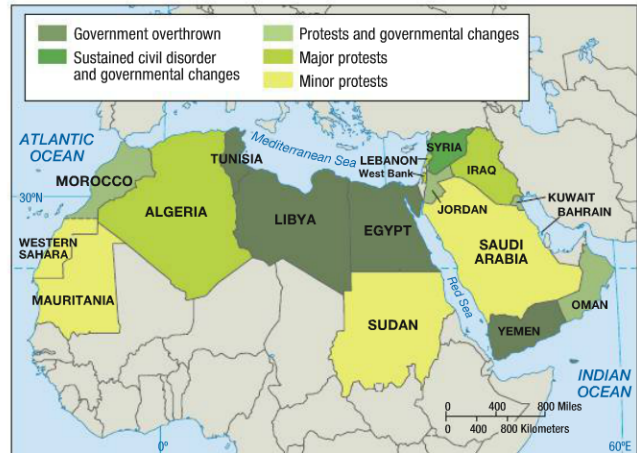
The governments of states are organized according to one of two approaches:

- A **unitary state** places most power in the hands of central government officials.
- A **federal state** allocates strong power to units of local government within the country.

UNITARY STATES. 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.

Some multinational states have adopted unitary systems, so that the values of one nationality can be imposed on others. In Kenya and Rwanda, for instance, the mechanisms of a unitary state have enabled one ethnic group to extend dominance over weaker groups.

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.



▲ **FIGURE 8-36 ARAB SPRING** Cell phones and other handheld devices were instrumental in rapidly diffusing information about uprisings despite government efforts to suppress the information.

Their basic local government unit is 96 *départements* (departments). A second tier of local government in France is the 36,686 *communes*. The French government has granted additional legal powers to the departments and communes in recent years. 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.

FEDERAL STATES. In a federal state, such as the United States, local governments possess considerable 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 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, 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 the Walloons, as discussed in Chapter 5), whereas China is a unitary state (to promote Communist values).

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. 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.

Electoral Geography

Learning Outcome 8.3.5

Explain the concept of gerrymandering and three ways that it is done.

In democracies, politics must follow legally prescribed rules. But all parties to the political process often find ways of bending those rules to their advantage. A case in point is the drawing of legislative district boundaries. 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 and others losing population. The 435 districts of the U.S. House of Representatives are redrawn every 10 years, following the Census Bureau's release of official population figures.

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 (1810–1812) and vice president of the United States (1813–1814). 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 a cartoon of a monster named “gerrymander” with a body shaped like the district. Gerrymandering takes three forms:

- *Wasted vote* spreads opposition supporters across many districts but in the minority (Figure 8-37).
- *Excess vote* concentrates opposition supporters into a few districts (Figure 8-38).
- *Stacked vote* links distant areas of like-minded voters through oddly shaped boundaries (Figure 8-39).

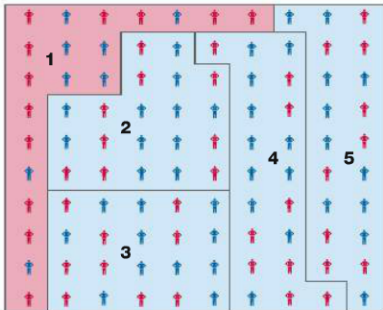
The job of redrawing boundaries in most European countries is entrusted to independent commissions. Commissions typically try to create compact homogeneous districts without regard for voting preferences or incumbents. A couple U.S. states, including Iowa and Washington, also use independent or bipartisan commissions (Figure 8-40), 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. Political parties frequently offer competing plans designed to favor their candidates (Figure 8-41).

Stacked vote gerrymandering has been especially attractive for creating 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 that are favorable to their candidates in the rest of the state.

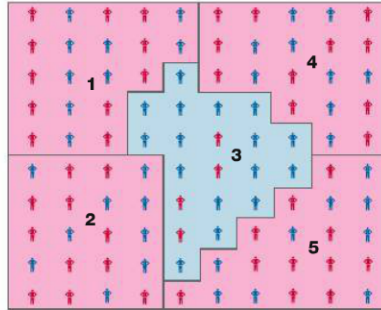
The U.S. Supreme Court ruled gerrymandering illegal in 1985 but did not require dismantling of existing oddly shaped districts, and a 2001 ruling allowed North Carolina to add another oddly shaped district that ensured the election of an African American Democrat. Through gerrymandering, only about one-tenth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

Pause and Reflect 8.3.5

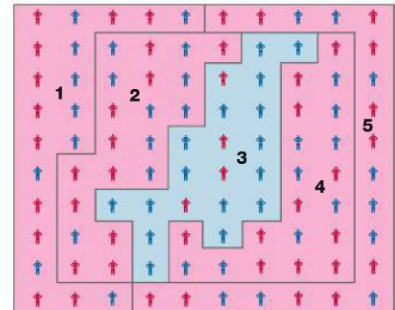
How was the city of Las Vegas treated in the two maps drawn by the political parties compared with the final map drawn by the court?



▲ FIGURE 8-37 WASTED VOTE GERRYMANDERING Wasted vote gerrymandering spreads opposition supporters across many districts as a minority. If the Blue Party controls the redistricting process, it could create a wasted vote gerrymander by creating four districts with a slender majority of Blue Party voters and one district (#1) with a strong majority of Red Party voters.



▲ FIGURE 8-38 EXCESS VOTE GERRYMANDERING Excess vote gerrymandering concentrates opposition supporters into a few districts. If the Red Party controls the redistricting process, it could create an excess vote gerrymander by creating four districts with a slender majority of Red Party voters and one district (#3) with an overwhelming majority of Blue Party voters.



▲ FIGURE 8-39 STACKED VOTE GERRYMANDERING A stacked vote gerrymander links distant areas of like-minded voters through oddly shaped boundaries. In this example, the Red Party controls redistricting and creates five oddly shaped districts, four with a slender majority of Red Party voters and one (#3) with an overwhelming majority of Blue Party voters.

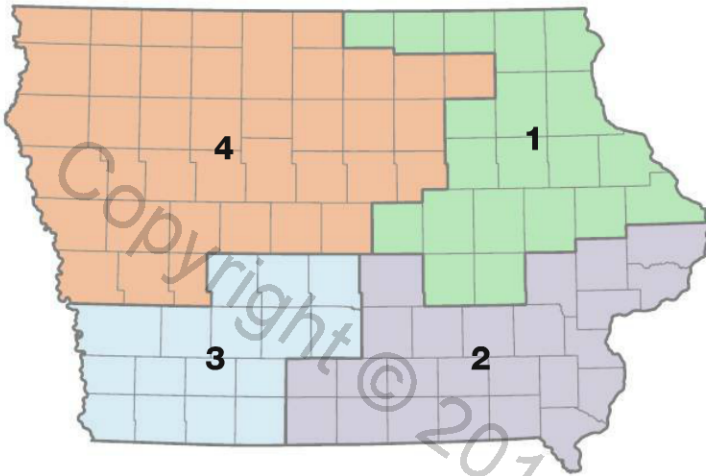


FIGURE 8-40 NO GERRYMANDERING: IOWA Iowa does not have gerrymandered congressional districts. Each district is relatively compact, and boundaries coincide with county boundaries. A nonpartisan commission creates Iowa's districts each decade, without regard for past boundaries or impact on incumbents.

CHECK-IN: KEY ISSUE 3

Why Do Boundaries Cause Problems?

- ✓ Two types of boundaries are physical and cultural.
- ✓ Deserts, mountains, and water can serve as physical boundaries between states.
- ✓ Geometry and ethnicity can create cultural boundaries between states.
- ✓ Five shapes of states are compact, elongated, prorupted, perforated, and fragmented.
- ✓ The governance of states can be classified as democratic, anocratic, or autocratic; democracies have been increasing.
- ✓ Boundaries dividing electoral districts within countries can be gerrymandered in several ways to favor one political party.

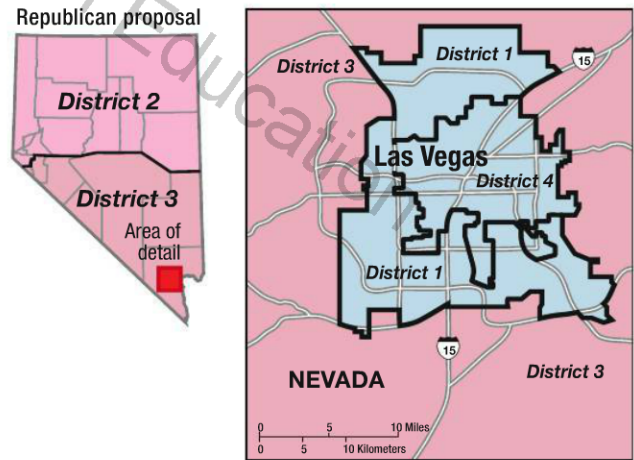
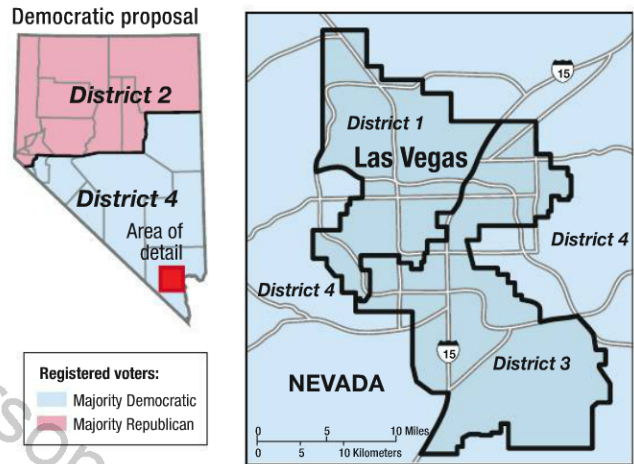
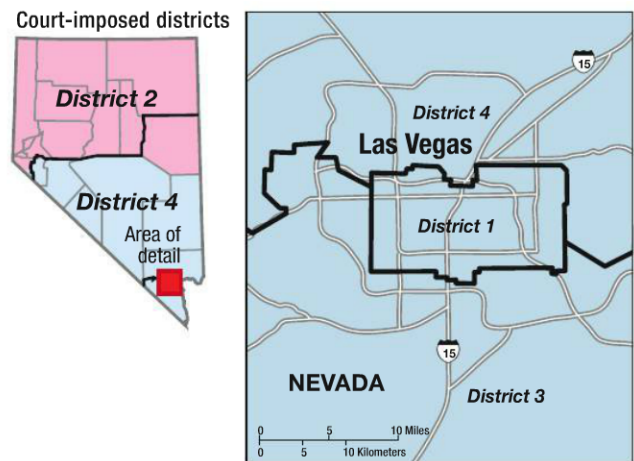


FIGURE 8-41 GERRYMANDERING: NEVADA
 Competing plans by Democrats and Republicans to draw boundaries for Nevada's four congressional districts illustrate all three forms of gerrymandering. (top) Wasted vote gerrymander: The Democratic plan. Although Nevada as a whole has slightly more registered Democrats than Republicans (43 percent to 37 percent), the Democratic plan made Democrats more numerous than Republicans in three of the four districts. (middle) Excess vote gerrymander: The Republican plan. By clustering a large share of the state's registered Democrats in District 4, the Republican plan gave Republicans the majority of registered voters in two of the four districts. (both top and middle Stacked) vote gerrymander: In the Republican plan, District 4 has a majority Hispanic population and is surrounded by a C-shaped District 1. The Democratic plan created a long, narrow District 3. (bottom) Nonpartisan plan without gerrymandering: The Nevada Court rejected both parties' maps and created regularly shaped districts that minimized gerrymandering. Three of the four districts happen to have more Democrats than Republicans, but District 3 is nearly even.



KEY ISSUE 4

Why Do States Cooperate and Compete with Each Other?

- Cold War Competition and Alliances
- Terrorism by Individuals and Organizations
- State Support for Terrorism

Learning Outcome 8.4.1

Describe the principal alliances in Europe during the Cold War era.

States compete for many reasons, including control of territory, access to trade and resources, and influence over other states. To further their competitive goals, states may form alliances with other states. During the Cold War, after World War II, many states joined regional military alliances. The division of the world into military alliances resulted from the emergence of two states as superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union. With the end of the Cold War, the most important alliances are economic rather than military. With the lessening of the Cold War-era military confrontation, violence and wars are increasingly instigated by terrorist organizations not affiliated with particular states or alliances.

Cold War Competition and Alliances

During the Cold War era (the late 1940s until the early 1990s), global 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.

ERA OF TWO SUPERPOWERS

During the Cold War era, the United States and the Soviet Union were the world's two superpowers. 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 were in proximity to local areas of conflict. Naval fleets patrolled the major bodies of water.

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 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 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.

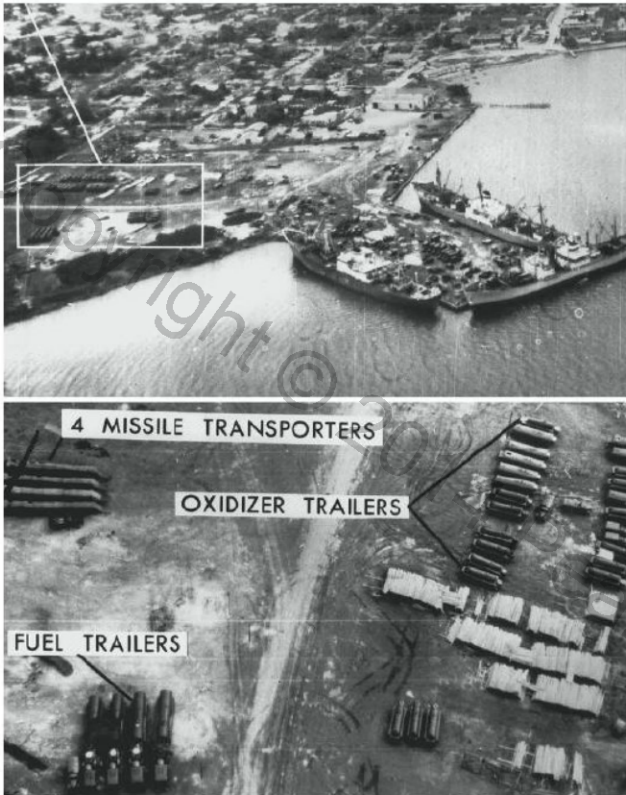
Before the Cold War, the world typically contained more than two superpowers. For example, before the outbreak of World War I in the early twentieth century, there were eight great powers: Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. When a large number of 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**. 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 the power of all other states, 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 of either ally or satellite.

CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS. 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 John F. Kennedy went on national television to demand that the missiles be removed, and he ordered a naval blockade to prevent additional Soviet material from reaching Cuba.

At the United Nations, immediately after Soviet Ambassador Valerian Zorin denied that his country had placed missiles in Cuba, U.S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson dramatically revealed aerial photographs taken by the U.S. Department of Defense, clearly showing preparations for them (see examples in Figure 8-42). Faced with irrefutable evidence that the missiles existed, the Soviet Union ended the crisis by dismantling them.

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 8-43, left). NATO was a military alliance among 16 democratic states, including the United States and Canada plus 14 European states. The Warsaw Pact was a military agreement among Communist Eastern European countries to defend each other in case of attack. Eight members joined the Warsaw Pact when it was founded in 1955. 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.



▲ **FIGURE 8-42 THE COLD WAR: 1962 CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS**

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. (bottom) Within the outline box (enlarged below and rotated 90° clockwise) are Soviet missile transporters, fuel trailers, and oxidizer trailers (used to support the combustion of missile fuel).

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 was disbanded, and the number of troops under NATO command was sharply reduced. NATO expanded its membership to include most of the former Warsaw Pact countries. Membership in NATO offered Eastern European countries an important sense of security against any future Russian threat, no matter how remote that might appear, as well as participation in a common united Europe (Figure 8-43, right).

Pause and Reflect 8.4.1

How does the map of military alliances in Europe during the Cold War compare to the map of regime types (Figure 8-34)?



▲ **FIGURE 8-43 EUROPE MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ALLIANCES** (left) 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) Post-Cold War. COMECON and the Warsaw Pact have been disbanded, whereas the European Union and NATO have accepted and plan to accept new members.

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ECONOMIC ALLIANCES IN EUROPE

Learning Outcome 8.4.2

Describe the principal economic alliances in Europe in the period since World War II.

During the Cold War, two economic alliances formed in Europe:

- **European Union (EU).** The EU (formerly known as the European Economic Community, the Common Market, and the European Community), formed in 1958 with six members—Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). The EU was designed to heal Western Europe's scars from World War II (which had ended only 13 years earlier) when Nazi Germany, in alliance with Italy, conquered the other four countries.
- **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON).** COMECON formed in 1949 with 10 members—the 8 Eastern European Communist states from the Warsaw Pact plus Cuba, Mongolia, and Vietnam. COMECON was designed to promote trade and sharing of natural resources.

With the end of the Cold War, economic cooperation throughout Europe has become increasingly important.

THE EU IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY. The EU expanded from its original 6 countries to 12 during the 1980s and 27 during the first decade of the twenty-first century. The most recent additions have been former members of COMECON, which disbanded in the 1990s, after the fall of communism. Future enlargements are likely: Croatia has begun negotiations to join, but the European Union has not yet set a timetable; Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia are candidates to join, but negotiations have not started; Iceland and Turkey are negotiating to become candidates; and Albania is considered a potential candidate.

The main task of the European Union is to promote development within the member states through economic and political cooperation:

- A European Parliament is elected by the people in each of the member states simultaneously.
- Subsidies are provided to farmers and to economically depressed regions.
- Most barriers to free trade have been removed; with a few exceptions, goods, services, capital, and people can move freely through Europe (Figure 8-44). For example, 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 effect of these actions has been to turn Europe into the world's wealthiest market.



▲ **FIGURE 8-44 TRAVEL IN EUROPE** Citizens of one EU state do not have to show passports to travel to other EU states.

Pause and Reflect 8.4.2

What might be the reaction of people in Canada, Mexico, and the United States if the three countries simultaneously elected a North American Parliament?

EUROZONE CRISIS. The most dramatic step taken toward integrating Europe's nation-states into a regional organization was the creation of the eurozone. A single bank, the European Central Bank, was given responsibility for setting interest rates and minimizing inflation throughout the eurozone. Most importantly, a common currency, the euro, was created for electronic transactions beginning in 1999 and in notes and coins beginning in 2002 (Figure 8-45). France's franc, Germany's mark, and Italy's lira—powerful symbols of sovereign nation-states—have disappeared, replaced by the single currency. Twenty-three countries use the euro, including 17 of the 27 EU members, plus 6 others.

European leaders bet that every country in the region would be stronger economically if it replaced its national currency with the euro. For the first few years that was the case, but the future of the euro has been called into question by the severe global recession that began in 2008. The economically weaker countries within the eurozone, such as Greece, Ireland, Italy, and Spain, have been forced to implement harsh and unpopular policies, such as drastically cutting services and raising taxes, whereas the economically strong countries, especially Germany, have been forced to subsidize the weaker states.



▲ **FIGURE 8-45 EURO** Euro paper money shows a map of Europe and a bridge on one side and architecture on the other side. Rather than actual structures, the bridges and architecture features are designed to represent a period in history; for example, they represent ancient times on the €5 note.

CULTURAL INTEGRATION IN EUROPE. Boundaries where hundreds of thousands of soldiers once stood guard now have little more economic significance in Europe than boundaries between states inside the United States. Crossing borders is a cultural rather than a political experience. 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 noticeable element of cultural diversity within Europe is language. Although English has rapidly become the principal language of business in the EU, much of the EU's budget is spent translating documents into other languages. Businesses must figure out how to effectively advertise their products in several languages. Rather than national boundaries, the most fundamental obstacle to European integration is the multiplicity of languages.

At the same time that residents of European countries are displaying increased tolerance for the cultural values of their immediate neighbors, opposition has increased to the immigration of people from the south and east, especially those who have darker skin 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 Europeans are not willing to perform. Nonetheless, many Europeans fear that large-scale immigration will transform their nation-states into multiethnic societies.

Underlying this fear of immigration is recognition that natural increase rates are higher in most African and Asian countries than in Europe, as a result of higher crude birth rates. Many 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 Europe in the future.

ALLIANCES IN OTHER REGIONS

Economic cooperation has been an important factor in the creation of international organizations that now can be found far beyond Western Europe. Other prominent regional organizations include:

- **Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).** The OSCE's 56 members include the United States, Canada, and Russia, as well as most European countries. When founded in 1975, the Organization on Security and Cooperation was composed primarily of 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.
- **Organization of American States (OAS).** All 35 states in the Western Hemisphere are members of the OAS. Cuba is a member but was suspended from most OAS activities in 1962. The organization's headquarters, including the permanent council and general assembly, are located in Washington, D.C. The OAS promotes social, cultural, political, and economic links among member states.
- **African Union (AU).** Established in 2002, the AU encompasses 53 countries in Africa. The AU replaced an earlier organization called the Organization of African Unity, founded in 1963 primarily to seek an end to colonialism and apartheid in Africa. The new organization has placed more emphasis on promoting economic integration in Africa.
- **Commonwealth.** The Commonwealth includes the United Kingdom and 52 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 (Figure 8-46).



▲ **FIGURE 8-46 THE COMMONWEALTH** Commonwealth countries hold games every four years, including 2014, in Glasgow, Scotland. One of the venues in Glasgow is Clyde Auditorium.

Terrorism by Individuals and Organizations

Learning Outcome 8.4.3

Explain the concept of 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. Distinctive characteristics of terrorists include:

- Trying to achieve their objectives through organized acts that spread fear and anxiety among the population, such as bombing, kidnapping, hijacking, taking of hostages, and assassination.
- Viewing violence as a means of bringing widespread publicity to goals and grievances that are not being addressed through peaceful means.
- Believing in a cause so strongly that they do not hesitate to attack 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 revolution, the Committee of Public Safety, headed by Maximilien Robespierre, guillotined several thousand of its political opponents. In modern times, the term *terrorism* has been applied to actions by groups operating outside government rather than to groups of official government agencies, although some governments provide military and financial support for terrorists.

Many political leaders have been assassinated, though this is not considered terrorism. For example:

- Four U.S. presidents—Lincoln (1865), Garfield (1881), McKinley (1901), and Kennedy (1963).
- Roman Emperor Julius Caesar (44 B.C.), vividly re-created for future generations through Shakespeare’s play.
- Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, by a Serb in Sarajevo (capital of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina), June 28, 1914, which led directly to the outbreak of World War I.

Terrorism differs from assassination and other acts of political violence in that attacks are aimed at ordinary people rather than at military targets or political leaders. Other types of military action can result in civilian deaths—bombs can go astray, targets can be misidentified, or an enemy’s military equipment can be hidden in civilian buildings—but average individuals are unintended victims rather than principal targets in most conflicts. A terrorist considers all citizens responsible for the actions he or she opposes, so they are therefore equally legitimate as victims.

TERRORISM AGAINST AMERICANS

The United States suffered several terrorist attacks during the late twentieth century:

- **December 21, 1988:** A terrorist bomb destroyed Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, killing all 259 aboard, plus 11 on the ground.
- **February 26, 1993:** A car bomb parked in the underground garage damaged New York’s World Trade Center, killing 6 and injuring about 1,000.
- **April 19, 1995:** A car bomb killed 168 people in the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City.
- **June 25, 1996:** A truck bomb blew up an apartment complex in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 U.S. soldiers who lived there and injuring more than 100 people.
- **August 7, 1998:** U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed, killing 190 and wounding nearly 5,000.
- **October 12, 2000:** The USS *Cole* was bombed while in the port of Aden, Yemen, killing 17 U.S. service personnel.

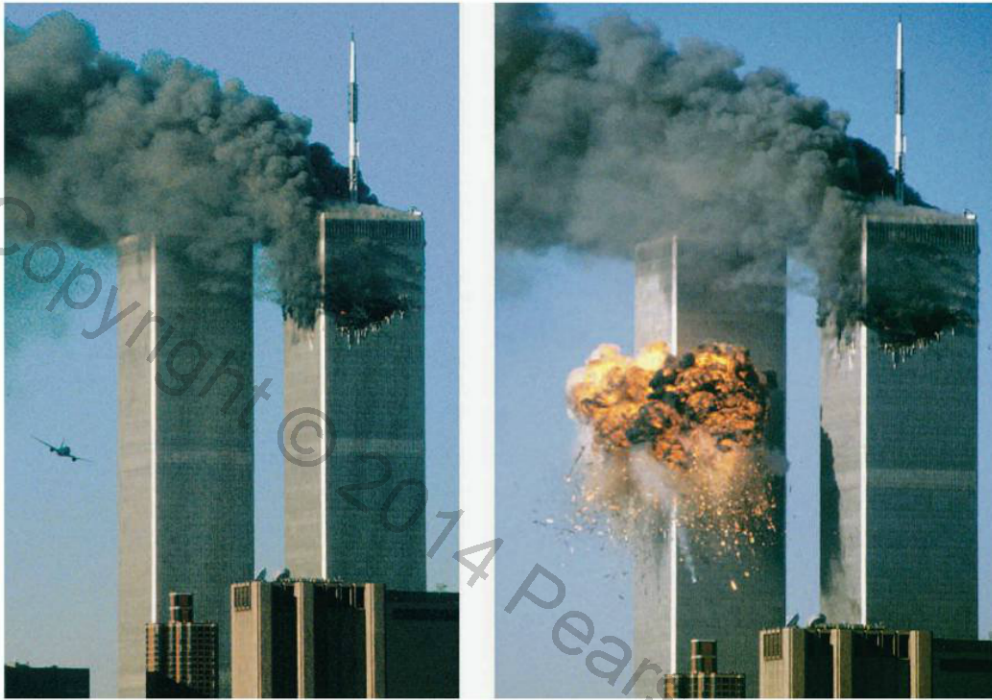
Some of the terrorists during the 1990s were American citizens operating alone or with a handful of others:

- 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 bombing. For assisting McVeigh, Terry I. Nichols was convicted of conspiracy and involuntary manslaughter but not executed. McVeigh claimed that 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.

SEPTEMBER 11, 2001 ATTACKS

The most dramatic terrorist attacks against the United States came on September 11, 2001 (Figure 8-47). The tallest buildings in the United States, the 110-story twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, were destroyed (Figure 8-48), and the Pentagon, near Washington, D.C., was damaged. The attacks resulted in nearly 3,000 fatalities:

- 93 (77 passengers, 11 crew members, and 5 terrorists) on American Airlines Flight 11, which crashed into World Trade Center Tower 1 (North Tower).
- 65 (51 passengers, 9 crew members, and 5 terrorists) on United Airlines Flight 175, which crashed into World Trade Center Tower 2 (South Tower).
- 2,605 on the ground at the World Trade Center.

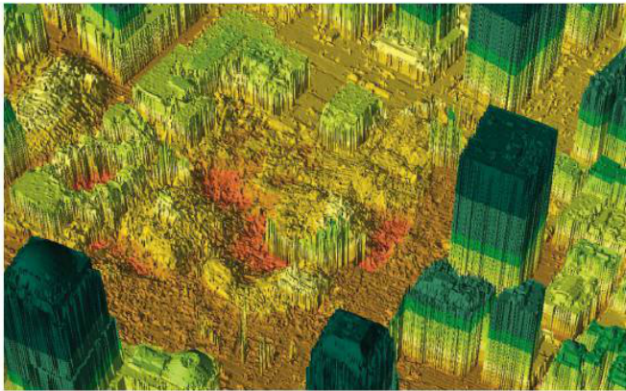


◀ **FIGURE 8-47 TERRORIST ATTACK ON THE WORLD TRADE CENTER**

On September 11, 2001, at 9:03 A.M., United Flight 175 approaches World Trade Center Tower 2 (left) and crashes into it (right). Tower 1 is already burning from the crash of American Flight 11 at 8:45 A.M.

- 64 (53 passengers, 6 crew members, and 5 terrorists) on American Airlines Flight 77, which crashed into the Pentagon.
- 125 on the ground at the Pentagon.
- 44 (33 passengers, 7 crew members, and 4 terrorists) 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.

Responsible or implicated in most of the anti-U.S. terrorism during the 1990s, as well as the September 11, 2001,



▲ **FIGURE 8-48 AFTERMATH OF WORLD TRADE CENTER ATTACK**

Laser technology was used to create a topographic map of the World Trade Center site on September 19, 2001, eight days after the attack. Colors represent elevation above sea level (in green) or below sea level (in red) of the destroyed buildings. Rubble was piled more than 60 feet high where the twin towers once stood. The top of the image faces northeast. West Street runs across the foreground, and Liberty Street runs between the bottom center and the upper right. Tower 1 rubble is the square-shaped pile in the middle of the block facing West Street. The remains of Tower 2 face Liberty Street.

attacks, 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 (an Arabic word meaning “the foundation,” or “the base”) around 1990 to unite *opposition* fighters in Afghanistan, as well as supporters of bin Laden elsewhere in the Middle East.

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.

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 have a duty to wage a holy war against U.S. citizens because the United States was responsible for maintaining the Saudi 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.

Pause and Reflect 8.4.3

How has travel in the United States been affected by the 9/11 attacks?

AL-QAEDA

Learning Outcome 8.4.4

Describe ways that states have sponsored terrorism.

Al-Qaeda has been implicated in several attacks since 9/11:

- **May 8, 2002:** 13 died in a car bomb detonated outside the Sheraton Hotel in Karachi, Pakistan.
- **May 12, 2003:** 35 died (including 9 terrorists) in car bomb detonations at two apartment complexes in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.
- **November 15, 2003:** Truck bombs killed 29 (including 2 terrorists) at two synagogues in Istanbul, Turkey.
- **November 20, 2003:** 32 (including 2 terrorists) were killed at the British consulate and British-owned HSBC Bank in Istanbul.
- **May 29, 2004:** 22 died in attacks on oil company offices in Khobar, Saudi Arabia.
- **July 7, 2005:** 56 died (including 4 terrorists) when several subway trains and buses were bombed in London, England.
- **July 23, 2005:** 88 died in bombings of resort hotels in Sharm-el-Sheikh, Egypt.
- **November 9, 2005:** 63 died in the bombing of three American-owned hotels in Amman, Jordan.
- **September 28, 2008:** 54 died in a truck bombing of a hotel in Islamabad, Pakistan.
- **December 25, 2009:** Al-Qaeda member Umar Farouk Abdulmatallab, a passenger on a flight from Amsterdam to Detroit, tried to detonate explosives sewn into his underwear. Passengers put out the flames from the failed detonation and restrained the operative until the plane landed. Abdulmatallab was sentenced to four consecutive life terms plus 50 years.

Al-Qaeda is not a single unified organization, and the number involved in al-Qaeda is unknown. Bin Laden was advised by a small leadership council, which has several committees that specialize in areas such as finance, military, media, and religious policy. In addition to the original organization founded by Osama bin Laden responsible for the World Trade Center attack, al-Qaeda also encompasses local franchises concerned with country-specific issues, as well as imitators and emulators ideologically aligned with al-Qaeda but not financially tied to it.

Jemaah Islamiyah is an example of an al-Qaeda franchise with local concerns, specifically with establishing fundamentalist Islamic governments in Southeast Asia. Jemaah Islamiyah terrorist activities have been concentrated in the world's most populous Muslim country, Indonesia:

- **October 12, 2002:** A nightclub in the resort town of Kuta on the island of Bali was bombed, killing 202.
- **August 5, 2003:** Car bombs killed 12 at a Marriott hotel in the capital Jakarta.

- **September 9, 2004:** Car bombs killed 3 at the Australian embassy, also in Jakarta.
- **October 1, 2005:** Attacks on a downtown square in Kuta as well as a food court in Jimbaran, also on Bali, killed 26.
- **July 17, 2009:** Bombs killed 9 at the Marriott and Ritz-Carlton hotels in Jakarta.

Other terrorist groups have been loosely associated with al-Qaeda. For example:

- November 28, 2002: A Somali terrorist group killed 10 Kenyan dancers and 3 Israeli tourists at a resort in Mombasa, Kenya, and fired two missiles at an Israeli airplane taking off from the Mombasa airport.
- March 11, 2004: A local terrorist group blew up several commuter trains in Madrid, Spain, killing 192.

Al-Qaeda's use of religion to justify attacks has posed challenges to Muslims and non-Muslims alike. For many Muslims, the challenge has been to express disagreement with the policies of governments in the United States and Europe yet disavow the use of terrorism. For many Americans and Europeans, the challenge has been to distinguish between the peaceful but unfamiliar principles and practices 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.

SANCTUARY FOR TERRORISTS

Afghanistan and probably Pakistan have provided sanctuary for al-Qaeda terrorists.

AFGHANISTAN. The United States attacked Afghanistan in 2001, when its leaders, known as the Taliban, sheltered bin Laden and other al-Qaeda terrorists. During the battle of Tora Bora in December 2001, the United States overran positions held by al-Qaeda, but bin Laden escaped (Figure 8-49).

The Taliban had gained power in Afghanistan in 1995 and had imposed strict Islamic fundamentalist law on the population. Afghanistan's Taliban leadership treated women especially harshly. Women were prohibited from attending school, working outside the home, seeking health care, or driving a car. They were permitted to leave home only if fully covered by clothing and escorted by a male relative.

The six years of Taliban rule temporarily suppressed a civil war that has raged in Afghanistan on and off since the 1970s. The civil war began in 1973, when the king was

▼ **FIGURE 8-49 AFGHANISTAN** A mujahdeen fighter kneels by the entrance to a cave used by al-Qaeda fighters in the Tora Bora mountains of eastern Afghanistan, December 18, 2001.



overthrown in a bloodless coup led by Mohammed Daoud Khan. Daoud was murdered five years later and replaced by a government led by military officers sympathetic to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union sent 115,000 troops to Afghanistan beginning in 1979, after fundamentalist Muslims, known as *mujahdeen*, or “holy warriors,” started a rebellion against the pro-Soviet government.

Although heavily outnumbered by Soviet troops and possessing much less sophisticated equipment, the mujahdeen 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 mujahdeen, the Soviet Union withdrew its troops in 1989; 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 in order for the United States to go after al-Qaeda leaders, including bin Laden, who were 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. When U.S. attention shifted to Iraq and Iran, the Taliban were able to regroup and resume an insurgency against the U.S.-backed Afghanistan government.

Pause and Reflect 8.4.4

Suspected terrorists captured primarily in Afghanistan have been detained at a detention camp run by the United States at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Do you think that suspected terrorists should be tried in a U.S. military court, brought to the United States for civilian trials, or sent back to the country from which they were captured?

PAKISTAN. The war on terrorism spilled over from Pakistan’s western neighbor Afghanistan. Western Pakistan, along the border with Afghanistan, is a rugged, mountainous region inhabited by several ethnic minorities where the Taliban have been largely in control. U.S. intelligence and other experts thought that bin Laden was hiding out in the Taliban-controlled mountains of western Pakistan, but they were wrong. Navy SEALs killed bin Laden in a compound in the city of Abbottabad, only 120 kilometers (75 miles) from the capital.

The United States believed that Pakistan security had to be aware that bin Laden had been living in the compound for at least five years. The compound was heavily fortified, surrounded by high walls and barbed wire (Figure 8-50). Furthermore, the compound was located only 6 kilometers (4 miles) from the Pakistan Military Academy, the country’s principal institution for training military officers, equivalent to the U.S. Military Academy in West Point. For their part, Pakistani officials were upset that the United States attacked the compound without their knowledge.



▲ **FIGURE 8-50 OSAMA BIN LADEN’S COMPOUND, PAKISTAN** While in this compound, Osama bin Laden was killed by U.S. Navy SEALs.

SUPPLYING TERRORISTS

Learning Outcome 8.4.5

Describe alleged sponsorship of terrorism in Iraq and Iran.

Iraq and Iran have both been accused of providing material and financial support for terrorists. The extent of their involvement in terrorism is controversial, especially in the case of Iraq.

IRAQ. U.S. claims of state-sponsored terrorism proved more controversial with regard to Iraq than to Afghanistan. The United States led an attack against Iraq in 2003 in order to depose Saddam Hussein, the country's longtime president. U.S. officials' justification for removing Hussein was that he had created biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction. These weapons could fall into the hands of terrorists, the U.S. government charged, because close links were said to exist between Iraq's government and al-Qaeda. The United Kingdom and a few other countries joined in the 2003 attack, but most countries did not offer support.

U.S. confrontation with Iraq predated the war on terror. From the time he became president of Iraq in 1979, Hussein's behavior had raised concern around the world. War with neighbor Iran, begun in 1980, ended 8 years later in stalemate. A nuclear reactor near Baghdad, where nuclear weapons to attack Israel were allegedly being developed, was destroyed in 1981 by Israeli planes. Hussein ordered the use of poison gas in 1988 against Iraqi Kurds, killing 5,000. Iraq's 1990 invasion of neighboring Kuwait, which Hussein claimed was part of Iraq, was opposed by the international community.

The 1991 U.S.-led Gulf War, known as Operation Desert Storm, drove Iraq out of Kuwait, but it failed to remove Hussein from power. 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. In contrast, few countries supported the U.S.-led attack in 2003; most did not agree with the U.S. assessment that Iraq still possessed weapons of mass destruction or intended to use them.

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

As the United States moved toward war with Iraq in 2003, Secretary of State Colin Powell scheduled a speech at the UN to present evidence to the world justifying military action against Iraq. Recalling the Cuban Missile Crisis (refer to Figure 8-42), Powell displayed a series of air photos designed to prove that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. However, the photos did not provide clear evidence (Figure 8-51).

Lacking evidence of weapons of mass destruction and ties to al-Qaeda, the United States argued instead that Iraq needed a "regime change." Hussein's quarter-century

record of brutality justified replacing him with a democratically elected government, according to U.S. officials.

Having invaded Iraq and removed Hussein from power, the United States expected an enthusiastic welcome from the Iraqi people. Instead, the United States became embroiled in a complex and violent struggle among these various religious sects and tribes.

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 had demanded more democratic rule and opposed the Shah's economic modernization program that generated social unrest. Supporters of exiled fundamentalist Shiite Muslim leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini then 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 eight-year war began that neither side was able to win. An estimated 1.5 million died in the war, which ended when the two countries accepted a UN peace plan.

When the United States launched its war on terrorism after 9/11, Afghanistan was the immediate target, followed by Iraq. But after the election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad as president in 2005, relations between the United States and Iran deteriorated. The United States accused Iran of harboring al-Qaeda members and of trying to gain influence in Iraq, where, as in Iran, the majority of the people were Shiites. More troubling to the international community was Iran's aggressive development of a nuclear program. Iran claimed that its nuclear program was for civilian purposes, but other countries believed that it was intended to develop weapons. Prolonged negotiations were undertaken to dismantle Iran's nuclear capabilities without resorting to yet another war in the Middle East.

Pause and Reflect 8.4.5

What events have occurred in Iran since this book was published?

STATE TERRORIST ATTACKS: LIBYA

The government of Libya was accused of sponsoring a 1986 bombing of a nightclub in Berlin, Germany, that was popular with U.S. military personnel then stationed there, killing three (including one U.S. soldier). U.S. relations with Libya had been poor since 1981, when U.S. aircraft shot down attacking Libyan warplanes while conducting



▲ **FIGURE 8-51 AIR PHOTOS ALLEGING IRAQ'S PREPARATIONS FOR CHEMICAL WARFARE** (left) U.S. satellite image purporting to show 15 munitions bunkers in Taji, Iraq. (center) Close-up of alleged munitions bunker outlined in red near the bottom of the left image. The truck labeled "decontamination vehicle" turned out to be a water truck. (right) Close-up of the two bunkers, outlined in red in the middle of the left image, allegedly sanitized.

exercises over waters in the Mediterranean Sea that the United States considered international but that Libya considered inside its territory. In response to the Berlin bombing, U.S. bombers attacked the Libyan cities of Tripoli and Benghazi in a failed attempt to kill Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi.

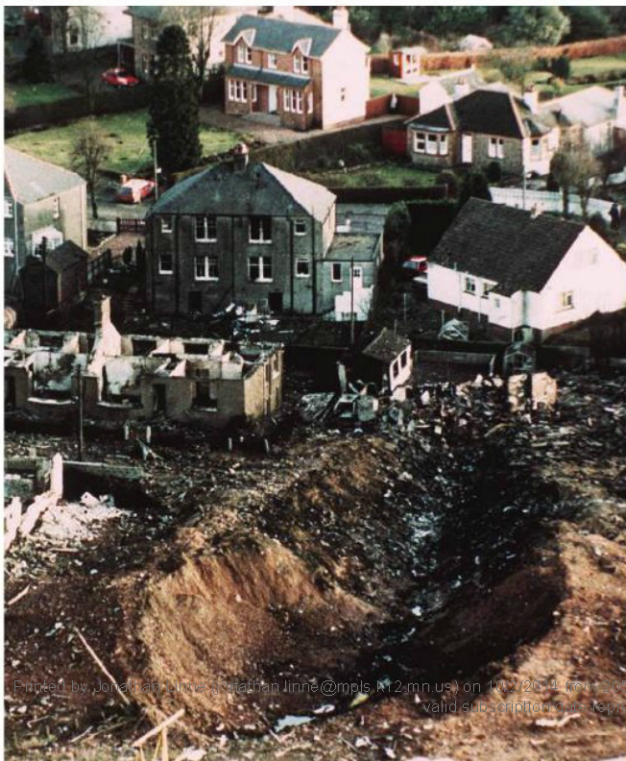
Libyan agents were found to have planted bombs on Pan Am Flight 103 that killed 270 people in Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988 (Figure 8-52), as well as 170 people on UTA Flight

772 over Niger in 1989. Following 8 years of UN economic sanctions, Qaddafi turned over suspects in the Lockerbie bombing for a trial that was held in the Netherlands under Scottish law. One of the two was acquitted; the other, Abdel Basset Ali al-Megrahi, was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment, but he was released in 2009 after he was diagnosed with terminal cancer. Libya renounced terrorism in 2003 and has provided compensation for victims of Pan Am 103. UN sanctions have been lifted, and Libya is no longer considered a state sponsor of terrorism.

During Arab Spring, Qaddafi tried to crush protests with extreme violence, resulting in thousands of deaths and violations of human rights. To protect the protestors, the UN authorized member states to attack pro-Qaddafi forces. A coalition of 30 member states launched air and naval attacks that enabled the anti-Qaddafi forces to take the offensive and ultimately succeed. Qaddafi was captured and killed.

▼ **FIGURE 8-52 STATE-SPONSORED TERRORISM**

Libya authorized the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, which blew up over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988, killing all 259 aboard, plus 11 on the ground.



CHECK-IN: KEY ISSUE 4

Why Do States Cooperate and Compete With Each Other?

- ✓ During the Cold War, the world was divided into two alliances led by superpowers.
- ✓ With the end of the Cold War, economic alliances have become more important.
- ✓ Terrorism by individuals and organizations has included the 9/11 attacks on the United States.
- ✓ Some states have provided support for terrorism.

Summary and Review

KEY ISSUE 1

Where Are States Distributed?

Earth's land area is divided into nearly 200 states. A state is a political unit, with an organized government and sovereignty.

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.1.1: Explain the three eras of rapid growth in UN membership.

- All but a handful of states are members of the UN.
- UN membership grew rapidly in 1955, 1960, and the 1990s.

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.1.2: Explain why it is difficult to determine whether some territories are states.

- Several places are not universally recognized as sovereign.
- Polar regions have not been organized into states, although neighboring states have competing claims on them.

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.1.3: Explain the concept of nation-state and how it differs from earlier ways to govern.

- Dividing the world into states is a modern concept.
- Historically, most of Earth's surface was organized in other ways, such as empires, or else unorganized.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY 8.1: 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. 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?

GOOGLE EARTH 8.1: The smallest state is the Holy See (Vatican). What is housed in the government building immediately to the west of St Peter's (identified in Google Earth 6.1)?



KEY ISSUE 2

Why Are Nation-States Difficult to Create?

A nation-state is a state whose territory matches that occupied by an ethnicity. It is impossible to find a perfect match between the boundaries of a state and the area inhabited by a single ethnicity.

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.2.1: Understand the difference between a nation-state and a multinational state.

- No perfect nation-state, exists, but some states come close.
- A multinational state contains multiple ethnicities rather than a single ethnicity.

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.2.2: Describe differences among states formerly in the Soviet Union.

- The U.S.S.R. was once the world's largest multinational state.
- The country's largest ethnicities were organized into 15 republics that are now independent states.

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.2.3: Describe patterns of distribution of ethnicities in Russia and the Caucasus.

- Russia is now the world's largest multinational state, with numerous ethnic groups.
- The Caucasus Mountain region contains a complex array of ethnicities divided among several small states.

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.2.4: Explain the concept of colonies and describe their current distribution.

- A colony is territory legally tied to a state. Into the twentieth century, much of the world consisted of colonies, but few remain.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY 8.2: 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?

GOOGLE EARTH 8.2: The boundary between what states run through the Caucasus Mountains?



Key Terms

Anocracy (p. 282) A country that is not fully democratic or fully autocratic, but rather displays a mix of the two types.

Autocracy (p. 282) A country that is run according to the interests of the ruler rather than the people.

Balance of power (p. 286) A condition of roughly equal strength between opposing countries or alliances of countries.

Boundary (p. 276) An invisible line that marks the extent of a state's territory.

City-state (p. 266) A sovereign state comprising a city and its immediately surrounding countryside.

Colonialism (p. 274) An attempt by one country to establish settlements and to impose its political, economic, and cultural principles in another territory.

Colony (p. 274) A territory that is legally tied to a sovereign state rather than completely independent.

Compact state (p. 280) A state in which the distance from the center to any boundary does not vary significantly.

Democracy (p. 282) A country in which citizens elect leaders and can run for office.

Elongated state (p. 280) A state with a long, narrow shape.

Federal state (p. 283) An internal organization of a state that allocates most powers to units of local government.

Fragmented state (p. 281) A state that includes several discontinuous pieces of territory.

Frontier (p. 276) A zone separating two states in which neither state exercises political control.

Gerrymandering (p. 284) The process of redrawing legislative boundaries for the purpose of benefiting the party in power.

Landlocked state (p. 281) A state that does not have a direct outlet to the sea.

Microstate (p. 261) A state that encompasses a very small land area.

Multiethnic state (p. 268) A state that contains more than one ethnicity.

Multinational state (p. 268) A state that contains two or more ethnic groups with traditions of self-determination that agree to

KEY ISSUE 3

Why Do Boundaries Cause Problems?

States are separated by boundaries, which are either physical or cultural. Boundaries affect the shape of a country and affect the ability of a country to live peacefully with its neighbors.

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.3.1: Describe the types of physical boundaries between states.

- Physical features used to delineate boundaries include deserts, mountains, and bodies of water.

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.3.2: Describe the types of cultural boundaries between states.

- Geometry and ethnicities can be used to delineate cultural boundaries between states.

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.3.3: Describe five shapes of states.

- States take five forms: compact, elongated, prorupted, perforated, and fragmented.

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.3.4: Describe differences among the three regime types.

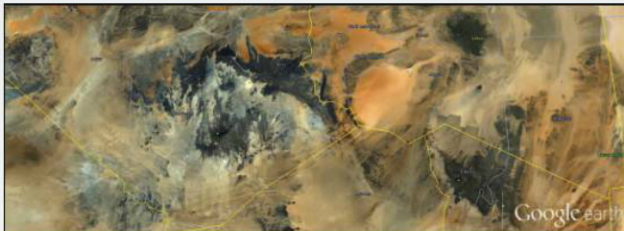
- Regimes can be democratic, anocratic, or autocratic; the trend has been toward more democratic regimes.
- Local governments can be organized according to unitary or federal state principles; the trend has been toward more federal states.

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.3.5: Explain the concept of gerrymandering and three ways that it is done.

- Gerrymandering is the redrawing of electoral districts to benefit the party in power.
- Three forms of gerrymandering are wasted vote, excess vote, and stacked vote.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY 8.3: 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?

GOOGLE EARTH 8.3: Portions of what four states can be seen near the Libyan Desert?



coexist peacefully by recognizing each other as distinct nationalities.

Nation-state (p. 267) A state whose territory corresponds to that occupied by a particular ethnicity that has been transformed into a nationality.

Perforated state (p. 281) A state that completely surrounds another one.

Prorupted state (p. 280) An otherwise compact state with a large projecting extension.

Self-determination (p. 267) The concept that ethnicities have the right to govern themselves.

Sovereignty (p. 261) Ability of a state to govern its territory free from control of its internal affairs by other states.

State (p. 261) An area organized into a political unit and ruled by an established government that has control over its internal and foreign affairs.

Terrorism (p. 290) The systematic use of violence by a group in order to intimidate a population or coerce a government into granting its demands.

Unitary state (p. 283) An internal organization of a state that places most power in the hands of central government officials.

KEY ISSUE 4

Why Do States Cooperate and Compete with Each Other?

Competition among states has been replaced in some regions by economic alliances, especially in Europe. At the same time, violence has increased in the world because of terrorist attacks.

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.4.1: Describe the principal alliances in Europe during the Cold War era.

- States were allied with the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States.

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.4.2: Describe the principal economic alliances in Europe in the period since World War II.

- With the end of the Cold War, economic alliances have replaced military alliances in importance, especially in Europe.

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.4.3: Explain the concept of terrorism.

- Terrorism is the systematic use of violence to intimidate a population or coerce a government.

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.4.4: Describe ways that states have sponsored terrorism.

- States have supported terrorism by providing sanctuary to terrorists, supplying them with weapons and intelligence, and planning state-sponsored attacks.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY 8.4: In his book *1984*, George Orwell divided the world into three states, controlling people through technology. To what extent has Orwell's vision of a global political order been realized in an age of terrorism?

GOOGLE EARTH 8.4: If you zoom into the center of Abbotabad, Pakistan, where Osama bin Laden's hideout was located, turn on 3D, switch to ground-level view, and pan around, what is the only 3D building? Given the distribution of religions discussed in Chapter 6, why does this building seem out of place here?



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