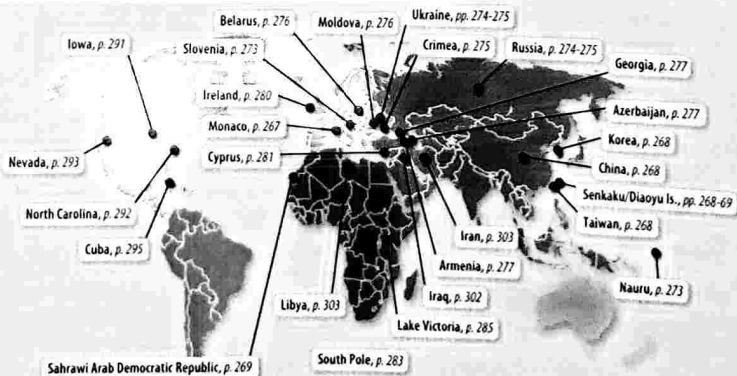


Political Geography

How many states in the world are there? Classic geography sometimes reified the identification of countries and their capitals. Human geography now emphasizes different approaches. We are concerned with the locations of states in the world, the reasons for political boundaries, and the significance of the space of the state. We will have to ask: How is the space of the state distributed? What are the implications of the space of the state for the world?

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LOCATIONS IN THIS CHAPTER

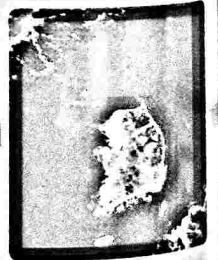


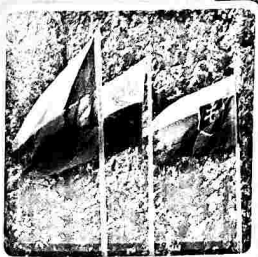
KEY ISSUES

1

Where Are States Distributed?

The space of Earth's land area is distributed into states, although what constitutes a state is not always clear-cut.





2

Why Are Nation-States Difficult To Create?

Local diversity has increased in political affairs, as individual cultural groups demand more control over the *regions* they inhabit.

3



Why Do Boundaries Cause Problems?

Boundary lines are not painted on the ground, but these specific *places* on Earth might as well be. Boundaries are the specific places where states have *connections* with each other.

4



Where Do States Face Threats?

Conflicts during the twentieth century were dominated by global *scale war*, including two world wars. Into the twenty-first century, many attacks are initiated not by warring states but by terrorist organizations.

KEY ISSUE 1

Where Are States Distributed?

- ▶ **Introducing Political Geography**
- ▶ **Challenges in Defining States**

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.1.1

Understand the difference between a state of the world and a state within the United States.

When looking at satellite images of Earth, we easily distinguish landmasses and water bodies. 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.

Introducing Political Geography

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

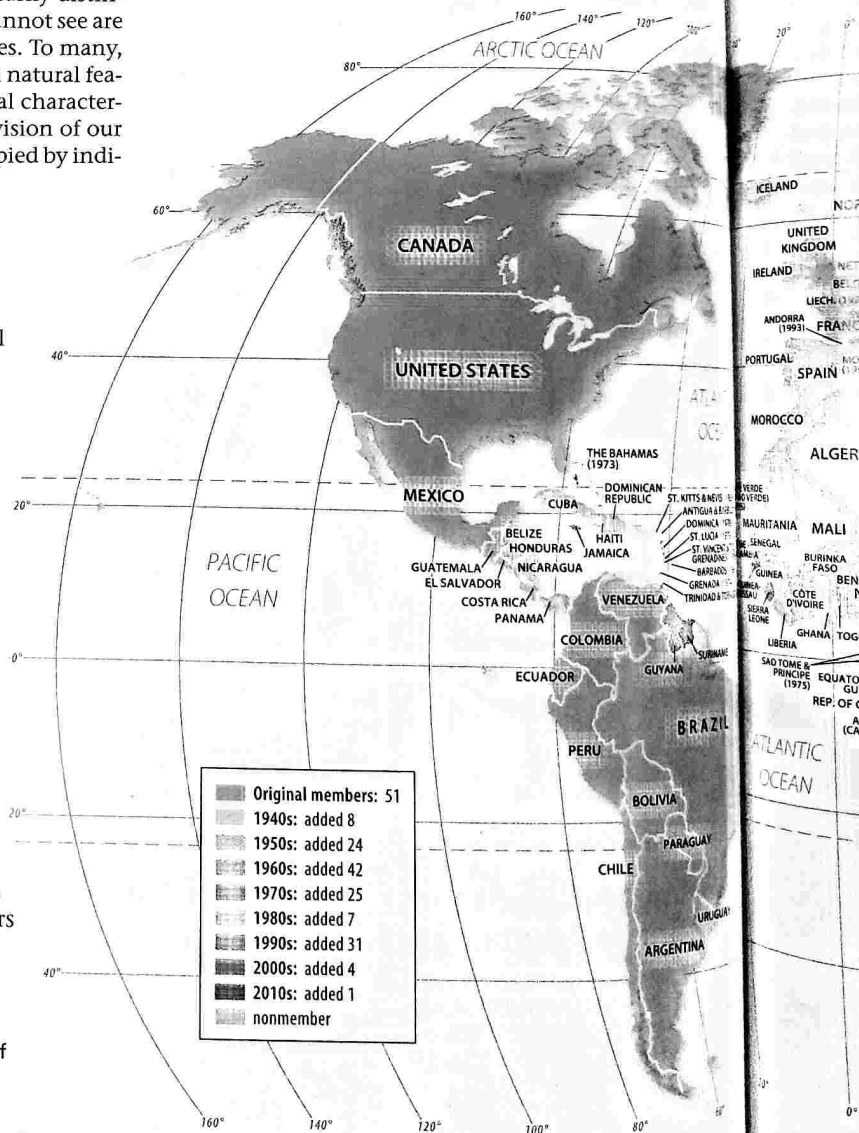
A map of the world shows that virtually all habitable land is organized into states. But for most of history, until recently, this was not so. As recently as the 1940s, the world contained only about 50 countries, compared to approximately 200 today (Figure 8-1).

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 Vatican is the world's smallest microstate, at 0.44 square kilometers (0.17 square miles). The second-smallest microstate and the smallest that is a member of the United Nations is Monaco (Figure 8-2), which is only 1.5 square kilometers (0.6 square miles).

Other U.N. member states that are smaller than 1,000 square kilometers (400 square miles) include Andorra, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahrain, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada,

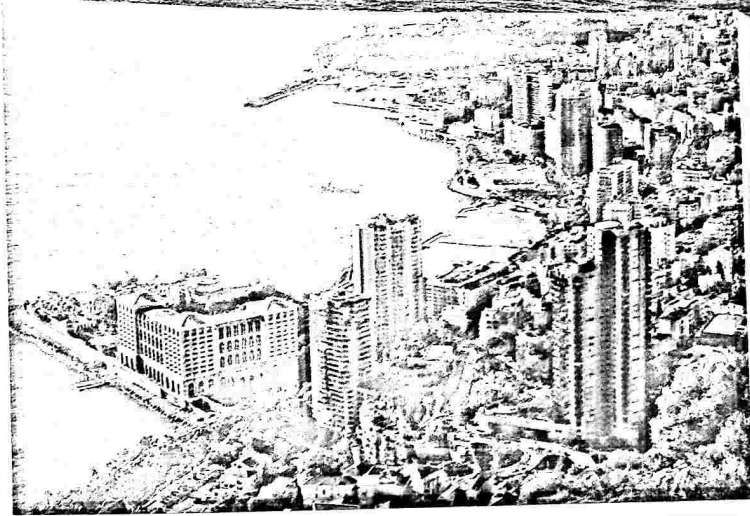


▶ **FIGURE 8-1 STATES OF THE WORLD** All but a handful of states are members of the United Nations.

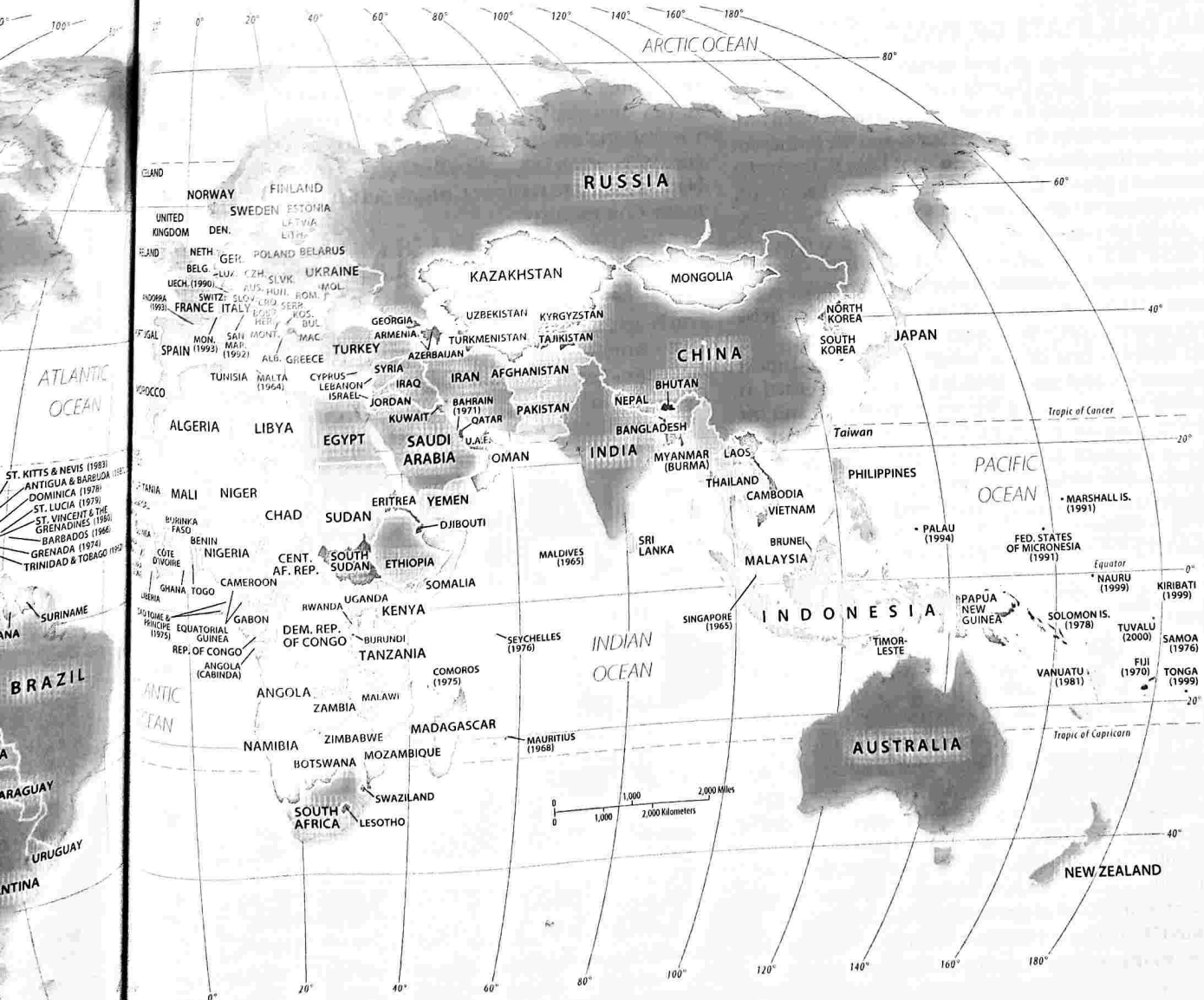
Kiribati, Liechtenstein, Maldives, Malta, Micronesia, Palau, St. Kitts & Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent & the Grenadines, San Marino, São Tomé e Príncipe, the Seychelles, Singapore, Tonga, and Tuvalu. Many of the microstates are islands, which explains both their small size and sovereignty.

PAUSE & REFLECT 8.1.1

With virtually all of Earth's land now allocated to states, how might the number of states increase in the future?



▲ FIGURE 8-2 MONACO: WORLD'S SMALLEST U.N. MICROSTATE The smallest state in the United Nations is the Principality of Monaco.



Challenges in Defining States

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.1.2

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

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.

There is some disagreement about the number of sovereign states. This disagreement is closely tied to the history and geography of the places involved and most often involves neighboring states. Among places that test the definition of *sovereignty* are Korea, China, and Western Sahara (Sahrawi Republic).

KOREA: ONE STATE OR TWO?

The Korean peninsula is divided between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North) and the Republic of Korea (South). A colony of Japan for 35 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. The Soviet Union installed a pro-Communist government in the North, while a pro-U.S. government was established in the South. North Korea invaded the South in 1950, sparking a three-year war that ended in a cease-fire. Both governments are committed to reuniting the country into one sovereign state. However, both maintain that they are the one that should exercise sovereignty over the entire Korean peninsula.

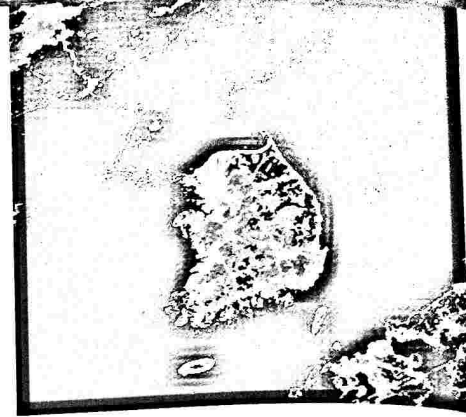
North Korea is one of the world's poorest and most isolated countries, and since 1948 it has been governed as a dictatorship by Kim Il-sung, his son Kim Jong-il, and his grandson Kim Jong-un. Further aggravating reconciliation, North Korea has built and tested nuclear weapons, even though the country lacks the ability to provide its citizens with food, electricity, and other basic needs (Figure 8-3).

CHINA AND TAIWAN: ONE STATE OR TWO?

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. The government of Taiwan agrees.

The current status arises from a civil war in China during the late 1940s between the Nationalists and the Communists. After losing in 1949, Nationalist leaders fled to Taiwan, 200 kilometers (125 miles) off the Chinese coast, and 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.

The United States had supported the Nationalists during the civil war, so many Americans opposed acknowledging

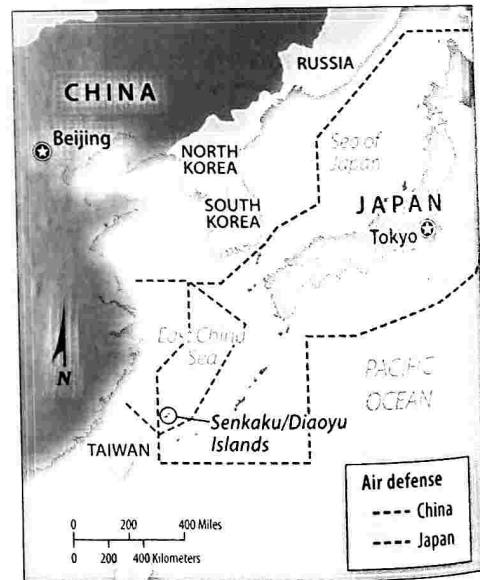


▲ **FIGURE 8-3 KOREA** A nighttime satellite image recorded by the U.S. Air Force Defense Meteorological Satellite Program shows the illumination of electric lights in South Korea, whereas North Korea has virtually no electric lights. 1. Why might North Korea have virtually no electric lights? 2. Is the absence of electric lights a measure of wealth or poverty? 3. In what ways would the absence of electric lights hinder promotion of democracy in North Korea?

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 the 1970s, when U.S. policy finally changed, and the United Nations voted to transfer China's seat from the Nationalists to the Communists.

SENKAKU / DIAOYU ISLANDS: WHO IS SOVEREIGN?

The People's Republic of China, Taiwan, and Japan all claim sovereignty over several small uninhabited islands in the East China Sea. These islands are known as Diaoyu in China, Diaoyutai in Taiwan, and Senkaku in Japan (Figure 8-4).



▲ **FIGURE 8-4 DISPUTED ISLANDS** The Senkaku / Diaoyu islands are all claimed by China, Taiwan, and Japan.

The largest of (1.7 square mil three rock ou 800 square met Japan has between 1945 istered them a and Taiwan cl China until th in 1895. Japa had sovereign when Japan c and Japan hav Sea with conf

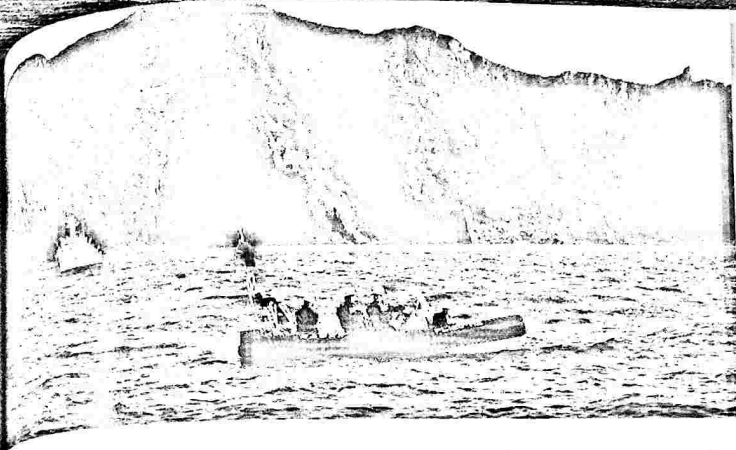
SA RAWI SAHARA:

The Sahrawi Western Saha a sovereign s and to prove around the t

▼ **FIGURE 8-6** 1980s to isolate portion of Wes

(a)

◀ **FIGURE 8-5 SENKAKU / DIAOYU ISLANDS** The largest of the disputed Senkaku / Diaoyu islands, called Uotsuri-shima in Japanese and Diàoyú Dǎo in Chinese, is only 4.3 square kilometers (1.7 square miles).



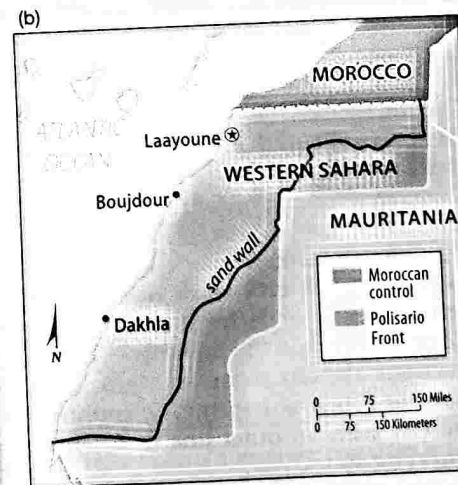
The largest of five islands is only 4.32 square kilometers (1.7 square miles) (Figure 8-5). The collection also includes three rock outcroppings, the smallest of which is only 800 square meters (8,600 square feet).

Japan has controlled the islands since 1895, except between 1945 and 1972, when the United States administered them after defeating Japan in World War II. China and Taiwan claim that the islands historically belonged to China until the Japanese government illegally seized them in 1895. Japan's position is that China did not state that it had sovereignty over the uninhabited islands back in 1895, when Japan claimed them. To bolster their claims, China and Japan have both established air zones in the East China Sea with conflicting boundaries.

SAHRAWI REPUBLIC / WESTERN SAHARA: WHO IS SOVEREIGN?

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 8-6 SAHRAWI REPUBLIC / WESTERN SAHARA** (a) Morocco built sand walls during the 1980s to isolate Polisario Front rebels fighting for independence. (b) Morocco controls the western portion of Western Sahara, and the Polisario Front controls the eastern portion.



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 (Figure 8-6). The United Nations has tried but failed to reach a resolution among the parties.

PAUSE & REFLECT 8.1.2

Other than military action, how might the sovereignty of these disputed territories be settled?

CHECK-IN KEY ISSUE 1

Where Are States Distributed?

- ✓ The world is divided into approximately 200 sovereign states that vary considerably in size.
- ✓ The sovereignty of some territories is disputed among states.

KEY ISSUE 2

Why Are Nation-States Difficult to Create?

- ▶ Development of States
- ▶ Nation-States and Multinational States
- ▶ Russia: The Largest Multiethnic State
- ▶ Nation-States in the Former Soviet Union
- ▶ Colonies

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.2.1

Understand the development of nation-states.

A **nation-state** is a state whose territory corresponds to that occupied by a particular ethnicity. To preserve and enhance distinctive cultural characteristics, ethnicities seek to govern themselves without interference. The concept of dividing the world into a collection of independent nation-states is recent.

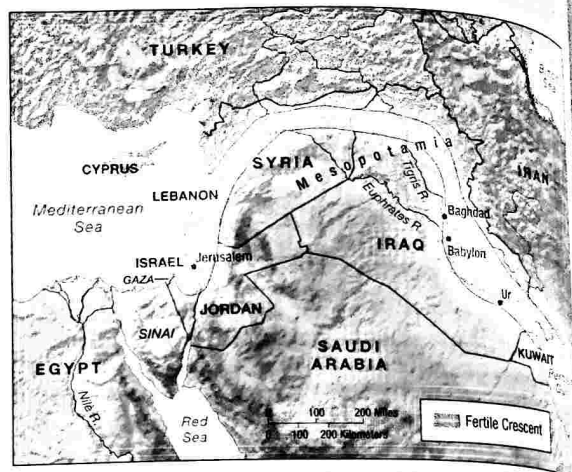
Development of States

The first states emerged in ancient times in Southwest Asia & North Africa. However, most of Earth's surface historically was either unorganized territory or organized in ways other than states, such as empires, kingdoms, and estates controlled by a hereditary class of nobles. In modern times, the concept of a state developed first in Europe.

ANCIENT STATES

The development of states in ancient times can be traced to a region of Southwest Asia known as the Fertile Crescent. The ancient Fertile Crescent formed an arc between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea (Figure 8-7). 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 outer line of defense against attack by other city-states.



▲ **FIGURE 8-7 FERTILE CRESCENT** The crescent-shaped area of relatively fertile land was organized into a succession of empires starting several thousand years ago.

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.

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 and turned 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 into North Africa.

PAUSE & REFLECT 8.2.1

What is the importance of the Fertile Crescent in the development of religions, as discussed in Chapter 6? How might the development of ancient states and religions in the region be related?

MEDIEVAL STATES

Political unity in the ancient world reached its height with the establishment of the Roman Empire, which controlled most of Europe and Southwest Asia & North Africa, from modern-day Spain to Iran and from Egypt to England (Figure 8-8). 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



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

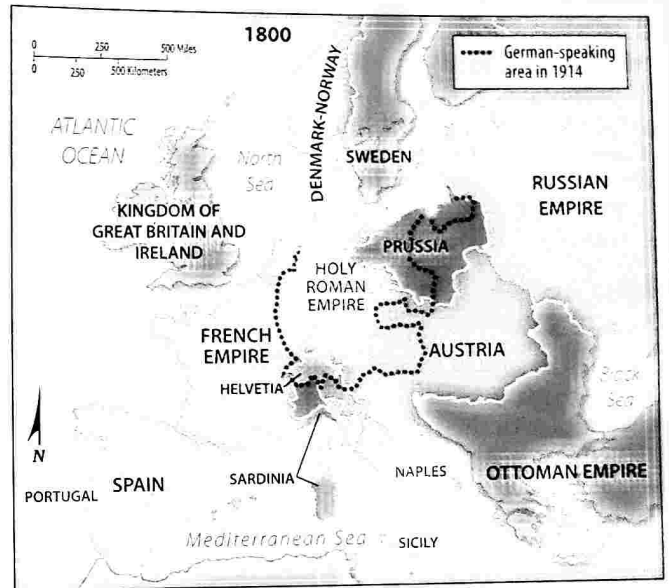
estates owned by competing monarchs, dukes, barons, and other nobles. A handful of powerful monarchs and emperors emerged as rulers over large numbers of these European estates beginning about A.D. 1100 (Figure 8-9). The consolidation of neighboring estates under the unified control of a monarch or an emperor formed the basis for the development of such modern European states as England, France, and Spain (Figure 8-10).

STATES IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY EUROPE

Into the twentieth century, most of Europe's territory was ruled by a handful of emperors, kings, and queens. After World War I, which engulfed nearly all of Europe, 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.

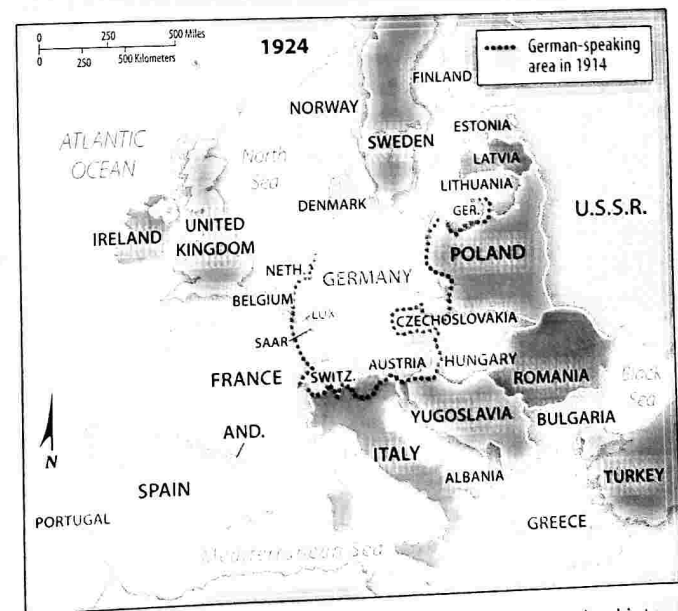
The goal of the Allied leaders was to divide Europe into a collection of nation-states, using language as the principal criterion for identifying ethnic groups. New states were created and the boundaries of existing states were adjusted to conform as closely as possible to the territory occupied by speakers of different languages (Figure 8-11). This undertaking created some clear-cut examples of nation-states, but many of the states created a century ago in Europe have not survived as nation-states.



▲ FIGURE 8-10 EUROPE, 1800 Much of Europe was organized into empires.



▲ FIGURE 8-9 EUROPE, 1300 Much of Europe was fragmented into small estates controlled by nobles.



▲ FIGURE 8-11 EUROPE, 1924 Much of Europe was organized into nation-states.

Nation-States and Multinational States

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.2.2

Understand differences between a nation-state and a multinational state.

To preserve and enhance distinctive cultural characteristics, ethnicities seek to govern themselves without interference. The concept that ethnicities have the right to govern themselves is known as **self-determination**. Ethnic groups have pushed to create nation-states because desire for self-determination is a very important shared attitude.

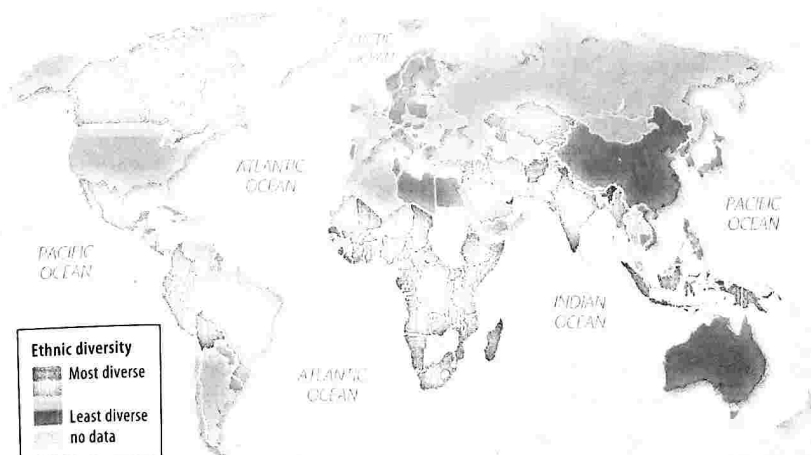
There is no perfect nation-state because the territory occupied by a particular ethnicity never corresponds precisely to the boundaries of countries. Nonetheless, some states are excellent examples of nation-states. For example, the ethnic composition of Japan is 98.5 percent Japanese, 0.5 percent Korean, 0.4 percent Chinese, and 0.6 percent other.

MULTIETHNIC AND MULTINATIONAL STATES

Figure 8-12 depicts an attempt by political scientist James Fearon to measure the extent of ethnic diversity in a country. States with the least diversity would be the best examples of nation-states. Eleven of the 18 states with the least ethnic diversity are in Europe. On the other hand, 18 of the world's 20 most diverse states are in Africa.

A state that contains more than one ethnicity is a **multiethnic state**. Because no state has a population that is 100 percent a single ethnicity, every state in the world is to a varying degree multiethnic. A **multinational state** is a state that contains more than one ethnicity with traditions of self-determination and self-government.

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 peaceful multinational states, each ethnic group may control governmental functions in the region of the country it inhabits. In other cases, ethnicities



◀ **FIGURE 8-12 ETHNIC DIVERSITY** More than half of the best examples of nation-states are in Europe. The most ethnically diverse countries are primarily in Africa.

all contribute cultural features to the formation of a single nationality. For example, the United States has numerous ethnic groups, all of which consider themselves as belonging to a single U.S. nationality.

MULTIETHNIC REVIVAL IN EUROPE

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 many years of appeasing the Nazis' expansion in Central Europe, the United Kingdom and France finally declared war when the Nazis invaded Poland, clearly not a German-speaking state.

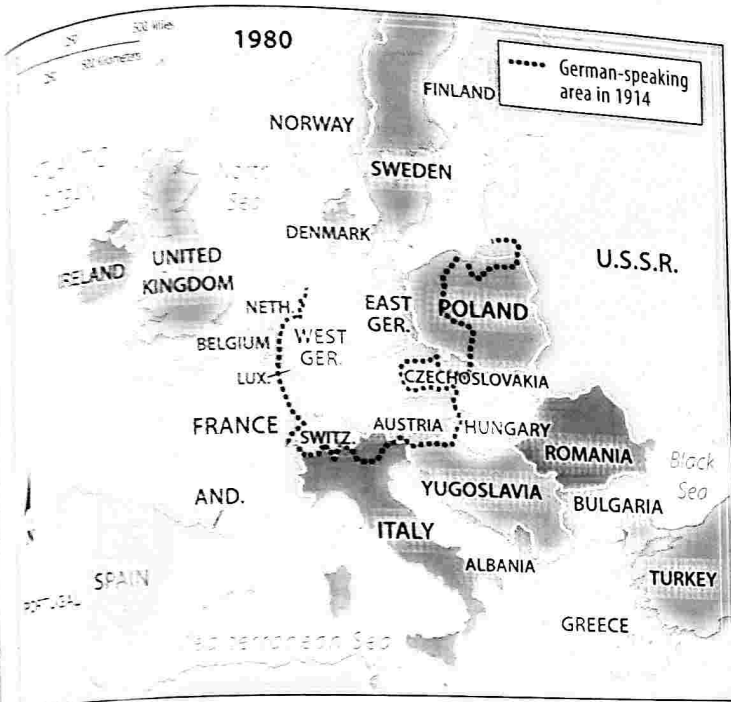
Following its defeat in World War II, Germany was divided into two states (Figure 8-13). Two Germanys existed from 1949 until 1990. The present-day state of Germany bears little resemblance to the territory occupied by German-speaking people prior to the upheavals of the twentieth century. However, a massive forced migration of people in Europe after World War II relocated many ethnic groups into the newly demarcated territory of the region's various nation-states. With the end of communism, the German Democratic Republic ceased to exist, and its territory became part of the German Federal Republic. As discussed in Chapter 7, former Yugoslavia has been the principal example of a failed nation-state in Europe.

In other 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.

Europeans thought that ethnicity had been left behind as an insignificant relic, such as wearing costumes to amuse tourists. Karl Marx wrote that nationalism was a means for the dominant social classes to maintain power over workers. He believed that workers would identify with other working-class people instead of with an ethnicity. The attempt after World War I to divide Europe into nation-states was not a recipe for peace, as noted on the previous page.

In the twenty-first century, ethnic identity has once again become important in Europe. The multinational states of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union were broken up into multiple states. Some of the new states are good examples of nation-states, but others are not:

- In Czechoslovakia, a multinational state was peacefully transformed in 1993 to two nation-states—Czechia (Czech Republic) and Slovakia. Slovaks comprise only 1 percent of Czechia's population and Czechs less than 1 percent of Slovakia's population (Figure 8-14).



▲ FIGURE 8-13 EUROPE, 1980 Germany was divided into two states after its defeat in World War II.

- In Yugoslavia, the breakup included a peaceful conversion of Slovenia in 1991 from a republic in multinational Yugoslavia to a nation-state (Figure 8-15). However, other portions of former Yugoslavia became nation-states only after ethnic cleansing and other atrocities, as discussed in the previous chapter.

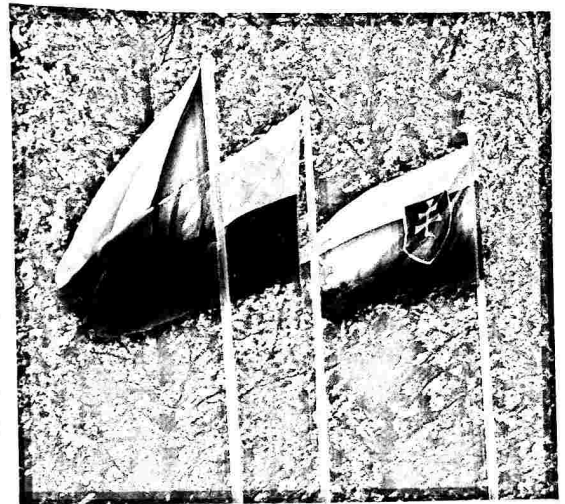
PAUSE & REFLECT 8.2.2

Are Africa's principal areas of ethnic cleansing and genocide in Africa among the most ethnically diverse? Why might account for similarities or differences?

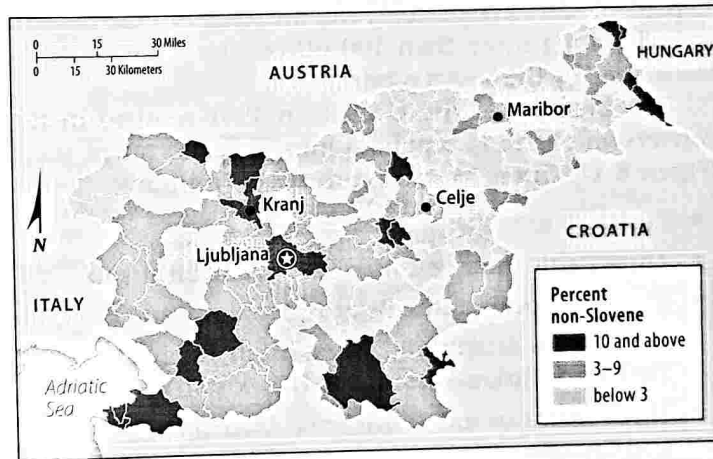
SUSTAINABILITY & OUR ENVIRONMENT

The sustainability of the world's smallest island state, Nauru, as well other island microstates, is in danger due to rising ocean levels. Sea levels rose around 17 centimeters (6.7 inches) during the twentieth century. Scientists working for the United Nations forecast another rise of between 18 and 59 centimeters (between 7 and 23 inches). The rising oceans will submerge a large percentage of the tiny island. Another Pacific Ocean microstate, Kiribati, a collection of approximately 32 small islands, has already witnessed the disappearance of two of its islands under rising oceans. Nauru, Kiribati, and other Pacific island microstates are atolls—that

is, islands made of coral reefs (Figure 8-16). A coral is a small sedentary marine animal that has a horny or calcareous skeleton. Corals form colonies, and the skeletons build up to form coral reefs. Coral is very fragile. Humans are attracted to coral for its beauty and the diversity of species it supports, but handling coral can kill it. The threat of climate change to the sustainability coral is especially severe: Coral stays alive in only a narrow range of ocean temperatures, between 23°C and 25°C (between 73°F and 77°F), so global warming threatens the ecology of the portions of the islands that remain above sea level.

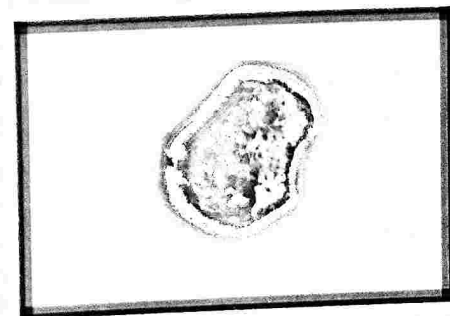


▲ FIGURE 8-14 CZECHIA AND SLOVAKIA Flags of Czechia (left) and Slovakia (right). Poland's flag is in the middle.



▲ FIGURE 8-15 SLOVENIA

Rising Oceans and the Future of Nauru



▲ FIGURE 8-16 NAURU: WORLD'S SMALLEST ISLAND MICROSTATE Rising sea level because of climate change threatens the future of the island, whose area is only 21 square kilometers (8 square miles).

Russia: The Largest Multiethnic State

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.2.3

Understand Russia's status as a multiethnic state.

RUSSIA: THE LARGEST MULTINATIONAL STATE

During its existence between 1922 and 1991, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) was the world's largest state in land area, as well as the world's largest multinational state. The Soviet Union consisted of 15 republics, based on its 15 largest ethnicities. According to estimates a year before the breakup of the Soviet Union, Russians comprised 51 percent of the state's population, Ukrainians 15 percent, Uzbeks 6 percent, and the remaining 28 percent spread among more than 100 other ethnicities officially recognized by the Soviet government.

The breakup of the U.S.S.R. in 1991 resulted in the conversion of the 15 republics into 15 independent states (Figure 8-17). These 15 states consist of five groups:

- Russia.
- 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: Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia.

Some of these new states are good examples of nation-states, and some are clearly multiethnic. However, the best examples of nation-states are not necessarily the most stable and peaceful of the new states.

With the breakup of the Soviet Union, Russia is now the world's largest multinational state. Russia comprises 81 percent ethnic Russians, but the government officially recognizes the existence of 39 ethnic groups among the remaining 19 percent.

Russia's ethnicities are clustered in two principal locations (Figure 8-18). 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. 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).



▲ **FIGURE 8-17 SOVIET UNION** The U.S.S.R. consisted of 15 republics that have become independent states.

Russia's constitution grants autonomy over local government affairs to around two dozen of the most numerous ethnicities. Local government units with a large ethnic population are allowed to designate the ethnic language as an official language in addition to Russian. Nonetheless, independence movements are flourishing among several of Russia's ethnicities.

RUSSIANS IN UKRAINE

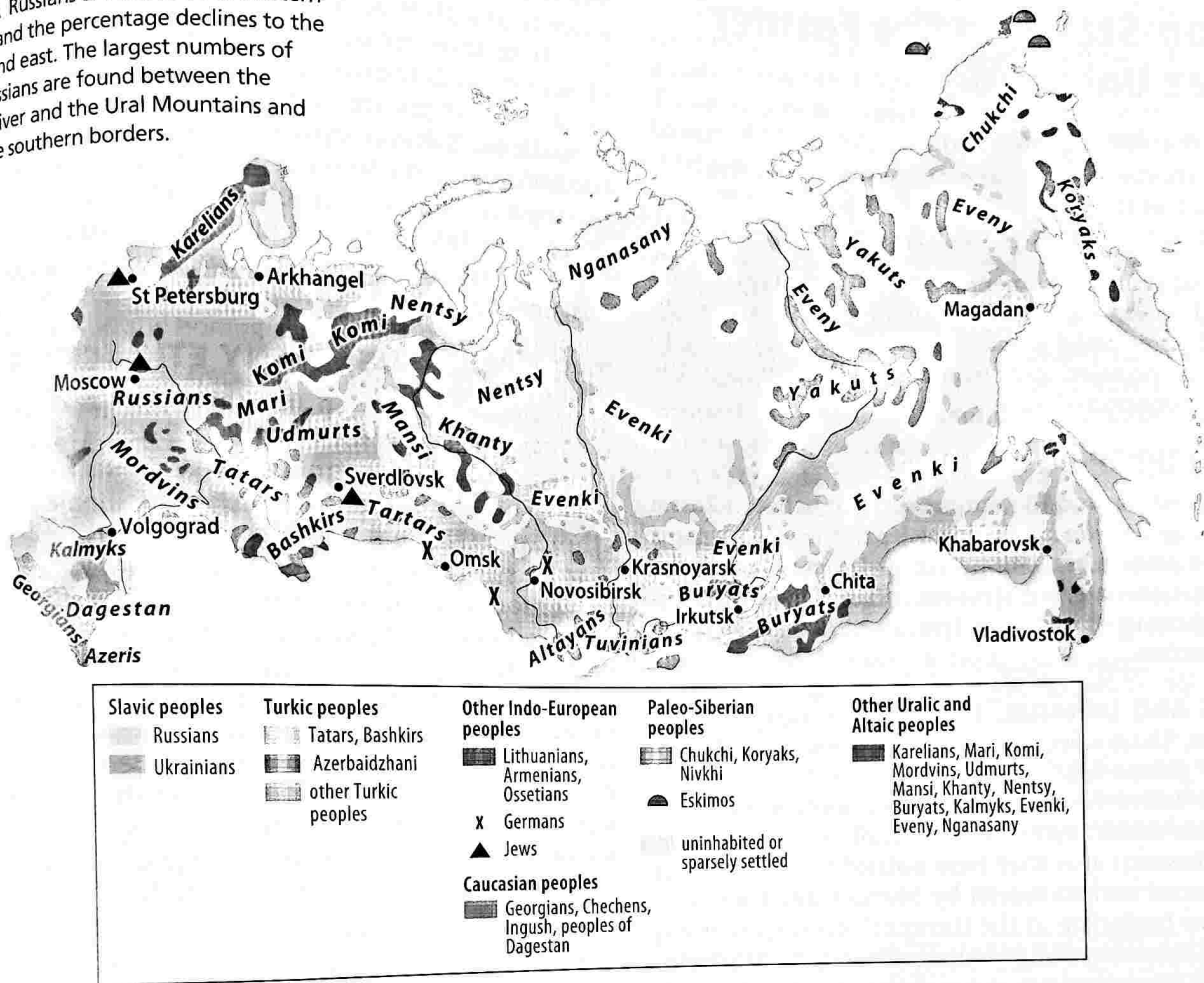
After the breakup of the Soviet Union, prospects for a stable nation-state were favorable in independent Ukraine because it possessed economic assets, such as coal deposits, a steel industry, and proximity to the wealthy countries of Western Europe. However, Ukraine's minority Russian population started an uprising in the eastern region of the country, where they were clustered (Figure 8-19). Claiming that the Russian ethnic minority in Ukraine was endangered, Russia invaded eastern Ukraine and seized Crimea.

Crimea, a 27,000-square-kilometer (10,000-square-mile) peninsula, has long been an area of conflict (Figure 8-20). Crimea's population is approximately 60 percent Russian, 24 percent Ukrainian, 10 percent Tatar, and 6 percent of other ethnicities.

Russia took control of Crimea in 1783, and in 1921 it became an autonomous republic within the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, which in turn was a republic within the Soviet Union. In 1954, the Soviet government transferred responsibility for Crimea to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which was then also part of the Soviet Union.

When the Soviet Union broke up in 1991, Crimea became an autonomous republic in the newly independent Ukraine. In 2014, Russia invaded Crimea and annexed it.

FIGURE 8-18 ETHNICITIES IN RUSSIA Russians are clustered in western Russia, and the percentage declines to the south and east. The largest numbers of non-Russians are found between the Volga River and the Ural Mountains and near the southern borders.



claiming that the majority of the Crimean people, who are ethnic Russians, supported the action. Nearly every other country in the world continues to recognize Ukraine's sovereignty over Crimea. However, the international community has not found a way to remove the Russians and restore Crimea to Ukraine.

PAUSE & REFLECT 8.2.3

Why is most of Russia classified as sparsely settled? Compare the map of Russia's ethnicities (Figure 8-18) with the maps of world climate (Figure 1-47) and of population concentrations (Figure 2-4).



FIGURE 8-19 ETHNICITIES IN UKRAINE The Russian ethnic minority is clustered in the east of the country, near the border with Russia.



FIGURE 8-20 CRIMEA Russia claims sovereignty over Crimea, but most other states consider it legally still part of Ukraine.

Nation-States in the Former Soviet Union

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.2.4

Describe challenges in creating nation-states in the former Soviet Union.

The new states in the former Soviet Union are a mixed collection of nation-states and multinational states. The diversity of states offers geographers a good opportunity to understand the assets and challenges of differences in the ethnic composition of states.

THREE EUROPEAN STATES

Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine are situated between Russia to the east and European democracies to the west. Belarus has made a peaceful transition from Soviet republic to independent nation-state, but Moldova and Ukraine have experienced ethnic tensions that in the case of Ukraine have led to open warfare.

BELARUS AND UKRAINE. The ethnic distinction among Belarusians, Ukrainians, and Russians is somewhat blurred. The three groups speak similar East Slavic languages and trace their ethnic heritage to the same roots in medieval Europe. Belarusians and Ukrainians became distinct ethnicities from Russians after they were isolated from each other after invasions and conquests by Mongolians, Poles, and Lithuanians beginning in the thirteenth century. Russians conquered Belarus and Ukraine in the late eighteenth century, but after five centuries of exposure to non-Slavic influences, Belarusians and Ukrainians displayed sufficient cultural differences to consider themselves distinct from Russians.

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.

THREE 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,

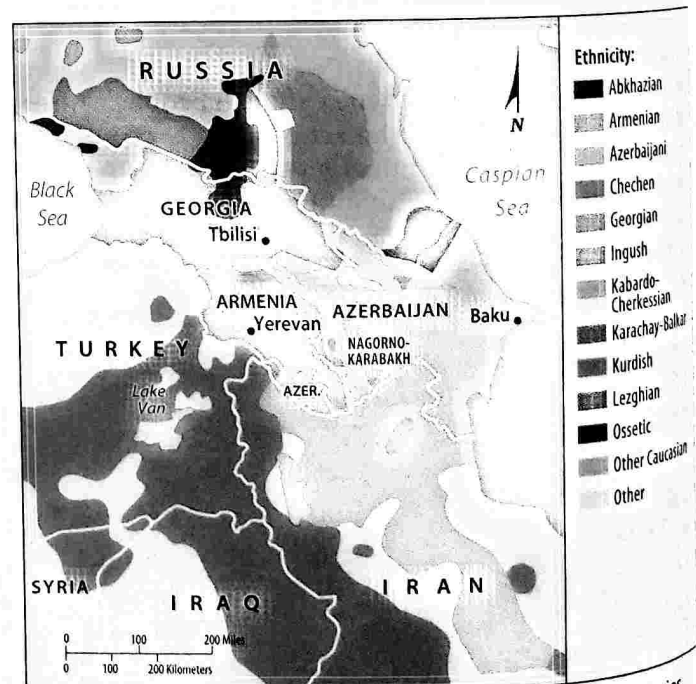
when the former Soviet Union annexed them under an agreement with Nazi Germany.

These three small neighboring Baltic countries have clear cultural differences and distinct historical traditions. Most Lithuanians are Roman Catholic and speak a language of the Baltic group within the Balto-Slavic branch of the Indo-European language family. Latvians are predominantly Lutheran, with a substantial Roman Catholic minority, and they speak a language of the Baltic group. Most Estonians are Protestant (Lutheran) and speak a Uralic language related to Finnish.

THE CAUCASUS: MANY ETHNICITIES

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 (Figure 8-21). 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.

The breakup of the Soviet Union resulted in the creation of the three small states Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. Armenia and Azerbaijan are both statistically good examples of nation-states, but they have fought over demarcating boundaries between the two ethnic groups. Georgia is a multinational state experiencing uprisings and independence movements by several of its ethnic groups.



▲ **FIGURE 8-21 ETHNICITIES IN THE CAUCASUS** 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.

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. A century ago, an estimated 1 million Armenians were killed by the Turks in actions now classified by most observers as genocide. 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. Armenians comprise 98 percent of the population in Armenia, making it the most ethnically homogeneous country in the region.

AZERBAIJAN. Azeris 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). The western part of Azerbaijan, 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.

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 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.

CENTRAL ASIAN STATES

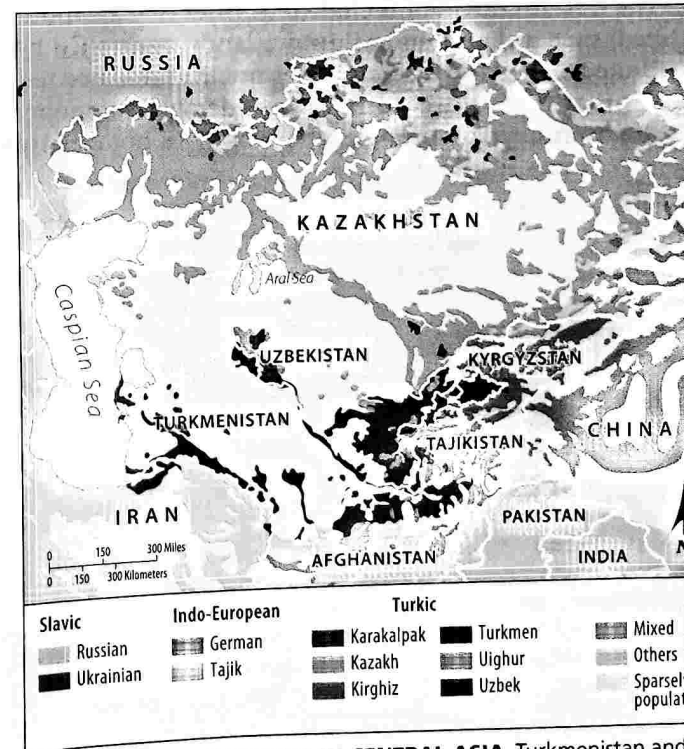
The five states in Central Asia carved out of the former Soviet Union display varying degrees of conformance to the principles of a nation-state (Figure 8-22). Together the five provide an important reminder that multinational states can be more peaceful than nation-states.

Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are relatively stable nation-states. Altaic language. In contrast, Tajikistan is a nation-state that has suffered from a civil war between Tajiks who were former Communists, and an unusual alliance of Muslim fundamentalists and Western-oriented intellectuals. Fifteen percent of the population was made homeless during a civil war that lasted between 1992 and 1997. A U.N. peacekeeping force has helped to prevent recurrence.

Kazakhstan is a relatively peaceful multinational state 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. In contrast, Kyrgyzstan is a multinational state that has suffered from ethnic conflict. The country comprises 69 percent Kyrgyz, 15 percent Uzbek, and 9 percent Russian. The Kyrgyz and Uzbeks are both Muslims who speak Altaic languages. Nonetheless, conflict between the two ethnicities led to the overthrow of successive presidents in the first decade of the twenty-first century, as well as violence in 2005 that included charges of ethnic cleansing of hundreds of thousands of Uzbeks by Kyrgyz.

PAUSE & REFLECT 8.2.4

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



▲ FIGURE 8-22 ETHNICITIES IN CENTRAL ASIA Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are relatively stable nation-states, Kazakhstan is a relatively peaceful multinational state, Tajikistan is a relatively unstable nation-state, and Kyrgyzstan is a multinational state that has had conflict.

Colonies

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.2.5

Explain the concept of colonies and describe their current distribution.

Nearly all of Earth's land area has been allocated to a collection of around 200 sovereign states, but 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.

DISTRIBUTION OF COLONIES

The United Nations identifies 17 places in the world that it calls "non-self-governing territories" (Figure 8-23). Of the 17, Western Sahara is by far the most extensive (266,000 square kilometers [103,000 square miles]) and most populous (around 500,000). The two next most populous are French Polynesia and New Caledonia, both controlled by France, with around 250,000 inhabitants each. All but Western Sahara are islands.

The least-populated colony is Pitcairn Island, a 36-square-kilometer (14-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 50 islanders survive by selling fish as well as postage stamps to collectors.

The U.N. list does not include territories that are uninhabited, such as Baker and Midway islands, controlled by the United States. The U.N. also does not list inhabited territories that it considers to have considerable autonomy in self-governing. For example, the U.N. does not classify these territories as colonies:

- **Puerto Rico.** A commonwealth of the United States. Puerto Ricans are citizens of the United States, but they do not participate in U.S. elections or have a voting member of Congress.
- **Greenland.** An autonomous unit within the Kingdom of Denmark. Greenland runs its internal affairs, but Denmark control foreign affairs and defense.
- **Hong Kong and Macao.** Attached to the mainland of China as special administrative regions within the People's Republic of China. Hong Kong was a colony of the United Kingdom until it returned to China in 1997, and a year later Portugal returned its colony of Macao. The two have some autonomy in economic matters, but China controls foreign affairs and defense.

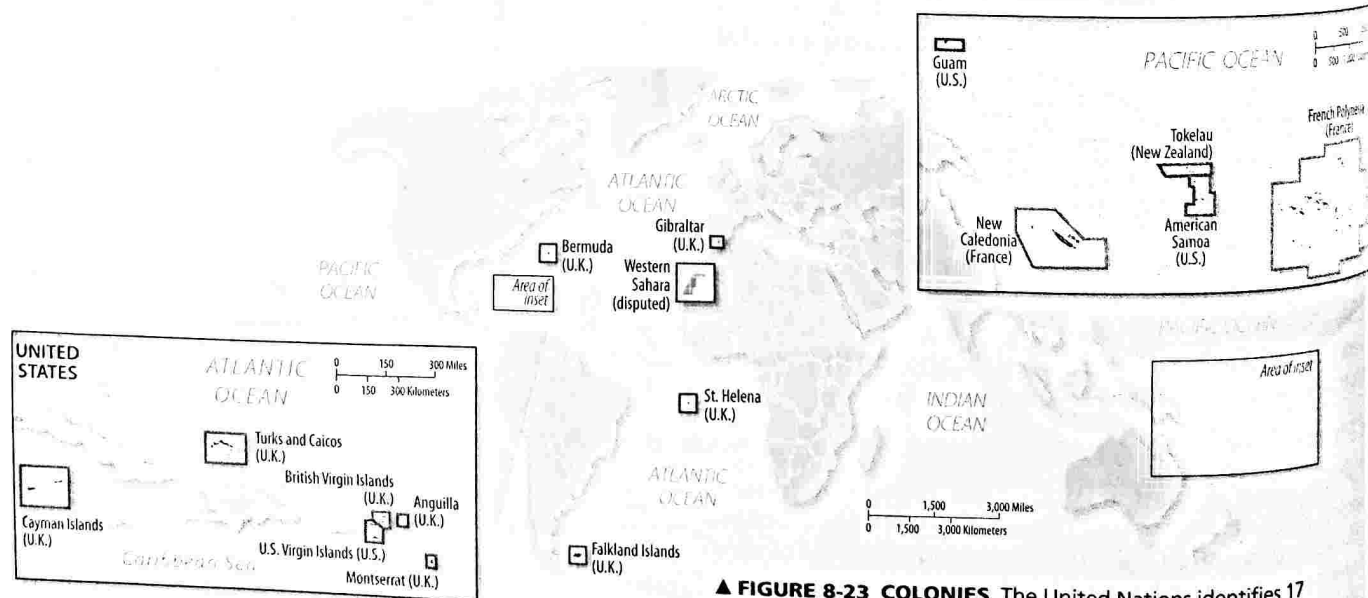
PAUSE & REFLECT 8.2.5

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

COLONIALISM

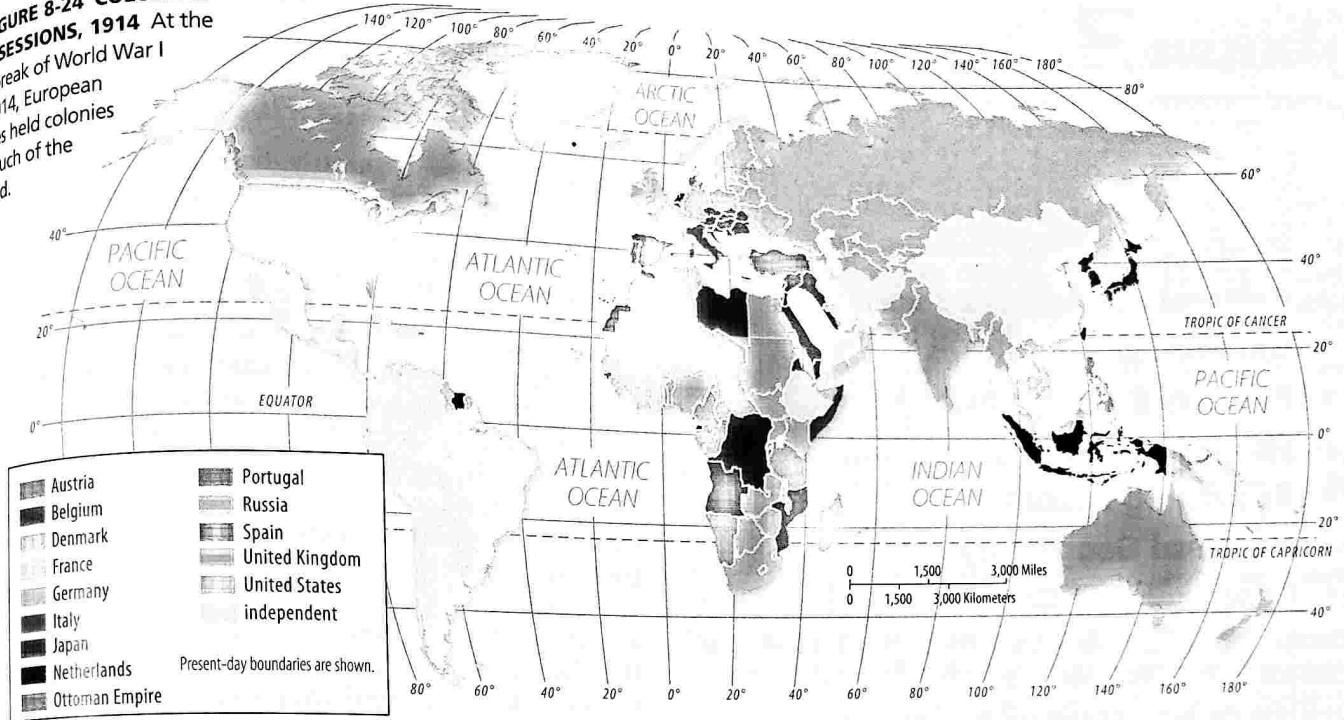
At one time, colonies were widespread over Earth's surface. European states came to control much of the world through **colonialism**, which is an effort by one country to establish settlements in a territory and to impose its political, economic, and cultural principles on that territory (Figure 8-24). European states established colonies elsewhere in the world for three basic reasons: Gold, gold, and glory.

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



▲ **FIGURE 8-23 COLONIES** The United Nations identifies 17 remaining colonies, primarily islands.

FIGURE 8-24 COLONIAL POSSESSIONS, 1914 At the outbreak of World War I in 1914, European states held colonies in much of the world.



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.

FIGURE 8-25 BRITISH EMPIRE The British Field Marshal Edmund Allenby entered Jerusalem in 1917, after the city was captured by British Empire troops.



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 (Figure 8-25).

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.

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?

- ▶ Cultural Boundaries
- ▶ Geometric Boundaries
- ▶ Physical Boundaries
- ▶ Shapes of States
- ▶ Governing States
- ▶ Electoral Geography
- ▶ Geography of Gerrymandering

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.3.1

Describe the types of cultural 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.

Boundaries are of three types.

- Cultural boundaries follow the distribution of cultural features.
- Geometric boundaries are based on human constructs, such as straight lines.
- Physical boundaries coincide with significant features of the natural landscape.

No other type of boundary is better or more "natural" than the others, and many boundaries are a combination of 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.

Cultural Boundaries

Boundaries between countries have been placed where possible to separate speakers of different languages, followers of different religions, or members of different ethnicities.

RELIGIOUS BOUNDARY: IRELAND

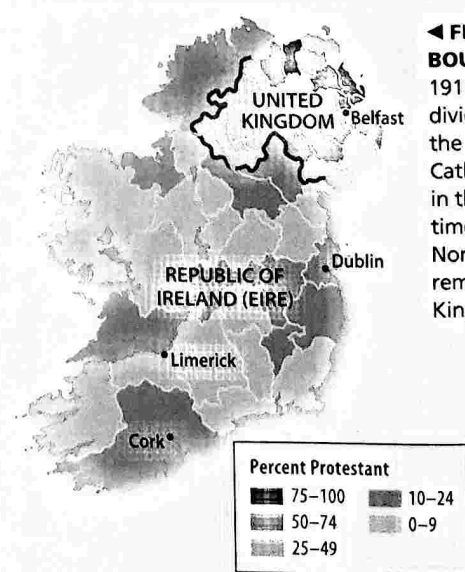
Religious differences often coincide with boundaries between states, but in only a few cases has religion been used to select boundary lines. The most notable example was in South Asia, when the British partitioned India into two states on the basis of religion. The predominantly Muslim portions were allocated to Pakistan, whereas the predominantly Hindu portions became the independent state of India (see Figures 7-34 and 7-35).

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 84 percent of the population in the 26 counties that joined the Republic of Ireland, compared with only 41 percent in the six counties of Northern Ireland (Figure 8-26).

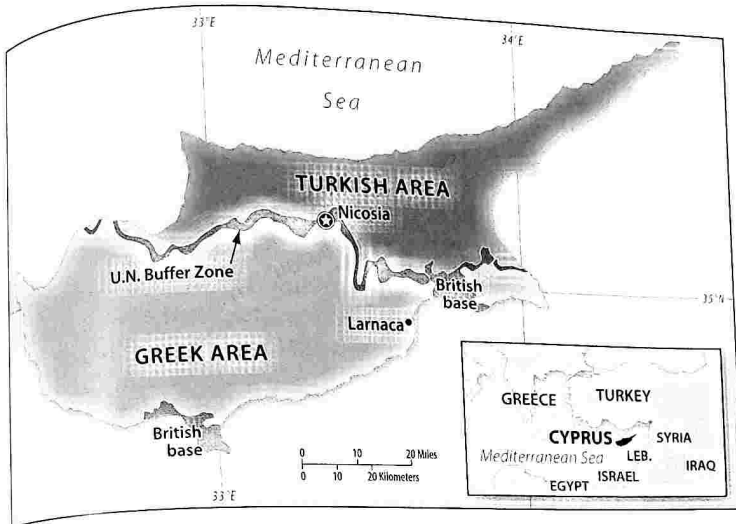
Language is an important cultural characteristic for drawing boundaries, especially in Europe. France, Portugal, and Spain are examples of European states that coalesced around distinctive languages before the nineteenth century. Germany and Italy emerged in the nineteenth century as states unified by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

PAUSE & REFLECT 8.3.1

Referring to Chapters 5 and 6, what other cultural boundaries run through the middle of other states in Europe?



◀ **FIGURE 8-26 RELIGION BOUNDARY: IRELAND** In 1911, the United Kingdom divided Ireland between the overwhelmingly Irish Catholic Republic of Ireland in the south and (at the time) majority Protestant Northern Ireland, which remained in the United Kingdom.



▲ **FIGURE 8-27 ETHNIC BOUNDARY: CYPRUS** Since 1974, Cyprus has been divided into Greek and Turkish areas, separated by a United Nations buffer zone. The United Kingdom, the colonial ruler of Cyprus until 1960, maintains two military bases on the island.

ETHNIC BOUNDARY: CYPRUS

Cyprus, the third-largest island in the Mediterranean Sea, contains two nationalities: Greek and Turkish. Although the island is physically closer to Turkey, Turks comprise only 24 percent of the country's population, whereas Greeks account for 63 percent. When Cyprus gained independence from Britain in 1960, its constitution guaranteed the Turkish minority a substantial share of elected offices and control over its own education, religion, and culture.

▶ **FIGURE 8-28 ETHNIC BOUNDARY: CYPRUS GREEN LINE** A Greek Cypriot soldier guards the Greek Cypriot side of the Green Line. The U.N. buffer zone is behind the white barrels. The Greek graffiti reads "Our Border Is Not Here."



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 (Figure 8-27).

A wall was constructed between the two areas, and a buffer zone patrolled by the United Nations was delineated across the entire island (Figure 8-28). 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, and 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, each nationality could again cross to the other sides. The European Union accepted the entire island of Cyprus as a member in 2004.

Geometric Boundaries

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.3.2

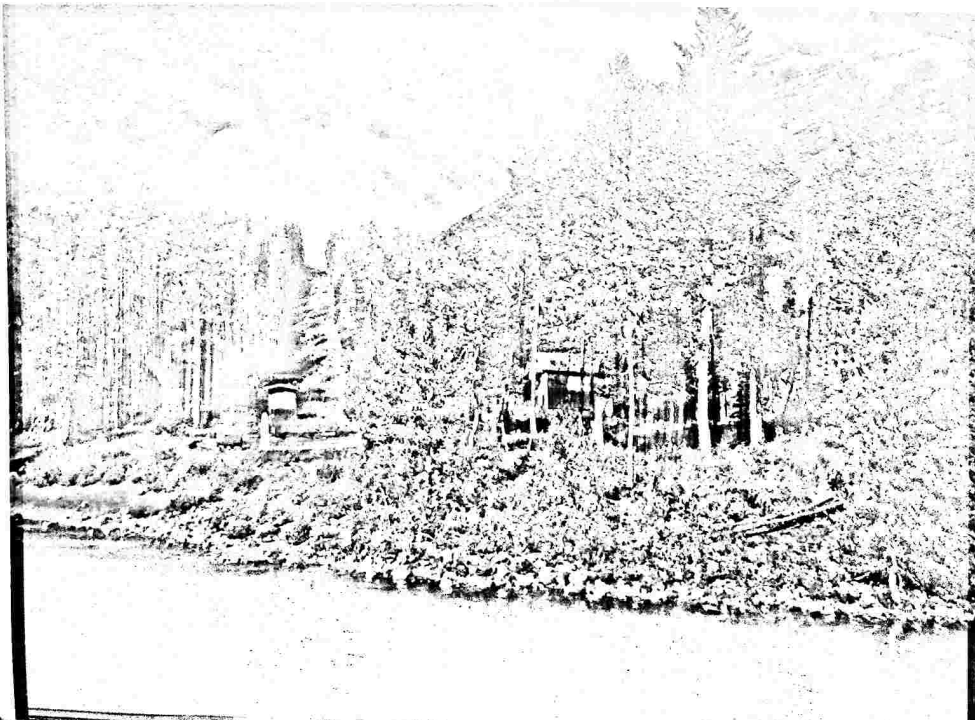
Describe types of physical boundaries between states.

A world map, such as Figure 8-1, shows two regions where geometric boundaries are especially prominent: North America and North Africa. These boundaries are peaceful now but were not always so in the past.

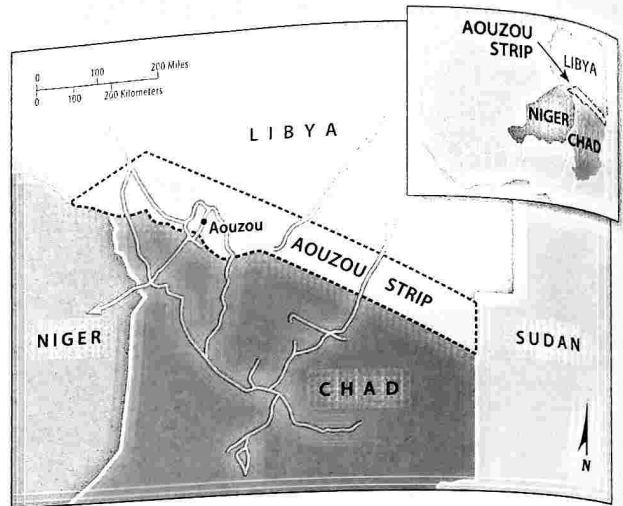
GEOMETRIC BOUNDARIES: NORTH AMERICA

Part of the northern U.S. boundary with Canada is a 2,100-kilometer (1,300-mile) straight line 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). Québec's boundary with New York and Vermont is also geometric, along 45° north latitude. 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.

The U.S.-Canada boundary was established through a series of treaties between 1783 and 1903 between the United States and the United Kingdom, which then still controlled Canada. During the 1840s, many Americans called for the border between the Rockies and the Pacific to be set further north, at 54°40' north latitude (the southern tip of Alaska). Advocates of the northern line used the slogan "54 -40 or fight," but the Oregon Treaty settled the dispute peacefully in 1846.



◀ **FIGURE 8-29 GEOMETRIC BOUNDARY: NORTH AMERICA** The boundary between Canada and the United States runs through Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park. The line of cut trees is the boundary between the United States (left) and Canada (right).



▲ **FIGURE 8-30 GEOMETRIC BOUNDARY: NORTH AFRICA** The boundary between Chad and Libya is a straight line, drawn by European states 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 Aouzou Strip.

GEOMETRIC BOUNDARY: NORTH AFRICA

Boundaries between Algeria, Libya, and Egypt on the north and Mali, Niger, Chad, and Sudan on the south are for the most part geometric. Many of these boundaries are a legacy of treaties among European countries to divide up much of Africa into colonies. For example, 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.

As an independent country, Libya claimed that the straight line should be 100 kilometers (60 miles) to the south, to include territory known as the Aouzou Strip (Figure 8-30). Citing an agreement in 1935 between France and Italy, which then controlled much of Libya, Libya seized the Aouzou Strip in 1973. Chad regained control of the strip in 1987, and Libya withdrew its troops after the International Court of Justice ruled in favor of Chad's claim in 1994.

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PAUSE & REFLECT 8.3.2
Where is the U.S.–Canada boundary not based on geometry?



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AFRICA

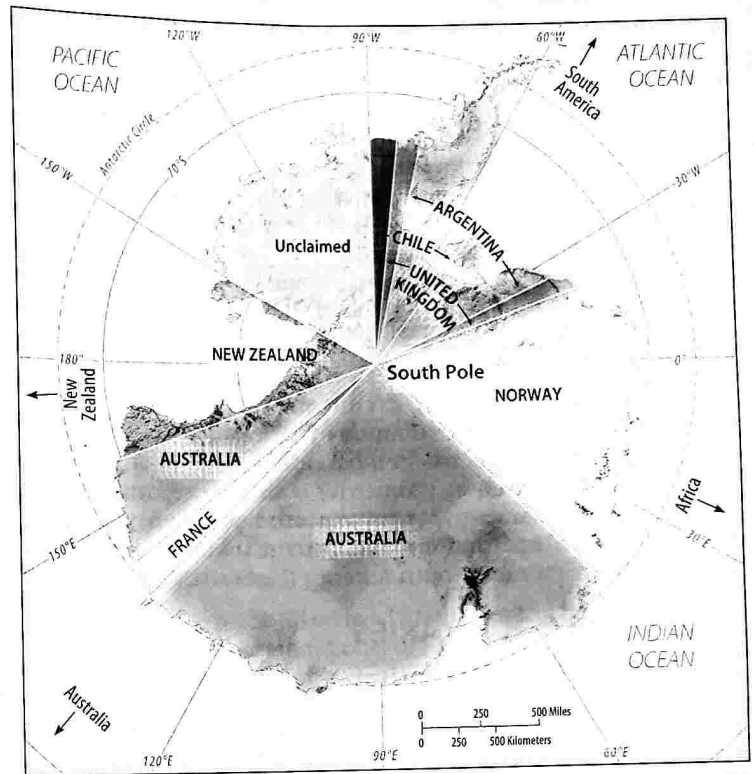
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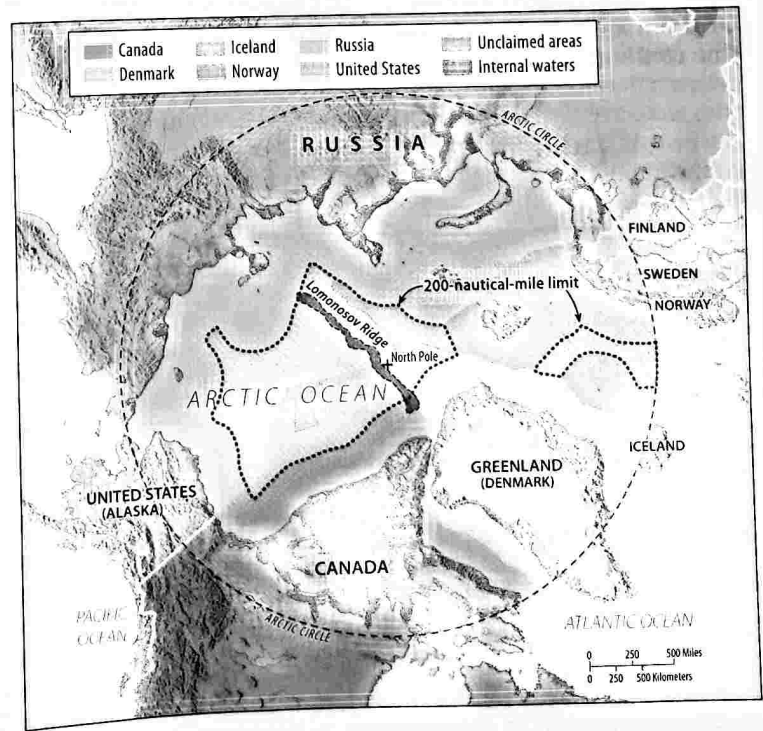
GEOMETRIC BOUNDARY: SOUTH POLE

The South Pole region contains the only large landmasses on Earth's surface that are not part of a state. Seven states claim portions of the South Pole region: Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, New Zealand, Norway, and the United Kingdom. These claims are divided geometrically, following meridians that converge on the South Pole (Figure 8-31). Some of the territorial claims are overlapping and conflicting, and on the other hand some of the South Pole region is unclaimed by any state. 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.

The South Pole region has not offered a useful precedent for settling claims around the North Pole. Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Russia, and the United States make conflicting claims. The heart of the dispute is the Lomonosov Ridge, which runs 1,800 kilometers (1,100 miles) across the polar region (Figure 8-32). The ridge rises several thousand meters above the floor of Arctic Sea and in some places is only a few hundred meters below the current sea level. Russia and Denmark (which controls Greenland) both claim the Lomonosov Ridge as an extension of their respective landmasses. The territorial claims around the North Pole are based on differing interpretations of the Law of the Sea, discussed in the next section.



▲ FIGURE 8-31 NATIONAL CLAIMS TO ANTARCTICA Portions of Antarctica 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 8-32 NATIONAL CLAIMS TO THE ARCTIC (Under the Law of the Sea Treaty of 1982, countries have submitted claims to territory inside the Arctic Circle. Some of these claims overlap.)

Physical Boundaries

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.3.3

Describe types of physical boundaries between states.

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

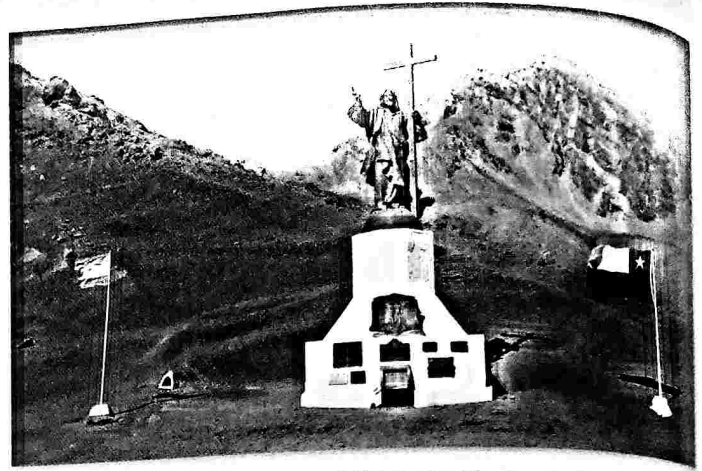
DESERT BOUNDARIES

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 in most cases proved to be a stable physical (as well as geometric) boundary separating Algeria, Libya, and Egypt on the north from Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Chad, and the Sudan on the south. Desert borders also are found in South America (Figure 8-33).

MOUNTAIN BOUNDARIES

Mountains can be effective boundaries if they are difficult to cross (Figure 8-34). 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 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.



▲ **FIGURE 8-34 MOUNTAIN BOUNDARY** The border between Argentina and Chile runs through the Andes Mountains.

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 (Figure 8-35).
- The boundary separating Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania, and Zambia runs through Lake Tanganyika.
- The boundary between Malawi and Mozambique runs through Lake Nyasa, which is also known as Lake Malawi.

Water boundaries may seem to be set permanently, but the precise position of water may change over time.



◀ **FIGURE 8-33 DESERT BOUNDARY** The border between Bolivia and Chile runs through the Atacama Desert.

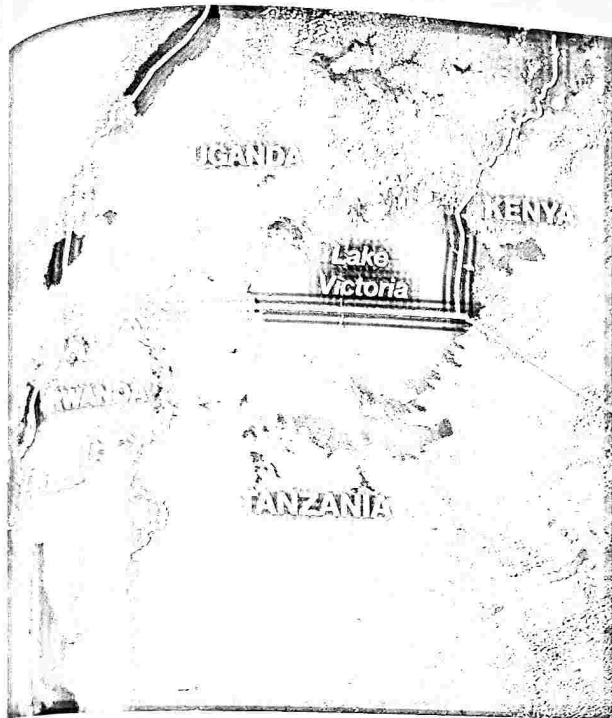


FIGURE 8-35 WATER BOUNDARY The borders separating Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda run in part through Lake Victoria.

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.

THE LAW OF THE SEA

The Law of the Sea, signed by 165 countries, identifies three types of water boundaries (Figure 8-36):

- **Territorial waters.** Up to 12 nautical miles from shore (about 22 kilometers or 14 land miles), a state may set laws regulating passage by ships registered in other states.
- **Contiguous zone.** Between 12 and 24 nautical miles from shore, a state may enforce laws concerning pollution, taxation, customs, and immigration.
- **Exclusive economic zone.** Between 24 and 200 nautical miles, a state has the sole right to the fish and other marine life.

Disputes can be taken to a tribunal for the Law of the Sea or to the International Court of Justice.

Through enforcement of the exclusive economic zone, states bordering an ocean are able to claim vast areas of the ocean for control of valuable resources. This has become especially important in the delineation of boundaries in the polar regions.

PAUSE & REFLECT 8.3.3

What examples have you seen thus far in this chapter of physical features that have not served as peaceful boundaries?

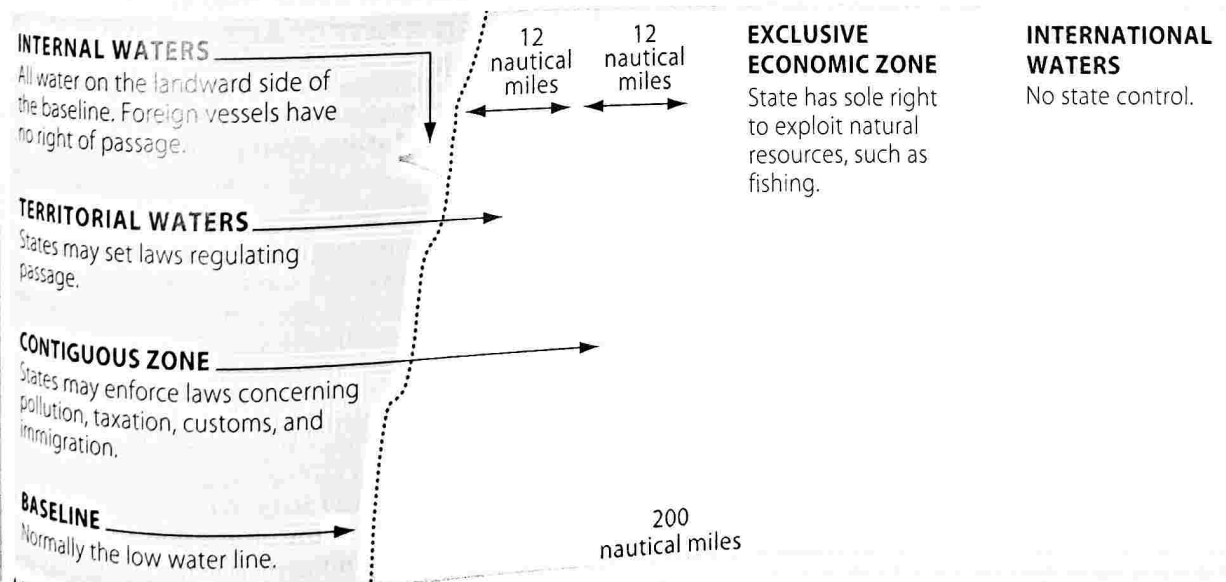


FIGURE 8-36 THE LAW OF THE SEA

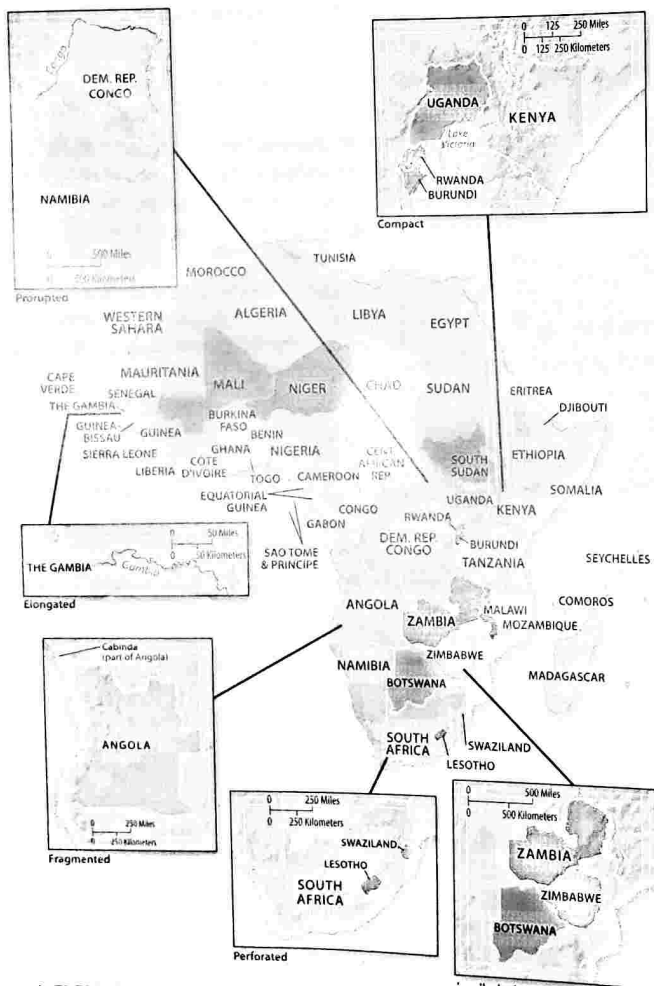
Shapes of States

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.3.4

Describe the 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, elongated, prorupted, fragmented, or perforated—and examples of each can be seen in sub-Saharan Africa (Figure 8-37). Each shape displays distinctive characteristics and challenges.



▲ FIGURE 8-37 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.

COMPACT STATE: 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 beneficial 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

An **elongated state** has a long and narrow shape. Elongated states in sub-Saharan Africa include:

- Malawi, which measures about 850 kilometers (530 miles) north-south but only 100 kilometers (60 miles) east-west.
- The 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.

PERFORATED STATE: 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. In sub-Saharan Africa, 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.

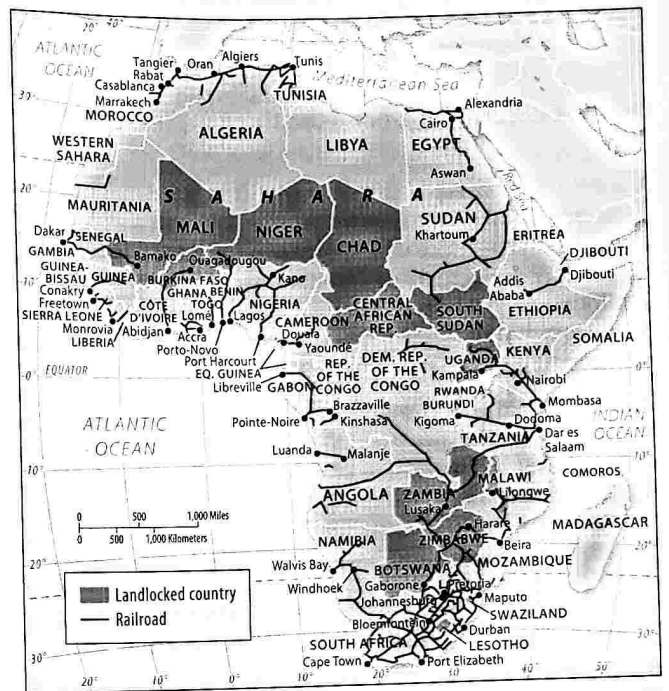
There are two kinds of fragmented states: those separated by water and those separated by an intervening state. Both may face problems and costs associated with communications and maintaining national unity.

A fragmented state separated by water 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. 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 to sparsely inhabited islands from Java and Sumatra, where more than 80 percent of the population is clustered.

A fragmented state separated by an intervening state in sub-Saharan Africa is Angola, which is divided into two fragments by the Congo prurruption 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.

LANDLOCKED STATES

A **landlocked state** lacks a direct outlet to a sea because it is completely surrounded by several other countries



▲ FIGURE 8-38 LANDLOCKED STATES AND RAIL LINES IN AFRICA Landlocked states must import and export goods by land-based transportation, primarily rail lines, to reach ocean ports in cooperating neighbor states. South Africa is the only state in Africa with a dense rail network.

(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 (Figure 8-38). 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 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. These new landlocked states 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 & REFLECT 8.3.4

Name a state outside of Africa that is landlocked.

Governing States

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.3.5

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

Some national governments are better able than others to provide the leadership needed to promote peace and prosperity. A corrupt repressive government embroiled in wars is less able to respond effectively to economic challenges.

National governments can be classified as democratic, autocratic, or anocratic (Figure 8-39):

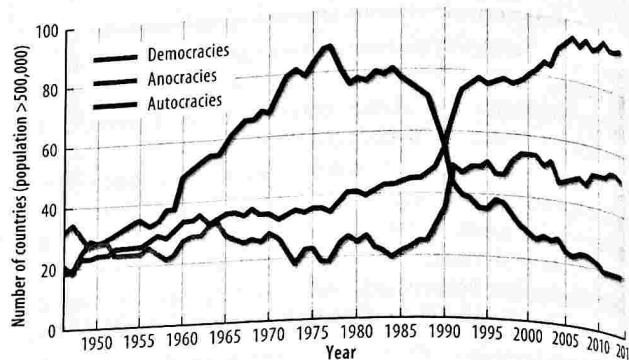
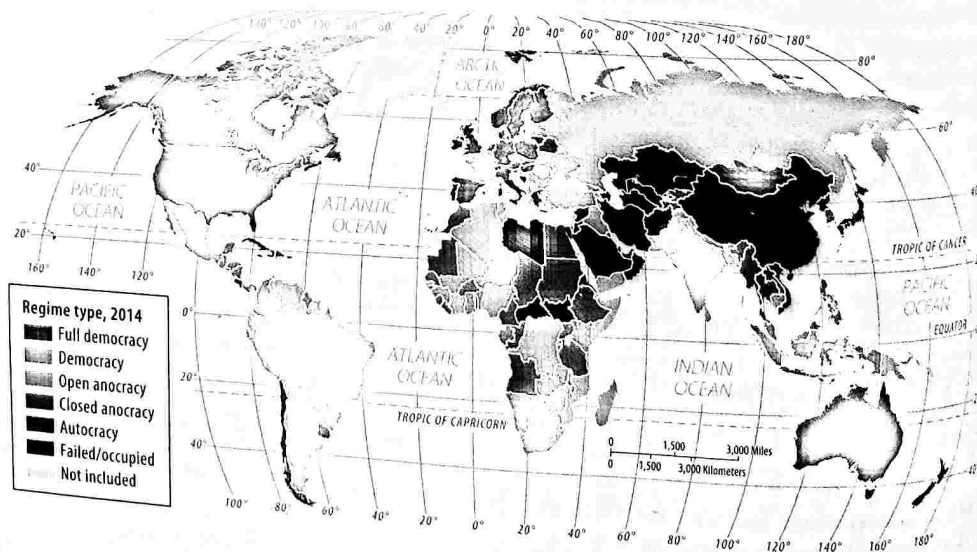
- A **democracy** is a country in which citizens elect leaders and can run for office.
- An **autocracy** is a country that is run according to the interests of the ruler rather than the people.
- An **anocracy** is a country that is not fully democratic or fully autocratic but displays a mix of the two types.

According to the Center for Systemic Peace, democracies and autocracies differ in three essential elements: selection of leaders, citizen participation, and checks and balances (Table 8-1).

The world has become more democratic (Figure 8-40). The Center for Systemic Peace cites these reasons:

- The replacement of increasingly irrelevant and out-of-touch monarchies with elected governments that broaden individual rights and liberties.
- The widening of participation in policymaking to all citizens through rights to vote and to serve in government.
- The diffusion of democratic government structures created in Europe and North America to other regions.

► **FIGURE 8-39 REGIME TYPE, 2014** Most states are either democratic, autocratic, or anocratic. In a few "failed" states, such as Libya and South Sudan, government institutions have broken down because of civil war, extreme poverty, or natural disasters—or some combination of the three.



▲ **FIGURE 8-40 TREND TOWARD DEMOCRACY** The number of autocracies has declined sharply since the 1980s. The most rapid increase in democracies came after the breakup of Communist states in Europe.

PAUSE & REFLECT 8.3.5

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

The State Fragility Index, calculated by the Center for Systemic Peace, measures the effectiveness of the government, as well as its perceived legitimacy, to govern a country. The index combines several factors, including extent of regional unrest among disaffected citizens, ability of legal system to enforce contracts and property rights, level of compliance with paying taxes, and freedom to express diverse political views (Figure 8-41).

The most fragile states are clustered in sub-Saharan Africa. This is not surprising, as we have already seen that the region has the world's highest population growth and poorest health (Chapter 2), the greatest extent of ethnic cleansing and genocide (Chapter 7), and the most problematic

TABLE 8-1 Comparing Democracy And Autocracy

Selection of leaders	Institutions and procedures through which citizens can express effective preferences about alternative policies and leaders.	Leaders are selected according to clearly defined (often hereditary) rules of succession from within the established political elite.
Citizen participation	Institutionalized constraints on the exercise of power by the executive.	Citizens' participation is sharply restricted or suppressed.
Checks and balances	Guarantee of civil liberties to all citizens in their daily lives and in acts of political participation.	Leaders exercise power with no meaningful checks from legislative, judicial, or civil society institutions.

shapes of states (the previous page). The region also has the largest number of recent civil wars.

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.

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.

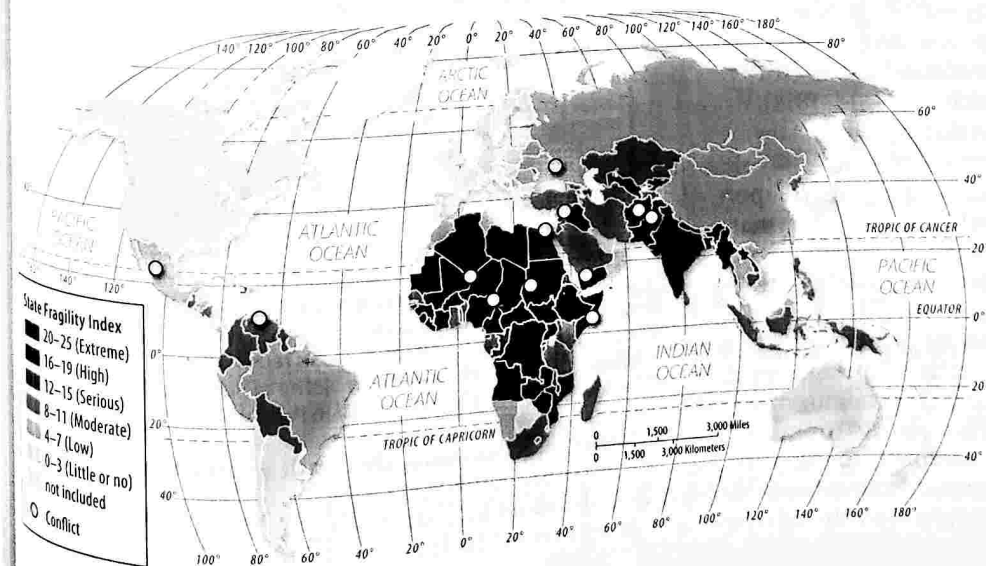
A good example of a nation-state, France has a long tradition of unitary government in which a very strong national government dominates local government decisions. The country's basic local government unit is

96 départements (departments). A second tier of local government in France is the 36,686 communes.

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.

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), 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.



◀ **FIGURE 8-41 STATE FRAGILITY INDEX** The index is based on the extent of regional unrest among disaffected citizens, ability of legal system to enforce contracts and property rights, level of compliance with paying taxes, and freedom to express diverse political views.

Electoral Geography

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.3.6

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.

Redrawing legislative boundaries to benefit the party in power is called **gerrymandering**. Gerrymandering takes three forms:

- **Wasted vote.** Opposition supporters are spread across many districts but in the minority (Figure 8-42).
- **Excess vote.** Opposition supporters are concentrated into a few districts (Figure 8-43).
- **Stacked vote.** Distant areas of like-minded voters are linked through oddly shaped boundaries (Figure 8-44).

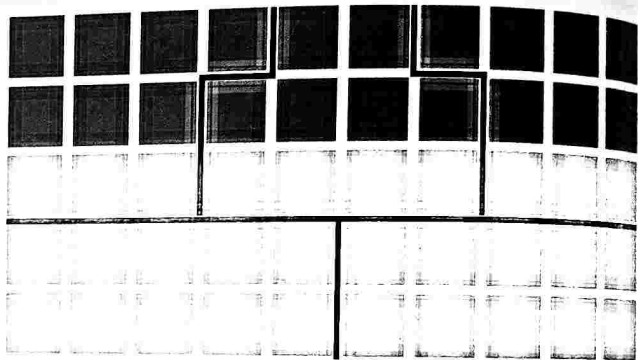
Stacked vote gerrymandering has been especially attractive for creating districts inclined to elect ethnic minorities. Because the two largest ethnic groups in the United States (African Americans and most Hispanics other than Cubans) tend to vote Democratic—in some elections more than 90 percent of 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 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 (Figure 8-47).

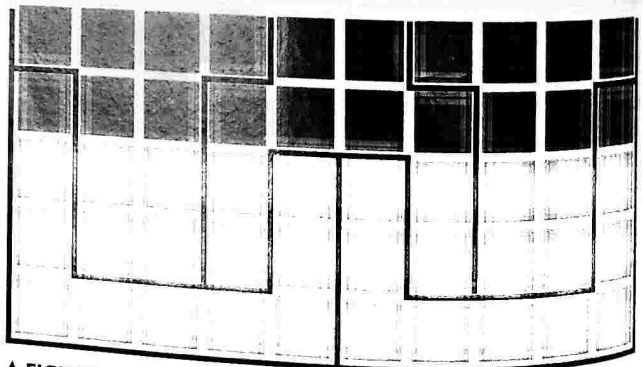
The job of redrawing boundaries in most European countries is entrusted to independent commissions. Commissions typically try to create compact homogeneous districts without regard for voting preferences or incumbents. In the United States, Iowa is an exception to the gerrymandering practice (see Debate It feature). Nonpartisan employees of the state legislature create the maps without reference



▲ **FIGURE 8-42 WASTED VOTE GERRYMANDERING** Opposition supporters are spread across many districts as a minority. Assume there are 50 voters, 20 supporters of the Red Party and 30 supporters of the Blue Party. If the Blue Party controls the redistricting process, it could create a wasted vote gerrymander by creating all five districts with slender majorities of Blue Party voters.



▲ **FIGURE 8-43 EXCESS VOTE GERRYMANDERING** Opposition supporters are concentrated into a few districts. Although only 20 of 50 voters are Red Party supporters, if the Red Party controls the redistricting process, it could create an excess vote gerrymander. Three districts have a slender majority of Red Party voters and two have an overwhelming majority of Blue Party voters.



▲ **FIGURE 8-44 STACKED VOTE GERRYMANDERING** Distant areas of like-minded voters are linked through oddly shaped boundaries. In this example, the Red Party controls redistricting and creates five oddly shaped districts, three with a majority of Red Party voters and two with an overwhelming majority of Blue Party voters.

to past election data. The result is compact districts that follow county lines.

In most U.S. states the job of redrawing boundaries is entrusted to the state legislature. The political party

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DEBATE IT! Should independent commissions decide boundaries?

In the United States, most legislative boundaries are delineated by political leaders. In contrast, independent commissions are widely used in other countries to determine legislative boundaries.

DO NOT USE INDEPENDENT COMMISSIONS

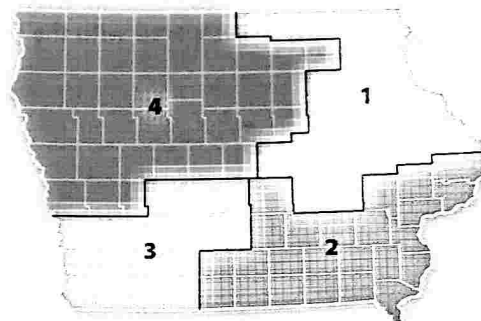
- Elected officials, by virtue of having been elected, best represent the will of the people (Figure 8-45).
- Bestowing power in the hands of unelected commissioners makes the process less accountable to the people.
- Politicians help ensure that racial and ethnic minorities constitute a majority in some districts.



▲ FIGURE 8-45 TOWN MEETING Fayston, Vermont.

USE INDEPENDENT COMMISSIONS

- Districts will be compact and follow logical boundaries such as cities and counties (Figure 8-46).
- Communities that don't support the majority party will be divided among multiple districts, diluting their power.
- One party can gain a much higher percentage of seats than their share of the total vote would suggest.



▲ FIGURE 8-46 INDEPENDENT COMMISSION: 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 district each decade, without regard for past boundaries or impact on incumbents.

in control of the state legislature naturally attempts to redraw boundaries to improve the chances of its supporters to win seats (see Doing Geography feature on page 293). Only about one-tenth of congressional seats across the United States 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. In contrast, all four districts in Iowa typically have competitive races.

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. A 2015 ruling permitted states to establish independent commissions.

PAUSE & REFLECT 8.3.6

How do the congressional districts in Iowa compare with the three forms of gerrymandering?



▲ FIGURE 8-47 THE ORIGINAL GERRYMANDERING CARTOON It was drawn in 1812 by Elkahah Tinsdale to depict boundaries in Massachusetts.

Geography of Gerrymandering

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.3.7

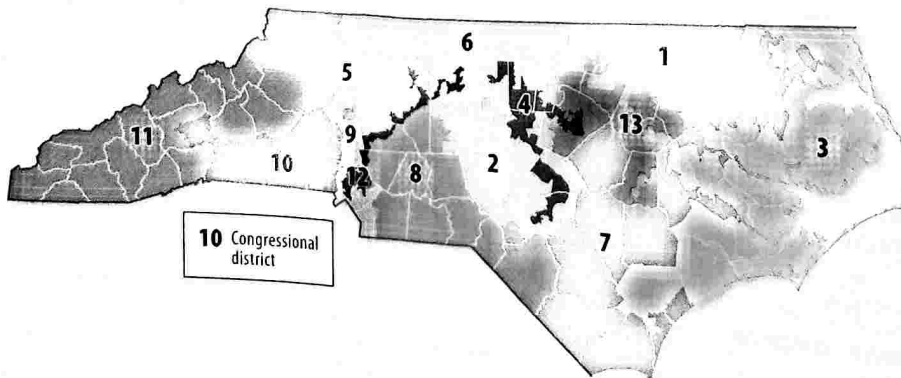
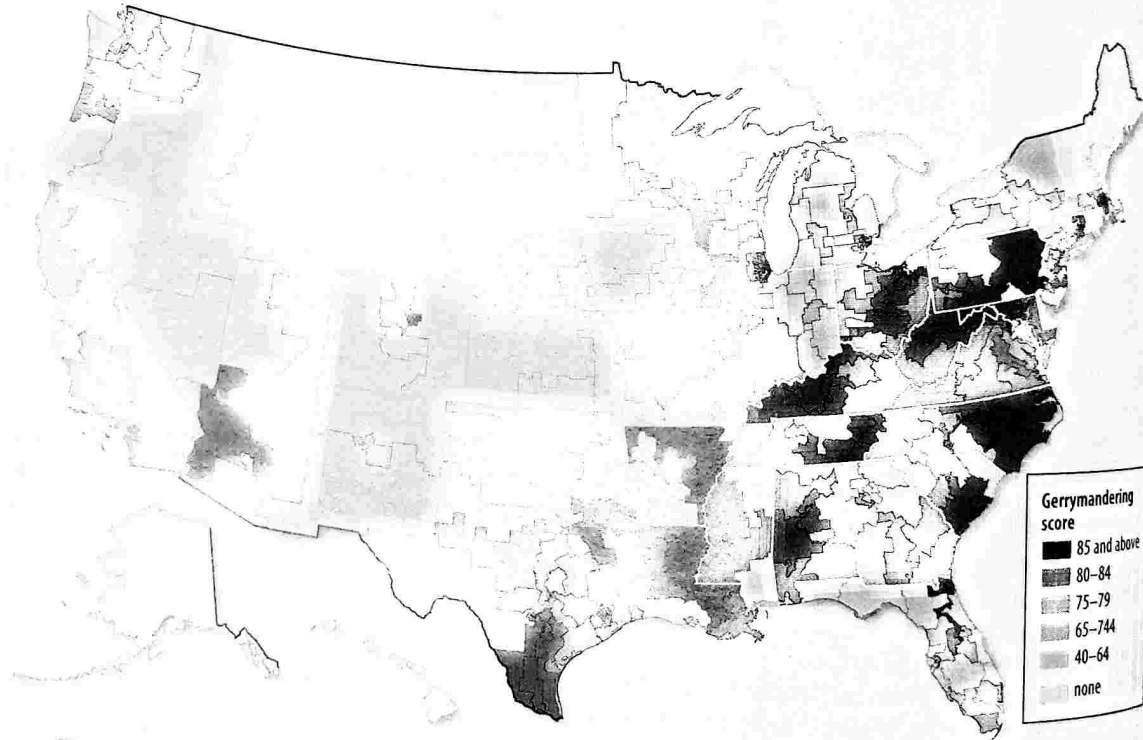
Describe examples of gerrymandering.

A score was given by the Washington Post to each Congressional district according to the extent of gerrymandering (Figure 8-48). The gerrymandering score was determined by calculating the ratio of the area of the district to the area of a circle with the same perimeter. A district that follows a regular compact shape has a lower score than a district with irregularities. The state judged to have the most gerrymandering is North Carolina (Figure 8-49).

PAUSE & REFLECT 8.3.6

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 8-48
GERRYMANDERING
SCORE



◀ FIGURE 8-49 NORTH CAROLINA
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

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.

DOING GEOGRAPHY Dueling Gerrymandering in Nevada

Competing plans by Democrats and Republicans to draw boundaries for Nevada's four congressional districts in 2010 illustrate all three forms of gerrymandering (Figure 8-50).

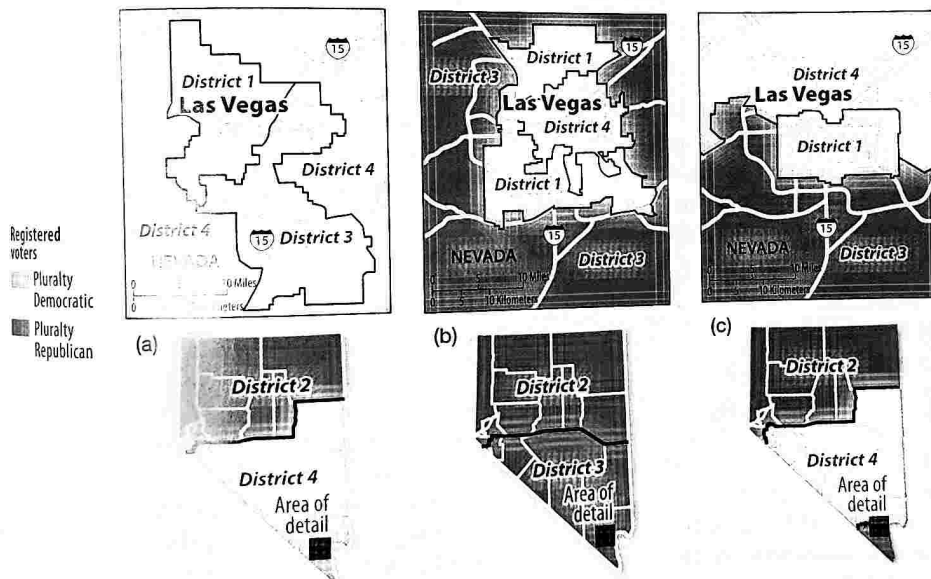
Wasted vote gerrymandering (Figure 8-50a): the Democratic plan. Although Nevada as a whole has slightly more registered Democrats than Republicans (43 percent to 37 percent), the Democratic plan made Democrats more numerous than Republicans in three of the four districts.

Excess vote gerrymandering (Figure 8-50b): 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.

Stacked vote gerrymandering (Figure 8-50a and Figure 8-50b): both plans. In the Republican plan, District 4 had a majority Hispanic population and was surrounded by a C-shaped District 1. The Democratic plan created a long, narrow District 3.

Without gerrymandering (Figure 8-50c): nonpartisan plan. The Nevada Court rejected both parties' maps and created regularly shaped districts that minimized gerrymandering. Districts 1 and 4 have more registered Democrats, and Districts 2 and 3 more Republicans.



◀ **FIGURE 8-50 REDISTRICTING PROPOSALS IN NEVADA** The three maps on top show the Las Vegas area in more detail. (a) Wasted vote and stacked vote gerrymandering. (b) Excess vote and stacked vote gerrymandering. (c) Nonpartisan court-imposed map.

Your Political Geography

Political Boundaries in Your Community

Check out the shape of your state's legislative districts.

1. In your search engine, enter "[your state] congressional district map." If you live in a state with only one state-wide at-large Representative (Alaska, Delaware, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Vermont, and Wyoming), enter "[your state] state legislature district map." If you live in a state with more than one Representative, you can enter your state legislature map in addition to or instead of the congressional map.

2. Is your legislative district compact and geometrically shaped, or is it irregularly shaped? If irregularly shaped, can you see a geographical reason for the shape, perhaps a natural feature such as a body of water, or a cultural boundary such as between ethnicities?
3. A gerrymander score has been calculated for each Congressional district. Use your Internet browser to search for "gerrymander score." The higher the score, the more severe the gerrymandering. What is the gerrymander score for your Congressional district? Did you expect your district to have a higher score or a lower score? Why?

KEY ISSUE 4

Where Do States Face Threats?

- ▶ **Global Cooperation and Competition**
- ▶ **Competition and Cooperation in Europe**
- ▶ **Terrorist Attacks Against the United States**
- ▶ **Terrorist Organizations**
- ▶ **State Support for Terrorism**

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.4.1

Describe the functions of the United Nations.

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. In recent years, violence and wars have increasingly been instigated by terrorist organizations not affiliated with particular states or alliances.

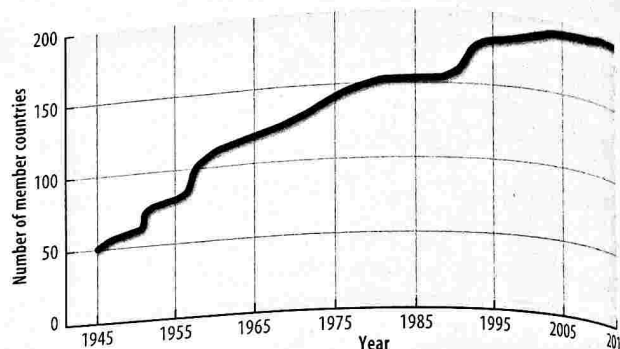
Global Cooperation and Competition

The most important global forum for cooperation among states is the United Nations, created at the end of World War II by the victorious Allies. The early years of the U.N. were dominated by the start of the Cold War era (late 1940s until the early 1990s), a period of competition and tension between the United States and the Soviet Union and their respective allies.

THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations was organized in 1945 with 51 original members, including 49 sovereign states plus Byelorussia (now Belarus) and Ukraine, then part of the Soviet Union. The number of U.N. members reached 193 in 2011. The U.N. membership has increased rapidly on three occasions (Figure 8-51):

- **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.



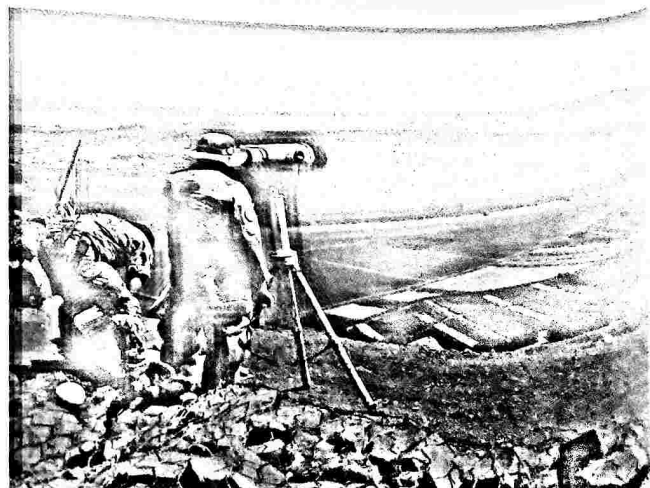
▲ **FIGURE 8-51 GROWTH IN U.N. MEMBERSHIP** U.N. membership has increased from its original 51 to 193 in 2011.

- **1990–1993.** Twenty-six countries were added between 1990 and 1993, primarily due to the breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. U.N. 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 U.N. 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.

On occasion, the U.N. has intervened in conflicts between or within member states, authorizing military and peacekeeping actions. U.N. members can vote to establish a peacekeeping force and request that states contribute military forces (Figure 8-52). The U.N. 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. Because it must rely on individual countries to supply troops, the U.N. often lacks enough of them to keep peace effectively. The U.N. tries to

▼ **FIGURE 8-52 U.N. PEACEKEEPERS** Patrolling the only crossing between Syria and Israel.



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 (Bosniaks).

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 Cold War era, the United States and the Soviet Union used the veto to prevent undesired U.N. intervention, and it was only after the Soviet Union's delegate walked out of a Security Council meeting in 1950 that the U.N. 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.

Despite its shortcomings, though, the U.N. represents a forum where, during this era of rapid changes in states and their relationships, for the first time in history virtually all states of the world can meet and vote on issues without resorting to war. More importantly, the U.N. has played a major role in the promotion of international cooperation to address global economic problems, promote human rights, and provide humanitarian relief.

THE COLD WAR

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.

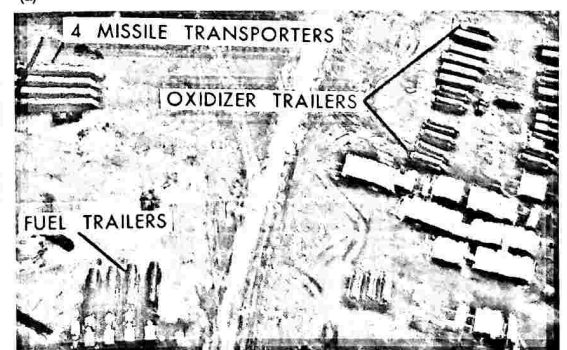
Before the Cold War, the world typically contained more than two superpowers. For example, before the outbreak of World War I in the early twentieth century, there were eight great powers: Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. When a large number of 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 TV 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 8-53). Faced with irrefutable evidence that the missiles existed, the Soviet Union ended the crisis by dismantling them.

PAUSE & REFLECT 8.4.1

Why have only a small handful of states joined the U.N. since 2000?



▲ **FIGURE 8-53 CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS** Aerial photographs to show the Soviet buildup in Cuba. (a) Three Soviet ships with missile equipment being unloaded at Mariel naval port in Cuba. (b) Within the outline (enlarged and rotated) are Soviet missile transporters, fuel trailers, and oxidizer trailers for the combustion of missile fuel.

Competition and Cooperation in Europe

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.4.2

Describe the principal military and economic alliances in Europe.

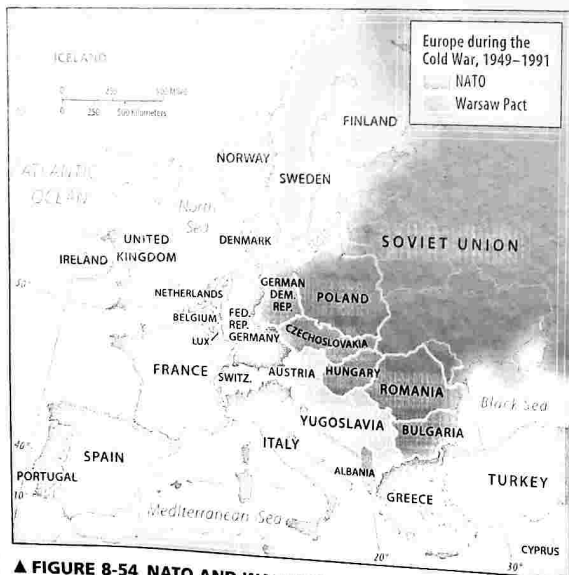
During the Cold War that followed World War II, two military alliances and two economic alliances formed in Europe. In the twenty-first century, one of the military alliances and one of the economic alliances continues, whereas the other two have been disbanded.

COLD WAR-ERA MILITARY ALLIANCES

After World War II, most European states joined one of two military alliances (Figure 8-54):

- **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).** A military alliance among 16 democratic states, including the United States and Canada plus 14 European states.
- **The Warsaw Pact.** A military agreement among Communist Eastern European countries. The Warsaw Pact disbanded in 1991 following the end of communism in Eastern Europe.

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. Some of Hungary's leaders in 1956 asked for the help



▲ FIGURE 8-54 NATO AND WARSAW PACT, 1949-1991 During the Cold War era, most European states joined either the pro-U.S. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or the pro-Soviet Warsaw Pact.



▲ FIGURE 8-55 NATO Membership in NATO has extended to 26 European countries, plus Canada and the United States.

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.

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 29 states by adding the former Warsaw Pact countries except for Russia, as well as several states formerly republics within the Soviet Union (Figure 8-55). Membership in NATO has offered Eastern European countries a sense of security against any future Russian threat, as well as participation in a common united Europe. Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014 and continued support for rebels in eastern Ukraine have heightened fears of renewed confrontation.

COLD WAR-ERA ECONOMIC ALLIANCES

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. The EU was designed to heal scars from World War II (which had ended only 13 years earlier).
- **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON).** COMECON formed in 1949 with six members in 1960. Mongolia, Cuba, and Vietnam also joined. COMECON was designed to promote trade and sharing of natural resources in Communist Eastern Europe. Like the Warsaw Pact, COMECON disbanded in 1991.

THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

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



▲ FIGURE 8-56 E

The EU expanded in the 1980s and 2000s. In the twenty-first century (Figure 8-56), the EU has former member

The main task of the EU is development within and political cooperation

- A European central bank
- Subsidies and regional development
- Most goods and services are traded
- With a few exceptions, most state is permitted
- A bank or regional country with home countries

The most dramatic change in nation-states in the eurozone of the 1990s was given responsibility for minimizing inflation

Most important, the EU created for electronic notes and coins. The euro, and the nation-states—the euro, including the euro, including

European leaders would be strong currency with the case, but the future by the selection by the selection. The economic such as Greece,



FIGURE 8-56 EUROPEAN UNION

The EU expanded from its original 6 countries to 12 during the 1980s and 28 during the first decade of the twenty-first century (Figure 8-56). The most recent additions have been former members of COMECON.

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 goods move across borders of member states in trucks and trains without stopping.
- With a few exceptions, a citizen of one EU member state is permitted to work in other states.
- A bank or retailer can open branches in any member country with supervision only by the corporation's home country.

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. France's franc, Germany's mark, and Italy's lira—powerful symbols of sovereign nation-states—have disappeared. Twenty-five countries use the euro, including 19 of the 28 EU members.

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. Greece has been in the forefront of the confrontation between north and south within the EU. Germany and other northern European states charge that Greece has failed to implement economic reforms.

Despite the north-south tensions within the EU, future enlargements are possible: Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Turkey are in various stages of negotiations.

PAUSE & REFLECT 8.4.2

What might be the benefits and disadvantages for additional countries to join the European Union? What might be the benefits and disadvantages for the European Union to let in new members?

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 57 members include the United States, Canada, Russia, all European states, and all states formerly part of the Soviet Union. 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 became a more active forum for countries concerned with ending conflicts in Europe, especially in the Balkans and Caucasus.
- **Organization of American States (OAS).** All 35 states in the Western Hemisphere are members of the OAS. The OAS promotes social, cultural, political, and economic links among member states. Cuba is a member but was suspended from most OAS activities in 1962. As Cuba and the United States move towards normalization of relations, Cuba is in the process of being reintegrated into OAS activities.
- **African Union (AU).** Established in 2002, the AU encompasses 54 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.

Terrorist Attacks Against the United States

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.4.3

Explain the concept of terrorism and cite U.S. examples.

Terrorism is the systematic use of violence by a group calculated to create an atmosphere of fear and alarm among a population or to coerce a government into actions it would not otherwise undertake or refrain from actions it wants to take. 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 that they will probably die in the act.

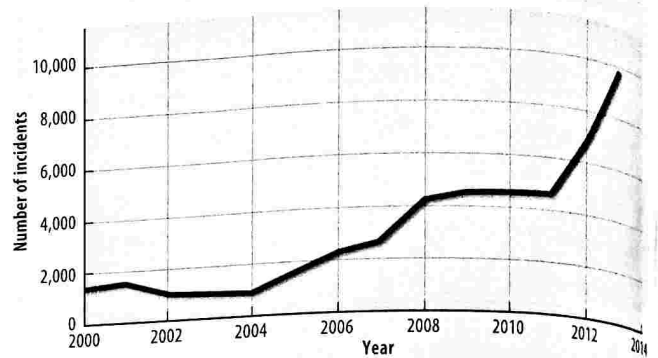
The term *terror* (from the Latin “to frighten”) was first applied to the period of the French Revolution between March 1793 and July 1794, known as the Reign of Terror. In the name of protecting the principles of the revolution, the Committee of Public Safety, headed by Maximilien Robespierre, guillotined 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.

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. Terrorists consider all citizens responsible for the actions they oppose, so they view civilians as legitimate targets.

The number of terrorist incidents between 2000 and 2013 has been documented by the Institute for Economics and Peace. The number of terrorist incidents increased from around 1,000 in 2000 to around 10,000 in 2013 (Figure 8-57). The number of deaths from terrorist attacks increased from around 3,500 in 2000 to 18,000 in 2013 (Figure 8-58). Around two-thirds of the terrorist incidents and fatalities have occurred in five countries: Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria, and Syria.

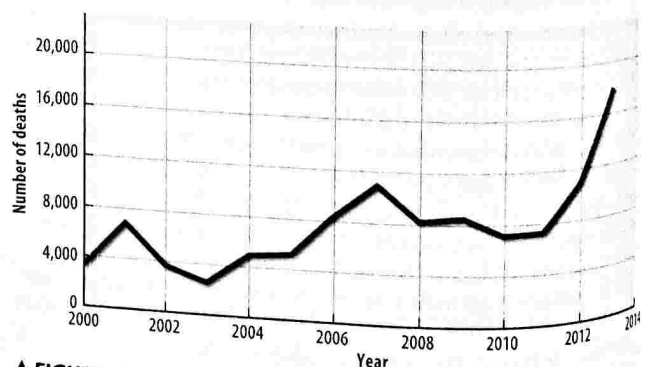
TERRORISM AGAINST AMERICANS

The United States has suffered several terrorist attacks since 1988. Among the most destructive:

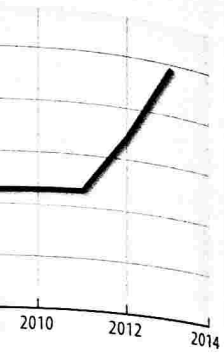


▲ FIGURE 8-57 NUMBER OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM ATTACKS

- **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.
- **April 15, 2013.** Two bombs were detonated near the finish line of the Boston Marathon, killing 3 and injuring more than 180 (Figure 8-59).
- **April 2, 2014.** Four people were killed and fourteen injured in an attack on the military base at Fort Hood, Texas.
- **July 16, 2015.** Five U.S. military personnel were killed in an attack on two installations in Chattanooga, Tennessee.
- **December 2, 2015.** A mass shooting at the Inland Regional Center in San Bernardino, California, killed 14 and injured 21.



▲ FIGURE 8-58 NUMBER OF DEATHS FROM INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM



TERRORISM

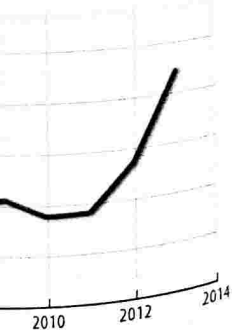
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INTERNATIONAL



FIGURE 8-59 TERRORIST ATTACK ON THE BOSTON MARATHON, APRIL 15, 2013

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.
- Dzhokhar Tsarnaev was convicted and sentenced to death for the Boston Marathon bombing. His older brother Tamerlan Tsarnaev was killed in a shootout. The Tsarnaev brothers were of Chechen ethnicity. Before his capture, Dzhokhar left a note criticizing U.S. actions in Iraq and Afghanistan against Muslims.

SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, ATTACKS

The most dramatic terrorist attacks against the United States occurred on September 11, 2001 (Figure 8-60). The tallest buildings in the United States, the 110-story twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, were destroyed, and the

Pentagon, near Washington, D.C., was damaged. The attacks resulted in 2,977 civilian fatalities:

- 88 (77 other passengers and 11 crew members) on American Airlines Flight 11, which crashed into World Trade Center Tower 1 (North Tower).
- 60 (51 passengers and 9 crew members) 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.
- 59 (53 passengers and 6 crew members) on American Airlines Flight 77, which crashed into the Pentagon.
- 125 on the ground at the Pentagon.
- 40 (33 passengers and 7 crew members) 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.

In addition, 19 terrorists died on the four hijacked airplanes. Responsible or implicated in most of the anti-U.S. terrorism during the 1990s, as well as the September 11, 2001, attack, was the al-Qaeda network.

PAUSE & REFLECT 8.4.3

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

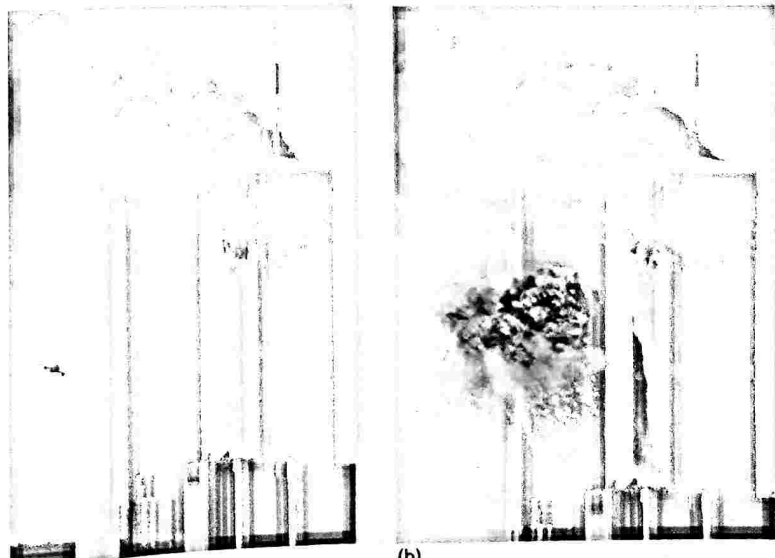


FIGURE 8-60 TERRORIST ATTACK ON THE WORLD TRADE CENTER, SEPTEMBER 11, 2001 (a) At 9:03 A.M., United Flight 175 approaches World Trade Center Tower 2 and (b) crashes into it. Tower 1 is already burning from the crash of American Flight 11 at 8:45 A.M.

Terrorist Organizations

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.4.4

Describe the major terrorist organizations.

Some terrorist attacks are the work of one or two individuals who are not formally associated with terrorist organizations. Most recent attacks, however, have been carried out by members belonging to terrorist organizations. Three prominent terrorist organizations in recent years are al-Qaeda, the Islamic State, and Boko Haram.

AL-QAEDA

Al-Qaeda (an Arabic word meaning “the foundation,” or “the base”) was founded around 1990 by Osama bin Laden to unite several groups of fighters in Afghanistan, as well as his supporters elsewhere in Southwest Asia. Osama’s father, Mohammed bin Laden, a native of Yemen, established a construction company in Saudi Arabia and became a billionaire through close connections to the royal family. Osama bin Laden, one of about 50 children fathered by Mohammed with several wives, used his several-hundred-million-dollar inheritance to fund al-Qaeda.

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

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 the State of Israel. He claimed that destruction of the Saudi monarchy and the Jewish state would liberate from their control Islam’s three holiest sites of Makkah (Mecca), Madinah, and Jerusalem.

Al-Qaeda’s most deadly attacks since 9/11 have been in Iraq, especially between 2007 and 2011. Al-Qaeda has also been implicated in terrorist attacks in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and the United Kingdom.

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.

In recent years, al-Qaeda’s most active affiliate has been in Yemen. al-Qaeda’s Yemen affiliate controls a large portion of Yemen’s territory (Figure 8-61). Its most notorious terrorist attack was on January 7, 2015, at the Paris offices of the French satirical newspaper *Charlie Hebdo* . Two members of al-Qaeda in Yemen killed 11 people in the office and 6 more elsewhere in Paris, and injured 22. The attackers were protesting cartoons depicting Muhammad in the newspaper. Several cartoonists were among the victims (Figure 8-62).

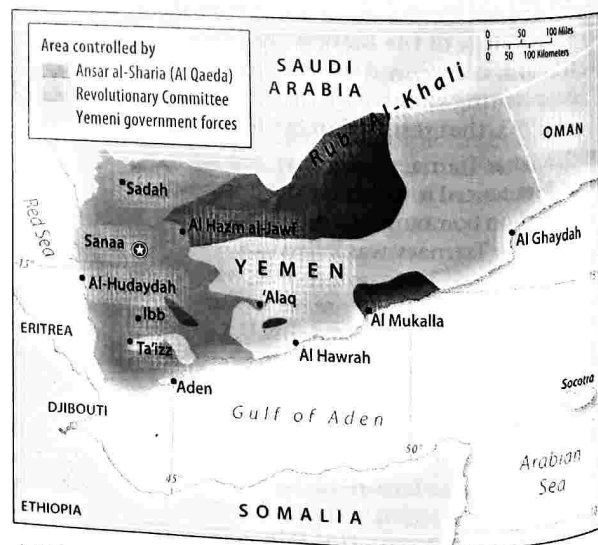
PAUSE & REFLECT 8.4.4

Translate “je suis Charlie.” Why might people in Paris carry signs saying this?

ISLAMIC STATE (ISIS/ISIL)

The Islamic State originated in 1999 and became an affiliate of al-Qaeda in 2004. However, in 2014, the two organizations split apart because of lack of agreement on how to cooperate and consult with each other. The Islamic State is also known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL).

Members of the Islamic State are Sunni Muslims who seek to impose strict religious laws throughout Southwest Asia. They have maintained control of territory through human rights violations, such as beheadings, massacres, and torture. The organization claims that it has authority to rule Muslims around the world. The Islamic State has had



▲ FIGURE 8-61 AL-QAEDA IN YEMEN al-Qaeda controls a large portion of Yemen’s desert interior, as well as a portion along the Gulf of Aden.



▲ FIGURE 8-62 A Paris show support for newspaper.

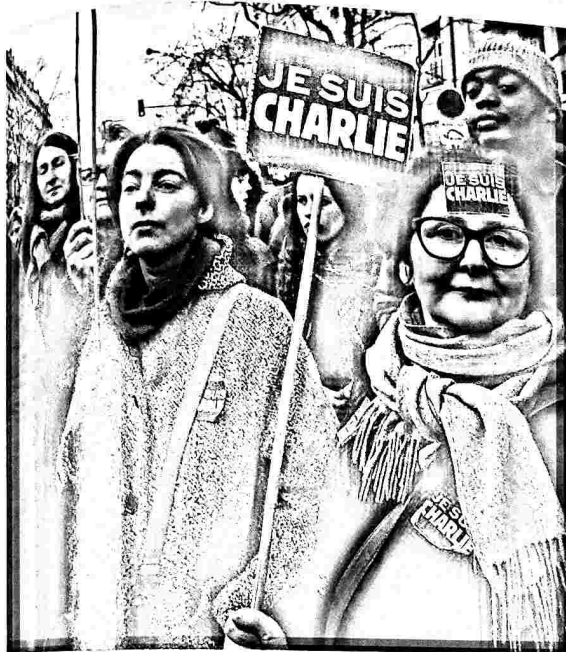


▲ FIGURE 8-63 terrorists have disagreed with th

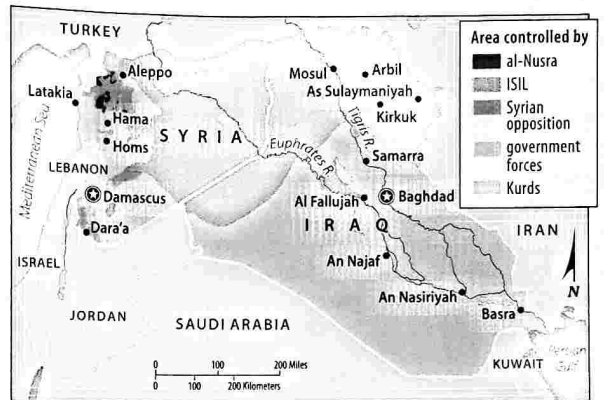
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▲ FIGURE 8-62 AFTERMATH OF AL-QAEDA ATTACK Marchers in Paris show support for victims of the al-Qaeda terrorist attack on the newspaper.



▲ FIGURE 8-64 ISLAMIC STATE CONTROL OF IRAQ AND SYRIA The Islamic State claims control over much of eastern Syria and western Iraq.

success recruiting members through Internet and social media communications that show beheadings and destruction of sites of historical importance, such as Shiite Muslim shrines (Figure 8-63).

The Islamic State controls much of northern Iraq and eastern Syria (Figure 8-64). It has also launched attacks in Europe, including in Paris in 2015.

BOKO HARAM

Boko Haram, which is Arabic for “Western education is forbidden,” was founded in 2002 in northeastern Nigeria. It seeks to transform Nigeria into an Islamic state, and it opposes adoption of Western cultural practices, especially by Christians in the south of the country.

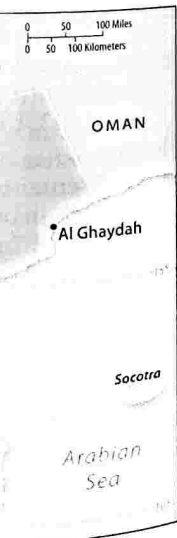
During its first seven years, the organization peacefully ran a religious complex and school that attracted poor Muslim families. A violent uprising in July 2009 resulted in the arrest of several hundred followers and the death of its founder Mohammed Yusuf. Six hundred incarcerated Boko Haram members broke out of prison the following year.

Since then, Boko Haram has resorted to terrorist tactics. Its leader, Abubakar Shekau, who had been Yusuf’s deputy, initially aligned the group with al-Qaeda, but in 2014 it allied with the Islamic State. It now calls itself Islamic State’s West Africa Province. Like the Islamic State, Boko Haram is considered to be especially adept at the use of social media to promote its views.

The use of religion by groups such as al-Qaeda, the Islamic State, and Boko Haram 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 1.6 billion Muslims and the misuse and abuse of Islam by Islamic terrorist groups.



▲ FIGURE 8-63 ISLAMIC STATE DESTRUCTION Islamic State terrorists have destroyed historic graves in Mosul, Iraq, because they disagree with the teachings of the clerics buried there.



controls a large on along the Gulf

State Support for Terrorism

LEARNING OUTCOME 8.4.5

Understand varying degrees of support for terrorism by states in Southwest Asia.

Several states in Southwest Asia have provided support for terrorism in recent years. Three increasing levels of involvement are (1) providing sanctuary for terrorists wanted by other countries; (2) supplying weapons, money, and intelligence to terrorists; and (3) planning attacks using terrorists.

SANCTUARY FOR TERRORISTS

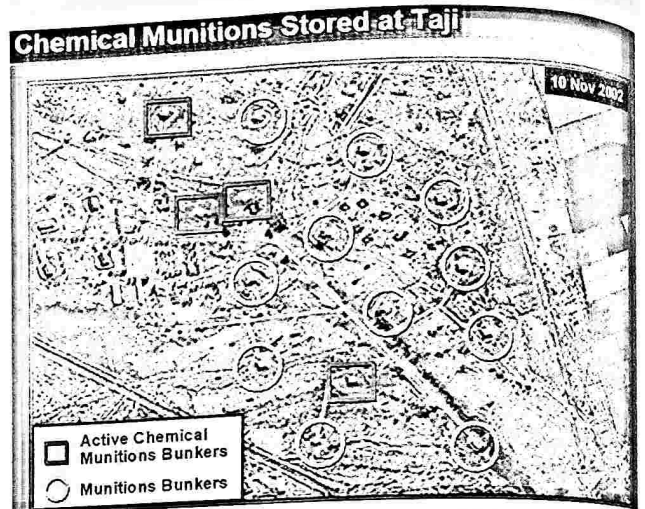
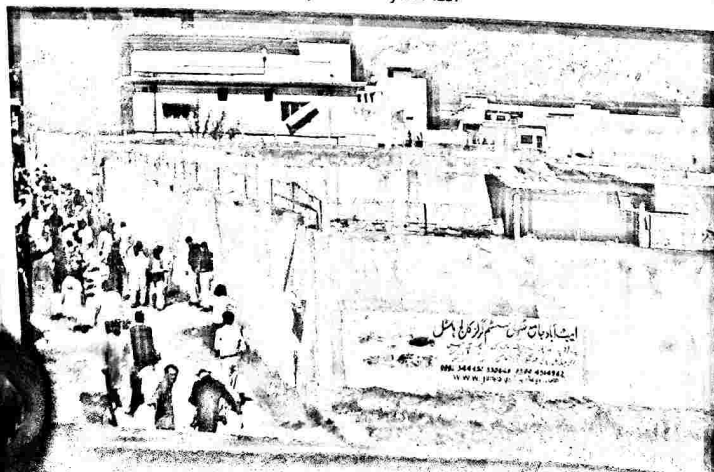
Countries known to provide sanctuary for terrorists include Afghanistan and Pakistan. The United States, with the cooperation of several other countries, attacked Afghanistan in 2001 when its leaders, known as the Taliban, sheltered al-Qaeda leaders including bin Laden after 9/11. Removing the Taliban from power was considered a necessary step before going after al-Qaeda leaders, who were living in rugged mountains near Afghanistan's border with Pakistan.

The Taliban (which means "religious students" in the Pashtun language) 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 cars. They were permitted to leave home only if fully covered by clothing and escorted by a male relative.

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. The United States committed more than 30,000 troops to Afghanistan to keep the Taliban from regaining control of the entire country.

After the U.S.-led attack in eastern Afghanistan, al-Qaeda's leaders, including bin Laden, were able to escape across the border into Pakistan. After searching without success for nearly a decade, U.S. intelligence finally tracked bin Laden to a house in Abbottabad, Pakistan, where he was killed

▼ **FIGURE 8-65 OSAMA BIN LADEN'S COMPOUND, PAKISTAN** While in this compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan, Osama bin Laden was killed by U.S. Navy SEALs.



(a)



(b)

▲ **FIGURE 8-66 AIR PHOTOS ALLEGING IRAQ'S PREPARATIONS FOR CHEMICAL WARFARE** (a) U.S. satellite image purporting to show 15 munitions bunkers in Taji, Iraq. (b) 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. (c) Close-up of the two bunkers, outlined in red part (a), allegedly sanitized.

in 2011 (Figure 8-65). 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 located only 6 kilometers (4 miles) from the Pakistan Military Academy, the country's principal institution for training military officers.

SUPPLYING TERRORISTS

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

IRAQ. The United States led an attack against Iraq in 2003 in order to depose Saddam Hussein, the country's longtime president. The 1991 U.S.-led Gulf War, known as Operation Desert Storm, had driven Iraq out of Kuwait, but it had 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



PREPARATIONS FOR
 reporting to show 15
 alleged munitions bunker
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 water truck. (c) Close-up
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annexation of another. In contrast, few coun-
 res supported the U.S.-led attack in 2003.

As the United States moved toward war with Iraq in 2003,
 ecretary of State Colin Powell scheduled a speech at the U.N.
 present evidence to the world justifying military action
 nst Iraq. Recalling the Cuban Missile Crisis (refer to Fig-
 re 8-53), Powell displayed a series of air photos designed to
 ve that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. How-
 e, the photos did not provide clear evidence (Figure 8-66).

The U.S. assertion that Hussein had weapons of mass de-
 struction, as well as close links with al-Qaeda, was refuted
 y most other countries, as well as ultimately by U.S. intelli-
 ence agencies. The United States argued instead that Hussein's
 quarter-century record of brutality justified replacing him
 with a democratically elected government. Since Hussein was
 deposed, Iraq has been mired in a civil war, especially between
 Shiites and Sunnis. Much of the country is under the control
 of the terrorist organization the Islamic State.

Iran. Hostility between the United States and Iran dates
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 seized the U.S. embassy on November 4, 1979, and held 52
 Americans hostage until January 20, 1981.

The United States has accused Iran of harboring al-Qaeda
 members and of trying to gain influence in Iraq, where, as in
 Iran, the majority of the people are Shiites. In addition, Iran
 has long provided funding to Hezbollah, an organization
 based in Lebanon that the United States classifies as a terrorist
 organization because it seeks Israel's destruction.

The United States and most other countries have op-
 posed Iran's aggressive development of a nuclear program
 (Figure 8-67). Iran has claimed that its nuclear program is
 for civilian purposes, but other countries have evidence that
 it is intended to develop weapons. Prolonged negotiations
 produced an agreement to degrade Iran's nuclear capabili-
 ties without resorting to yet another war in the region.



FIGURE 8-67 IRAN'S NUCLEAR FACILITIES

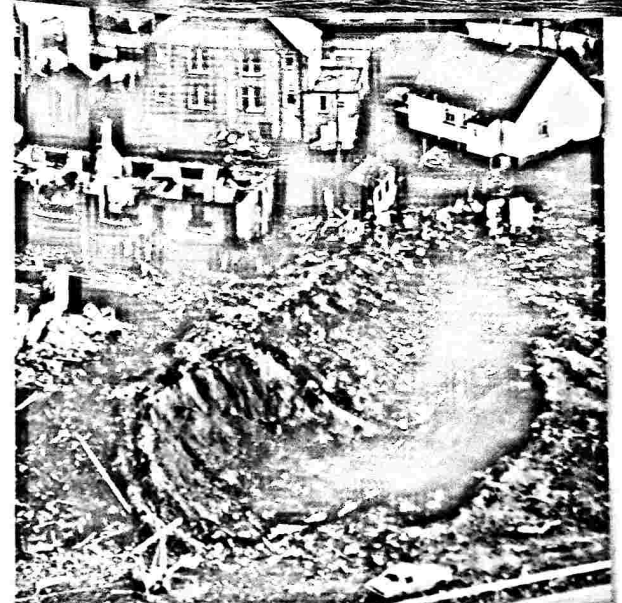


FIGURE 8-68 LIBYAN STATE TERRORISM The wreckage of Pan Am Flight 103 landed in Lockerbie, Scotland.

PAUSE & REFLECT 8.4.5

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

STATE TERRORIST ATTACKS: LIBYA

Libya has been an active sponsor of terrorist attacks. Examples include (1) a 1986 bombing of a nightclub popular with U.S. military personnel in Berlin, killing 3 people (including 1 U.S. soldier); (2) planting of bombs on Pan Am Flight 103, which blew up over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988, killing 270 (Figure 8-68); and (3) planting of bombs on UTA Flight 772, which blew up over Niger in 1989, killing 170.

Libya's long-time leader Muammar el-Qaddafi (1942–2011, ruler 1969–2011) renounced terrorism in 2003 and provided compensation for victims of Pan Am 103. But his brutal attacks on Libyan protestors in 2011 again brought most other states of the world into active opposition to Qaddafi's regime, which was ultimately overthrown. Qaddafi was captured and killed. Since then, Libya has been plunged into a civil war, in which the Islamic State is actively involved.

CHECK-IN KEY ISSUE 4

World History: The Middle East

- ✓ 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.



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attempted annexation of another. In contrast, few countries supported the U.S.-led attack in 2003.

As the United States moved toward war with Iraq in 2003, Secretary of State Colin Powell scheduled a speech at the U.N. to present evidence to the world justifying military action against Iraq. Recalling the Cuban Missile Crisis (refer to Figure 8-53), 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 8-66).

The U.S. assertion that Hussein had weapons of mass destruction, as well as close links with al-Qaeda, was refuted by most other countries, as well as ultimately by U.S. intelligence agencies. The United States argued instead that Hussein's quarter-century record of brutality justified replacing him with a democratically elected government. Since Hussein was deposed, Iraq has been mired in a civil war, especially between Shiites and Sunnis. Much of the country is under the control of the terrorist organization the Islamic State.

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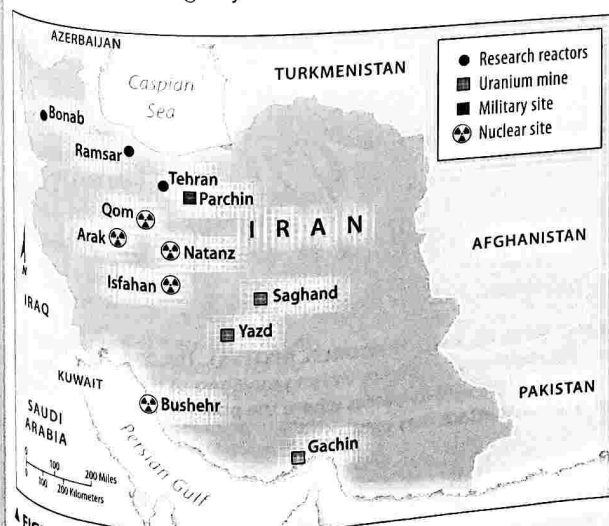


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CHECK-IN KEY ISSUE 4

Where Do States Face Threats?

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- ✓ 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 & REVIEW

KEY ISSUE 1

Where are states distributed?

Nearly all of Earth's land area is divided among around 200 sovereign states. "State" is a synonym for country, an area organized into a political unit. The fifty U.S. states are a form of local government. Some disputes exist concerning whether an area belongs to one state or to two.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY



▲ **FIGURE 8-69 SENKAKU/DIAOYU PROTEST** Protesters in Taiwan burn an effigy representing a Japanese warship during a protest against what the Taiwanese claim is Japan's illegal occupation of the islands.

1. Why might China, Japan, and Taiwan all wish to control the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands, despite their extremely small size?

A nation-state is a state whose territory corresponds to that occupied by a particular ethnicity. Ancient and medieval states were organized as city-states, kingdoms, and other forms of government. The creation of nation-states began in Europe in modern times. A colony is territory legally tied to a state. The world once contained a large number of colonies, but only a few remain.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY



▲ **FIGURE 8-70 SUPPORTERS OF INDEPENDENCE FOR CATALONIA** Marchers in the streets of Barcelona show their support for Catalonia becoming independent of Spain.

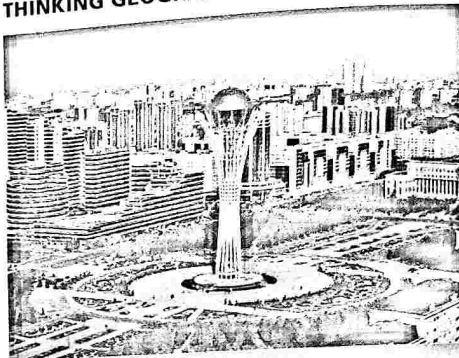
2. Why might some states in Europe split in the future into multiple states, as occurred in the 1990s in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union?

KEY ISSUE 3

Why do boundaries cause problems?

States are separated from each other by boundaries. Boundaries can be cultural or physical. Countries are considered democracies, autocracies, or autocracies. The trend has been towards more democracies. Legislative districts are sometimes gerrymandered to benefit the party in power.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY



▲ **FIGURE 8-71 ASTANA, CAPITAL OF KAZAKHSTAN** The Center for Systemic Peace classifies Kazakhstan as an autocracy.

3. What factors might be promoting the decline of autocracies?

KEY ISSUE 4

Why are there frontiers?

Nearly all states are members of the United Nations. Europe was divided into two sets of military and economic alliances during the Cold War. Now most European states are united in the European Union. Terrorism is the systemic use of violence against the entire population. The world's three most active terrorist organizations are currently al-Qaeda, the Islamic State, and Boko Haram.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY



▲ **FIGURE 8-72 ANTI-TERRORIST PROTEST** The protest is against laws in the United Kingdom limiting members of the public from taking photographs at events where the police believe that a threat of a terrorist attack may exist.

4. In what ways might the diffusion of personal electronic devices and social media help promote pro-democratic forces, and in what ways might they provide assistance to terrorists?

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KEY TERMS

Autocracy (p. 288) A country that is not fully democratic or fully autocratic but rather displays a mix of the two types.

Autocracy (p. 288) A country that is run according to the interests of the ruler rather than the people.

Balance of power (p. 295) A condition of roughly equal strength between opposing countries or alliances of countries.

Boundary (p. 280) An invisible line that marks the extent of a state's territory.

City-state (p. 270) A sovereign state comprising a city and its immediately surrounding countryside.

Colonialism (p. 278) An attempt by one country to establish settlements and to impose its political, economic, and cultural principles in another territory.

Colony (p. 278) A territory that is legally tied to a sovereign state rather than completely independent.

Compact state (p. 286) A state in which the distance from the center to any boundary does not vary significantly.

Democracy (p. 288) A country in which citizens elect leaders and can run for office.

Elongated state (p. 286) A state with a long, narrow shape.

Federal state (p. 289) An internal organization of a state that allocates strong power to units of local government.

Fragmented state (p. 287) A state that includes several discontinuous pieces of territory.

Frontier (p. 280) A zone separating two states in which neither state exercises political control.

Gerrymandering (p. 290) The process of redrawing legislative boundaries for the purpose of benefiting the party in power.

Landlocked state (p. 287) A state that does not have a direct outlet to the sea.

Microstate (p. 266) A state that encompasses a very small land area.

Multiethnic state (p. 272) A state that contains more than one ethnicity.

Multinational state (p. 272) A state that contains two or more ethnic groups with traditions of self-determination that agree to coexist peacefully by recognizing each other as distinct nationalities.

Nation-state (p. 270) A state whose territory corresponds to that occupied by a particular ethnicity.

Perforated state (p. 287) A state that completely surrounds another one.

Prorupted state (p. 286) An otherwise compact state with a large projecting extension.

Self-determination (p. 272) The concept that ethnicities have the right to govern themselves.

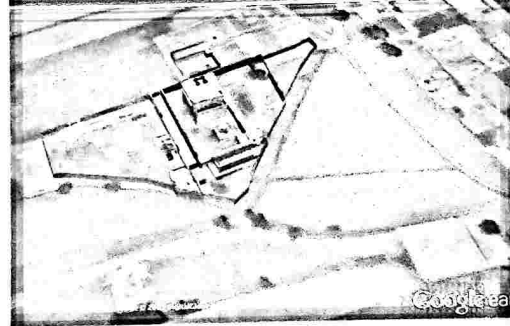
Sovereignty (p. 268) Ability of a state to govern its territory free from control of its internal affairs by other states.

State (p. 266) An area organized into a political unit and ruled by an established government that has control over its internal and foreign affairs.

Terrorism (p. 298) The systematic use of violence by a group calculated to create an atmosphere of fear and alarm among a population or to coerce a government into actions it would not otherwise undertake or refrain from actions it wants to take.

Unitary state (p. 289) An internal organization of a state that places most power in the hands of central government officials.

EXPLORE



Osama bin Laden's Hideout

Use Google Earth to see Osama bin Laden's hideout in Abbottabad, Pakistan.

Fly to Osama bin Laden's compound.

Set the imagery date to 5/8/2010.

Zoom in to eye alt 4,500 ft.

Click *3D buildings* to see the extent of bin Laden's compound.

Deselect *3D buildings* and move the imagery date to 3/22/2001.

Then move the imagery date to 6/14/2005.

1. What changed inside the compound boundaries between 3/22/2001 and 6/14/2005? Did bin Laden's World Trade Center attack take place before, between, or after these dates?

Move the imagery date to 4/7/2013.

2. How has the compound changed since 6/14/2005? What happened to bin Laden between 2005 and 2013?

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3. What factors might be promoting the decline of autocracies?

KHSTAN The Center utocracy.

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GeoV

Learn more MasteringGeography Study Area to view this video.

Iraq & Saudi Arabia: Defining the Border

The state of Iraq was created after WWI following the fall of the Ottoman Empire

1. Before WWI, there were no linear boundaries in the middle east. Explain why.
2. After WWI, what were the two proposals for creating borders for the new state of Iraq? Describe each.
3. The video implies that some of the problems facing Iraq today can be traced back to the decisions about its borders made in 1922. Do you agree? Why or why not?



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