Chapter One

Introduction to Political Geography

1.1. Definitions

1.1.1. *What is Geography?*

Geography is often referred to as the *spatial* science, that is, the discipline concerned with the use of earth space. Geography might better be defined as the study of spatial variation, of how- and why- things differ from place to place on the surface of the earth. *Geography, therefore, is about space and the content of space.*

The term 'geography' can refer to quite a *wide range* of ideas. As far as human's activity is concerned, it is often thought to involve four (overlapping) aspects:

i.   ***Space*:** Geographers study the spatial distribution of human activities and institutions of all kinds and their causes and effects. They are also interested in the influence of spatial organization on political, economic and cultural processes.

ii.   ***Place*:** Geography involves the study of place: the character of places, the relationship between people and their places, and the diverse role of places in human activities.

iii. ***Landscape:*** Geography focuses on the development of landscapes and the meaning and significance of landscapes of people.

iv.   ***Environment:*** Geographers are interested in the relationship between people and their environments, including their understandings of environments and their use of environmental resources of all kinds.

All of the traditional concerns remain central to human geography. However, all of them have been subject to considerable rethinking and reformulation. In the past it was often assumed that space and society were separate things which may have *influenced* each other in various ways, but which could in principle be examined and analyzed independently. More recently many geographers have insisted that spatial relations are *inseparable* from society. All social relations are constituted spatially, and there can be no possibility of a non-spatial social science.

1.1.2. What is politics?

Politics is *the science of governments of states*. It is also defined *as the art and practice of government of human societies.* In the common-sense view, politics is about governments, political parties, elections and public policy, or about war, peace and 'foreign affairs'. All of these are immensely important. However, these common-sense assumptions are rather limited. They refer to what is called *'formal politics'. Formal politics* is defined as the operation of constitutional system of government and its publicly defined institutions and procedures. The implication is that politics is a separate sphere of life involving certain types of people (politicians and civil servants) or organizations (state institutions). The rest of the people interact with this separate sphere in limited and usually legally defined ways. Formal politics is seen as something that can sometimes *affect* everyday life, but is not really *part* of everyday life. But the reality is that formal political system has much more impact on our lives that are often realized.

Informal politics can be summed up by the phrase '*politics is everywhere'*. A good example is the idea of 'office politics'. Office politics obviously does not have much to do with the political system of governments and elections, but it is a common knowledge why it is referred to as 'politics'. It is about forming alliances, exercising power, getting people to do things, developing influence and protecting and advancing particular goals and interests. Understood like this, politics really does seem to be everywhere. There is an informal politics of the household (parents attempt to influence children, women to do more housework than men do). In industry, some groups of workers do better out of industrial change than others,(the aims of management and workers often conflict). In the field of education, some subjects and points of view are taught while others are not, come children benefit more from education than others even of television (some people have more chances to have their say on TV than others). In fact, if *informal* politics is to be mentioned, there is no aspect of life, which is *not* political; politics is really everywhere.

Above all, *politics is about people and their relationships to others*. Most people, most of the time, like to think of themselves as individuals. Autonomous and capable human beings, not subject to the whims and an individual may think of himself as free, but his/her freedom is partial, limited and dependent on other people and organizations.

1.1.3. What is Political Geography?

Political geography is a branch of human geography. It is concerned with humans and their activities, especially those activities that are political in nature. The field of political geography grew from

geographers' interest in the spatial nature of the national state. Political geography is the analysis of how political systems and structures from the local to international levels- influence and is influenced by the spatial distribution of resources, events, and groups and by interactions among sub-national, national and international political units across the globe. It focuses on, in one hand, how groups interact- particularly the ways they manipulate each other: in pursuit of controlling resources and, on the other, on how these social, economic, and political activities determine the use of and thereby modify, the resource base. It is simply the relationship between spaces and political processes which is the focus of attention.
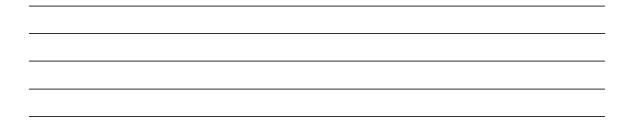
The political geography of international relations, then, often comes down to control over key resources and flows of commodity such as oil, a specific border crossing, or the "global commons"-and who is best connected in the global system in terms of communications, trade and ideal flows.

Definitions of political geography given by some prominent political geographers:

- ✓ According to Hartshorne (1954) it is defined as *"the study of the areal differences and similarities in political character as an interrelated part of the total complex of areal differences and similarities".* It is concerned with the spatial interaction between political and geographical phenomena, and one of the most fundamental issues concerns the location of the subject on the spectrum between geography and political science**.**
- ✓ Cohen and Rosenthal (1971) stated, *"... Without much attention to the political, our geographical insights are likely to be limited and sterile."*
- ✓ *… Political geographers are concerned with the geographical consequences of political decisions and actions, the geographical factors, which were considered during the making of any decisions, and role of any geographical factors, which influenced the outcome of political actions (Pacione).* *E.g.* the Suez Canal and its contribution to the importance of Egypt in world politics   .
- ✓ *... Humanistic political geography is concerned with uncovering the dynamic social processes whereby the spatial dimensions of the natural and the societal world are organised and reorganised into geographically delimited and symbolically meaningful provinces by national and transnational groups (Brunn and Yanarella).*
- ✓ Political geography is a sub-division of human geography, is concerned with a particular aspect of *earth man relationships and with a special kind of emphasis... the relationship between geographical factors and political entities***. Weigert.**

Political geography draws from other social and behavioural sciences, such as political science, economics, history and psychology, but concepts from physical geography also is important to the students of the discipline. The non-human elements of the world, such waterbeds, landforms, climates and resources, are important in the study of political decisions and actions. The two integral parts of political geography are spatial distributions and political phenomena. Spatial distributions include objects that are spread out from each other in space, on the surface of the earth. *E.g. Population, minerals, cities, rivers etc. Spatial distributions,* then, are collections (sets) of objects in which the objects are of a similar type, with each object having a particular location on the surface.

❖ *Define the term political geography?*

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1.2. Scope and Essence of Political Geography

Significantly, many of the most pressing political geography issues are not simply abstract academic concerns. They concern a very fractious world facing the next millennium with such serious and persistent dilemmas as competition among "independent" states within an "interdependent" global economy, widening economic inequalities within and among the world's states, and widespread human rights abuses. And it is also concerned with conflicts over natural resource degeneration and depletion at local and global scales; tensions and conflicts generated by electoral abuses and ethnic distribution changes; and pressures arising from population growth and distribution.

Political geography is the study of the organization and distribution of political phenomena in the area expression. Political geography is on the ascendance in part because the traditional approaches to understanding and tackling broad ranges of current problems have failed. The international community is now paying for our weak understanding of the linkages among socio-economic, environmental, and political forces at local and regional levels. The international community is now well into the "*post –Cold*

War" period, with leaders around the world claiming to be less focused on various *"isms"* and *most interested on harsh reality of maintaining viable economics and politics*. The end of the Cold War stimulated efforts to create new and to revive old regional economic organizations.

Political geography can contribute to this new era of multilateral, multi-scale intervention dilemmas by demonstrating how socio-economic, demographic, political, cultural, and environmental factors weave together-or unravel- within or among regions via spatial process and flows and how a negative synergism can led to a severe humanitarian crisis.

1.3.   Approaches to the study of Political Geography

Political geography is a varied and wide ranging-field of learning and research, exciting and endlessly fascinating to the student and useful to the practitioner in many fields. Its roots go back to Aristotle model of an ideal or perfect state. It developed in spurts over the next 200 years and appears now to be in the early stages of efflorescence.

Geographical study of the political environment rests upon survey and analysis within a cartographic framework. Various approaches are employed in such studies:

1)   *The Power Analysis*

2)   *The Historical*

3)   *The Morphological*

4)   *The Functional*

5)   *The Behavioural*

6)   **The Systematic**

1) The Power Analysis Approach

It is commonly used by non-geographers. Some are define geography as one of the several power resources in international relations. One such study, for example, divides national power into five components: - *geographic, economic, political, sociological and military.* The geographic element is defined as " including location, size and shape of the area which comprises the nation… the extent to which it provides access from, and egress to, (exit, going out, way out), to the world community… the degree to which the land is arable or barren… the effect of climate, not only in the fertility of the land,

but also upon the hardiness and energy of the people, [and] the reservoir of natural resources with which the land is endowed."

This, however, represents a limited geographical approach, for geographers do not isolate geography as a determinant of national power. A fully geographic approach would make an inventory of pertinent categories and relates this inventory to politically significant phenomena. The categories include: -

i.   ***The physical environment*** (landforms, climate, soils, vegetation, water bodies etc.) E.g. to measure the Norwegian coastline and to indicate how the high ratio of useful coastline in combination with fertile fishing grounds and poverty of land base has influenced Norway's development as a commercial, fishing and NATO oriented state.

ii.   ***Movement*** (the directional flow of transportation and communication of goods, people and ideas) E.g. to measure the reach and diffusion rate of TV with reference to its impact on ethnics.

iii.   ***Raw materials, semi-finished and finished goods***(employed and potential, in both time and space terms) E.g. to measure the distribution of Maritime Europe's coal, iron ore, and limestone resources in terms of the economic, political impact of the interchangeable use of these resources by various national steel industries. Thus, French makers in Lorain than by German steel makers in the Rohr more rationally use Sear coal.

iv.   ***Population*** (in its various characteristics, particularly qualitative and ideological) E.g. to map population by ethnic characteristics in Iran. Such a map would show the majority of the population of Khuzestan to be Arab. This would help explain why the oil-rich province that borders Arab Iraq has been a tension area in Iraqi-Iranian relations, with the unresolved Shat-al-Arab border dispute as the major irritant.

v.   ***The body politic*** (its various administrative forms, ideals, and goods in their aerial expression, such as county, state, national and international block frameworks) E.g. to analyse the internal political organisation of national states upon land use patterns. Urban vs. Rural.

While these five categories are all viewed from within a spatial framework, *geographers also work with space as a sixth and direct category.* In this sense the location, shape and boundaries of political entities are analysed, as well as the impact of space upon the internal character and external relations of such political entities. E.g. the length of Israel's land borders relative to its total area of 7,845 sq. miles (20,318.55-sq. km) was in the ratio of one mile for every 13 sq. miles. (1:20.93 sq. km) of land area

As a result, an inordinately high expenditure of national energies is needed to secure this border. One way to secure a border is through *fixed military garrisons. An alternative garrisons are farm settlements.* Since the 1967 war, Israel has become much more viable defensively, the increment of the occupied territories including *Sinai, the Gaza strip (these two are ceded to Egypt and Palestinians respectively), Jerusalem, the west Bank, and the Golan Heights* having increased the total territory by 26,648 sq. Miles (69,018.32 sq. km), but having changed the ratio to one mile of border for every 65 sq. Miles of land area / one km. to 25.10 sq. km. The total linear miles of land border are now 533; (857.597 km) compared with 613 miles (986.317 Km.) prior to June 1967.

2.   *The Historical Approach*

It is generally adopted in studies, which describe the evolution of a political or social unit through time. Historical geography has as its focus on the past, both for the sake of understanding the past better and for analysing current problems. While much that now exists can only be understood in terms of what existed in the past, most studies in historical geography have their greatest value in explaining the past. To rely upon them as guides to projecting political roles and activities of states today can prove fruitless and even misleading.

3.   *The Morphological Approach*

It is *a descriptive and interpretative analysis of the external* and *internal structure* of the state area as a geographic object. The *external* morphological attributes include *size, shape, location and boundaries* and *internal* morphological subdivisions include *core areas, the capital, and cultural regions and so on*. This approach studies political areas according to their form that are their patterns and structural features.

A pattern refers to the arrangement formed by the association of political units, whether national states, regional blocks, global alliances, or internal administrative divisions, as expressed by location, size and shape. *Structure* refers to the spatial features that political units have in common- i.e. population and

economic cores, capitals, boundaries, and underdeveloped or otherwise problem units. For example, among Italy's geopolitical structural features are *population and economic core area.* Proximity of the core to the Alps means readily available hydroelectric power for industry, in a country poor in fossil fuels. Such a location also favours trade exchange with North Europe.

4.   *The Functional Approach*

The functional approach is concerned with the functioning of an area as a political unit. Every political unit has subordinate areas of organisation, each with its own governmental functions. These subordinate areas must have stronger political associations with the state than with one another or with outside state. For the state to function properly it must have *unity, homogeneity, coherence, and viability* which are basic requirements for such unity. Viability of the state is related, to not only domestic economic considerations, but economic, strategic, and political relations with other states.   Thus, *the functional approach would study state-strengthening or centralising forces and state-weakening forces as they are related to space.* E.g. within the USA, one of the functions of the state is to guarantee freedom of passage across interstate lines. Another example of the functional approach can be drawn from a state's external economic relations. The function of the state is to create or to maintain economic viability for its citizens. Laws on foreign trade, including subsidies, tariff, and embargoes, are tools used by the state to promote this particular function.

5.   *The Behavioral Approach*.

Behaviour refers to the sequence of interrelated biological and mental operations by which an organism responds to stimuli.

i)   Individual behaviour- one man's behaviour.

ii)   Aggregate behaviour includes such types as mass, group, institutional, and international behaviour.

iii)   Spatial behaviour indicates cases where the various attributes of space enter into behavioural process as salient and independent variables. The perception and attitudes toward foreign countries among political decision-makers may well affect foreign policy. Certainly General De Gaulle's conception of Europe as a geographical and political entity extending from the Atlantic to the Ural conflicts with the US notion of an "Atlantic Alliance."

iv) Territorial behaviour- the propensity to possess, occupy, and defend a particular portion of space- refers to the spatial patterns of behaviour, in which each occurrences can be located by geographical co-ordinates and the resulting pattern can be analysed.

6. *The Systematic Approach*

It is derived from general systems theory. The essence of general systems theory is that its focus is a system of interrelated objects (persons or things), which enter the system or framework as inputs, exit as outputs, and interact within it as elements that feed or flow internally. The emphasis is on the unity or the wholeness of the framework. Systems, into which new elements enter and from which elements leave, are open systems, in contrast to the closed ones which function through the internal generating of energy.

The geopolitical system is advanced as a unit within which the political process interacts with geographical space. Political transactions, structures and societal forces are the components of the process; place, area and landscape are the components of geographical space. Process and space interact through the formation of political action areas, and various ideological attachments, organisations, and perceptions characterise these action areas. E.g. Venezuela petroleum- overriding societal forces, such as nationalism and statism, affect governmental institutions, such as (CVP) Corporation Venezolano de Petroleo, that in turn shape and carry out the enacted petroleum legislation.

❖ *State the approaches of political geography?*

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CHAPTER TWO

The Need for Space and the Development of States

The territorial needs of groups of people are somewhat different from personal needs. The first political units came into being when families bonded together into clans in order to defend their claimed territory against intruders. The most urgent needs were for a food supply. Thus, the occupation of particular areas was related to how the land could satisfy the need for food. Naturally hunters and gatherers needed more space than nomads did, and nomads do need more space than farmers do. It was then either to defend small area than larger area that people were organised. Hunters, gatherers, and fishermen hardly demarcated their area. The transition from hunting to the pastoral stage of economic activity brought our ancestors closer to a delineated territory.

Sharply defined between historically emerging states did not come into existence for some time after states began. For many centuries, boundaries remained vague transition zones known as *frontiers,* and they were generally based on physical features. The general impression is that as states separated by frontiers extend their territory, the unclaimed land diminishes. Eventually property disputes arise, and an attempt is made to resolve these difficulties by delimiting a precise boundary. The political history of the world is really the history of who possessed what land, how they got it, and how they held it or lost it. Almost every war has been fought over the possession of territory. International boundary lines have been drawn and redrawn again. As time passes, new states come into existence, while others disappear. There is constant change occurring on the political map of the world.

The state, Nation and Nation - State

A state is part of a hierarchy of politically organized areas though unquestionably the most important level in this hierarchy. It has a legal personality and as such in international law possesses certain rights and duties.

A. *State*

A State is a place. It is also a concept demanding (though not always obtaining) the loyalty of people. In order for a place to be considered a state in the strictest sense, it must possess to a reasonable degree certain characteristics:

i)   ***Land territory.*** A State must occupy a definite portion of the earth's land surface and should have

more or less generally recognized limits, even if some of its boundaries are undefined or disputed.

ii) ***Permanent resident population***. An area devoid of people altogether, no matter how large, cannot be a State. An area only traversed by nomads or occupied seasonally by hunters cannot be a State. A State is a human institution created by people to serve some of their particular needs.

iii) ***Government.*** The people living within a territory must have some sort of administrative system to perform functions needed or desired by the people. Without political organization, there can be no State.

iv) ***Organized economy.*** A State invariably has responsibility for many economic activities, even if they include little more than the issuance and supervision of money and the regulation of foreign trade.

v) ***Circulation System.*** In order for a State to function, there must be some organized means of transmitting goods, people, and ideas from one part of the territory to another. All forms of transportation and communication are included within the term *circulation.*

Political criteria of a State are:

1) ***Sovereignty:*** It means power over the people of an area unrestrained by laws originating outside the area or independence completely free of direct external control.

2) ***Recognition:*** For a political unit to be accepted as a state with "*an international personality"* of its own, it must be recognized as such by a significant portion of the international community-the existing states.

B. The Nation

Unlike a state, a nation is a group of people. It may also mean a reasonably large group with a common culture, sharing one or more important culture traits, such as religion, language, political institutions, values, and historical experience. They are clearly distinguishable from others who do not share their culture. Language and religion may be unifying elements, but even more important are emotional conviction of cultural distinctiveness and a sense of ethnocentrism. A state is made up of area, people, and an effective mechanism of government. But in most states of the modern world the people themselves have some bond of union, holding them together and distinguishing them from the people of other states, over and above the land area and the governmental mechanism which they share. The best example is the people of France (French) and the poor example is the Indian population due to its extreme diversity.
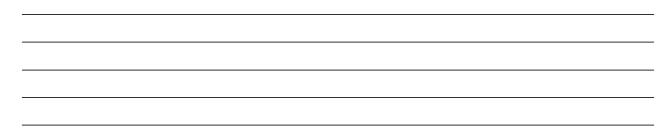
It is important for a population of a state to demonstrate as a high degree of social cohesion as possible, for this greatly influences the power of a state. Ideally the state should be paralleled by the nation; it should be "an entity formed by a particular population group for a variety of reasons is conscious of itself as a political community."

Nationalism, the desire of cultural, linguistic and religious groups to achieve a political status that would give them a limited measure of self-government, sufficient at least to allow them to protect and deepen their cultural individuality, is a fairly recent social phenomena. Of what, then, is the cement of a nation made? It is difficult to enumerate and impossible to measure the intangible that makes a nation. Nationalities come into existence only when certain objective bonds delimit a social group. A nationality generally has several of these attributes; very few have all of them. The most usual of them are common *descent, language, territory, political entity, customs and traditions, and religion*. Belief in a common biological descent may have some cohesive force among tribal societies, but among the more developed nations it is dismissed for what it is *a myth*. A common language is the most frequent and obvious sign of social cohesion. Nevertheless, some French men speak German, and some Italians French; Switzerland has three official languages. Separate nations such as Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, USA, and Canada speak English. Brazil and Portugal use Portuguese. Customs and traditions, folkways, feasts and festivals, decorations can all be evidence of national cohesion. Religion is a powerful political force, for instance, in the Arab world. The Catholic Church constitutes a significant part of the cement of the Polish and Irish nations. Perhaps the most significant outward factor in the formation of nationalities is a common territory. There is a presumption that those peoples who through the accident of birth inhabit a single state will acquire the marks of the corresponding nation. *"Political frontiers tend establish nationalities."* Minority and dissident groups tend in general, to be absorbed or assimilated ultimately by their enveloping societies. E.g. the Britons by the French, the Hadiyas by the Oromo in Arsi and Bale, the Oromo by the Amhara in Wollo, Gonder and Gojjam. This process of absorption or assimilation of minority groups, or sub-nations, by the dominant society amid which they live may be either hastened or resisted. Modern history records innumerable instances of the state attempting to supper the individuality of such groups within its borders, for example the *Turks* against others and *Armenian* nationalities. Such efforts may occasionally be successful; usually they leave a legacy of lasting hate.

C. The Nation – State

A nation-state is a nation with its own state, a state in which there is no significant other group that is not part of the nation. This does not mean simply a minority ethnic group, but a nationalistic group that either wants its own state or wants to be part of another state or wants at least a large measure of autonomy within the state in which it lives. Japan, Sweden, Uruguay, Egypt, and New Zealand are all nation-states, though they have very different histories and demographic characteristics. A state is likely to show the greatest stability and permanence when it corresponds closely with a nation. In such instances, the state is the political expression of the nation, the mechanism through which the welfare of the state is safeguarded and its identity preserved. But today many states are multinational states. Example, Ethiopia, Canada and South Africa

❖ *Differentiate state and nation*

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State Strengthening and Weakening Forces

The stability of a state depends upon two factors, which contribute either to its strength or weakness. These forces are centrifugal and centripetal. The effectiveness with which a government can fulfil the purpose of a state is a result of the balance between two opposed set of forces: those of integration and those of disintegration. These forces may be internal or external. In any state, however, there are certain forces leading to unity and coherence, and others that lead towards division and may even threaten the breakup of the state.

Centrifugal Forces (Weakening forces)

In every state there are forces tending to reduce its cohesion. In extreme cases they may break the state as in the case of British India in 1947. In others it may serve merely to make administration more difficult and to weaken the political power of the state. Such centrifugal tendencies may result from the simple geographical factors of size, shape and difficulty of communication and transportation within the state.

More actively felt is the division of the state's population into contrasting cultural, religious, and linguistic communities. The friction generated by their conflict threatens the stability or even the existence of the state. E.g. Canada, India, Belgium

Of the human barriers, the most common is the absence of humans. Uninhabited or sparsely inhabited areas were, until recently, difficult and dangerous to cross. The presence of such areas created, and still creates, a feeling of separation in the regions on either side. Perhaps the most difficult barrier to overcome is separation by a zone populated by a different people, especially by unfriendly people. Serious difficulties may arise for a sate if any of its regions have closer relations with regions of outside states than those within the state. Example – each of the major regions of Canada is more closely related in certain respects with the adjacent areas of the USA than with the other regions within the domain.

Separations of regions by barriers or by divergence of outside connections are commonly less important than the centrifugal forces that result from diversity of character of the population. To secure voluntary acceptance of a single common organisation requires some degree of mutual understanding; obviously this is easier in a population homogeneous in character. Further, where regions differ in social character, the tendency of the state to force some degree of uniformity of social life meets with resistance. Thus the very attempt to produce unity may intensify diversity. What particular social characteristics may be important depends on the particular state. Everyone thinks of language and religion. But also education and standards of living, types of economic attitudes and institutions, attitudes towards class and racial distinctions, and especially, political philosophy are important.

Centripetal forces

All forces, which tend toward the weakening or disruption of the state, are classed as *centrifugal forces*. Those, which tend in the opposite direction, that is, toward strengthening and unifying the state, are *centripetal* forces. Unless the latter predominates over the former, a state is not likely to last for long.The fact that the country has a name and a government, that an international treaty recognised its existence as a state and defines its territorial limits, all that does not produce a state. To accomplish that, it is necessary to establish centripetal forces that will bind together the regions of that state, in spite of the centrifugal forces that are always present.

The basic centripetal force is some concept or idea justifying the existence of a particular state. At the lowest level, this basic idea consists merely in loyalty to or belief in an individual, a chief, a king, or even an emperor. On a higher plane, it consists in the acceptance of a system of values, which the state may be said to represent and to safeguard.

Any examination of the state system of the world today reveals a number of states in which the centrifugal forces appear to outweigh the centripetal. In the peripheral and semi-peripheral countries of Africa and Asia the present international boundaries tend to be younger than those of the core. They have much weaker cultural base. Very often there was no national history of cultural cohesiveness in the areas, which become independent States; independent movements, especially those of Africa, tend to work within the colonial administrative boundaries. After independence had been achieved, the cohesiveness of anti-colonial struggle tended to fracture along older cultural fault-lines and *politics in the post-independence sub-Saharan Africa have been dominated by tribalism*. How, one may ask, did such states come into being, and why do they survive? Clearly, if the internal forces of the state tend on balance toward disruption, the state must be held together by some external force. France has administered E.g. Cameroon under UN trusteeship, but when acquiring independence it lapsed into anarchy. In this case the trouble sprung from the fact that the country had no ethnic, religious, or geographic unity. For instance, if the French rule had been of longer duration and more successful, it might have helped develop a sense of unity among the diverse peoples of Cameroon

Often an independent sovereign state is created with such pronounced centrifugal forces at the start that its very existence is threatened. Yugoslavia and Syria are examples. These states represent initial attempts on the part of the groups within the countries to sink their differences. This is because independence was likely to be achieved and preserved against external forces only by union. Occasionally, a state unfit for statehood by reason of its own internal lack of cohesion has attained statehood because the greater powers could not agree on what else to do with it. Example, Libya in 1951

❖ *Evaluate the centripetal forces of state.*

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The Instruments of National Cohesion

Once the national state is established, there are several internal instruments of major significance that hold the diverse elements of the nation together. These centripetal forces direct divergent political activities toward the central concept of the state. Among the most prominent of these forces are schools, military, communication media, and religious organisations.

Schools are the major institutions within the state charged with establishing both the basic mental processes and a central body of information. Through their schools, all states emphasise a common language and the history of the trials, success, and heroes of the nation. In short, language and history are basic courses in all states, with geography not far behind.

The Military establishment of the state is a favourable position to establish a uniform, and therefore internally cohesive, climate of social and physical conduct.

Communication Systems are integral to the efficient functioning of the state; the national media are major instruments in informing and influencing the people. In most states, the state government controls the media and determines the quality of the "*news*" as well as the specific items released. Such states have enormous potential to determine the behaviour of their people. The strength of centripetal forces is also partly a function of the powerful mass media and education systems, which tend to round out the contours of cultural differences within the State and promote national unity. Telephone and postal systems are also part of the interstate communication system.

Religion is a dominant force in the lives of many of the world's people. Many of the world's states are theocracies. That is, the bond between church and state is so close that religious leader rule the state and the laws are those stated in the scripture. Examples, the Vatican, Libya, Saudi Arabia and Iran

Theories of the state

Territory

Really what kind of territory is suitable for development?

The territory must be all producing, for to have all things and to want nothing is sufficiency. In size and extent it should be such as may enable the inhabitants to live at once temperately and liberally in the enjoyment of leisure. The general character of the territory, which is required, should be difficult of access

to the enemy, and easy of egress to the inhabitants. The land as well as the inhabitants should be taken at a single view; for a country, which is easily seen, can be easily protected. The city should be well situated in regard to both sea and land. It should be convenient centre for the protection of the whole country.

Population

Is size or quality population of more important for a state?

Among the materials required by state is *population,* it will consider what should be the *number* and *the character* of the *citizens*, and what should be the size and character of the country. Not the number, but the *power* of the people needs to be considered.

The Laws of the Spatial Growth of States

International law defines as the province of a state that part of the earth, which is subjected to the government of the state.

i.   *The size of the state grows with its culture*

The expansion of geographic horizons, a product of the physical and intellectual exertions of countless generations, continually presents new areas for the spatial expansion of populations. To master these areas politically, to amalgamate them and to hold them together requires still more energy. Such energy can be developed only slowly by and through culture. Culture increasingly produces the bases, means for the cohesion of the members of a population, and continually extends the circle of those who, through recognition of their homogeneity, are joined together.Above all,there is a close relationship between political and religious expansion. But even these are surpassed by the enormous influence of commerce which yet today acts as a powerful impetus on all drives toward expansion. Leading support to all these impulses are population pressures, which increase with culture and which, having in their turn promoted culture, lead to expansion due to the pressure of space.

Though the greatest cultures have not yet been the greatest state-builders, the formation of states is only one of many manners in which cultural powers may be utilised. The size of a state is one of the measures of its cultural level. The further we descend in levels of civilisation, the smaller becomes the state.

ii. ***The growth of states follows other manifestation of the growth of peoples, which must necessarily precede the growth of the state***

Without political purpose of their own, people come into closest relationship with the life of states and do not stop at national boundaries. It is the principle of mutual interest of the human race which binds nations together and which dominates them; yet without being involved in them. This mutual interest in life lies in the ideas and goods, which tend toward trade between peoples. It has seldom been possible for a state to set barriers on either the one or the other. More often the rule has been that these attract states along the same paths which they have already forged. This prepares the ground for political advancement and unification. Religion is also one of the unifying factors. E.g. Islam in the Middle East

Commerce and communication far precede politics, which follows in their path and can never be sharply separated from growth of the state. The idea of uniting neighbouring areas must be preceded by apolitical information. If the state has interred its growth period then it shares, with commerce, an interest in rout connections. Indeed, it takes a lead in their systematic formation. Every commercial route paves the way for political influences; every network of rivers provides a natural organisation for state development.The broadening of the geographic horizon by all these apolitical expansions must precede political growth which, first born by them is later carried out independently as a goal of formulated policy.

iii. ***The growth of the state proceeds by the annexation of smaller members into the aggregate.***

This process of amalgamation of regional district similarly enjoins the closer relationship of the people with their land. The nation is an organic entity which, inthe course of history, becomes increasingly attached to the land on which it exists. Just an individual struggles with virgin land until he has forced it into cultivable fields, so too does a nation struggles with its land making it, through blood and sweat, increasingly its own until it is impossible to think of the two separately. *E.g. who can think of Ethiopians without Ethiopia*

But this relationship was not always so firm and there are, even today, many states in which the people are not so intimately related to their land. As is true with regards to the size of the state, so also is there a historical series of stages in the relationship of the state and its land. Nowhere in the world do we encounter that detachment from the land which, according to many theoreticians, is supposed to be characteristic of more ancient conditions. However, the further we go back to primitive conditions, the

looser this connection becomes. Men settle less densely and are more scattered; their cultivation is poorer and is readily moved from one field to another. Their social relations, particularly their system of moral organization, bind them so closely together that their relationship to the land is weak.

iv. ***The boundary is the peripheral organ of the state, the bearer of its growth as well as its fortification, and takes part in all of the transformations of the organism of the state.***

Spatial growth manifests itself as a peripheral phenomenon in pushing outward the frontier, which must be crossed by the carriers of growth. The closer these carriers live to the boundary, the more intimately do they share an interest in this process; and the longer the frontier, the more pronouncedly peripheral will be the growth is. A state, which stretches out toward a desired district, sends out at the same time growth nodes which exhibit more activity than does the rest of the periphery. This is discernible in the shape of countries and in the distribution of their inhabitants and other power media.

v. ***In its growth the state strives toward the envelopment of politically valuable positions.***

In its growth and evolution the state practices selection of geographical benefits in that it occupies the good positions of a district before the poor. If its growth is related to the dispossession of other states, it victoriously captures the good areas and the dispossessed continue in the bad.

vi. ***The first stimuli to the spatial growth of states come to them from the outside.***

The growth of primitive states has never advanced without foreign influence. The origin of such growth is colonisation in the broader sense. Men from regions of larger spatial conceptions carry the idea of larger states into districts of less spatial concepts. The native who is aware only of his own state is always at a disadvantage to him who knows at least two. America, Australia, and Africa south of the equator, which prior to the coming of the Europeans were left to their inhabitants and were the least stimulated areas of the earth, also exhibit the poorest development of states.

vii. ***The general tendency toward territorial annexation and amalgamation is transmitted from state to state and continually increases in intensity.***

With an increasing estimation of its political values, the land has become of increasingly greater influence as a measure of political power and as a spoil in state struggles. As long as there is political competition the weaker states attempt to equal the more powerful. Carried over to the land, there arises from this a struggle for spatial annexation and amalgamation.

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From the smallest beginnings of growth to the giant states of the present we see, then, the same tendency toward the emulation of the large on the part of the small and toward the largest by those which are already large and wish equal the largest. And thus the drive toward the building of continually larger states continues throughout the entirety of history. We see it active in the present where, in continental Europe, the conviction of the necessity of joining together, at least economically, against the giants of Russia and North America is awakening.

❖ *Mention the laws of the spatial growth of states.*

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Size and Shapes of States

Size

The sovereign states in the world today range in size from the smallest the *Vatican City State* with an area of *44 hectares,* to *Russia* with an area of *16,889,390 km²*. Russia's surface area accounts for some 11 % of the land surface of the world. *(Canada 9,922,000; China 9,560,000; USA 9,528,000; Brazil 8,250,000 and Australia 7,951,000 km²)*

Does it really matter how big a country is?

The advantages and disadvantages attributable to size alone seem to be distributed quite randomly over large and small alike. A large country may not necessarily endow with resources commensurate with its size, and many of those it has may remain untapped because of the difficulty and expense of utilising them. It may be cheaper for a small State to import its primary requirements than for a large State to develop its own. The location, physiographic, and the shape of a state often enhance or diminish the value of large size. Defensive size may be nullified by difficulties of administration and circulation. Population may be large or small, evenly or unevenly distributed, ethnically homogeneous or variegated regardless of

the measurements of territory. This is not to say that size is not important. It is but one has to consider it with qualifications.

A very large state sparsely populated may experience internal division, especially if the area intervening between the populated regions are both difficult to cross and unproductive. Australia's central desert, Siberia (Russia), and the Canadian Shield all exemplify the barrier effect of vastness, although in each greater political unity exists than in many smaller states that do not have size problems. Nevertheless, most very large states attempt to diminish the *"empty"* aspect of their sparsely populated regions by encouraging settlement in those areas by practising population policies aimed at rapid growth.

The size of a state is related in many ways to its effective national territory. Many of the states that evolved in various parts of the world ultimately broke up because their frontiers extend too far outward to be integrated with the central area of the state. Continued growth meant growing strength up-to a certain point, after which it meant increasing vulnerability. This was one of the reasons to the collapse of the Aztec Empire, ancient Ghana, and the Roman Empire. It also has been a major factor in the break-up of more recent colonial empires, and such states as India and Pakistan and the Sudan.

On the other hand, size can present advantages. Generalisation regarding size might be made if attention is paid to location (relative location, with reference to environmental regions, mineralised belts, and trade routes). For instance, the USA fits comfortably within the Sahara, its size be meaningless. But the USA lies in the middle latitudes, in world zones of many transitions (in terms of soils and climate etc.), and fronting two oceans. *Depending on location, then, size and environmental diversification are indeed related.* A state that has a larger area than another has a chance to find a greater percentage of such resources within its borders. But these known resources themselves are not evenly distributed, they are scattered in patches across the globe.

Generally, States exceeding *2.5-million sq. km.* are described as very large, while those under *25,000-sq. km.* are referred to as very small. Small States range from 25,000 to 150,000 sq. km., and medium-sized States from *150,000 to 350,000 sq. km.* Those over *350,000* but under *2.5 million-sq. km.* are referred to as large.

One of the remarkable aspects of the group of very large States is the clustering of several of these States around the 8 million sq. km. mark.

Very small	*Burundi, Lebanon*
Small	*Netherlands, Liberia*
Medium	*United Kingdom, Poland*
Large	*France , Ethiopia*
Very large	*Russia, Canada*

The larger a state become, "the *more the social bond is stretched*," and as a result, the less do the people think themselves as a group with objectives and ideals in common. Administration becomes increasingly difficult over long distances and thus less and less efficient. But with automobile and the aircraft, the telephone and the radio, distance interposes administrative difficulties and creates regionalisms. Lastly, the larger the state, the greater is likely to be the variety both of peoples and physical environment.

❖ *Write the advantages and disadvantages of size of a state.*

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The Shape of the State Area

The geographic shape of a state presents only a degree less acute than those raised by its area. There are four categories of shapes of states:

1. *Elongated or Attenuated State,* may be defined as one that is at least six times as long as its average width (taking Chilean example). Thus, Norway, Sweden, Togo, the Gambia, Italy, Panama, and Malawi are among the States in this category. Depending to a certain extent on the state's location with reference to the world's cultural area, elongation may involve internal division. Furthermore, the physiographic contrast within the elongated state may accentuate

other divisions. Chile, for example, possesses at least three distinct environmental regions. The central region is Mediterranean in nature, the south is under Maritime West Coast condition, and the north is desert. The internal diversification of a state resulting from its straddling of several environmental and cultural zones may be advantageous.

2. **Compact state**: lie at about the same distance from the geometrical centre of the state. Compact states enclose a maximum of territory within a minimum of boundary and are without peninsulas, islands, or other remote extensions of the national spatial framework. There are many advantages:

   ✓ The boundary is the shortest possible distance in view of the area enclosed,

   ✓ Since there are no peninsulas, islands, or other protruding parts, the establishment of effective communications to all parts of the country should be easier here than under any other shape conditions (unless there are several physiographic barriers).

   ✓ Consequent to the second effective control is theoretically more easily maintained here than in any other country.

3. *Prorupt State:* are nearly compact, but possess and extension of territory in the form of a peninsula, or "corridor", leading away from the main body of the territory. Such prorupt states and territories often face serious internal difficulties, for the proruption frequently is either the most important part of the political entity or a distant problem of administration. Perhaps the best example is of Zaire, which consists of a huge, compact area with two proruptions, both of which are vital to the country and are in many ways its most important areas. The capital itself lies in on the western proruption, which is also forms a corridor to the ocean via the Zaire port of Matadi. The most important area of revenue production, on the other hand, is Shaba Province (formerly Katanga), itself a proruption in the far southeast. Separating the two areas lays the vast Congo Basin. Other examples are Namibia (the Caprivi Belt which extends to the Zambezi River), Myanmar (Burma) and Thailand have large territories, fairly compact in shape, but they share a section of the Malayan Peninsula along a boundary that runs almost through the middle of this narrow strip of land.

4. *Perforated State:* there are a few States that completely enclose other states. Such states are perforated states. It is impossible to reach the perforating state without crossing the territory or air space of the perforated State. The perforated State is in a strong position with reference to the land-locked perforator. E.g. San Marino perforates Italy; Lesotho (30,344-sq. km.)

perforates the Republic of South Africa.

❖ *Compare and contrast the four categories of shapes of states.*

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Types of state

Unitary, Federal and Regional States

State organization is the result of lengthy processes of experimentation and modification. State systems are continually being altered, sometimes through deliberation and consultation and at other times because the system cannot withstand certain centrifugal pressures or forces.

The Unitary State

The word unitary derives from the Latin *unitas (unity)*, which, in turn, comes from **unus (one).**It thus emphasizes the *oneness* of the state and implies a high degree of internal homogeneity and cohesiveness. The unitary state theoretically has one strong focus.

All states are divided for political purposes into administrative units. Each of these units has a local government to deal with local matters. In the case of the unitary State, the central authority controls these local governments and determines how much power they will have. The central authority may under certain circumstances, temporarily take over the functions of a local government. It can impose its decisions on all local governments regardless of their unpopularity in certain parts of the country. In a national emergency, the central authority can assume greater powers to meet the crisis, while in times of stability it may grant increased responsibilities to the local governments.

First, an ideal unitary state should not be in the "large" or "very large" categories of state territory. The larger the state, the more likely it is to saddle more than one cultural region, and the greater may be the physiographic impediments to effective communications and transportation. Anything that would intensify the centrifugal forces present in any state reduces the efficacy of a single, central authority.

Second, it is compact in shape. A fragmented or prorupt territory may present obstacles to unity and cohesion and require a measure of autonomy for various individual regions. Racial, religious, and linguistic diversity is likely in a fragmented state, and only a federal political framework may function to the satisfaction of the majority of the people.

Third, the unitary state should be relatively densely populated and effectively inhabited. There should be no vast territory with separate concentrations of population interspersed with empty and unproductive areas. This leads to isolation and regionalism.

Fourth, the unitary state should have only one core area. Multi-core states reflect strong regionalism, and undesirable condition in unitary states. Theoretically, the most suitable location for the single core area of the unitary state is central to its compact territory. This brings all peripheral areas within the shortest distance of the capital city and makes the presence of the core area the capital strongly felt in all parts of the state.

Few of the unitary states in existence today conform to the ideal model. Several examples that show a close approximation to the ideal occur in Western Europe. In 1995 there were fewer than two dozen federal states and more than 150 unitary States. France is often cited as the best example of the unitary state. Though large by European standards (544,000-sq. km.), this country, apart from Corsica, is compact in shape. It has a core area with a lengthy history, and at its heart is a capital city of undoubted eminence as well as a large, politically conscious population with much historical momentum and strong traditions.

In Latin America, including the Caribbean, all countries except Venezuela, Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina function as unitary states. In Africa and in the Middle East, all Arab countries are unitary states, and the majority of the black African states have also chosen this form of organization. Africa south of the Sahara affords excellent examples of recent experimentation with European concept of government. In Asia, Indonesia and Malaysia are unitary states.

Comparatively few unitary states approach the ideal. A number are territorially fragmented, including Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia, and New Zealand, and several are in size categories that required internal homogeneity and unity, such as China and Sudan.

Types of Unitary States

In the unitary state, whatever the mode of government, whether a monarchy, a dictatorship or a democracy, certain adjustments are made in the politico-territorial system that reflects the internal conditions of the state.

Two types of centralized states are recognized: -

Centralized: This is the "average" unitary state, true to the basic rule of centralization of governmental authority but without excesses either in the direction of totalitarianism or in the direction of devolution of power. Normally, in such a state stability has been achieved by virtue of the homogeneity of the population and binding elements of culture and traditions.

States in this category usually possess only one core area. They are generally older states. Most examples are found in Europe, such as Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands. These are three monarchies, by their very retention of this form of government; reflect the satisfaction of the majority of the population with the *status quo*. In the centralized unitary state the population participates in government through the democratic election of representatives. No single ethnic minority or political party has sole claim to leadership, which doesn't mean that there is no ethnic diversity within centralized unitary states and no regionalism. Despite the small size, the Netherlands has at times been mildly aware of regionalism in Friesland, with Friesians demanding that their language be taught in Dutch schools if Friesians must learn Dutch. The overriding factors of proximity, inter digitations, interdependence, and historical association produce the centripetal forces that bind the state together.

Highly Centralized: In this type of unitary state, internal diversity or dissension, ethnic heterogeneity, tribalism or regionalism that threatens to disrupt the state system is countered by tight and omnipotent control. The leader or leaders often are the representatives of a minority group within the country or of the only political party they may operate within the state. Three major groups of state may be recognized within this category: unitary state within the former communist sphere, on party-states in Africa and other parts of the de-colonized world, and dictatorships elsewhere. *Cuba* in Latin America, *Equatorial Guinea* and *Libya* in Africa, and *Saudi Arabia and Indonesia* in Asia are some current highly centralized unitary states.

The Federal State

The idea of federalism was adopted with ancient Greek and Roman roots. The term to describe it comes from the Latin feoderis; in practice, it means alliance and coexistence, a union of consensus and common interest—a federation. The study of federalism belongs to the field of political geography, because it is one of the devices by which the state is adjusted to the nation, and vice versa. A federation has been called "the most geographically expressive of all political systems." The modern federal practice began in the USA, where, after the revolt of the American colonies, thirteen states found themselves with a common language, and a material culture that did not differ greatly between them, and a distrust of strong centralized government. The distribution of power as between the central or federal government and the governments of the states or the provinces may reflect geographic calculations and the strength of the local feeling. A feature of many federal states is the presence within their borders of areas either economically backward or inhabited by ethnic groups unsuited to that degree of autonomy accorded to the states of any particular unity.

Examples of world federal states: - The Federation of Malaya, Russia, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Germany, the Federation of Nigeria, Switzerland, Pakistan, India, and Ethiopia.

Theoretically, the federal framework is especially suitable for states in the large and very large categories. Poor communication and ineffective occupation of large areas within the state still affect for example, Brazil and Zaire. This impediment to contact and to control might disrupt a unitary state, whereas a federal framework can withstand such centrifugal forces. In terms of shape it is obvious that fragmented states and states with pronounced and important proruptions may be served by a federal system. An elongated state possessing more than one core area also might turn to a federal arrangement.

Federal states can adjust to the presence of more than one core area (a number of subsidiary cores) more easily than unitary states. Several contemporary federal states are multi-core states, and in the case of Canada, Nigeria and Australia, it is probable that only a federal constitution could have bound the diverse regions together. Thus, the federal state often has a number of individual population agglomerations separated by large areas that are sparsely populated and relatively unproductive. Canada and Australia, two of the largest federations in terms of area and two of the smallest in terms of population, illustrate this principle.

The federal arrangement is also a political solution for those territories occupied by peoples of widely different ethnic origins, languages, religions, or cultures. This is especially true in cases where these differences have regional expression, where various peoples see individual parts of their country as a homeland.

Types of Federal States

There are several different types of federal sates. In some present-day federal states, such as Australia and Argentina, internal variety and diversity seem so insignificant (compared to that existing in other countries) that a unitary arrangement might be just effective. Other federal states, including Canada, Ethiopia, and Nigeria, incorporate such diversity that a certain amount of give and take was, and remains, essential for the well-being of the state. Still in other federal states, the geographic obstacles to any unitary system rendered a federal arrangement imperative.

Another category of federations that must be considered is to those that have failed. The world is littered with the wreckage of federations that have been proposed but never consummated, that have been created only to fragment relatively quickly, and that have survived but only after conversion into unitary states. Most resulted from the break-up of empires, and federation was seen as a way of managing, if not solving, many of the different problems engendered by decolonization.

A federation is a compromise form of territorial organization; it requires very special conditions for initiation and a great deal of hard work and dedication for survival.

Regional States

As federal states become more centralized and unitary states grant more autonomy to regions within them, it has become increasingly difficult in applying the old labels to new situations. Nowadays, for states approaching a midway area between federalism and Unitarianism, the term *regional State* is used.

In this category are placed those states in which considerable autonomy has been granted to regions within them, generally regions of ethnic distinctiveness or remoteness from the core area. The United Kingdom has guaranteed regional autonomy to many of its regions. In 1970, Belgium adopted a form of *"federalization without federalism "*by creating four linguistic regions.

The trend toward devolution of powers and/or decentralization of activity from the center to the constituent civil divisions is spreading around the world. Other regional states are those with federal constitutions in which federalism either was never very real, has gradually given way to centralization, or alternates with Unitarianism in law or practice. For example, in the former Soviet Union, whose constitution provided that each constituent republic could conduct its own foreign relations and secede atwill. In practice, however, no republic conducted its own foreign affairs, not even the Ukraine and Byelorussia, which were charter members of the United Nations. And no republic would have dared to try to secede, not even one in which local nationalism was very strong. The notion of a regional state is quite new and still untested. Even the countries indicated have offered autonomy tentatively.

❖ *Compare and contrast federal and unitary state.*

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1.11. The anatomy of power

Decisions and Power

Since decision is an *effective* determination of policy, it involved the total process of bringing about a specified course of action. In decision making only those participate whose acts do in fact matter. And since the decision-making process includes application as well as formulation and promulgation of policy, those whose acts are affected also participate in decision making: by conformity to or disregard of the policy they help determine whether it is or is not in fact a decision. Laws are not made by legislators alone, but by the law-abiding as well: a statute ceases to embody a law in the degree that it is widely disregarded.

Power is participation in making of decisions. Power may be defined as the capacity of an individual, group of individuals, to modify the conduct of other individuals or groups in the manner, which he/she desires. The concept of power is perhaps the most fundamental in the whole of political science: the political process is the shaping, distribution and exercise. Power, as participation in the making of

decisions is as interpersonal relations. Power is a special case of the exercise of influence: it is the process of affecting policies of others with the help of (actual or threatened) severe deprivations for nonconformity with the policies intended. This is not to say that the exercise of power rests always, or even generally, on violence.

Since power is comprised under influence, one may speak of the weight, scope, and domain of power in the senses defined for the exercise of influence. *The weight of power* is the degree of participation in the making of decisions; *its scope* consists of the values whose shaping and enjoyment are controlled; *the domain of power* consists of the persons over whom power is exercised. All three enter into the notion of "amount" of power. Increase or decrease in power may involve a change in *its weight*(as when limitations in suffrages are imposed or lifted), *in its scope* (as when economic practices are brought under or freed from control), or *in its domain* (as when a state brings new peoples under its dominion by conquest or loses them by secession).*The arena* is the situation comprised by those who demand power or who are within the domain of power. It refers to any situation in which power is sought and persons are brought within the domain of power.

Forms of Influence and Power

To practice influence is to affect the policies of others as to weight, scope and domain. The "*base value*" of the influence refers to the causal condition of its exercise: that which gives the influence its effectiveness. Since to have influence is to occupy a high value position, the conditions for the exercise influence can be described in terms of values.

The *base value* of an influential relation is the condition for the exercise of the influence in question. The *power base* is the value, which is the condition for participation in decision making in the given case.

Since power is a type of influence, the definition applies to the base value for power or the *power base*. A power holder may owe his/her power to his/her wealth, ability, reputation, personalization, or, in general, favorable position with regard to any value.

Since power is itself a value, forms of influence which includes power in their scope are usually themselves forms of power. The king's mistress, though she has only influence, not power, over the king, may have power over his subjects in the degree of that influence. Forms of influence based on power are themselves forms of power only if the scope of the influence is included within that of the power in

question. The king may exercise influence over the standards of morality, say, by virtue of his power position, but he does not necessarily exercise power over morality. The most familiar base of influence and power is power itself: power over some values often constitutes the condition for influence or power over other values. Control, based on power, over power policy is when policies are not expected to be, and are not in facts, enforced sufficiently sever sanctions to be decisions, it is also convenient to distinguish the *influence sanction* from the influence base.

Political power in the narrow sense has different meaning from authority (not to be confused with authority). The veto and appointive powers of the president are typical political powers in this sense: control is exercised over the patterns of control themselves, and the condition of control is the possession of power.   The influence over respect, which is exercised by power, is called *homage*; power "commands" respect. Similarly, power may influence the moral process; this refers to *inculcation* of a moral code. The influence of power over affection is designated as *fealty*. The relation of the power holder to his domain may exhibit a high degree of personalization; a sentimental identification on the part of the followers is a regular component of leadership.

When power is the bases of control over the well-being, it is *compulsion*; this is the form of power exercised by the army and police. Control over wealth on a power basis constitutes *polinomic* (politico-economic) *power*, exemplified by taxation or the granting of franchises. Power may control the skill process is *directorship*. Control over enlightenment based on power is usually called *indoctrination*. This includes political, as distinct from purely moral, censorship, as well as all official propaganda (bureau of information and so on).

Various forms of influence are based on respect. Influence over power on this basis is referred to as *councillorship*. The councilor affects the decision making process by virtue of the respect accorded to him by those participating in the process. Respect may be the basis of one of the most important forms of influence based on respect is *charisma:* the veneration accorded a leader may give him even the power of life and death over his followers. Influence over respect itself, this form of influence is designated as *sponsorship*. The sponsor evokes respect for his protégé by virtue of respect he himself commands.

Choice and Coercion

Coercion is a high degree of constraint and / or inducement; *choice*, a low degree. Coercion is involved in an influence situation if the alternative courses of action are associated with severe deprivations or indulgences, and choice if they are mild.

In addition to the weight, scope, and domain of influence one can speak of its degree of coerciveness (or alternatively, of the degree to which it limits choice). This characteristic depends on which values serve as the influence base (and function as positive or negative sanctions), and on the amounts of those values promised or threatened. The degree of coerciveness attaching to a specific amount of a particular value varies, of course, with the standards of the culture (or of the particular groups, such as classes, or to which the persons in the domain of influence belong). The culture traits not only determine whether a given object is a value, but how much of a value it is, that is, how it compares in value with other values. A choice situation in one society might thus constitute coercion in another-the indulgences and deprivations might represent greater values.

The exercise of power is simply the exercise of a high degree of coerciveness. When the values promised or threatened are sufficiently important to those over whom the influence is being exercised, the latter are being coerced: they are subjected to a power relationship. The power situation is always intense-there is a stress toward action evoked by considerable inducements and constraints.

The table below introduces terms for coercive and non-coercive value practices.

Value	Choice	Coercion
Enlightenment	Education	Indoctrination
Skill	Artistry	Servitude
Wealth	Bargaining	Rationing
Well-Being	Play	Toil

Affection	Love	Servility
Rectitude	Moral Freedom	Moral Subjection
Respect	Consideration	Obeisance /homage
Power	Negotiation	Submission

Respect practices (confrontations) are referred to as *consideration* when freely engaged in and *obeisance* when they result from coercion. The reign of terror is a typical instance of the coercive evocation of respect. Practices with regard to moral values (moral appraisals) may also be subject to the exercise of power; this refers to *moral freedom* and *moral subjection*. In the latter case, adherence to specified moral standards is coercively determined. It may result from imposition of discipline (power over rectitude based on well-being), or take the form of inculcation, where power itself is the base of extreme inducements and constraints to moral behavior. There is moral freedom in the degree to which choice may be exercised with regard to standards of morality. Freedom of religion is a familiar instance of moral freedom in this sense. The regulation of public morals by law (decency, sexual offences, and so on) exemplifies moral subjection.

Coercive may be operative in practices concerning affection in the wide sense (socially). Affection for the ruler evoked by the exercise of power is a familiar instance of *servility* as distinguished from non coercive *love.* Where practices with regard to well-being (work) are controlled by the exercise of power is referred as *toil*, and *play*, regardless of serious intent, where the activity is free from coercion. *Bargaining* and *rationing* are practices with regard to wealth (exchanges) in situations of choice and coercion, respectively. Whenever the exercise of power introduces into the market extremes of inducement or constraint it refers to rationing; bargaining is the practice in a freely competitive market. The exercise of skill (occupation) is referred to as *artistry* where it is free from coercion, and otherwise *servitude.* Force labor (the form of power based on well-being whose scope is skill) yields one type of servitude. Coercive control of the acquisition of enlightenment (disclosure) is referred in general as *indoctrination,* as contrasted with *education.*

❖ **Distinguish choice from coercion? Give examples**

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Review exercises

I.   Choose the Best Answer among the given alternatives.

1. Which one of the following is FALSE statement about geography?

    A. Geography is about space and its contents.

    B. Space and society are influenced each other and separated.

    C. Four overlapping aspects of geography are space, place, landscape and environment.

    D. All of the above

2. Which one of the following is TRUE statement about politics?

    A. Formal politics is limited and legally defined.

    B. Informal politics is constitutional system of government.

    C. Office politics is typical example of formal politics.

    D. Politics is restricted to public policy, government and war.

3. Which one of the following is least focus area of political geography?

    A. Boundaries

    B. Conflict over resources

    C. Right to vote

    D. Capital cities

4. Developed states are not dependent on underdeveloped states.

    A. True

    B. False

II.   Give Short Answer

1. What is political geography?

2. Write the scopes of political geography.

3. What are politically significant phenomena?

4. What are the political criteria for a state?

5. Distinguish the following terms.

    a. nation and country

    b. state and government

    c. tribalism and nationalism

    d. nation-state, nation and state

6. Give five examples for nation – state.

7. Define and differentiate the following terms.

    a. centrifugal forces

    b. centripetal forces

8. Identify the weakening forces of Ethiopia.

9. Mention the instruments of national cohesion.

10. What kind of territory is suitable for development?

11. Is size or quality of population more important for a state?

12. Write the laws of the spatial growth of a state.

13. Does it really matter how big a country is?

14. Mention the four categories of shapes of sates.

15. Describe the types of state.

16. Mention forms of influence and power.

CHAPTER 3
FRONTIERS AND BOUNDARIES

Frontiers and Boundaries

With the exception of the two inhospitable Polar Regions, the Arctic of the north and Antarctic of the south, our planet is now covered by a patchwork of politically organized units. That is, within the international boundaries all modern sovereign states are bounded and confined to their legal limits.In many ways, boundaries are the most obvious politico-geographical features that exist. The reality is a complex of entities, from the vast macro-states (e.g. Russia-1 7,075,401 million sq. km.) to the smallest micro states (less than 1 thousand sq. km- The Vatican City, within the city of Rome, has only 44 ha.).The world political map might well be likened to a giant mosaic depicting the world's geopolitical structure, with each of the individual pieces representing a separate state and the lines of mortar dividing those representing international boundaries. The world political map is the simple geographical expression of the inter-state system.

Political frontiers and boundaries separate areas subject to different political control of sovereignty. *Frontiers* are zones of varying widths, which were common features of the political landscape centuries ago. By the beginning of the 20th century, most remaining frontiers had disappeared and had been replaced by boundaries, which are *lines.*

National Histories

When the histories of countries are unraveled, it is plain that most of them did not emerge at one time within a single set of international limits, which have remained unchanged. That is certainly the case with countries in Europe, North and South America, and Asia. Although it is true that many African countries, such as Somalia and Mozambique, became independent within a set of boundaries, which have not been altered, research into their colonial antecedents reveals a variety of colonial boundaries. A significant part of the history of several countries concerns the struggle for territory, and the identification of previous national boundaries on a single map provides a shorthand account of stages in the progress to the present pattern of states.

Modern Concepts of Frontiers and Boundaries

The Frontier: is used in two senses; it can either refer to the political division between two countries or the division between the settled and uninhabited parts of one country. In each sense the frontier is considered to be a zone. A frontier can be an area between two states where a precise boundary has never been defined, such as most of the area between Saudi Arabia and Yemen.

Frontier is a politico geographical area lying between the integrated region of the political unit and into which expansion could take place. This is the same principle used when one speaks of the "frontiers of science": that means an ill-defined outer belt, vague and unknown, but into which one is penetrating. A no man's land frequently separates the territory that is inhabited and used by one tribe from that occupied by the next. This is a frontier in the strict sense; a border zone, unclaimed, unsettled, and unused, into which peoples from each side may at times intrude but over which neither side claims or exercises an exclusive control. A frontier is a boundary at which inter-state functions are applied.

The Boundary: the boundary indicates certain well established limits of the given political unit, and all that is within the boundary is bound together, that it is fastened by an internal bond. The term boundary signifies the finite often the precise line surrounding and defining the territory of a state. In fact, a boundary is not a line but a plane, a vertical plane that cuts through the airspace, the soil, and the subsoil of the adjacent states. This plane appears on the surface of the earth as a line because it intersects the surface and is marked where it does so. The boundaries bind together an area and a people which live under one sovereign state and law and are at least presumably, integrated not only administratively and economically but also by means of a state idea or "creed". At the same time the state is marked off from its neighbours by political boundaries.

Boundaries are lines that are demarcated with exactitude on the surface of the earth. All boundaries are imaginary lines, which define an area or a territory; they may or may not have been demarcated on the ground or, in the other words, reduced to visible boundary. The boundary is, in fact, the outer limit within which a government exercises effective control. They are one of the spatial expressions of the given legal order. A boundary line does not exist in nature or by itself. It always owes its existence to man.The boundary, of course, also has a legal function.

The differences between frontiers and boundaries

Frontier is outer oriented: Its main attention is directed towards the outlying areas, which are both a source of danger and a coveted prize.

Boundary is inner oriented: It is created and maintained by the will of the central government. It is the outer line of effective control exercised by the central government.

The frontier is an integrating factor: Being a zone of transition from the sphere (acumen) of the way of life to another, and representing forces which are neither fully assimilated nor satisfied with either, it provides an excellent opportunity for mutual interpretation and sway.

The boundary is, on the contrary, a separating factor: boundary that impinges on life. Few natural obstacles restrict the movement of persons, things, and even ideas as completely as do the boundaries of some states.

The boundary is defined and regulated by law, national and international, and as such its status and characteristics are more uniform and can be defined with some precision. But the frontier is a phenomenon of history; like history it may repeat itself, but again like history, it is always unique.

The *frontier* is a manifestation of centrifugal forces. On the other hand, the range and vigour of centripetal forces is indicated by the *boundary*.

❖ ***Mention the major differences between frontiers and boundaries.***

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Criteria for Boundaries

Political geographers, among others, have searched for the "ideal" criteria for boundary definition in hope of reducing international tensions created by boundary disputes. However, a boundary is one of the parts of the state system, one is concerned not only with criteria for its establishment, but also with the effect the use of these criteria will have; that is, the function of the border. However, some of the proposed criteria are:

i.   Ethnic

Some political geographers have felt that ethnic criteria may be the most appropriate for the definition of international boundaries. In other words, boundaries should be drawn so as to separate peoples who are culturally uniform so that a minimum of stress will be placed on them. The nation state aims to establish boundaries that include, within the territory of each, all people of corresponding nation, and, conversely, to exclude all others. E.g. the states of India, Pakistan and Burma were established on the bases that may loosely be called *"ethnic"*. Rather than risk losing valuable industrial and other resources through a change of boundary, governments have expelled the minority people from their territory.

ii.   Language

It might also be proposed as a basis for boundary definition. But the map of the world's languages shows a patchwork of great complexity that would immeasurably compound the boundary framework existing today. Many states are multilingual and would be fragmented in such effort. In this case then a boundary will inevitably be a barrier between adjacent states. If a boundary separates peoples who speak different languages, they are not likely to understand each other well, with the result that relations may remain hostile across their international boundary. On the other hand, a boundary running through a region of linguistic homogeneity would ensure that people on either side would at least have a language in common, and as a result could communicate more easily. This common language across the border would then act as a bond between the two states involved.

iii.   Religion

Like language, it is important component of ethnicity an even nationhood. Peoples of widely varied races and tongues have accepted the same faith, and peoples speaking the same language have adopted different religions. Nevertheless, in areas where religion has been a strong source of internal friction, it has been a major basis for boundary definition. A good example is the partition of the Indian subcontinent into (mainly Hindu) India and (mainly Muslim) Pakistan. The latter, as a result, became a fragmented state and has demonstrated the weakness of religion as a centripetal force.

iv. Physical features

Many political boundaries of the world lie along prominent physical features in the landscape. Such boundaries have become known as *"physiographic political boundaries,"* a term not to be confused with the physiographic boundary used in physical geography**.** In political geography a physiographic boundary refers to any prominent physical feature paralleled by a political boundary: a river, mountain range, or

escarpment. These would seem to be especially acceptable criteria, since pronounced physical features often also separate culturally different areas.

How the border functions, how it is reflected on the landscape, and how the people on both sides feel about it are much more important. Thus, other classifications have been devised that can be quite useful in analysing boundaries and boundary problems. These are:

i) **Functional classification:** For what purpose it is designed. Might reflect whether the boundary was originally or is still designed primarily for defensive purposes, as a separator of cultures, according to economic factors, simply for legal or administrative purposes (as in Spanish America and French Africa), or on ideological bases (communist or non-communist areas, Catholic or Protestant areas, black-or- white controlled areas in old colonial Africa).

ii) **A genetic classification:** Is based on when the boundary was laid out; the origin is related to the development of the societies, which they separate. A pioneer boundary is drawn through essentially unoccupied territory. Or a boundary may be antecedent to intensive settlement and land use; i.e. are those that preceded the development of most of the features of the cultural landscape. As societies developed, they adjusted themselves to the boundary, which thus acquired a historical and pragmatic sanction. For example, the boundary between the USA and Canada there was few settlers in the area when it was demarcated. Subsequent to the establishment of peoples with different cultures in the region and taking them into account. These were established after the cultural pattern had been formed, and, as a general rule, they conform to the borders between "major" or "minor" divisions of natural and cultural regions. Super imposed on an existing cultural pattern, these were established, like subsequent boundaries, after the territory to be divided had been settled and developed, but unlike the former they ignore completely the cultural and ethnic characteristics of the area divided. For example, many of the boundaries of Africa. To the category of superimposed boundaries may also be allocated those, which derive from truce–lines, established at the conclusion of hostilities and never significantly modified, by a subsequent treaty. E.g. the boundary between North and South Korea, the boundaries around the Gaza strip.

iii) **Relic boundaries:** are boundary lines which have been abandoned for political purposes, but which, nevertheless, remain discernible in the cultural landscape. A former boundary that no longer functions as such. Example, Turkish architectural styles in the Balkans.

iv. A legal classification: could consider those boundaries that are settled and recognized in the international law; those recognized only by the adjacent and some others. De facto boundaries, which are disputed by one adjacent; and fictitious boundaries, which exist on maps but not in the real world, usually relic boundaries or the limits dreamed of by separatist or irredentist groups.

v.   *A Morphological classification:*

It is a classification according to their relationship to conspicuous features of the landscape. Such the so-called "natural" boundaries have been grouped according to the degree of success with which they separate political societies. It is the primary purpose of boundaries to separate jurisdictions and they may be judged successful when they do this with a minimum of dispute and friction. From the morphological point of view, boundaries may, for convenience, be grouped into those, which have been made: -

1. Follow the course of a mountain or hill range.

2. Follow the line of rivers, canals and lakes.

3. Run through a desert, a forest, or a swamp.

4. Conform to some other feature that may once have been conspicuous in the landscape.

1.   *Mountains and Hills*

Of these natural features a definite line of watershed carried by a conspicuous mountain ridge, or range, is undoubtedly the lasting, the most unmistakable and the most efficient as a barrier. Generally, though not always, mountain ranges separate cultural groups, by virtue of the relative difficulty in crossing them. Boundaries drawn along mountains and hills, which seemed so unambiguous when first delimited, have proved to be the source of bitter controversy. For instance, the boundary between China and India was designed to follow the line of the Himalayas and other ranges but it is disputed.

2.   *Rivers, Canals, and lakes*

They have the advantage of being more clearly marked on maps and more narrowly defined on the land than mountains and hills. For this reason, they have often been adopted in boundary delimitation. Any way the decision to locate a boundary along a watercourse itself raises problems. These are often of two kinds:

    a) The position of the boundary, which is a line, in relation to the river itself, which has width, and

    b) The natural changes which occur in the bed of the river. It is quite inadequate to specify in the delimitation clauses of a treaty that the boundary shall follow the river.

3. *Forests, Swamps and Deserts*

These features of the earth's surface have in common only their irregular extent and their scanty population. The relative difficulty of traversing them has held communities apart, thus intensifying their differences from one another. Forest, swamp and desert have tended at many times and in many different parts of the world to form a wide no man's land, into which settlements have sometimes penetrated slowly from each other. For example, the Sahara Desert has separated distinctive cultures of the African savannah from those of the Mediterranean Basin.

vi. *Geometric Boundaries*

Geometric boundaries are first and foremost, lines of latitude (parallels) and longitude (meridians). These are easy to define on paper, and their demarcation in the field, with modern methods of surveying, presents no problems. In the absence of clearly determined physical features, boundaries have frequently been determined in geometrical term.

A geometrical boundary may be accepted at the conference table because it affords the only possible compromise between two states or groups of states. The 38th parallel in Korea was established in 1945 as a boundary between North & South Korea by negotiation between the great powers (principally the USA and USSR) without reference to the country, which they so arbitrarily cut in two. The 17th parallel between the ex-North and South Vietnam (1945) demarcated when the Indo-Chinese war ended helped by the Chinese and the French.

Although all of these concepts are useful for analysing and understanding boundaries, no particular type of boundary is necessarily better. The best boundary may be the one that performs the fewest functions; certainly, it is the one falling between good neighbours.

Boundary Functions

The functions of boundaries change over time. Until quite recently, for example, it was conceivable for a state to attempt to fortify its boundary to such an extent that it would be invincible. French defensive strategy until 1940 was pinned on the Maginot Line, a line of fortifications constructed along its north-eastern boundary. The idea is as old as the Great Wall of China, and the principle is the same. plateau with

their seer escarpments have afforded protection to societies that used these natural barriers to their advantage and considered the scarps to mark the limit of their domain. Lesotho and Ethiopia are good examples.

The boundary, of course, also has a legal function. National law prevails to this line. Taxes must be paid to the government by anyone legally subject to taxation. Even though, residents living within sight of the border may have closer linguistic, historical, and religious ties with the people on the other side, they are subject to the regulations prevailing on their side of the boundary. Furthermore, the government usually attempts to control emigration and immigration at points along the border.

Today, with the development of global economy and the disappearance of Cold War tension, many of the world's States, through bilateral trade agreements or multilateral federations, are gradually eliminating or reducing the number of boundary functions. Most of these efforts are aimed at removing tariffs or other economic barriers to free trade, as with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) or South America's (MERCOSUR). The most prominent and advanced example, is the gradual, painstaking movement by members of the European Union toward not only economic but social and political integration, eliminating controls on movements of people and labour across boundaries as well as restrictions on movement of goods and capital.

Boundaries are utterly meaningless to missiles, and television broadcasts alike; not only terror understanding can readily pass through a political boundary, no matter how well defended. Boundaries are becoming more permeable and less hostile. This is not to say, however, that boundaries are disappearing or even that states no longer care much about them; indeed, quite the contrary is true. There are still a great many boundary and territorial disputes around the world. Some of them are dormant, some very much alive, and some of uncertain status.

❖ *Point out the criteria for boundaries of a state.*

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Ideal Boundary

Ideal boundary is non-existent, but some boundaries approach it. Such boundary should offer the concerned states for values: -

i) It should give unity and completeness to the area delineated. Cultures within the boundary should fell compatible and complete. No large number of national should be excluded from the national area.

ii) The boundary should not isolate the state (like the historical *Great Wall of China* and the *Berlin Wall*) but rather should aid communication and exchange with neighbours. Ideas and goods should find easy access across boundaries in order to encourage cultural and material efficiency and advancement.

iii) The *boundary should afford protection from potential outside forces that might threaten the government or territory of the state.*

The ideal boundary should be arrived at by mutual agreement, and should be satisfactory to all concerned.

Allocation

It is a description of the boundary alignment in a text or by marking on a map. *Allocation* refers to the political decision on the distribution of territory. When a boundary was created in a frontier where the geographical facts were well known and where the population density was moderate to heavy it was sometimes possible to select a boundary site, and in such cases the state of allocation was omitted. In areas, which were less well known, often supporting low population densities, the stage of allocation provided the first formal political division. The boundaries that resulted were often arbitrary and consisted of two main kinds. The first type was made up of straight lines connecting prescribed co-ordinates or points in the landscape, which had been identified, such as a waterfall or a village.A straight line connecting known points was often hard for administrative officers to determine when they were some distance from either point. This would be particularly true when the terrain through which the line passed was forested or hilly.

Delimitation

It involves the selection of a specific boundary site. The allocation of territory by arbitrary straight lines or by lines related to the uncertain distribution of physical and cultural features generally solved immediate territorial conflicts of interest and allowed governments to plan the development of territory with a sense of some commercial firms. The delimitation of the boundary requires the selection of a specific boundary site and was usually undertaken when the borderland possessed some intrinsic economic value, or if the interests or antagonisms of the two states required the rigid application of state functions at a specific line.

The retention of the arbitrary straight lines occurred when one or more of the following conditions applied:

i) Straight lines were preserved if the borders lacked any economic or strategic value and if the surveying of the boundary would have been an unnecessary and unjustifiable expense. An examination of the political map of the world reveals that many geometric boundaries are located in the tropical deserts and Antarctica.

ii) Straight lines persisted when the two countries concerned were unable to agree on any alteration. This condition explains the continued use of straight sections in the boundary between Angola and Namibia. The inability of the Ethiopians and the Italians to reach any modifications after 1908 underlines the persistent trouble along the Ethiopian-Somali boundary.

iii) It was usual for straight lines to be maintained when the same colonial power came into possession of the separated territories. This situation applied between Egypt and the Sudan during the period of British paramount and between Kenya and Tanganyika and Botswana and Namibia when German Authority was eliminated after 1918.

Demarcation

The execution consists of marking on the ground the boundary, which has been described and adopted, an operation, which carries the name demarcation. Demarcation involves the identification of a delimited line in the field, the construction of monuments or other visible features to mark the line, and the maintenance of the markings; concerns the marking of the boundary on the ground. Often demarcation does not follow promptly after delimitation; in fact, there are many boundaries, which have never been demarcated. Sometimes new boundary agreements render demarcation of the earlier line unnecessary, or matters of greater priority may make it impossible to spare survey teams for the work. For example, the boundaries separating the former Belgian Congo from Northern Rhodesia and Tanganyika respectively remained not

demarcated until copper and tin mining made. Demarcation is essential if major disputes were to be avoided and large companies encouraged investing further capital.

It must not be presumed that all boundaries have passed through the stages of allocation, delimitation, and demarcation in an orderly sequence. In some cases, the original allocating boundary has been demarcated with no intervening delimitation. In other cases, there has been more than one delimitation before demarcation occurred. Finally, there are many boundaries in the world, which are still un-demarcated.

Administration

It relates to the provisions for supervising the maintenance of the already demarcated boundary.

How important are Boundary Questions

Bounding of states with finite lines often leads to disputes over the location of the boundary. Disagreements of this kind between states can range from purely technical differences over the precise alignment of the boundary, sometimes even within an agreed delimitation, properly called a boundary dispute, to claims over pieces of territory, large or small, properly called territorial dispute. There is no clear-cut definition of the point at which boundary dispute becomes territorial dispute, that is, how much ground is involved to warrant calling a dispute *"territorial"* rather than *"boundary."* Although a territorial dispute inherently means disagreement over the boundary, the difference is more than concept and origin rather than size of area involved. But nowadays, International Organisations, some of them calling for complete freedom of trade between their neighbours or members; others requiring greater liberty of movement of both people and goods, have deprived boundaries of some of their functions. Then, too, brashness has worn off from some of the new- found nationalism and with this some of the intolerance and distrust toward other peoples and communities.

There has been one important exception to the statement that boundary problems are significant only in areas remote from the Cold War issues. Along the curtain – whether Iron, Bamboo or some other material – where the two worlds were in direct juxtaposition, boundary questions were brought to the fore. German's claims, so far unofficial, for a revision of the western boundaries of Poland and Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria's claims on Macedonia, Albania's on ex-Yugoslavia. Russia's desire for a change in her boundary with Turkey, China's claim against India, Vietnam's claim against Laos. All fit into the general pattern of conflict along the boundary between the ex-communist and the free world.

The major sources of serious boundary friction lie in the general situation rather than in the line itself. A boundary dispute today is likely to be merely a symptom of a dispute far more profound and far less tractable. Boundaries have ceased to be the razor's edge.

❖ *Mention and define the processes of ideal boundary.*

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International boundary disputes

The analysis of any boundary dispute should provide information on the following aspects.

First, it is necessary to uncover the cause of the dispute. In most cases the cause will be found in the boundary's history, which will reveal that the evolution of the boundary is incomplete. For example, the quarrel between China and the Russia over the island at the confluence of the Amur and Ussuri rivers rests ultimately on the ambiguous boundary definition of 1861 treaty, which fails to specify the course of the boundary in the vicinity of the island.

Secondly, it is important to identify the trigger action, which created a situation where one side judged it necessary to argue in favor of rectification of the boundary.

Thirdly, this important aspect concerns the aims of the governments initiating boundary disputes. In many cases governments will be seeking additional territory or relief from some unacceptable administrative irritation connected with the boundary.

Types of boundary disputes

The general term *'boundary dispute'* includes four quite different types of disagreements between countries.

The first type of dispute may be described as a territorial boundary dispute and refers to claims over pieces of territory, large or small; and these results from some quality of the neighboring borderland, which makes it attractive to the country initiating the dispute.

The second type of boundary dispute concerns the actual location of the boundary and usually involves a controversy over the interpretation of terms used in defining the boundary at the stage of allocation, delimitation, or demarcation. For example, where does the line actually lay in a wide river chosen a boundary, or which common mountain ridge in a cordillera was intended as the boundary the treaty framers.

Many such disputes have arisen because of ambiguous or vague identification in early treaties of terrain features chosen as the location of the boundary. The vague pre-1993 boundary delimitation between Iraq and Kuwait is a classic example. The dispute between the two countries has vacillated between boundary and territorial. At times Iraq, has disputed the existence of Kuwait as an independent state, claiming it as part of Iraq, as it did during its 1990 invasion of the country. At other times, apparently recognizing Kuwait as a separate state, Iraq has disputed the location of their boundary- making repeated attempts to gain control over two islands that would allow it to control both sides of an important waterway to one of its major ports.

Territorial disputes, on the other hand, more often originate in political differences such as historical claims on lost lands or irredentist policies promoting union of ethnic groups separated by a boundary. Disputes over the sovereignty of islands are also example of territorial disputes. This type may be called a *positional boundary dispute*.

Both *territorial* and *positional* disputes can only be solved in favor of the claimant state by altering the position of the boundary. Although it may be accepted that if a government feels sufficiently strong it might press territorial claims, which have no obvious basis, nevertheless in most, cases some arguments, no matter how weak, are raised.

The boundary, which was finally selected after a process of political negotiations, might have corresponded with none of the lines mentioned or with different sections of the various lines. In the latter case the boundary would lack any uniform basis. It will therefore always possible for a government to

make a territorial claim by emphasizing some patterns in the borderland which was discounted during the boundary's construction.

It can therefore be expected that most boundaries were drawn as a compromise between the strategic, economic, and ethnic requirements of the two states and will therefore have some degree of unconformity with features in the borderland. In most cases these discrepancies will not be serious enough to provoke a territorial dispute. In those cases where territorial boundary dispute develops, it is possible to identify three processes by which the boundary's unconformity might have arisen.

The third type arises over state functions applied to the boundary, and they may be described as functional boundary disputes. Such disputes might arise because states are unreasonably diligent in applying regulations or because they are negligent in enforcing rules. The last type of dispute concerns the use of some trans-boundary resources such as a river or a coal-field. Disputes of this kind usually have as their aim the creation of some organization, which will govern use of the particular resource, and they may be called disputes over resource development.

The origin of boundary disputes

First, the boundary might have been drawn without full knowledge of the distribution of people or topographical features. Many of the boundaries of Africa were drawn through areas for which no precise information was available; this was particularly the case during the stage of allocation. Unfortunately, it is also true, in Africa, Asia, and South America, that some boundary decisions were based on inaccurate information.

Secondly, *at the conclusion of a war, new boundaries sometimes were forced on the defeated country, which did not correspond with established patterns*. For example, when the Hapsburg Empire was dismembered in 1919, Italy was awarded the area Tyrol lying south of the Brenner Pass. Nearly 70 percent of the population in the transferred area spoke German and had strong cultural affinities with the Austrians on the other side of the boundary.

Thirdly, it is possible for new distribution of population to develop after the boundary is drawn and to give rise to territorial claims. This is especially possible following the establishment of an antecedent boundary. After the state of Chile, and Bolivia had been established, valuable guano and nitrate deposits were discovered in the coastal areas of all three states, with the richest deposits being located in Bolivia.

The manual work done by Chilean peasants in the entire borderland and their presence in Bolivian, close to Chile, encouraged that country to make a successful claim to the Bolivian littoral, which help transform that country to a landlocked state.

***Civil wars may promote territorial disputes in two ways*:**

First, when a country is involved in a civil war it is unlikely to engage in territorial claims, which might invite attack. However, once that civil war is concluded and the country's strength is renewed it may begin actively to prosecute claims to external territory. After 1949 China began to assert itself in the borderlands and demand the re-negotiations of treaties which were alleged to have been forced on China during a period of weakness. This development has caused serious disputes with the Soviet Union and India.

Secondly, when a country is engaged in a civil war its capacity to resist external aggression is reduced and territorial claims may be pressed against it. The Somali government obviously decided the serious fighting in Eritrea Province of Ethiopia in June 1975 provided an excellent opportunity to try to settle the Somali claim to the Haud and the Ogaden by force. Libya annexed the northern areas of Chad in 1975 when that government was beset by internal revolt.

The transfer of power to indigenous governments during the process of decolonization has caused a number of territorial disputes to flare. The new governments have often undertaken a much more diligent surveillance of their boundaries than the colonial administrations. In some cases this has led to the recognition that the boundary does not coincide with tribal distributions or prominent physical features, and the boundary issues which were debated and settled by the colonial powers have been revived by the new authorities. Lesotho's claim too much of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, Somali's claim to the Ogaden, and Uganda's claim to western Kenya. Decolonization is sometimes the signal for neighboring states to take advantage of the withdrawal of colonial armies. In February 1976, when Spain withdrew its forces from Spanish Sahara, Morocco and Mauritania annexed the territory.

States' aims in territorial disputes

When the aims of the state initiating the dispute are considered they could be divided into two classes.

First, there are those claims when the state genuinely wants the territory claimed and believes that it has some chance of obtaining it. In such cases this involves strengthening the state by the accretion of

territory. The increased strength may come from resources found in the area, from the population which lives there, from the improved access the claimed territory gives to the sea or to major lines of communication, or because a better strategic situation is created. For example, the Southwest African People's Organization, which is the main nationalist movement in Namibia, has demanded that the territory of **Walvis Bay** be transferred from South Africa to the control of authorities in Windhoek. **Walvis Bay** is the only port in the coastline of Southwest Africa capable of accommodating large vessels, and is sought to improve the country's transport facilities.

Somalia's latent claim against Djibouti would strengthen Somalia by giving it an economic lever, which could be used against Ethiopia, which conducts much of its trade through the Red Sea port. On the other side of the continent it seems certain that Morocco's annexation of the northern part of Spanish Sahara was directly connected with the rich phosphate deposits of BouCraa. Iraq's claim to Kuwait, six days after that country became independent, was connected with the desire to acquire an area with considerable potential for producing petroleum and at the same time to extend Iraq's coastline on the Persian Gulf.

The second class of aims applies to those claims, which are apparently made without any hope of successful outcome. In such cases it appears that the dispute is initiated to serve some domestic or international policy. For example, it is generally considered that the Philippines claimed northern Sabah at the time of the Federation of Malaysia was being formed in an effort to postpone or prevent the emergence of that political association. The claim was based on the most flimsy ground and was apparently abandoned in June 1977.

Some countries have brought forward territorial claims to distract attention from internal difficulties. It seems likely that the Chinese claims against Russian territory are made less with the hope of regaining territory. Probably it is more with the intention of scoring points in the ideological debate, by portraying Russian leaders as latter-day Czars, who have precisely the same foreign policy aims and territorial ambitions of their royal predecessors.

❖ *Write the origin of boundary disputes between states.*

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CHAPTER 4
CORE AREAS AND CAPITALS

Core Areas

The original states of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America developed around *core areas* of relatively dense population, generally focused on at least one city, served by a good circulation system, and supported by a firm agricultural base. During the past few hundred years, however, others have joined this pattern, and there are examples of core areas that do not fit into any particular pattern. Every adequately functioning state system, however, has a nucleus, a central, essential, and enduring heart.

Types of Core Areas

Core areas may be classified in several ways: -

Types of based on historical development

✓ The case in which a small territory grows into a larger state, perhaps over a period of centuries, and a nuclear core. In some states the original core was always the area of greatest importance within an already larger framework.

✓ The contemporary core is the area within the state with the greatest current economic and/ or political importance, although it may have superseded one or more of earlier cores.

Classified on the bases of function

✓ States with distinct core areas such as France and Russia.

✓ Those with peripheral core areas, Portugal.

✓ Those without distinct core areas, such as Albania and Belgium.

Classification based on spatial considerations

✓ Centrally located core area, such as in France and South Africa.

✓ Marginally located in the national territory. Such as in Brazil, Argentina and many other states.

✓ It is noted that in some states that have experienced territorial division or shifting boundaries, the core is may currently be external.

Spatial considerations immediately lead to other problematic characteristics of states and core areas: Certain states possess more than one focus. Thus, there are recognized multi-core, single-core, and no-core states. Nigeria, for example, has *three* core areas: one in the *south-west*, one in the *south-east*, and a third in the *north*. Ecuador has *two* core areas: one centered *on Guayaquil* on the coast and another on *Quito* in the highland interior. Thailand has a *single*-core area; Mauritania and Chad have *no core units*.

This criterion of scale can be carried further, that there are continental and world core areas as well. For example, the United States-Canadian core in the *eastern* North America is such a continental core area, and in Europe a *developing* continental core area can be recognized as well.

Core Areas the Around World

The states of the modern world have not, in general, been created suddenly or abruptly. In most instances they have grown slowly over a period of centuries. Sometimes, their growth was interrupted by the loss of territory. Some states, such as Ethiopia, Hungary, Bulgaria and perhaps Germany, look back nostalgically to a time when they covered a greater territorial area than they now do. Some have even made the recovery of a former "greater" state a dominant objective of policy, with disastrous effects on their relations with neighboring states.

Most states have grown from *a core* area where their governments and ideals first began to take shape. The core area is defined as "the area in which or about which a state originates." The term "core area" is also currently used to define the area within a state that is at present economically dominant. When a state emerges, a recurring "pattern of integration" takes place. This pattern was the appearance of a core area, characterized by "unusual fertility of soil, permitting a dense agricultural population and producing a food surplus to maintain additional numbers in non-agricultural pursuits; geographic features facilitating military defense of the area; and a nodal position of an intersection of major transportation routes." Other features which usually mark the appearance of the state are the shift from a self-sufficient form of agriculture to specialization and exchange of commodities, the growth of cities, with specialized industry and commerce, and the growth of network of roads.

The term 'core area' has been used to embrace past and present areas of political dominance, area of intense national or cultural consciousness and areas of economic leadership. The picture is obviously confused, and the following points and recommendations on terminology may help to clarify the functional aspects of the core areas.

i) *The expansion of control from a nucleus area clearly influenced the growth patterns of a number of states,* France and Russia for example. In some cases, such as that of Muscovites Russia, the limits of the state advanced with the extension of political control from the core; in others, such as early medieval England, more effective control was exported from *the core area* over the territory which was enclosed by pre-existing boundaries. Here we are dealing with what might be termed '*germinal core areas'*.

ii) *An area, which has not played a germinal role, may still be associated with an intensity of national sentiment and contain a large proportion of national symbols.* Almost invariably such an area will include the state capital which provides practical expression to the area's highly developed political consciousness. The Budapest area provides an example of what might be termed *a 'national core area'.*

iii) *Within each state is an area which, to a greater or lesser extent, is in a leading economic position.* In some states, economic activities may be highly concentrated, as in Ethiopia and the Irish Republic where economic affairs are dominated by the Addis Ababa-Akaki, and Dublin areas, respectively, while in other cases, such as India, the dominance of a single economic region is much less marked. The leading economic region of a state may be termed is *'economic core area'* and defined without recourse to any but economic criteria. The level of agricultural productivity, the intensity of market potential, the magnitude of manufacturing and the degree of urbanization may define this.

iv) *Some states include areas where, for historical and cultural reasons, separatist sentiments are strongly felt, usually by a national minority.* These feelings may be equally associated with all parts of the minority homeland, as in Scotland, or they may be focused on a particular cultural centre, which has played a leading role in separatist iconography, such as Kiev in the Ukraine or Zagreb in Croatia. Only where the latter is the case could the term 'separatist core area' be used.

v). *In some cases the development of the state has been associated with the transference of political, economic or psychological leadership from one area to another, or with one germinal core area being superseded by another.* For example, political control in China and Ethiopia have migrates between

northern and southern core areas. An area, which has formerly served as a core area may be, termed a 'relic' germinal, political, economic or separatist core area.

vi) Subsidiary areas may be associated with germinal, national, economic or separatist functions, and can be described as 'secondary' germinal, national, economic or separatist core areas.

The germinal, national, and economic functions seldom occur in isolation, but usually appear in combination; the London and Paris areas combine all three roles. The above classification is a means of differentiating core areas in terms of their function, or combination of functions, in terms of their past or present and primary or secondary status, while a separate category is reserved for separatist core areas.

In each the core area contains roughly half the total population of the country and nearly three- quarters of the industrial employment. It is also the cultural and political heart of the state, the area in which the state idea originated, also where the capital cities emerged. Both countries are developing subsidiary core areas to the west, but the eastern core area, essentially one core area shared by two states, remains unrivalled.

The Core Area of Today

The historic core may no longer be of significance, since the center of the state activity may in a few cases have moved away from its historic focus. In every state of the modern world there is today a core area in which are located the principal institutions of economic, political, and social life of the nation. Many of these activities are carried on in the national capital; occasionally one finds them shared between neighboring cities, as they are between Washington and New York City; between Ottawa, Montreal, and Toronto; between New Delhi and the Indian port cities of Bombay and Calcutta. But, whether specialized or not in this sense, one finds that in almost every case there is a region within which most of these activities are concentrated.

Such core areas are very much larger in both area and population than the capital cities themselves. They contain satellite towns and are distinguished by industries, which are attracted toward but not necessarily into the capital itself. Relatively dense population and a well-developed transportation net characterize them, as a general rule.

The extent of such a core area can be measured by a number of indices. Foremost among these is the transportation and communication net. The daily movement of commuters, the flow of goods between

factory and market, the circulation of newspapers, the reception of TV programs can be used to define such areas. So also can the intensity of telephone calls, the density of telephones and the volume of use are one measure of the degree of communication within the core area as contrasted with the lower density and level of use outside the core area. Judged by such criteria, the core area of the USA is today the region extending north of Boston to south of Washington, D.C, and sometimes known as *"megalopolis."* That of Canada is the area extending from Montreal into the Lakes Peninsula of Ontario, to the west of Toronto.

The core area commonly plays a dominant political role. Peoples living at a distance from it are apt to resent the power, which it can exercise, and the wealth it can attract to itself. It is common for people who live in the remote and peripheral parts of a complex state-area to feel more cut-off, isolated, and neglected than perhaps they are.

Such distrust or even hostility may, however, be tempered by the fact that many people from the outlying areas seek to migrate to the core area and that the latter is dependent for its growth on such migration. Conversely, those who live in the core area adopt a patronizing attitude toward *"provincials,"* regarding them as in some degree unsophisticated and uneducated.

❖ *Clarify the functional aspects of the core areas.*

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Capitals

Many states originally grew around urban centers that possessed nodal and attained strength and permanence. Many were market centers for large tributary areas; others were fortifications to which the population retreated every night after farming the surrounding lands. As the influence of those cities expanded, far-flung territories came under the control of the political authority located there. Rivalries between "city-states" occurred, in which the largest and best-organized center had the greatest chance of survival and absorbing its competitors.

Capitals have often evolved as centers of trade and government because of their fortuitous situation. But not all capitals can claim such a past. A ruler, in simpler or more complex societies in history, may have expressed a liking for one of his temporary abodes over others, and ultimately arrangements were made to permit the Chief of State to occupy such a place permanently. Example- Empress Taitu and the city of Addis Ababa

Whatever the origins of the capital, it is destined to embody and exemplify the nature of the core area of the state and is a reflection of its wealth, organization and power. And indeed, it sometimes is more than that. Some states have poured money into their capital cities to create there an image of the state as it will be in the future, a goal for the people's aspirations, and a source of national pride. For example, the shining capital of some Latin American countries and the abject poverty of areas within sight of the rooftops of the skyscrapers will attest to these phenomena. Addis Ababa has been described as *"a mask, behind which the rest of the country is hidden."*

Some countries have invested heavily in the creation of wholly new capitals that are constructed with specific aims. Brasilia was built at a tremendous expense in large part to draw Brazilian attention toward the interior. Here the functions of the capital, long performed by Rio de Janeiro, were taken out of the core area and placed elsewhere.

Functions and Types

Capital cities perform certain distinct functions. This is the place for legislative gatherings and the residence of the Chief of State. It is a prime place for the State's reception of external influences, for embassies and international trade organization offices are located there and the turnover of foreign visitors is likely to be greater. In most states the capital city is also the most "cosmopolitan" city.

Capital cities must also act as binding agents, for example, in a federation such as Brazil or Nigeria. In a federal state of great internal diversity, the capital city can be the only place to which all the people can look for guidance. Often in such a state, a territory is separated from the rest of the country and made into "federal territory," so that non-of the other entities in the federation can claim bias in the location of the national capital. In the United States the District of Colombia serves this function.

Capital cities must also be a source of power and authority, either to ensure control over outlying and loosely tied districts of the state or to defend the state against undesirable external influences. The capital

is most frequently located in the economic heart of the country, from which much of the image of strength of the state emanates. Functions of capital cities have changed much over time.

The Primate City

It is a city, which is disproportionately large and exceptionally expressive of national capacity and feeling. In many countries the largest city is the capital, but this need not be so. Although the status of national capital automatically confers political power on a city but other cities in the state by virtue of their sizes, wealth, and concentration of influential people, can also be politically powerful.

Here, capital cities are viewed from the point of their position with reference to the state territory and the core of the state. This results in three classes of capital cities.

i)   Permanent Capitals

Permanent capitals might also be called historic capitals. They have functioned as the leading economic and cultural center for their state over a period of several centuries. Examples are Athens, London, Paris, and Rome.

ii)   Introduced Capitals

Tokyo, in fact, was introduced to become the focal point of Japan when the revolutionary event referred to as the Meiji Restoration occurred. Recent history has seen similar choices made in other countries, but while Tokyo (then called Edo or Eastern City) was already substantial urban center, other capitals were created, literally, from scratch. They replaced other capitals in order to perform new functions, functions perhaps in addition to those normally expected of the seat of government.

Introduced capitals have also come about by less lofty action. Intense interstate rivalries among Australia's individual states made it impossible to select one of that country's several large cities as the permanent national capital, and a compromise had to be reached. That compromise was the new capital of Canberra, built in federal territory carved out of the State of New South Wales.

Despite the general absence of planning for a time when the colonial city in Africa would serve as a national capital, the vast majority of former colonial states have retained the former European headquarters as the national capital.

iii) *Divided Capitals*

In certain states the functions of governments are not concentrated in one city, but divided among two or even more. Such a situation suggests- often reflects- compromise rather than convenience. In the Netherlands (a kingdom) the parliament sits in The Hague (the legislative capital), but the royal palace is in Amsterdam (the "official" capital). In Bolivia the intense rivalry between the cities of La Paz and Sucre produced the arrangements existing today whereby the two cities share the functions of government.

In South Africa, following the war between Boer and Briton, a union was established in which the Boer capital, Pretoria, retained the administrative functions, while the British headquarters, Cape Town, became the legislative headquarters. As a further compromise, the judiciary functions in Bloemfontein, capital of one the old Boer Republics that fought in the Boer War. The reason appears to satisfy the desire of both Afrikaans-and English-speaking South Africans. Cape Town is the largest English-speaking city in the Union; Bloemfontein and Pretoria are the chief cities, respectively, of the Afrikaans-speaking Orange Free State and Transvaal.

Review Questions

I. Choose the best answer from the given alternatives.

1. Which one of the following is a political criterion for a state?

    A. Sovereignty

    B. Circulation

    C. Population

    D. Territory

2. Which one of the following statement is CORRECT?

    A. The number of population of a state is important than character.

    B. Territory of a state must be protected from enemies properly.

    C. Territory of a state should be suitable for the enemies of the state.

    D. None of the above

3. A frontier is a land area whereas a boundary is a political invention.

    A. True

    B. False

4. Physical boundaries consist of mountains, language, and water.

    A. True

    B. False

5. Which one of the following is TRUE statement of population?

    A. There is evenly population distribution in the world.

    B. Population growth of the world is regular through time.

    C. Population growth is regular throughout the world.

    D. Population distribution of the world is uneven.

2. Give short answer

1. Discuss the world population growth through time.

2. Compare the population growth in developing and developed worlds.

3. Define overpopulation and under population.

4. Mention the structure of population in the power of a state.

5. Clarify the term frontier.

6. State the differences between frontier and boundary.

7. Mention and explain the criteria for boundaries.

8. Write the functions of boundaries.

9. What are the classifications which are useful in analyzing boundaries and boundary problems?

10. What are the values of boundary for a state?

11. Explain the following boundary related terms.

    a. allocation

    b. delimitation

    c. demarcation

    d. administration

12. How important are boundary questions?

13. What are the boundary dispute aspects?

14. Point out types of boundary disputes.

15. Express the origin of boundary disputes.

16. Describe the aims of states in territorial disputes.

17. What is core area?

18. Write the types of core areas?

19. What are the functions of capitals?

20. What are the types of capitals?

CHAPTER 5

RESOURCE AND POWER

It is impossible to consider the population of a state, its efficiency and effectiveness, without, at the same time, discussing the resources, which are available for its use. People must have land on which to live and to grow their food. Almost all food is derived directly from the soil, and its volume and quality depend directly on the extent and nature of the soil.

For successful agriculture good soils and for industries reserves of minerals are needed. ***The cultivable soil must, then, be regarded as a primary resource in the estimate of national power***. The raw materials from which the metals are derived have a place of special importance in any discussion of national power, because modern industry cannot be carried on without them. A state which lacks the more important minerals or which has only small reserves may feel especially vulnerable.

Few **natural resources** *can be used in the forms in which nature has given to mankind.* They need to be smelted, refined, and fabricated. ***Potential resources****, which need years to develop, may not greatly help.* If the decision-making authority initiates a policy now, it needs the support of resource at once, not at some hypothetical date in the future. On several occasions in the past century the responsible powers in a State have been forced to admit, *"we shall be in a position to risk war only if certain resources are available"* and to delay political action until a safety margin in resources has been achieved.

So in order to be considered in the power potential of the state, ***the resources must be developed and available, or available after a very short delay***. This pre-supposes the construction of transportation net to bring the raw resources to the factories for processing and the finished goods to those locations where their use is the most effective. *The stage of industrial development of a state is of prime importance in its power potential. Not all industries, of course, add to a state's power or, contribute to its ability to enforce its policy or to resist demands that might be made on it.* "*Conspicuous consumption*" is not in itself a mark of national power. It does, however, presupposes the existence of the factory equipment necessary to fabricate these unnecessary trimmings, and the factory which makes television can be re-tooled, at some cost in time and money, to make electronic equipment- transmitters, receivers, radar-which add significantly to the power potential.

Classification of the degree of availability of resources

1. ***Power resources available immediately***. These include active mines and factories, which are already producing objects with immediate power potential, such as steel sheet and chemical fertilizer.

2. ***Resources available only after activation.*** Among such resources would be stand-by equipment and any plant not currently in production. In a sense, these resources also include the "*moth ball*" fleet. The time required for activation varies from a few hours to several weeks, according to the need for *"warming up"*.

3. ***Resources available only after conversion***. Most factories producing consumer goods having power potential only after a considerable time lag.

4. ***Resources available only after development***. Such fuel resources or ore deposits, known to exist, but awaiting the opening up of a mine or the construction of a processing plant. Such development may well take several years; it is not uncommon for example, for the opening of a new coal mine- particularly a deep one- to cover a period of four or five years. It is unlikely, therefore, that such undeveloped resources would be taken into consideration in making political decisions. *The decision to resort to war, for example, is likely to be made in the light of only of resources that is already in some phase of development.* On the other hand, if a war should last longer than protagonists at first expected it to, it is likely that resources, undeveloped at the start, would be exploited before the conclusion. E.g. Germany's development of domestic iron ores and her use of coal for making petroleum are good examples of wartime development.

5. ***Hypothetical resources***. Coal, petroleum, ore bodies, and other resources whose existence is only presumed but not proved cannot be said to have any power value. No political authority is likely to count on them unless careful investigation has at least raised them to the level of category 4. To this category, must also belong the *future* development of cheap nuclear power, solar energy, the harnessing of the tide and the use of other such potential resources.

Resource is therefore defined as anything a nation has, can obtain, or can conjure up to support its strategy. Resources are as tangible as soil, as intangible as leadership, as measurable as population, as difficult to measure as patriotism.

There are other aspects of resources, apart from their availability, which deserves to be mentioned. ***A state sometimes possesses, in addition to the type of resources already enumerated, external assets, such as overseas investments or currency holdings***. It is usually desirable to hold on to these, but they could be sacrificed, that is, they could be used to purchase other resources needed more immediately. Such expendable resources are sometimes called *fat.*

Another surplus aspect of resources is known as "slack," the failure to make the fullest use of existing resources. This is particularly noticeable in reference to labour. A forty-hour week could be increased to forty-five or to forty-eight hours, at the same time, a plant that operates on a one or two-shift basis could be used all the time. In wartime such slack is always taken up quickly and is used to replace the service of labour that is taken into the armed forces.

A country, which cannot produce a needed commodity from its own soil or its factories, must necessarily import. This in turn imposes two conditions: a market in which it can be obtained and the means to pay for it. The former does not, except in the case of a very few rare commodities, present much difficulty, but the foreign exchange with which to pay for it is often very scarce. Such imports can be paid in three ways:

i) by means of exports,

ii) by means of service performed by the importing country, and

iii) by means of payments in gold, securities, and some other internationally acceptable medium.

Clearly, this last means cannot be employed except in an emergency, and only a few countries are able to perform services on a large enough scale to influence greatly their ability to purchase abroad.

Most of the less developed countries cover the cost of imports by the export of agricultural and mineral raw materials. The more developed countries customarily export mainly manufactured goods or processed materials. ***A country's natural endowment is of immense importance in determining its rage of exports.*** Agricultural exports, which are important to the less developed countries, are subject to considerable price fluctuations, and many are not essential, in so far as other vegetable or even synthetic products can replace them. Demand thus tends to be very elastic. *On the other hand, possession of large reserves of essential minerals and mineral fuels is an asset of great importance, and possession of a "corner" on rare but*

essential mineral- petroleum or the ferroalloy metals-could be the pretext for a species of political blackmail.

Food resources

An adequate supply of foodstuffs is a condition of human welfare, and its assurance is necessarily a primary preoccupation of a government. If food supply is not assured in time of peace, it certainly would be precarious in wartime, when movement and transportation that are usually more restricted and the labour force available to produce it is reduced.

No great power is completely self-sufficient in respect to foodstuffs, because in no instance is the area large enough the embrace the variety of environment necessary to produce the range of food now thought desirable. E.g. *USA and France* perhaps come closest to being self-sufficient. But none is able to produce foodstuffs of equatorial origin without extreme difficulty and high cost. E.g. sugar cane.

By contrast such countries as the UK, Belgium, Switzerland, F.R Germany, and Sweden are very much more dependent on imported foodstuffs. Under normal condition the UK imports about half the total food consumption required of its population. There is a certain amount of slack in the agricultural economy, so that food production could in fact be increased for a period. But only ploughing up marginal land, which, after a few years, would have to be restored to grass, could do this.

The fact that every developed country is dependent to some extent on imported foodstuffs must be counted as a negative factor in its power inventory. A successful blockade can cut off the supply of imported food.

Mineral resources

The cultivation of many, perhaps most crops is a matter of cost and price. The climate, of course, sets limitations, but even these can in extreme cases be overcome- at a price. This is not so of minerals. No price can coax petroleum or copper from rocks in which these minerals do not exist. The extraction of minerals is thus more narrowly localized than the production of crops.

Mineral resources are distributed much less regularly than cultivable soil. Not a single developed state is self-sufficient. Under normal conditions there is, then, a large trade in minerals- both mineral fuels and the minerals from which metals are obtained.

The situation concerning *mineral resources* **differs, however, in two major respects from those concerning food resources. In the first place, the soil, given careful management, will go on producing without significant variation. Mineral resources, on the other hand, are exhaustible, every known deposit, if worked continuously, will run out.**

Second, food resources are, by and large, perishable. Most minerals on the other hand, can be stockpiled, and the majorities do not deteriorate if left exposed to the weather.

Fuel resources.

Coal of all kinds, as well as petroleum and natural gas- are more widely distributed than most metallic minerals. But not all states of the world possess it. Such an imbalance necessarily produces grave problems for the states lacking sources of mineral fuels. It may lead to the development of alternative sources of fuel, usually at much higher cost, or to the import of fuel and thus to a high dependence on the other countries for an essential raw material.

States with reliable domestic supply of coal are - USA, USSR, UK, Germany and Poland. At the opposite extreme are the Scandinavian countries and Finland, the Republic of Ireland, the Middle East and much of Latin America and Africa where there are few significant coal reserves. Between the extremes are countries, such as France, which are short of specific types of coal. Overall dependence on solid fuel is diminishing, and this in turn increases the degree of dependence on other sources of power, primarily fuel oil, which are even more narrowly localized.

 In many areas HEP is vigorously developed as an alternative to solid fuel. E.g. Switzerland, Austria, Italy, France and Scandinavian countries. In some others the development of waterpower is restricted mainly because the incentive, the shortage of solid fuel is absent.

The Middle East, USR, Venezuela, USA are the major oil producers. It is mainly the Middle East, which has the largest proven oil resources.Because petroleum is necessary for industry and transportation, a steady and constant supply is a prerequisite of power. It is natural that any state would use its power to secure the continued supply of so necessary a determinant of power.

Atomic power may be the industrial power of the future, but its se is limited mainly to the technologically advanced countries. But its use is not so far as significant as that of petroleum.

Strategic metals

Second in importance only to strategic fuels are strategic metals. The significance of steel land of a number of non-ferrous metals especially copper, aluminum, lead, zinc, tin, manganese, nickel, and a number of other necessary metals need no emphasis. They are even more necessary in time of war for the manufacture of large quantities of military equipment. It has commonly been held that the loss of control over any such materials in war- time was a matter of very grave concern. A balance sheet of mineral resources is thought by some to be a key in power politics.

Metal Resources

The distribution of economic minerals is concentrated in a relatively small number of places on the earth's surface, and this gives each of these areas certain importance. A handful of countries account for the greater part of the world's production of each of the important metallic ores, with the exception of only of iron. This is due partly to the fact that most of the world's reserves are contained in a few large ore deposits, partly because modern technology makes it undesirable to work small deposits.

Strategic metals were defined as those materials required for essential uses in a war emergency, the procurement of which in adequate quantities, quality and time is sufficiently uncertain for any reason to require prior provision for the supply there of. No country can possibly be self-sufficient in the range of minerals, though the Russia and the USA more nearly approach self-sufficiency than any others.

Iron ore differs from non- ferrous metals in part of the much greater demand for it, in part also of its wider distribution and its greater range of grade and quality. Iron is a common element of the earth's crust. Every state contains iron, though in most the grade, that is, the percentage of metal in the ore is too low (30%) to have any commercial value. The effect of technological developments, however, is to increase the margin of exploitability.

In order to avoid risk of losing imported minerals governments stock- pile mineral or extract low-grade ores with higher costs.

Manufacturing Industries

A highly developed manufacturing industry is the most conspicuous determinant of power. Every "great" power of modern times has been an industrial power. No policy, however blustering and aggressive, is likely to be effective unless supported by the ability to manufacture the machines of war.

The total productivity of a state rises with its mechanization, so that gross population totals cease to be any measure of relative productive power.

Manufacturing industries give two power advantages to a state: -

i) ***They are conducive to a higher standard of living.*** The total productivity of a highly mechanized people is, after making all allowances for the creation and maintenance of the machines, greater than that of a people not so equipped. Much of this surplus may, of course, be abstracted by the government and used to maintain large army or to invest in other countries or even in its own. But if neither these happens, the surplus will be distributed among those who help to create it. This distribution may be in the form of a shorter working week, higher incomes, insurance, pensions, welfare, or all of these. But however, the surplus is distributed; it creates a higher living standard. The extent to which this living standard rises above a hypothetical minimum is the slack, or fat, which can be drawn upon an emergency.

ii) ***The actual possession of the plant and equipment necessary to turn out the weapons and equipment of war.***

The most varied and developed the range of industry; the less will be the degree of dependence on other countries. It is not necessary that the industry should normally engaged in making military items, though it is probable that their manufacture on a small scale would continue, even under the most favourable international circumstances. What is important is that the industry as a whole could be converted to the manufacture of such equipment at a short notice.

The strategic branches of industry may be said to be *six in number*.

i)   ***By general consent, the greatest importance attaches to the smelting and refining of metals.***

ii)   ***Engineering, metals construction, and ship building industries.***

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iii)   The production of chemicals, including high explosives, fertilizers, and cement.

iv)   Manufacture of electrical and other instruments.

v)   Textile and clothing.

vi)   The food and consumers industries.

It can be assumed that industrial capacity is an important measure of political power, it should be possible to arrive at some method of ranking states on this base.

Another measure of economic development of a state is the amount of power, which it consumes. There is a rough correlation between power consumption and GNP.

Despite the extraordinary difficulties of arriving at a formula expressive of national power an attempt has been made to set a formula. Briefly it starts with the area of the state, correlated for population density and the closeness of the railroad net. It then adds a factor for population, correlated for technical efficiency, employment in industry, "moral", and the adequacy of the food supply. Allowance is made for the production of steel, solid and liquid fuels, and hydro-electric power; for the surplus and deficit in steel, petroleum, minerals, and engineering, for the size of armed forces and its possession of what is called euphemistically " *the nuclear deterrent*". But all these need qualifications.

Economic self-sufficiency

Under conditions of modern industry and modern life, it is impossible for any state to achieve. Self-sufficiency in mineral alone would be possible only at the expense of abandoning the technical advances in metallurgy of the last century. In foodstuffs and clothing it could be achieved only by an immeasurable lowering of living standards.

This is not to say that every state could not achieve a higher degree of self-sufficiency than it at present possesses. More intensive cultivation (i.e. by a greater expenditure of labour and fertilizer) would yield more food and raw materials of vegetable origin; marginal ore and fuel resources could be exploited. But in each instance the return would be likely to be too small in comparison with the increased expenditure of labour and materials.

"Gun or Butter"

A ***higher degree of self-sufficiency is attained by only at a price***. It can be achieved by using marginal resources, which require a higher labour input than those normally exploited; by developing substitute materials, which cost more to manufacture than those which they replace (otherwise the substitutes would already have displaced them); and by stockpiling scarce materials in advance of the emergency. In any case, a larger fraction of the national income must be devoted to production under such circumstances than would be necessary in the free market.

All the Great powers to some degree aim to subsidize or protect the production of strategic materials within their own borders. Inducements to the farmer, in the form of price supports, lower taxation, or tariff protection, are usual.

A policy of self-sufficiency carried to the extreme could not be maintained over a long period without damaging the welfare of the state, which it should be the objective of the policy to preserve. A balanced policy in this respect lies between the extremes of self-sufficiency and undue dependence upon imports. It must vary widely from state to state, depending upon local resources and industrial development, on geographical position and vulnerability, and on the government's assessment of risks and dangers.

The degree of self-sufficiency that can be attained is related to the co-operation of allies and reliance upon dependencies.

Transportation

The means of transporting people and equipment are necessary element of national power. Without them, raw materials cannot be assembled for manufacture, nor, when processed, can they be distributed to a market or consumer.

There are two aspects of transportation

i) External-concerns access to foreign sources of materials; it involves the use of ships, ports, and canals, as well as the movement of goods across the land area of other states.

ii) Is concerned with the internal means of transportation within a state.

A developed transport net, whether of road or rail is generally regarded as a prerequisite to national unity. Many states have a net of both roads and railroads radiating from the capital to all parts of the country, as in France, Great Britain and Russia.

The role of railroads in giving a practical and functional unity to the state is supplemented by the role of roads and waterways. Roads are more flexible than railroads; they can negotiate steeper gradients, can be constructed more quickly and cheaply, and thus tend to be adapted where the volume of traffic would not justify, or the nature of the terrain would not permit, the building of railroads.

Water transport is slow, relatively cheap, and admirably adapted to movement of bulk cargoes. It is feasible only where there are navigable rivers and canals, and this distribution is controlled by the features of the terrain and by the water supply.

CHAPTER 6

Water Bodies and Islands

Rivers

International law is a body of rules that governs the relationship between states. International rivers are those that are shared by two or more countries. This has become an important subject of international law, as has also the right to take water for irrigation and other purposes from such rivers. No question raises with such clarity the conflict between the so called "rights" of states and the self-interest of their neighbours as that of access to the sea.

If the ocean is free to all mankind, it is reasonable to suppose that every people should have access to the shores of the ocean and the right to navigate all navigable rivers discharging into it; since they are "only a natural prolongation of the free high seas." A Wise Providence for the common benefit of all civilizations obviously designs the free use of the natural means of international communication.

The course of rivers is the common and inalienable property of all the countries through which they flow. Nature no more recognizes privileged peoples than privileged individuals.

 In-fact, access to the sea can be, and is, obtained in one of three ways: -

1) the right to use "international" river;

2) the possession of a "corridor" to the coast, and

3) transit rights across another country, with or without the right of a free zone in a port of the latter.

Rivers have always influenced deeply the imagination of man. Always changing yet permanent, they seemed, with mountains, to be the most enduring features of the earth's surface. Rivers furnished the earliest and today still furnish one of the more important means of long-distant travel. The earliest civilizations grew up on the banks of rivers and, if we may believe one of the more illustrious interpreters of human history, owed their rise to the stimulus provided by the alternating flood-time and low water.

Among the innumerable ways in which man makes use of the rivers that flow through his lands, *four* are of particular importance in the discussion of their political-geographical importance.

i)   Rivers serves as boundaries, for which purpose they are not always as permanent and as unchanging as one could wish boundaries to be.

ii)   Rivers have been used in certain parts of the world as a source of water for irrigation and human consumption from time immemorial. To this has been added in recent years the use of river water in industrial processes, especially for cooling of electrical generators.

iii)   Navigation is the third way in which man makes use of a river. In many instances the river, in its primitive condition, is already suitable for navigation. But often the increasing size of river craft, the need to continue navigation at all seasons of the year, and the necessity of maintaining a sufficient depth of water led to regulation of the stream and to building of locks and lateral canals.

iv)   The river basin constitutes a functional unit because water flows from all points in the basin toward its low point, which is usually where it enters the sea. Floods begin, most often; high up the tributaries, but they normally do the most damage in the plains that lie along the lower course of a river. Silt is washed from the hills and mountains, but the river deposits this material in its plain tract, where it may chock the channel and intensify the danger of floods. The control of rivers should begin in the upper reaches.

If the problem of regulating and using a river water entirely a national one, there will be no political problem. In many instances, and those frequently the most critical, it is an international one, because the river basin is shared by two or more states. Agreements between states regarding the navigation of a river, which they share, are the easiest to achieve, perhaps because the use of a river for this purpose detracts nothing from it. Agreements to share the water itself for irrigation or for some other purpose are incomparably more difficult to attain, and there is so far no instance of an international agreement to regulate and develop the whole drainage basin of a river a physical unit.

Navigation of international Rivers

International rivers are rivers shared by two or more countries. The international boundary may follow the river or cut across it. If the river serves as a boundary, the actual boundary may be on the left bank (looking downstream), the right bank, or somewhere in between. If it flows across two or more States, there are upstream and downstream riparians that may have different interests in the river. Sometimes part of a river serves as a boundary and another part traverses one or more States.

Rivers have been used for navigation and for the transport of bulky commodities. Rivers were vital channels in the penetration of North America, South America and Russia. In Europe Rivers were formerly used for navigation on the scale that now seems almost unbelievable. The smallest possible boats regularly used the smallest rivers. Rivers whose current was too swift for the upstream movement were used in the downstream direction only. Small, roughly build boats were made in the hills and navigated to some point near the mouth, where the cargo was unloaded and the boat itself was broken up and sold as a lumber for building or burning.

The Congress of Vienna

The conference which met at Vienna in 1814 for the purpose of restoring peace to Europe after the Napoleonic Wars, first attempted to define in general way the freedom of navigation on international rivers.

The first Act of Vienna declared: -

Art. 108. The powers whose territories are separated or traversed by the same navigable river engage to regulate, by common consent, everything regarding its navigation. For this purpose, they will name commissioners who shall assemble at the latest six months after the termination of the Congress, and who shall adopt, as the basis of their proceedings, the following principles.

Art. 109. The navigation of the rivers referred to in the preceding article, along their course from the point where each of them becomes navigable, to its mouth shall be entirely free, and shall not, as far as commerce is concerned, to be prohibited to anyone. Due regard being-had, however, to the regulations for the policy of navigation; which regulations shall be alike for all and as favourable as possible to the commerce of all nations.

At different times and places different treaties were signed. Some of these were

i) *Navigation of the Danube*: *The Treaty of Paris of 1856* provided for the freedom of navigation on the Danube in accordance with the principles of previously decided upon at the *Congress of Vienna.*

ii) *The Congo Treaty:* In 1855 the nominal basin of the Congo River was thrown open to the trade of all states; its navigable rivers were opened to their shipping. The area covered by the treaty not only included the basin of the river Congo and its tributaries but also the Niger River. In subsequent agreements these interior stretches of river, as well as the lakes of Central Africa were opened, without restriction to international commerce.

iii) *The St. Lawrence* River and *the Great Lakes* between the US and Canada.

iv) *In 1847* both *Iran (Persia)* and *the Turkish Empire,* which then included the territory of Iraq**,** agreed on the common use of *the Shat-al- Arab.*

v) *In 1948* the *USA* and *Mexico* agreed to permit the mutual use of the *Rio Grande* and *Colorado Rivers,* and in *1851 Brazil* agreed to allow *Peruvian* vessels to navigate the *Amazon River* as a means of reaching *Peru* from *the Atlantic.* At this the *USA* protested, claiming the right for the ships of all states at *peace with Brazil* to *navigate the Amazon.*

This raised an important question: was the right to use an international river for navigation limited to the ships of the riparian states, or was it open to any vessels trading with the riparian states?

During the nineteenth century, so many of the important international rivers of the world were opened to the navigation of ships of all states that it become the rule that any river which is shared by two or more states is by right open to the peaceful shipping of all.

The Peace Conference at Paris (1919-1920) also appointed a commission to examine the whole question of the freedom of navigation on international rivers. The Commission met at Barcelona in 1921 and drew up the Convention, which contains the basic principles of navigation on international rivers. The Convention was limited to the international rivers naturally navigable and to the lateral canals (such as the St. Lawrence Sea Way) constructed to remedy the shortcomings of the natural waterway. Tolls payable for

the use of such waterways must be for the services performed, such as pilot age, setting buoys, and improving the navigable channel. The convention was binding on only the states that ratify it.

The Use of Water from International Rivers

The Law of the Sea

Historically the seas have performed two functions: first, as a medium of communications, and secondly as a vast reservoir or resources, both living and nonliving. Both of these functions have stimulated the development of legal functions.

At one time the seas were thought capable of subjection ton national sovereignties. In the seventeenth century the Portuguese in particular " proclaimed huge tracts of the high seas as part of their territorial domain, but these claims stimulated a response by Grotius who elaborated the doctrine of the open seas, whereby the oceans as *res commun is* were to be accessible to all nations but incapable of appropriation. Since then the freedom of the high seas has become a basic principle of international law, but not all the seas were included. It was permissible for a coastal state to appropriate a maritime belt around its coastline as territorial waters, or territorial sea, and treat it as an indivisible part of its domain. Much of the history of the law of the sea has cantered on the extent of the territorial seas or the precise location of the dividing line between it and the high seas and other recognized zones.

The original stipulation linked the width of the territorial sea to the ability of the coastal state to dominate it by military means from the confines of its own shore. But the twentieth century witnessed continual pressure by states to enlarge the maritime belt and thus subject more of the oceans to their exclusive jurisdiction.

Other jurisdictional zones have been in process of development beyond the territorial sea. Today coastal states may exercise particular jurisdictional functions in the contiguous zone, and the trend of international law now is moving rapidly in favour of ever-larger zones in which the coastal state may enjoy certain rights to the exclusion of other nations, such as fishery zones and more recently exclusive **economic zones**.

The gradual shift in the law of the sea towards the enlargement of the territorial seas (the accepted limit is now a width of 12 miles (19.308km) in contrast to 3 miles (4.827km) some thirty years ago), coupled with

the continual assertion of jurisdictional rights over portions of what were regarded as high seas, reflects a basic change in emphases in the attitude of states to the sea.

The predominance of the concept of the freedom of the high seas has been modified by the realization of resources present in the seas and seabed beyond the territorial seas. Parallel with the developing tendency to assert ever-greater claims over the high seas, however, has been the move towards proclaiming a '*common heritage of mankind'* regime over the seabed of the high seas. The law relating to the seas, therefore, has been in a state of flux for several decades as the conflicting principles have manifested themselves.

Many Third World countries wished to develop the exclusive economic zone idea, by which coastal states would have extensive rights over a 200-mile (321.8 km) zone beyond the territorial sea. They were keen to establish international control over deep seabed, to prevent the technologically advanced states from being able to extract minerals from this vital vast source freely and without political constraint. Western states were desirous of protecting their navigation routes by opposing any weakening of the freedom of passage through international straits particularly, and wished to protect their economic interests through free exploitation of the resources of the high seas and the deep seabed *(Show, 1997: 392).*

The Territorial Sea

Internal waters are deemed to be such parts of the seas as are not either the high seas or relevant zones or the territorial sea, and are accordingly classed as appertaining to the land territory of the coastal state. Internal waters, whether harbours, lakes or rivers, are such waters as are to be found on the landward side of the baselines from which the width of the territorial and other zones is measured and are assimilated with the territory of the state. They differ from the territorial sea by primarily in that there does not exist any right of innocent passage from which the shipping of other states may benefit. There is an exception to this rule where the straight baselines enclose as internal waters what had been territorial waters.

In general, coastal states may exercise its jurisdiction over foreign ships within its internal waters to enforce its laws, although the juridical authorities of the flag state (i.e. the state whose flag the particular ship flies) may also act where crimes have occurred on board ship.

A merchant ship in a foreign port or in foreign internal waters is automatically subject to the local jurisdiction (unless there is an express agreement to the contrary). Where purely disciplinarian issues

related to the ship's crew are involved, which do not concern the maintenance of peace within the territory of the coastal state, then such matters would by courtesy be left to the authorities of the flag-ship to regulate.

However, a completely different situation operates where the foreign vessel involved is a warship. In such cases, the authorization of the captain or of the flag-state is necessary before the coastal state may exercise its jurisdiction over the ship and its crew. This is due to the status of the warship as a direct arm of the sovereign of the flag-state.

The width of the territorial sea is defined from the low-water mark around the coasts of the state. This is the traditional principle under customary international law. In the majority of cases, it will not be very difficult to locate the low-water line, which is to act as the baseline for measuring the width of the territorial sea. Sometimes, however, the geography of the state's coasts will be such as to cause certain problems, for instance, where the coastline is deeply indented or there are numerous islands running parallel to the coasts, or where there exist bays cutting into the coastline. Special rules have evolved to deal with this issue, which is of importance to coastal states, particularly where foreign vessels regularly fish close to the limits of the territorial sea.

A more rational method of drawing baseline might have the effect of enclosing larger areas of the sea within the state's internal waters, and thus extend the boundaries of the territorial sea further than the traditional method might envisage. The baseline had to be drawn so that the sea area lying within them had to be sufficiently closely linked to the land domain to be subject to the regime of internal waters and it was permissible to consider in the process "certain economic interests peculiar to a region, the reality and importance of which are considered by long usage.

B*ays*

Problems arise as to the approach to be adopted with regard to bays, in particular whether the waters of wide-mouthed bays ought to be treated as other areas of the sea adjacent to the coast. It is that the baseline of the territorial sea would be measured from the low-water mark of the coast of the bay, or whether the device of the straight baseline could be used to 'close off' the mouth of the bays of any width and the territorial limit measured from that line.

If the distance between the low-water marks of the natural entrance points of a bay does not exceed twenty-four miles, a closing line may be drawn between these two low-water marks, and the waters enclosed thereby shall be considered as internal waters otherwise a straight baseline of 24 miles may be drawn.(Shaw, 1997: 397)

This provision, however, does not apply to historic bays. These bays the waters of which are treated by the coastal state as internal in view of historic rights supported by general acquiescence rather than any specific principle of international law

CHAPTER SEVEN
GLOBAL STRATEGIC VIEWS

Geopolitics

Geopolitics is concerned with the study of states in the context of global spatial phenomena, in an attempt to understand both the bases of state power and the nature of states' interactions with one another. It evolved toward the end of the nineteenth century as new developments in science and technology led people to take a broader view of the world than they had previously. The consolidation of modern state system with the unification of Germany and Italy, the apogee of European imperialist expansion, the appearance of Japan and the United States as new imperialist powers on the fringes of Europe's sphere of interest contributed to its development. That the rapid population growth and pressures on resources, and the differential development all took not only place in this period and contributed to the new perspectives of scholars and policy makers. Out of this ferment of new thinking (at least new in modern times) came two streams of thought that were geopolitical in nature. One of them emerged from the Social Darwinism fashionable in the period; this was the *organic state theory*. The other was base more on geographic facts and the policies that should be influenced by them; this is often called *geo strategy*.

It relates directly to the science, which concerns itself with studying the effect of location upon popular attitudes, and especially upon the diplomatic action of states. Geopolitics, then, figures as the intermediate science reaching into geography, history, political science, and international relations to find its expression in national strategies. Similar to grand strategy in many respects, geopolitical science follows international courses action and their potentialities more through diplomatic channels than over planning tables of the Pentagon, Whitehall, and the Politburo (now Presidium).

In its evolution, geopolitics has derived its premises from a wide range of writers and evolved its concepts over a long period. Notable among these are several German, English, and American writers, in addition to a Swedish professor of government who endowed the science with its present name (Rudolf Kjellén, who lived until 1922, was an admirer of the German advocates of the science which he termed Geopolitik, a science originally designed only to cover the territorial aspect of the state).The Germans merit recognition for their development of systematic area analysis.

The essence of geopolitical analysis is the relation of international political power to the geographic setting. Geopolitical views vary with the changing geographical setting and with man's interpretation so the nature of this changes accordingly. Each century has its own geographical perspective. To this day, one view of geographic realities is colored for practical purposes by our preconceptions from the past. In this century the geographical "realities", is the combination of landform distribution and patterns of movement. In the nineteenth century, the prevailing view of the geographical setting was the distribution of continents.

What purpose does geopolitical analysis serves?

It may serve purposes of contemplative research or policymaking and propaganda.

Geopolitical analysis has two major aspects: -

    i) Description of geographical setting as they relate to political power, and

    ii) Lying out of spatial frameworks that embrace interacting political power units.

It is more difficult to attempt such analysis today than in the past. Because of the hierarchical spatial overlap that exists among great power blocks and the process of constant political realignment, sharply defined global political divisions cannot be easily rationalized. Moreover, the exercise of political power may be the measure of a man's daring or people's desperation, rather than a result of cultural and physical setting.

Formerly geopolitical analysis could be more safely attempted. Until the late nineteenth century, major power blocks were associations of European based empires. The core of world power resided in a tightly compressed area- the European and Mediterranean maritime- influenced landscape. For over 3000 years the nodes this power were such localized points or areas as Mesopotamia, the Nile, Western Persia, Greece, Cartage, Rome, Spain, Portugal, France, England, Germany and Holland. It was "*the world that mattered*"- a world who's highly endowed geographical setting enabled its inhabitants first to develop their local environments in maximum fashion and then to reach out to less favored parts of the earth, exploiting their specialized resources for the benefit of the homeland. The "*world that mattered*" consisted of the coastlands that bordered the Mediterranean and the eastern North Atlantic.

In the late half of the nineteenth century some analysts felt that " the world that mattered" had now come to embrace the entire Northern Hemisphere landmass, from 30° to 60° North Latitude. Others felt that the world power was shifting to the continental sector of this belt only i.e. to North America.

Today, we are less confident that any one part of the earth specially the "north temperate" zone possesses the material and human advantages to monopolize world power. Such factors as population and national will are beginning to claim equal weight with location, climate and resource patterns in the world power-ranking process. Thus, China, India and Brazil have emerged as states that aspire to world power.

The second aspect of geopolitical analysis- dividing the world into power blocks- is much more complex because of the spatial overlap of great power interests and hierarchical nature of power relations. Because communication has conquered many of the restrictions formerly imposed by distance, West Berlin, and Cuba can, at least temporarily, stand as enclaves within mutually conflicting power spheres, and Thailand and Vietnam can belong to separate spheres.

Anyway geopolitical analysis still is valid. Place, accessibility to resources and qualitative use of these resources through historically derived cultural advantages continue to give power dominance to certain parts of the earth. If relatively weak and depressed states have begun to exercise considerable influence on the world political scene, it is not because they possess power, but because the stalemate between the North Atlantic and the Soviet Blocks. The stalemate has presented weak states with opportunity to play one force off against another. Abuse of this opportunity may well backfire, as the major powers come to realize that the issues between them will be solved only through their own actions.

The East- West stalemate has caused both sides to exercise power in halting fashion. However, this does not do away with the fact that the ability to exercise this power does exist, and many nations do not have it. The world now may be divided into "*the world of directcapability*" and "the *world of indirect power capability*." Major power areas are capable of international action of their own initiatives; weaker states can only act when the major powers offered them opportunities.

Geopolitical Perspectives of the Ancients

The Greeks began to employ broad physical patterns as their basis for dividing the known world geographically. Hecatues, in the sixth century BC, drew a map dividing the world into two parts: Europe

(including Siberia) and Asia- Africa. Climate was the basis for this political partition, Europe representing the cold areas of the north and Asia-Africa the warm areas of the south. The Asia-Africa environment, more favorable for settlement, was considered the major power locale. A century later Parmenides proposed the theory of five temperate zones or belts, which were one torrid, two frigid, and two intermediates. Building upon Parmenides temperate zones, Aristotle claimed power pre-eminence for the intermediate zone inhabited by the Greeks.

The Roman geographer Strabo's view of the earth was continental oriented, and European-centered. The habitable land area consisted of three divisions, Europe, Libya and Asia. Strabo viewed the European continent as being "the quarter most favorable to the mental and social ennoblement of man."

Early Geopolitical Perspectives

Universal international expressed by Emmanuel Kant stated that it was founded upon the nature of things. He held that nature: -

 i) provided that man can live in all parts of the world.

 ii) scattered people by war so that they might populate the most inhabited regions; and

iii) by the same means compelled them to make peace with one another. Kant was European oriented. He felt that no European balance of power could be stuck because the will of states to subdue each other was too great. On the other hand, he held that a peaceful European federation of free states could impose global peace.

Contemporary geopolitical views of the earth take stock of the pattern of arrangements of land and waters and their interconnecting lines. For example:

 i) one-view centers on Euro-Asia and Africa, which constitute 56 percent of the earth's total land area and include 86 percent of the earth's populations. Encircling this huge land- mass are open seas that are three times as vast as all of the land area combined. Here, then, is a distinct view of what is called "World Island". Its focus is the center of the earth's largest landmass.

ii) Another view centers on the northern hemisphere- i.e. Euro-Asia, North Africa, North and Central America. This embraces 60 percent of the earth's land area and 85 percent of its people. The focus for this

global view is the air and ocean space that links North America and Euro-Asia. There are other global views, such as the one that centers on the Atlantic, and views the adjoining Americas, Europe and Africa as the key landmass of the earth.

From these differing views of the earth's spatial patterns have evolved differing strategic theories such as:
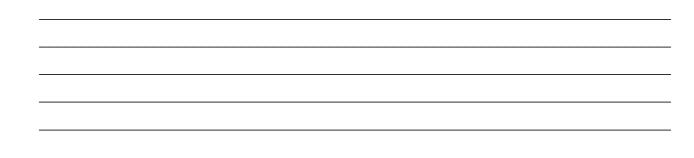
a) control of the heart of Euro-Asia could mean world domination

b) control of those peninsular lands that rim Asia, such as Western Europe, the Middle East, South and East Asia, could mean world domination

c) control of polar world by one power could spell world control

A World of three or Great Powers can achieve geopolitical balance.

❖ *What are the two geopolitical views of the earth as a pattern of arrangements of land and water?*

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Geo – strategy

Meanwhile, other scholars were focusing not on the state but on the world and trying to find patterns in the state development and behavior. They took a global view of geopolitical affairs and actually recommended policies or strategies to be followed by their governments. The first was Alfred Thayer Mahan.

Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840-1914). Mahan was a naval historian who eventually reached the rank of admiral in the U.S. navy. He was a prolific writer, producing some 20 books altogether. In his book he argued that control of the sea- lanes to protect commerce and wage economic warfare was very important to a state. He therefore, advocated a big navy. But there were six fundamental factors that affected the development and maintenance of sea power:

1. *Geographical position(location)*

2. *Physical "conformation" of the state (the nature of its coasts)*

3. *Extent of territory (length of coastline)*

4. *Population numbers*

5. *National character*

6. *Governmental character*

Mahan was a military man and tended to think in military terms. He generally took the view that a state could survive only by being fit, and defined fitness chiefly in terms of military strength. But this depended, in turn, on the people's moral and martial fiber. Mahan was also a practical man. He made specific recommendations for U.S. foreign policy base on his study of history, his military experience, and his geostrategic concepts. He advocated that the United States occupy the Hawaiian Islands, take control of the Caribbean, and built a canal to link the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. He was even more influential in Germany, Britain and Japan.

The Heartland Theory

While Mahan emphasized sea power, Sir Halford John Mackinder (1861-1947), who was much younger than Mahan, felt that the great age of naval warfare was over; that changing technology, especially the railroad, had altered the relationship between sea power and land power. Still, his approach to global strategy was similar to that of Mahan, but with a different emphasis and different forecasts.

Halford John Mackinder combined great space and location in a view of geographical setting that attributed pre-eminence to one continental position of the world. His writings and lectures are best known for their influence upon German geopolitics and the strategic counter doctrines they inspired.

Mackinder's theory, 1904, was that the inner area of Euro-Asia, the world's greatest landmass, is the pivot region of world politics. He warned that, there was a Eurasian core, protected by inaccessibility from naval power, could shelter a land power that might come to dominate the world from its continental fortress. It was entirely possible for the land power that gained control of the pivot area (be it Russia, Germany, or

even China) to outflank the maritime world. Eleven years later, James Fairgrieve was to point out even more forcefully that China was in an excellent position to dominate Inner Euro-Asia.

Mackinder's *Heartland*, 1919, was revised to include the Tibetan and Mongolian upland courses of the great rivers of India and China. Also, while not labeled *Heartland,* Eastern and Central Europe were introduced as a strategic addition to the *Heartland* and for all practical purposes are considered *Heartland.* Mackinder's new boundary took into account advances in the land transportation, population increases, and industrialization. Because of these advances, he felt that the Baltic and Black Sea land area had become strategically part of the *Heartland*.

Mackinder reasoned that this Eurasian territory would become the source of a great power that would dominate the Far East, southern Asia, and Europe-most of what he called the "*World –Island,*" which he conceptualized as consisting of Eurasia and Africa. He presumed that the area contained a substantial resource base capable of sustaining a power of world significance. The key, he argued, lay in Eastern Europe, the *"open door"* to the *pivotal Heartland.* Thus, he formulated his famous hypothesis:

- ✓ Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland;

- ✓ Who rules the Heartland commands the World Island;

- ✓ Who rules the World Island commands the world.

Thus, the middle tier of Germany and the Slavic states, from Estonia to Bulgaria, becomes, in the Mackinder's opinion, the key to world domination- a key then as available to Germany as to Russia.

According to Mackinder Europe extends even to Africa; because it is the Sahara Desert that really separates Europe from Black Africa, not the Mediterranean Sea. According to him *Asia, Europe and Africa are parts of the World Island*. The pivot area of the World Island is surrounded by a great inner crescent made up of the heavily populated regions of the world, such as Western Europe, India, China, and the mainland countries of Southeast Asia. The remainder of the world, including Britain, South Africa, Australia, Japan, and the Western Hemisphere, is the *Outer crescent.* Thus, Mackinder drew the entire world into one view, focused the view on the *pivot area*, and developed his global power strategy accordingly.

The Rim land Theory

Nicholas John Spykman (1893-1943) developed the concept that the Western Hemisphere is "*encircles*" by the Eastern Hemisphere. He was using general geographic location of states to dramatize his views of world power, and to alert the USA to potential danger.

He also pointed out that the Eastern Hemisphere was two and one-half times larger in area, had (in 1937) 2/3 of the earth's coal & iron ore, and had a population ten times greater than that of the Western Hemisphere. He agreed with Mackinder that Euro-Asia should never be allowed to unite under one power. One of the basic tenets of the USA's foreign policy, he believed to keep the heartland from uniting with what he called the *rim land*. To Spykaman, the real power of the world was based not in the heartland, but in the rim of the heartland, the area Mackinder called the "Inner Crescent". It is true that the rim land contains most of the world's people as well as a large share of the world's resources (Middle East oil). Throughout history, the rim land served as a buffer between the heartland and the island powers of England and Japan.

The rim land consists of a large number of political areas with varying degrees of independence as well as a variety of races and cultures. It has never been united or even completely controlled by one power. The USA and the USSR continually sought for influence in the rim land, but neither is able to maintain real control. The combined efforts of Nazi Germany and the Japanese Empire during WWII came close to controlling the major part of the rimland, but this control lasted no more than three or four years.

As Spykman stated in the great world wars of the 19th and 20th centuries, the Napoleonic Wars, the First World War, and the Second World War. The British and Russian empires have lined up together against an intervening rimland power led by Napoleon, Wilhelm II, and Hitler. The historical alignment has always been in terms of some members of the rimland with Great Britain against some members of the rimland with Russia, or Great Britain and Russia together against a dominating rimland power.

Spykman formulated that: -

- ✓ Who controls the rimland rules Euro-Asia;

- ✓ Who rules Euro-Asia controls the destiny of the world.

His doctrine was based on the *concept of sea power*. Spykman referred to the countries of the rimland as "*amphibian states*" because of their proximity to the marginal seas and are peculiar to the Euro-Asian continent; the only similar sea in the Western Hemisphere is the Caribbean Sea.

Karl Haushofer's (1869-1946) conception of geopolitics

According to Haushofer, Geopolitics is a science of world politics in its dependence on a geographical base and knowledge of its practical application in foreign policy. Its purpose is to give the necessary support for protection and extension of the German living space for the benefit of able settlers.

Indeed, by the 1920s, a clear imperialist tone can be discerned in Haushofer's geopolitics. Again and again he repeated his demands for an expansion of Germany's area. It is easy to see why such geopolitics should appeal to Nazi politicians before and after the creation of the Third Reich. But he did not say much about the spatial direction of such an expansion, in contrast to many German historians. Hitler, himself, argued for a turn to the East. Haushofer was a follower of Halford John Mackinder's heartland theory. Therefore, he liked the idea of a Eurasian continental block from Germany through Russia to Japan, which Germany could use for a land-power-based foreign policy against Great Britain and France, the maritime powers. In this connection Haushofer's experiences in East Asia (1908-10), especially Japan, played a large role in his thinking. It was a confirmation of his geopolitics for Haushofer when Germany and Japan concluded the *Anti-comintern Pact in November 1936*.

In 1940, Haushofer argued for the construction of a continental block (in Mackinder's sense) from Germany through Russia to Japan, as a strong counterweight to the British global power, as the most important task of the time. This geopolitical idea seems to be fulfilled by the Nazis, when they signed the Non-Aggression Pact with the Soviet Union in August 1939. However, in June 1941, the German attack on the Soviet Union greatly disturbed Haushofer's geopolitical dream. Karl Haushofer did not agree completely with National Socialism.

In 1930s, Haushofer's geopolitics became more and more political and gradually militaristic. Additionally, his world-view became more global at that time and he wrote a kind of geopolitics of the globe, in which sea power is the most important determinant.

In his world-political view, Haushofer was not just a follower of Mackinder and Alfred Thayer Mahan, but he proposed his own world model according to a *'geopolitics of pan-ideas'*. In this model, Haushofer

divided the world into three north-south oriented pan-regions, each consisting of a core and a periphery: Pan-America with the core USA, Eurafrica with the core Germany, and East Asia with the core Japan and the periphery, Australia. Hence each pan-region would have a share of the world's arctic, temperate and tropical environments. As political economy concepts they involve three regions with the potential for economic self-sufficiency or autocracy.

❖ *Compare and contrast rim land and heartland theories.*

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The Rise and fall of the Superpowers: the East-West Fulcrum

The second main dimension of the post-Second World War order was the dichotomy between East and West. Two countries, the USA and the USSR, headed the two blocs and their interaction structured the post-war international political scene. During the Cold War, what order there was, the product of superpower dominance of their two blocs and super powers influence in the Third World. World affairs from 1945 to 1990 were dominated by the USA and the USSR.

The Cold War Geopolitical Order

The collapse of Nazi Germany and the need to fill the resulting power vacuum led to the disintegration of the wartime partnership. The purposes of the Allies were simply too divergent. For instances, Churchill sought to prevent the Soviet Union from dominating Central Europe and Stalin wanted to be paid in territorial coin for Soviet military victories and the heroic sufferings of the Russian people. The United States and the Soviet Union, the two giants at the periphery, were now facing off against one another in the very heart of Europe.

The freezing of the inter-state system into two opposing blocs had an ideological base. On the USSR side, the Cold War was taken as a step on the road to world communist revolution. Western politicians did not

think differently. Both sides divided the world into not only mere two blocs but also rather into two antagonistic systems facing one another.

The USA (The Roots of Expansionism)

The role that the USA played in the post-War world had its roots in earlier American history. From the very beginning, the process of nation building inevitably involved the USA in rivalry with the empires of Britain and Spain. In the north, the USA sought to expand at the expense of the British Empire and serious thought was given to 'liberating' Canada I812, but the US forces were militarily depleted by the Canadians. In the south and west, California, Texas and New Mexico were wrested from Mexico. In the drive to the west, the native Indian populations were subjugated.

In the Monroe Doctrine, enunciated in 1823, the USA propounded four principles for the conduct of international affairs:-

1. the USA would not intervene in European affairs;

2. it would respect existing colonies of European powers;

3. recognized republics in South America should not be colonized;

4. an attempt to do so would be interpreted as an unfriendly act towards the USA

The doctrine was partly defensive, partly expansionist. The USA was attempting to dissuade further Europeans penetration in Latin America and, by telling the Europeans to keep clear; the way was to be left open for exercise of US influence. Latin America was to be within USA's sphere of influence.

In Asia, the main focus of the USA's design was China. Alaska was acquired from Russian in 1867 partly a back door to Canada, partly as a stepping-stone to Asia. In the same year Midway Island was annexed as a coaling port for US ships on their way to Asia. Pearl Harbour was annexed in 1887 for the same purpose in 1893 the Hawaiian Islands as whole were finally annexed. The Philippines and Guam were obtained in 1898 as the victor's rewards in the Spanish-American war.

It was in China that the USA first came into conflict with Russia. The Russians were advancing eastward, the Americans westward. The Russo-Japanese treaties of 1907 and 1910, which divided Manchuria

between the two signatories, thwarted the design of America on Manchuria. The roots of the conflict between the two superpowers were thus laid down well before the Bolshevik Revolution.

There was also US expansionism into the Caribbean after the Spain's defeat in Spanish-American War. At the same time the Philippines annexed Puerto Rico.

The Rise of Globalism

The end of the Second World War saw the USA emerge as the richest and most powerful nation on earth. Subsequent policy was based on maintaining this position. The most important characteristics of post-war US foreign policy have been the essential oneness of economic, political, and security interests. Economic goals, political aims and strategic considerations were fused into an essential unity in US foreign policy. The USA has a key role in the world economy and is intimately associated with overseas economies, which it needs for supplies of raw materials, as site for capital investment and as markets for agricultural and industrial produce.

The years of 'irreconcilable conflict'

The response to the perceived Soviet threat was twofold:

1) The Truman Doctrine, announced in March 1947, stated that it was the policy of the USA to support 'free peoples who were resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure'. The term 'free' was never defined, but was interpreted in terms of openness to US business interests and receptivity to US strategic considerations. The doctrine's promise became a useful fallback for any dictator facing social unrest; the blame could always be placed on the influence of communist organizers. Any government in a sensitive area could use the communist bogey to get US aid to bolster its power and authority. *Conceived as a tract for freedom, the doctrine became a blueprint for repression.*

2) The Marshal Plan unveiled in June 1947, which involved $17 billion aid to Western Europe. The money was to generate economic growth so as to counter the influence of communist and socialist parties; Western Europe would then be a stronger bulwark against the Soviet Union and its economic development would boost the US economy. In the Marshal Plan, as in other US policies, economic considerations were interwoven with political goals and strategic objectives.

The Truman Doctrine provided basis for post-US foreign policy. The policy was essentially one of building up armed forces of both nuclear and conventional types. The USA was to act as the world's policeman in the defense of 'democracy' and 'free enterprise'. The expansion of the USSR would be stopped in its tracks and US business would be allowed to prosper. Such a policy involved a system of:

1. alliances

2. containment of Soviet 'advances'

3. Interventions: direct, small-scale, military and economic involvement where appropriate.

Alliances: In 1938, the USA had no military alliances and no troops stationed on foreign soils. In 1959 the USA had 1,400 foreign bases in 31 countries, and by 1989 military alliances had been signed with 50 states and jest over 1.5 million service personnel were stationed across 117 countries. The three most alliances were NATO, SEATO, CENTO, which tied the USA and its allies to involvement in, respectively, Western Europe, South-East Asia, and Central Asia.

Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Britain, and the USA signed the NATO treaty in 1949. Later signatories were Greece, Turkey, and West Germany.

The SEATO organization lasted from 1945 to 1975 and included Australia, Britain, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines and the USA. The CENTO treaty signed in 1955 involved Britain, Iran, Pakistan Turkey and the USA.

From the USA viewpoint such alliances bound together the countries on the edge of a supposedly expanding Soviet empire; they were the mortar, which bound the crumbling edges of an unstable edifice. For the USSR the alliances were interpreted as a policy of encirclement, a giant noose drawn around the neck of the Soviet state.

Containment: The USA sought to halt perceived Soviet expansion by a policy of containment. The USA was to provide countervailing pressure wherever in the world Soviet-inspired revolution was seen to exist. The policy of containment led to US troops fighting in Korea and South Vietnam.

Intervention: Vietnam was a failure. The USA had paid a high price in its unsuccessful bid to contain a national liberation movement. Elsewhere, the USA had achieved economic and military objectives by a series of successful small-scale operations.

The USA intervened in Guatemala when the country's president confiscated the property of the United Fruit Company in 1953. In 1954 the USA airlifted arms to rebels in nearby Nicaragua andHonduras. The CIA and the US embassy Guatemala aided the coup, which installed army officers acquiescent to the demands of the United Fruit Company. In the Dominical Republic the US government gave support to a coup d'état in 1962 which replaced the radical president Juan Bosh by the conservative Reid Cabral. When the unrest against the unpopular Cabral broke out 1965 order was restored by the presence of 23,000 US marines who landed in the capital of Santo Domingo.

The US government also intervened in the Middle East, which was in Iran in 1953 and 1958 in Lebanon. The recorded interventions are only the tip of the iceberg. Submerged beneath the waves of secrecy lie the endeavors of the CIA to bolster friendly governments, topple unfriendly ones, get rid of troublesome politicians and advance the cause of US interests.

Reiteration of the Truman Doctrine

The Truman Doctrine has been the corner stone of US foreign policy since its announcement 1947. In various forms, at different times and in changing circumstances, successive presidents have reiterated it. In 1957 the Eisenhower Doctrine promised the US military and economic aid to any nation in the Middle East, which requested help against communist-inspired aggression. Kennedy's position was eloquently stated in his 1961 inaugural address, *'we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and success of liberty. This much we pledge – and more.'* In justifying the landing of marines in Santo Domingo the Johnson Doctrine of 1965 announced, '*American nations cannot, must not and will not permit the establishment of another Communist government in the Western Hemisphere.'*

The Nixon Doctrine announced in 1969 was the Truman Doctrine writ in an era of retrenchment. The doctrine stated that, while the USA would keep all its treaties, it would *'look to the nation directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility of providing the manpower for its defense.'* The Nixon Doctrine was fighting the containment war by proxy. Regional client states were established to defend US

interests in certain areas of the world. In the Middle East this role was performed by Iran under the Shah. The Carter Doctrine was announced in January 1980 in response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The doctrine indicated an overall increase in the defense budget and renewed emphasis on US commitment in the oil-rich states of the Middle East. Carter stated: *an attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interest of the United States. It will be repelled by use of any means necessary, including force.*

Throughout the post-war years the USA has followed a path, which has meant global involvement and global responsibilities.

The USSR (The Legacy of the Past)

The geopolitics of the country and the early experiences of the Soviet state influenced subsequent foreign policy. The feelings of vulnerability caused by the shared borders with so many, often hostile, neighbors were reinforced by the Western powers' attempt to strangle the socialist state at birth. In the civil war between 1917 and 1920 Britain, France, and the USA supplied aid and troops to the Whites; in 1918 Bolshevik control was limited to a circle of 500-kilometer radius with its center in Moscow. It is impossible to comprehend subsequent Soviet policy without noting its innate distrust of the world's capitalist countries. The warlike stance of these powers meant that Soviet policy was formulated from the position of a state encircled by aggressive nations.

The Early Years (1917-47)

Soviet foreign policy before the Second World War was one of caution in the face of preconceived capitalist aggression. The policy of peaceful co-existence was very largely determined by the backward state of the Russian economy. Lenin in 1917 as a realistic short-term response to the Soviet position coined the term 'peaceful co-existence'.

The Cold War, phase one (1947-64)

The roots of the Cold War lie in the hot war of 1941-45. From the Soviet perspective, the USSR had borne the brunt of the war. Until 1944 it alone had faced the German army in Europe and the Soviet losses of 20 million dead were the largest for any Allied country. The failure of the West to open a second front until 1944 was bitterly resented. Communist policy-makers in the experience of war had learnt three things;

- do not trust the West

- the USSR, by virtue of its sacrifice, had earned a place amongst the world powers

- the new international order had to secure for the Soviet Union a good defensive buffer, access to sea routes and economic resources

Conflict with the USA crystallized in Eastern Europe. For the Soviets the enunciation of the Truman Doctrine (1947), the implementation of the Marshal Plan (1947) and the creation of NATO (1950) were all acts aimed at them. The Soviet response was fourfold.

1. The setting up of Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) in 1947. At its inception the Soviet delegate Zhdanov outlined the two-camp analysis of the world order. The world, as pictured by Zhdanov was divided into the socialist and capitalist camps. The division was marked by mutual hostility and conflict, with the USSR as a besieged camp hemmed in by non-communist forces. The two-camp analysis provided the basis for Soviet foreign policy until Stalin's death.

2. The Soviet Union tightened its grip on Eastern Europe. Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) was set up in 1949 to pull the satellite states in Eastern Europe further into the Soviet orbit. Many of the satellites were stripped of movable foods and communist governments were set up which repressed any unrest. Repression became more pronounced when Yugoslavia 'defected' from the Soviet camp.

3. The Warsaw Pact was established in 1955 after West Germany joined NATO. The Soviet was very wary of German rearmament and the Allied policy of bringing Germany into NATO was seen as an aggressive act which had to be countered.

4. Since Soviet attitudes to the Third World were refracted through the prism of the two-camp analysis there was very little appreciation of the independence of nationalist movements, which did not toe the Stalinist line. *You ate either with us or against us,* were the Soviet line; there could be no middle way.

Stalin's death in 1953 marked the beginning of a change in Soviet foreign policy. After a three-year transition period Khrushchev emerged as the leader and the new-look foreign policy was outlined at the

famous Twentieth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union in 1956. Two principles were expressed:

- Emphasis was to be placed on peaceful co-existence with the West. The two-camp thesis, with its inevitable conclusion of war, was to be abandoned. The grisly reality of the nuclear weaponry meant that the Soviet Union was unlikely to survive a full-scale atomic war.

- Emphasis was to be placed on the periphery. The crude dichotomy of for and against, capitalist and communist was abandoned. Aiding nationalist movements even if they were not avowedly communists could advance socialism. The whole process of decolonization was opening up new opportunities for a change in the balance of world forces and the Soviet Union hoped to gain from these changes. It was at this time that aid was given to, among others, Cuba, Egypt and India.

❖ *Discuss the cold war period geopolitical order.*

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Review Exercises

I. *Choose the best answer from the given alternatives.*

1. Which one of the following is the feature of post-second world war?

A. Cold war

B. Dichotomy between west and east

C. The emergence of superpowers i.e. USA and USSR

D. All of the above

2. Which doctrine of the following allowed direct intervention of USA?

A. Mornoe Doctrine

B. Truman Doctrine

C. Communist Doctrine

D. All of the above

II.   *Give short answer*

1. What is geopolitics?

2. Write the major geopoliticalaspects.

3. Point out early political perspectives?

4. What is geo strategy?

5. Mention the six fundamental factors that affect the development and maintenance of the sea power.

6. Explain about:

   a. the heartland theory

   b. the rim land theory

7. Point out the hypothesis of the heartland theory.

8. Write the hypothesis of the rim land theory.

9. Explain the term cold war.

10. Mention the superpowers of the world during the cold war period.

11. Express the characteristics of superpowers of the world during the cold war period.

    a. USA

    b. USSR

12. Explain the following terms:

    a. Monreo Doctrine

    b. Truman Doctrine

    c. Communist Doctrine

CHAPTER 8
INTERNATIONAL RELATION

International Law

Different approaches to international relations exist. The system approach is one, in which international society is considered as a system with subsystems and fixed rules binding them together and making them behave in particular ways. One major problem with this approach is that international relations are neither systematic nor predictable. Another view is that international relations are based solely on power: each state acts in accordance with its own perceptions of self-interest, mainly the acquisition and retention of power, and the real decision makers are the most powerful states. But due to the difficulty of defining, measuring and the continuous changes of the components of power; it is preferable to consider international relations among members of a community.

What is International Law?

A set of general principles and specific rules is needed for every society or community if it is to function at all. The international community is no exception. A complex network of principles, treaties, judicial decisions, customs practices… that are binding on States in their mutual relations, governs it. This, which has been evolving for centuries, is what is called international law. Unlike domestic law international law is not created by a particular legislature and enforced by an international executive with police powers; nevertheless it is binding. Because of the fact that international communities recognize their interdependence, they do understand the need for world order, and most of the times do operate according to international law. As in every society there may be intentional deviates; but no state remains a chronic law breaker.

Even if formal sanctions are not applied against it, a state that refuses to accept and abide by the rules simply isolates itself from the rest of the community [international] and suffers from the lack of normal intercourse every State needs. Law is the only alternative to anarchy; law is demanded by the community of interests among States.

International law although does contain other components of other traditions, "it is basically derived from Roman Law, the Anglo-Saxon common law, and Christian theology. Nowadays international conflicts

which are inevitable and international law is needed to resolve it is in the United Nations, in fact, where international law is currently being vigorously developed.

The United Nations and International Law

The UN Charter, Article 13, charges the General Assembly with the responsibility for, among other things, "encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification. The Sixth Committee of the General Assembly is assigned the overall responsibility for legal matters, but the actual work is being done chiefly by the International Law Commission (ILS), established by the General Assembly in 1947. The 34 members of the ILC are distinguished authorities drawn from all major legal traditions who do not represent governments but function in their personal capacities.

Among the many topics dealt with in great detail by the ILC are international rivers and Law of the Sea. The International Court of Justice, successor of the League of Nations the Permanent Court of International Justice, is another organ of the UN to develop international law. The ICJ or World Court is composed of 15 judges elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council. Like the members of the ILC, they act in their individual capacities not representing any government. The General Assembly and other specialized agencies of the UN some marginally participate in international law making. Of others the legal matters relevant to political geography which is dealt with by these are the conferences on the Law of the Sea and on Transit Trade of landlocked countries. These conferences are designed to produce *conventions* (multilateral treaties) which, if duly ratified, are binding on at least the signatories and become part of international law. As more states join the international community, as all States ever more tightly bound together by mutual dependence, and the need for universal law becomes both more accepted and more urgent, and the greater will be the UN activity in this field.

Conflicts and Conflict Resolution

There always been conflicts and disputes among States; with different origins and shapes. Regardless of the dimensions of the conflicts, however, they can be resolved without resort to war if the parties involved are willing.

The most important method of settling a dispute is *bilateral negotiations*. The parties use diplomatic channels to begin with. Sometimes the normal diplomatic efforts will be supplemented or supplanted by negotiations between cabinet ministers and even heads of government. Most disputes are settled in this

way; only if a dispute is particularly intractable or the parties are unwilling to talk with one another is a third party is called in to help. There are five standard types of third party participation: *good offices, conciliation, mediation, arbitration, and judicial proceedings.* The choice to be made any of one or more of these depends on the disputing parties.

Good offices are the simplest form of third-party participation. Is the one in which the third party is least directly involved in the dispute. The third party expedites bilateral negotiations by performing such services for the disputants as providing a neutral site for the negotiations; supplying interpreters, office space, secretarial services, and the like; transmitting messages between the parties; doing basic research and providing factual information to the parties; even providing entertainment and sight-seeing so as to create and maintain a relaxed and friendly atmosphere for the negotiations. Many countries, especially Switzerland, provide good offices, but for more frequent and useful provider of the service is the United Nations.

Conciliation in the negotiations a third party can intervene moderately. A conciliator will consider the positions of both sides and offer a compromise solution to the problem. He or she does not participate in the negotiations, undertake detailed studies, or pass judgment. The conciliator's function is to facilitate the resolution of a dispute by offering a face-saving solution to the parties.

Mediation is very close to conciliation, but is more formal and active. A mediator studies the case in more detail, participates actively in the negotiations, and offers a formal proposal for solution of the problem.

Arbitration is a more formal, time-consuming, and expensive undertaking and , consequently, is less frequently utilized than any method discussed so far. The disputants may resort to arbitration only if a dispute is more legal than political in nature, and it is frequently difficult to disentangle the two, and if it has been protracted and particularly trying for both parties.

Whether the results of the arbitration are to be advisory only or actually binding arbitration, the parties to the dispute agree in advance. Usually they agree on binding arbitration. Then they choose an umpire or arbitrator who may be a sovereign, a distinguished judge, or a tribunal or panel.

Unlike good offices, conciliation, and mediation, arbitration aims at justice, not compromise. It still represents, however, the parties' attempt to arrive at an amicable resolution of a problem under their own rules by arbitrators of their own choice.

Judicial proceedings are formal adversary proceedings before a permanent court following established rules. They are typically the last resort, used after all other methods of pacific settlement of a dispute have been rejected or have failed. The preceding may take place before a national court, a regional court such as the International Court of Justice. Naturally, being sovereign States, one or both parties may ignore or reject either arbitral or judicial decisions, but generally they are respected.