**Course Title Political Geography**

Course Code **GeES2063**

**Module Category** Core

Course information Academic Year **2012 EC** Semester **II**

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**Course description**: The course introduces students with the essence of political geography; the need for space; state forms; frontiers and boundaries; core areas and capital cities; anatomy of power; global strategic views; water bodies and islands; population, imperialism, colonialism and decolonization; contemporary international relations; and political geography and foreign policy.

**Course Objectives**

Upon successful completion of this course students will be able to:

* Understand the major concepts and role of political geography.
* Compare and contrast sate, nation and nation state.
* Explain size and shapes of states.
* Discuss the modern concepts of frontiers and boundaries.
* Compare and contrast unitary, federal and regional forms of states.
* Discuss the relationship between resource and power.
* Understand the concepts of geopolitics.

**Mode of delivery: Block**

**Target Group:** Geography and Environmental Studies 2nd year students

Year /Semester Year II/ Semester II

**Status of Course:** **Compulsory**

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**Teaching & learning Methods**

Lecture, presentation, and group discussion.

**Assessment/Evaluation**

Test 1 ………………………………. 15%

Test 2 …………………………….... 15%

Assignment -------------------------20%

Final Exam--------------------------50%

**Total-------------------------------------100%**

**Course Expectations**

**Preparedness**: You must come to class prepared by bringing with you the appropriate materials like calculator and ruler. You are also expected to complete any assignment on time.

**Participation:** be active participant in every activity in the class. Do not afraid to ask question and to give comments and suggestions.

**Policy**: All students are expected to abide by the code of conduct of students (article 166 and166.1.1, of the Senate Legislation of the University) throughout this course. Academic dishonesty including cheating (**exam or attendance**), fabrication and plagiarism will not be tolerated and will be reported to concerned bodies for action. If you need to read it you can get from your academic advisor and photocopy it. Students are expected to ask and answer questions, raise issues, give constructive feedback to their colleagues, accomplish and submit assignments according to the provided time table. Students are expected to attend class regularly. Attendance will be taken randomly and any absenteeism without tangible problems highly affects your grade. If you miss 20% of the class

attendance you will be totally cancelled from the course. Try to come to the class on time. You are not permitted to enter the class if you are late more than 10 minutes.

**References**

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**Chapter 1: Introduction**

* 1. **Geography & Politics.**

**Geography** - is the scientific study of spatio-temporal variation, of how-&-why-things differ from place to place on the surface of the earth.

**Politics** - is the science of governments of states. It is also defined as the art & practice of government of human societies. In the commonsense view politics is about governments, political parties, elections, public policy, peace & foreign affairs.

There are two ways of understanding of politics.

1. **Formal politics:**  is the operation of constitutional system of government & its publicly defined institutions & procedures. It involves certain types of people in state institutions. The political system may accord the people formal political rights (like voting) or formal political duties (such as to pay tax). Formal politics is seen as something that can sometimes affect everyday life, but really part of everyday life.
2. **Informal politics:** it can be summed up the phrase ‘***politics is everywhere’***. For example, parents attempt to influence children, women to do more house work than men do, is also considered as informal politics. In fact, if informal politics is to be mentioned, there is no aspect of life, which is not political. ***So,*** ***politics is really everywhere.***

**Ways of Relationship between Geography & Politics**

1. **The politics of geography**

This perspective emphasizes that geography has a very real & measurable impact on politics. Regionalism & sectionalism could provide a good example of how geography shapes politics. Different groups with different identities sometimes coexist within the same state boundaries. As times discordance between legal & political boundaries & the distribution of populations with distinct identities leads to movements to claim or reclaim particular territories. These movements, whether conflictual or peaceful, are known as regional movements. Regionalism is a feeling of collective identity based on a population’s politics, territorial identification within a state or across state boundaries. Self-determination activity of different groups is also considered as another example.

1. **Geography of politics**

This perspective analyses how politics shapes geography. A clear way how politics shapes geography is to show how systems of political representation are geographically anchored/attached. State power, therefore, is applied within geographical units & state representatives are chosen from geographical units.

* 1. **What is political Geography?**

The definition of political geography is personified & has no single definition as is the case in any other field of study. The comprehensive definition of political geography is the following.

**Political geography** is a systematic field which focuses on the spatial expressions of political behavior. It is the study of variation of political phenomena from place to place in interconnection with variations in other features of the earth as the home of man. On the other hand, studies in political geography should clearly demonstrate the spatial causes & effects of political processes. Boundaries on land & oceans, the roles of capital cities, power relationships among states, administrative systems, voter behavior, conflicts over resources & even matters involving outer space have politico-geographical dimensions. Therefore, political geography is the interaction of politics & geography.

Power Place

Politics **Political Geography** Geography

Politics Policy Space Territory

*Figure 1.1,* *Political Geography as the interaction of Politics and Geography*

On one side is the triangle of power, politics & policy. Here power is the commodity that sustains the other two. If money makes the economic world go around, power is the medium of politics. Politics is the whole set of process that are involved in achieving, exercising & resisting power. Policy is the intended outcome & politics is about being in position to do. The interaction of these three entities is the concern of political science.

In the second triangle, space is the core commodity of geography. Place is a particular point in space, while territory represents a more formal attempt to delimit a portion of space. Political geography recognizes these six entities: power, politics, policy, space, place & territory that are intrinsically linked. Political geography embraces an innumerable multitude of interactions of the above entities. Because of this political geography has only frontier zone, not borders.

* 1. **Historical Development of Political Geography**

It should be emphasized that political geography was established as sub discipline of geography with the publication of Friedrich Ratzel’s “politiche geographie” in 1897. Ratzel is sometimes referred to as the father of political geography. Ratzel as a founder of political geography is remembered today for his ***organic theory*** ***of the state*** & the concept of ***‘living space’*** in which vigorous societies could expand. Ratzel’s model portrays the state as ***behaving like a biological organism; thus, its growth & change are seen as natural & inevitable.***

In the early post 2nd WW period political geography retreated in to safer realm of the study at the scale of the individual state. By the early 1950’s there began a trend towards shedding some of the environmental baggage of political geography & making the field more narrowly systematic in character. This time for vital papers attempted to provide a new rigorous framework for analyzing the geography of political areas & the modern state in particular. Interestingly, the political events of the late 1960’s in Europe & USA had a profound effect on all social sciences. In human geography it brought the political dimension to the fore.

Different from the 1960’s two main research areas came to dominate the growing political geography of the 1970’s. First, ***urban conflicts*** became very common topic in human geography, this in turn become an important part of a new urban political geography. The second growth was ***electoral geography***, where the techniques of the quantitative revolution were, at last, comprehensively applied in political geography. In this context, three areas of interest were identified.

1. The geography of voting;
2. Geographical influences in voting; &
3. The geography of representation

But this research growth did not overcome the uncoordinated nature of political geography; if anything, it enhanced the lack of coherence. Political geography continues to prosper in the 1980’s as most reviewers proclaim its remarkable resurgence/renaissance. This time, three groups of political geographers may be identified.

The first group refers to the ***status quo.*** This group largely accepts current institutions & society & it continues to research may of the topics of traditional political geography. Their ultimate concern is for ***political order & stability***.

The second group is that of the ***reformist group.*** It is in fact dissatisfied with current institutions & society & advocates limited change.

Finally, there has been some ***merger*** between political geography & radical geography among political geographers who neither accept nor wish to reform the existing social & political order.

**1.4 Approaches to the study of Political Geography**

**1.4.1. Power Analysis Approach**

It is commonly used by non-geographers. They define geography as one of the several power resources in international relations. One such study, for example divides national power in to five components: geographic, economic, political, sociological & military. The geographic element includes location, size & shape of the area which comprises the nation the extent to which it provides access from & egress to the world community, the degree to which land is arable or barren, the effect of climate & the reservoir of natural resources with which the land is endowed.

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

1. The physical environment (landforms, climate, soils, vegetation, water bodies etc.).
2. Movement (directional flow of transportation & communication of goods, men & ideas).
3. Raw materials, semi-finished & finished goods (employed & potential, in time & space)
4. Population (in its various characteristics, particularly qualitative & ideological)
5. The body politic (its various administrative forms, ideals, & goods in their areal expression, as a country, national & international block frameworks).

**1.4.2 Historical Approach**

This describes the evolution of a political or social unit through time. Historical political geography has its focus on the past, both for the sake of understanding the past better & for analyzing current problems. “People will not look forward to posterity who never looks back ward to their ancestors” E. Burke. Most studies in historical political geography have their greatest value in explaining the past. To rely upon them as guides to projecting political roles & activities of states today can prove fruitless & even misleading.

**1.4.3 Morphological Approach**

It is the study of form & structure. It calls for a descriptive & interpretive analysis of the external & internal structure of the state area as a geographic object. The external morphological attributes include size, shape, location & boundaries, whereas the internal morphological subdivisions include core areas, the capital & the cultural regions. It studies political areas according to their patterns & structural features. Patterns refer to the arrangement formed by the association of political units, whether national states, regional blocks, global alliances, or international administrative divisions, as expressed by location, size & shape. Structure on the other hand refers to the spatial features that political units have in common i.e. population & economic cores, capitals, boundaries & underdeveloped or otherwise problem units.

**1.4.4 Functional Approach**

It is concerned with the functioning of an area as a political unit. Every political unit has subordinate areas of organization, 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 & viability basic requirements for such unity. Thus, the functional approach would study state strengthening or centralizing forces. The function of the state is to create or to maintain economic viability for its citizens. Law on foreign trade, including subsides, tariff & embargos are tools used by the state to promote this particular function.

**1.4.5 Behavioral Approach**

Behavior refers to the sequence of interrelated biological & mental operations by which organisms respond to stimuli. The attitudes toward foreign countries among political decision makers may affect foreign policy.

**1.4.6 System Approach**

It is derived from general system theory. The essence of general system theory is that it focuses on systems of interrelated objects, which enter the system of framework as an input, exit as outputs & interact within it as elements that flow internally. The emphasis is on the unity or the wholeness of the framework. Systems, in to which new elements enter & 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 & societal forces are the component of the process; place, area & landscape are the components of geographical space. Process & space interact through the nation of political action areas & various ideological attachments, organization & perceptions, practices these action areas.

**Chapter 2: The State**

**2.1 State, Nation & Nation State**

**2.1.1. The state**

State can be defined as a politically organized society or a political system. The state can also be understood as the most supreme organ or institution of the society. The state refers to all institutions, agencies & agents that operate within a given territorial space, have legitimate power & authority over us. They can legitimately utilize force as an ultimate sanction against us if we fail to accept its rules. The state possesses five essential elements: population, territory, government, sovereignty & organized economy.

**1. Population:** The State is a human institution. It is the people who make a State. Subsequently, Antarctica is not a state as is it is without any human population. States should be large enough to be self-sufficing and small enough to be well-governed. But it is difficult to fix the size of the people of a state. In modern times we have India and China which have huge population and countries like San Marino with a very small population. The **quality** of the population is also important for the state as the state requires healthy, intelligent and disciplined citizens. Therefore, the state with a homogenous people can be governed easily.

**2. Territory:** a state must occupy a definite portion of the earth’s land surface and should have recognized limits. Just as every person belongs to a state, so does every square yard of earth. There is no state without a fixed territory. Living together on a common land binds people together. Some call their countries as fatherland or motherland. Without a fixed territory it would be difficult to conduct external relations. The territory may be small or large, but the state has to have a definite land.

**3. Government:** The government is the particular group of people, the administrative bureaucracy that controls the state apparatus at a given time. Governments are the means through which state power is employed. States are served by a continuous succession of different governments. Its function is to enforce existing laws, legislate new ones and arbitrate conflicts via their monopoly on violence.

**4. Sovereignty:** refers having highest power & authority. State is an area that has a sovereign government; there is no higher power that can make rules for that place. A state has the final power to make rules for people living in the region it controls. A state is a legal unit controlling a certain territory within w/c ultimate political power & authority belong to a sovereign central government.

**5**. **Organized economy:** while every society have some form of economic system, a state invariably has responsibility for many economic systems & activities.

**2.1.2. The Nation**

**Nation** refers to a grouping of people who ***share a sense of common identity and a desire for political sovereignty.*** It is a large group of people united by a common culture: sharing one or more important culture traits: religion, language, political institutions, values, and historical experience inhabiting a particular state. They are clearly distinguishable from others who do not share their culture.

The members of a nation recognize a common identity, but **they need not to reside within common geographical area**. Example Jewish nation refers to members of the Jewish culture and faith throughout the world regardless of their place or origin. On the other hand, when a nation does not have a territory, we call it ***stateless nation****.* Therefore, the concept of a nation is essentially a ***geographical (territorial)*** because, a nation denotes a group of people with a strong sense of belongingness to their homeland.

**Nationalism -** feeling of belonging to and the belief that a nation has a natural right to determine its own affairs. Nationalities come in to existence only when certain objective bonds delimit a social group. A nationality generally has several attributes including;

* **Common descent**: belief in a common biological descent may have some cohesive force among tribal societies.
* **Common language**: is the most frequent and obvious sign of social cohesion. Nevertheless, some separate nations such as Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, USA, and Canada speak English.
* **Religion**: it is a powerful political force. Example, in Arab world, the Catholic Church constitutes a significant part of the cement of the polish and Irish nations.

### 2.1.3 The Nation-State

**A nation state**: is a state consisting of homogenous group of people governed by their own state. In short it is a state with only one nation within its borders. A nation state has a defined territory with a sovereign government, with population sharing a common culture, history & language. This does not mean simply a minority ethnic group, but a nationalistic group with in a state. Examples of nation-states include: Albania, Armenia, Bangladesh, Lesotho, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Swaziland, Japan, Sweden, Uruguay, Egypt & New Zealand are all nation-states.

The nation-state is the dominant political entity of the modern world. However, it is comparatively recent phenomenon. It developed in Europe between the 16th and 19th centuries after the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire and the emergence of the centralized state claiming exclusive and monopolistic authority within a defined territorial area.

Being a nation - state likely show the ***greatest stability & permanence***. It is also ***an instrument for national unity, in economic, social & cultural life.*** It also used for more centralized & uniform public administration. But today many of states are multinational states.

**Multinational states:** are states which are composed of more than one ethnic or religious group. Example, Ethiopia, USA, Canada, South Africa, Spain, France & Russia. Alternatively, a single nation may be dispersed across and be predominant in two or more states. This is the case with the ***part-nation state***. Here, a people’s ***sense of nationality exceeds the areal limits of a single state***. On the other hand, there is the special case of the ***stateless nation*,** a people without a state.

**2.2 Emergence & Evolution of Modern State**

The origin of the State is still very imperfectly understood.  Indeed, not one of the current theories of the rise of the state is entirely satisfactory.  Clearly, theories of the origin of the State are relatively modern.  Classical writers like Aristotle tended to think of the State as ***natural,*** and therefore as not requiring an explanation.

However, the age of exploration, by making Europeans aware that many people throughout the world lived, not in States, but in independent villages or tribes, made the State seem less natural, and thus more in need of explanation. The Various philosophers explain different ways of the Emergency and evolution of modern State as follow:

**1. Voluntarist Theories**

1. **Automatic theory:** According to this theory the invention of agriculture automatically brought into being a *surplus of food*, enabling some individuals to divorce themselves from food production and to become potters, weavers, smiths, masons, and so on, thus creating an extensive division of labor. Out of this *occupational specialization* there developed a political integration which united a number of previously independent communities into a State.
2. **Hydraulic hypothesis:**  In certain arid and semi-arid areas of the world, where village farmers had to struggle to support themselves by means of small-scale irrigation, a time arrived when they saw that it would be to the advantage of all concerned to set aside their individual autonomies and merge their villages into a single large political unit capable of carrying out irrigation on a broad scale.  The body of officials they created to devise and administer such extensive irrigation works brought the State into being.

**2. Social Contract Theory**

Social contract arguments typically hypothesize that, individuals have consented, either openly or tacitly/implicitly, to surrender some of their freedoms & submit to the authority of the ruler or magistrate, in exchange for protection of their remaining rights. The question of the relation between natural and legal rights, therefore, is often an aspect of social contract theory.

The theorystarts with the assumption that, man lived originally in a ‘state of nature’, antecedents (background) to the formation of political organization. In this condition he was subject only to such rules of natural law as are prescribed by nature itself and was the possessor (holder) of natural rights.

* **Hobbes;** it was a state of war, a savage/violent state; men were selfish & aggressive brutes. Every man was the enemy of every other man. To avoid fear and danger of this terrible situation, men agreed to setup an authority.
* **John Locke;** Life in the state of nature was one of the peace and ease. Freedom and tranquility (harmony) prevailed. Men were bound by the law of nature and possessed certain natural rights, but there was the absence of an agency to interpret and implement the law of nature, so men agreed to create a common authority and,
* **Rousseau**; People led to an ideal life and enjoyed ‘idyllic happiness’ in the state of the nature. But the rise of property produced evils. To escape from them men set up authority by contract.

**3. The Force Theory**

The state came into existence as a result of the forced subjection of the weak to the strong. Historical or archeological evidence of war is found in the early stages of State formation in Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, China, Japan, Greece, Rome, Northern Europe, Central Africa, Polynesia, Middle America, Peru, and Colombia, to name only the most prominent examples. Yet, though warfare is surely a prime mover in the origin of the State, it cannot be the only factor.  After all, wars have been fought in many parts of the world where the State never emerged.  Thus, while warfare may be a necessary condition for the rise of the State, it is not a sufficient one.  Or to put it another way, while we can identify war as the mechanism of State formation, we need also to specify the conditions under which it gave rise to the State.

**4. The Divine Theory**

During the large part of human history, the state was viewed as direct divine creation. Early oriental empires rulers claimed a divine tight to control the affairs of their subjects and this right was seldom questioned. The Hebrews believed – divine origin.

**5. Environmental Circumscription**

One promising approach is to look for those factors common to areas of the world in which States arose indigenously areas such as the Nile, Tigris-Euphrates, and Indus valleys in the Old World and the Valley of Mexico and the mountain and coastal valleys of Peru in the New.  These areas differ from one another in many ways in altitude, temperature, rainfall, soil type, drainage pattern, and many other features.  They do, however, have one thing in common: they are all areas of circumscribed agricultural land.  Each of them is set off by mountains, seas, or deserts and these environmental features sharply delimit the area that simple farming peoples could occupy and cultivate.  In this respect these areas are very different from, say, the Amazon basin or the eastern woodlands of North America, where extensive and unbroken forests provided almost unlimited agricultural land. So that agricultural land had its own significance for the origin of the State.

**6. Political Evolution**

Although the aggregation of villages into chiefdoms, and of chiefdoms into kingdoms, was occurring by external acquisition, the structure of these increasingly larger political units was being elaborated by internal evolution.  These inner changes were, of course, closely related to outer events.  The expansion of successful states brought within their borders conquered peoples and territory which had to be administered.  And it was the individuals who had distinguished themselves in war who were generally appointed to political office and assigned the task of carrying out this administration.  Besides maintaining law and order and collecting taxes, the functions of this burgeoning class of administrators included mobilizing labor for building irrigation works, roads, fortresses, palaces, and temples.

**2.3 Geographic Characteristics of State: Size, Shape & Location**

### 2.3.1 Size of the State

In general, the larger the state, the better the chance that there will be enough resources to support the state, but size can also hinder the effective control of a state’s people and/or resources. Canada, Russia and Australia are large states but have relatively small areas capable of supporting agriculture.

The sovereign states in the world today range in size from the smallest the Vatican City state with an area of 44 ha, to Russia with an area of 16,889,390 square km. States exceeding 2.5 million square km are described a very large, while those fewer than 25,000 square km are referred to as very small. Small states range from 25,000-150,000 square km, medium sized states from 150,000 – 350,000 square km. and large sized states from 350,000 – 2.5 million square km. following is an example.

* Very small---- Burundi, Lebanon, the Vatican City, Small Netherlands, Liberia
* Medium ------- UK, Poland
* Large -------- France, Ethiopia
* Very large ----- Russia, Canada

**Advantages and Disadvantages**

* **The advantages of the state size:**
* Generalization regarding size might be made with due attention paid to relative location, mineralized belts, and trade routes. For instance, USA lies in the middle latitudes and fronting two oceans.
* The common advantages of state size include: possibility to possess diverse agro ecological zones, arable land, and variety of natural resource.

**Disadvantages of state size:**

* **­­­­­**A large country may not necessarily endow with resources. The location, physiographic and the shape of a state often enhances or diminishes the value or large size. Population may be large or small, evenly or unevenly distributed, ethnically homogeneous or variegated regardless of the measurements of territory.
* 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, Canada, and Russia, though large, have relatively small areas capable of supporting productive agriculture**. Australia’s central** desert **Siberia**, and the **Canadian shield** all exemplify the barrier effect of vastness. Nevertheless, most very large states attempt to **diminish** the empty aspect of their sparsely populated regions by **encouraging settlement** in those areas by practicing population policies aimed at rapid growth. The size of a state is related in many ways to its **effective national territory** or **acumen**.
* 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 Azetc Empire, ancient Ghana, and the Roman Empire. It also has been a major factor in the breakup of more recent colonial empires, and such states as India and Pakistan and Sudan.
* Its defense is a burden
* The fields are inadequately farmed
* There is too large margin of the natural products
* Administration becomes increasingly difficult over long distances and thus less and less efficient.

### 2.3.2. The Shape of the State

Like size, a country's shape may affect its prospects of de­velopment and control. There are 4 categories of the shapes of states:

**1. Elongated (attenuated) shape**

It may be defined as state that is *at least six times* as long as its average width. Thus Chile, 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 world’s cultural area, elongation may involve *internal division*; example the north - south division of Italy. Furthermore; the physiographic contrast within the elongated state may accentuate other divisions. Chile, for example, possesses at least 3 *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 shape**

Compact state is a state possessing a roughly circular, oval, or rectangular territory in which the distance from the geometric center to any point on the boundary exhibits little variance. It lies at about the same distance from the geometrical center at state. Compact states enclose a maximum of territory with in a minimum boundary; are without peninsulas, islands, or other remote extensions of the national spatial framework. Assuming no major topographical barriers, the most efficient national shape would be a circle with the capital located in the center. In such a country, all places could be reached from the center in a minimal amount of time and with the least expenditure for roads, railway lines, and so on. It would also have the shortest possible borders to defend. A perfect circle is an unlikely possibility, but some countries, Uruguay, Zimbabwe, and Poland are examples do have roughly circular shapes, forming a compact state.

**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)

**3. Prorupt state**

It is 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 - problem of administration. Proruption may simply reflect peninsular elongations of land area, as in the case of Myanmar and Thailand. In other cases, the extensions have an economic or strategic significance, hav­ing been designed to secure state access to resources or to establish a buffer zone between states that would other­wise adjoin. The proruptions of Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Namibia fall into this category. The Caprivi Strip of Namibia, for example, which extends eastward from the main part of the country, was designed by the Germans to give what was then their colony of Southwest Africa access to the Zambezi River. Whatever their origin, proruptions tend to isolate a portion of a state.

**4. Fragmented state**

It includes countries composed entirely of islands (e.g., the Philippines and Indonesia), countries that are partly on islands and partly on the mainland (Italy and Malaysia), and those that are chiefly on the mainland but whose terri­tory is separated by another state (the United States). Fragmentation makes it harder for the state to impose centralized control over its territory, particularly when the parts of the state are far from one another. A special case of fragmentation occurs when a territorial outlier of one state, an **exclave,** is located within another state. Kleinwalsertal, for example, is a piece of Austria accessible only from Germany. Baarle-Hertog is a fragment of Belgium inside Holland.

**5. Perforated state**

A perforated state completely surrounds a territory that it does not rule. It is impossible to reach the perforating state without crossing the territory or air space of perforated state. Example, San Marino perforates Italy; Lesotho surrounds the republic of South Africa. The enclave, the surrounded territory, may be independent or may be part of another state. Two of Europe's smallest independent states, San Marino and Vatican City, are enclaves that perforate Italy. As an exclave of West Germany, West Berlin perforated the national territory of former East Germany and was an enclave in it. The stability of the perforated state can be weakened if the enclave is occupied by people whose value systems differ from those of the surrounding country.

**6) Exclave and Enclave**

Small pockets of land lying outside the main territory, as islands within the territory of neighboring states are exclaves. Nevertheless, these exclaves are of some importance on political geography for they may depend for their survival on their connections with homeland. Their boundary may be under great stress. An **enclave** is a territory whose geographical boundaries lie entirely within the boundaries of another territory. An exclave, on the other hand, is a territory legally or politically attached to another territory with which it is not physically contiguous.

Although the meanings of both words are **close**, an exclave may **not necessarily** be an enclave or vice versa. **E.g**. Lesotho is an enclave in South Africa, but it is not politically attached to anything else, meaning that it is not an exclave. A country surrounded by another but having access to the sea is not considered an enclave, regardless of size. Enclaves may be created for a variety of historical, political or geographical reasons. Some areas have been left as enclaves by changes in the course of a river.

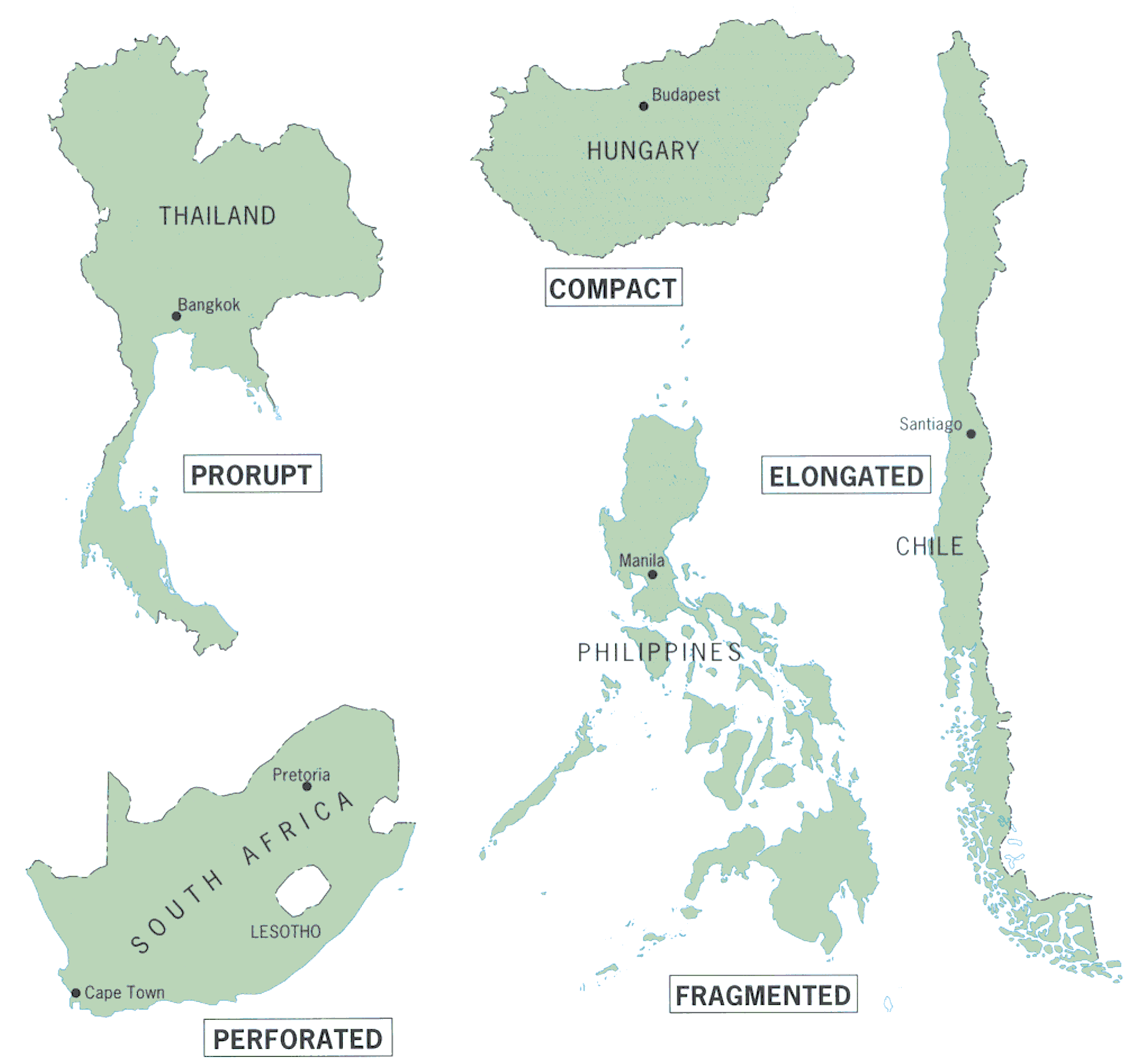
***An enclave state is a state entirely enclosed within the territory of another state.*** ***Enclaved states in international law*** ***are sovereign states landlocked within another state.*** There are currently **three** such states: Lesotho, San Marino, and the Vatican. Additional confusion results from calling states without sea access “enclaved countries.” The correct term in this respect would be a “***landlocked country.”*** There are currently 42 landlocked in the world.

Figure 1 the shape of state area

**2.3.3 Location of the State**

The geographical location of a state, as distinct from its shape and size, is significant in two

ways:

1. **Absolute location** in relation to the territorial globe, which influences in particular ***its climate.***

Early writers on politics often laid particular stress on absolute location. Plato wrote in the Laws that “we must not fail to notice that some districts are naturally superior to others for the breeding of men of a good or bad type.” “Soft countries,” wrote Herodotus, “invariably breed soft men.” Montesquieu (18th c.) wrote that “one should not be astonished that the weakness of the inhabitants of warm climates should make them slaves, and the courage of those in cold climates should keep them free. This is a result of natural conditions.” Political power is by this argument clearly related to climate and, through climate to geographical location.

1. **Relative location:** this is in relation to other states. This is a vastly significant factor in the power of states. When boundaries of a state are determined or altered, the primary consideration, at least during the present century, has been nationalism, the political aspiration of its people. But in almost every instance, there has been some compromise with the factor of relative location. The locational disadvantages of a boundary, base entirely on ethnic or linguistic considerations, have been compensated for by establishing “corridors,” free zones, transit rights, etc. Only too often these do some violence to the national hopes of neighboring peoples. A number of states have been deliberately created or maintained for the purpose of separating two other countries. These are often known as buffer states, and they have played an important role in modern political geography.

**Buffer states** are small political units located between large nations. They survive because they separate states that would otherwise be powerful neighbors and because the attempt to conquer them would be met, not by the relatively weak resistance of the buffer, but by the much stronger opposition of the other neighbor**.** Thus, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg have survived as buffer between France and Germany; Poland and ex-Czechoslovakia, and Rumania as buffer between Central Europe and the ex-Soviet Union.

Favorable relative location consti­tutes the primary resource of a state. Singapore, a state of only 580 square kilometers and 3.5 million people, is located at a crossroads of world shipping and commerce. Based on its port and commercial activities, and buttressed by its more recent industrial development, Singapore has become a notable Southeast Asian economic success. In gen­eral, history has shown that countries benefit from a location on major trade routes, not only from the economic advan­tages such a location carries, but also because they are exposed to the diffusion of new ideas and technologies.

## **2.4 Forces working for or against State Viability**

A state is likely to show the greatest stability and permanence when it *corresponds closely with a nation*, *but today many states is multinational states*. The **stability** of state depends upon **two** factors, which contribute either to its **strength** or **weakness**. At any moment in time, a State is characterized by forces that promote unity and national stability and by others that disrupt them. These forces may be internal or external. Political geographers refer to the former as **centripetal forces.** These are factors that bind together the people of a state that enable it to function and give it strength. **Centrifugal forces,** on the other hand, destabi­lize and weaken a state. If centrifugal forces are stronger than those promoting unity, the very existence of the state will be threatened.

### 2.4.1 Centrifugal Forces (weakening forces)

Any state there are forces tending to reduce its cohesion, in extreme cases they may break 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. The friction generated by their conflict threatens the stability or even the existence of the state. **Serious difficulties** may arise for a safe if any of its regions have closer relations with regions of outside states than those with in the state, 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.

A country whose population is bound not by a shared sense of nationalism but is split by several local primary alle­giances suffers from sub-nationalism**.** That is, many people give their primary allegiance to traditional groups or nations that are smaller than the population of the entire state. Sub-nationalism can be a disruptive centrifugal force, particu­larly if a group believes that its right to self-determination has not been achieved. **Self-determination** is the concept that nationalities have the right to govern themselves in their own state or territory, a right to self-rule. They may try to carve out a new nation-state from portions of existing areas.

Other characteristics common to many separatist move­ments are a **peripheral location and social and economic inequal­ity.** Troubled regions tend to be peripheral, often isolated in rural pockets, and their location away from the seat of central government engenders feelings of alienation, exclusion, and neglect. Second, the dominant culture group is often seen as an exploiting class that has suppressed the local language, controlled access to the civil service, and taken more than its share of wealth and power. Poorer regions complain that they have lower incomes and greater unemployment than prevail in the rest of the state, and that "outsiders" controls key resources and industry. Separatists in relatively rich regions believe that they could exploit their resources for themselves and do better economically without the constraints imposed by the central state.

### 2.4.2 Centripetal Forces (strengthening forces)

These are forces which tend to strengthening and unifying the state. The fact that country has a name, government and defined 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 the state.

**The Instruments of the National cohesion**

The most prominent of these forces are nationalism, unifying institutions, organizations and administration, and transport and communication.

1. **Nationalism: -** One of the most powerful of the centripetal forces is nation­alism**, *identification and the acceptance of national goals.*** Nationalism is based on the concept of alle­giance to a single country; it thus fosters a feeling of collec­tive distinction from all other peoples and lands. It is an ***emotion that provides a sense of identity and loyalty and of collective distinction from all other peoples and lands.***

Citizens of Canada and the United States, for ex­ample, have their separate sense of distinction, emotional ties to separate societies, loyalty to different national sym­bols, recollection of different histories, and dedication to distinctive national roles and purposes. The border that separates the two countries, though open and unguarded, reflects those differences and marks a discontinuity in the North American cultural fabric.

States purposely try to instill feelings of allegiance in their citizens, for such feelings give the political system strength. People who have such allegiance are likely to accept common rules of action and behavior and to par­ticipate in the decision-making process establishing those rules.

In addition, a sense of unity binding the people of a state together is necessary to overcome the divisive forces present in most societies. Not everyone, of course, will feel the same degree of commitment or loyalty. The important consideration is that the majority of a state’s population accepts its ideologies, adhere to its laws, and participate in its effective operation. For many countries, such accep­tance and adherence have come only recently and par­tially; in some, they are frail and endangered.

**Icon­ography** is the study of the symbols that bind a people to­gether. National anthems and other patriotic songs; flags, national sports teams, and officially designated or easily identified flowers and animals; and rituals/ceremonials and holidays are all developed as symbols of a state in order to attract al­legiance. They ensure that all citizens, no matter how diverse the population may be, will have at least these symbols in common. They impart a sense of be­longing to a political entity called, for example, Japan or Canada.

1. **Unifying Institutions:** A number of institutions help to develop the sense of commitment and cohesiveness essential to the state. ***Schools,*** particularly elementary schools, are among the most im­portant of these. Children learn the history of their own country and relatively little about other countries. Schools are expected to inculcate the society's goals, values, and traditions and to teach the common language that conveys them. Allegiance to the state is accepted as the norm, and youngsters are guided to identify with their country.

The ***armed forces (military)*** and, sometimes, ***a state*** ***church*** are the other institutions. The military organization fulfills a primary state goal: the provision of security, both internal and external. A high percentage of most states' budgets are spent to secure such protection. And the religion of the majority of the people may be designated a state church. In such cases the church sometimes becomes a force for cohesion, helping to unify the population. This is true of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, Islam in Iran, and Judaism in Israel.

1. **Organization & Administration:** A further bonding force is public confidence in the effec­tive organization of the state. Can it provide security from external aggression and internal conflict? Are its resources distributed and allocated in such a way as to be perceived to promote the economic welfare of all its citizens? Are all citizens afforded equal opportunity to participate in gov­ernmental affairs? Are there institutions that encourage consultation and the peaceful settlement of disputes? How firmly established are the rule of law and the power of the courts? Is the system of de­cision making responsive to the people's needs?

These are not questioning of democracy or dictatorship but of citizen perception of the propriety and legitimacy of governmental control. The answers to them, and the relative importance of the answers, will vary from country to country, but they and similar ones are implicit in the expectation that the state will. If those expectations are not fulfilled, the loyalties promoted by national sym­bols and unifying institutions may be weakened or lost.

1. **Transportation & Communication:** A state's transportation network fosters political integration by promoting interaction between areas and by joining them economically and socially. Roads and railroads have played a historically signifi­cant role in promoting political integration. In the United States and Canada, they not only opened up new areas for settlement, but they increased interaction between rural and urban areas.

**Communication systems** - the national media are the major instruments in informing and influencing the people, i.e. Promotion of national unity by powerful mass media and education systems. Transportation and communication, while encouraged within a state, are frequently curtailed or at least controlled between states as a conscious device for promoting state cohesion through limitation on external spatial interaction. The mechanisms of control include restrictions on trade through tariffs or embargoes, legal barriers to immi­gration and emigration, and limitations on travel through passports and visa requirements.

**2.5 The State in Global Perspective**

### 2.5.1. 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. Laws of the spatial growth of states, which are developed by Reitzel’s are the following:

***1. The size of the state grows with its culture (size will increase as culture develops):***

* The expansion of geographic horizons continually presents new areas for the spatial expansion of populations. An energy can be developed only slowly through *culture.* Culture increasingly produces the bases & means to join together.

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

* This indicates, territorial growth of a state follows other aspects of development. Like commerce and communication far precede politics which follows in their path and can never be sharply separated from them. Peaceful intercourse is the preliminary condition of the growth of the state.

***3. The growth of the state proceeds by annexation of smaller members in to the aggregate. At the same time the relationship of the population to the land becomes continuously closer.***

* A state grows by absorbing smaller units. From the mechanical integration of areas of the most varied sizes, populations and cultural levels there arises, through proximity, communication and the intermixture of their inhabitants, an organic growth.

***4. The boundary is the peripheral organ of the state, the bearer of its growth as well as its fortification/protection, 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. Means Boundaries are peripheral organs that take part in all transformations of the state. In other word, the frontier is the peripheral organ of the state that reflects the strength and growth of the state; hence, it is not permanent.

***5. 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.

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

**Initial stimulus** for growth is external. In other word, the impetus for growth comes to a primitive state from a more highly developed civilization. The growth of primitive states has never been advanced without foreign influence. The origin of such growth is colonization in the border sense. Men from regions of larger spatial conceptions carry the idea of larger states in to districts to less spatial concepts. Australia, America, and Africa south of the equator, which prior to 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.

**7. *The general tendency toward territorial annexation and amalgamation is transmitted from the 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. The drive toward the building of continually larger states continues throughout the entire of history.

**2.5.2. The Territory of the State**

**Acquisition of territory: A** state can acquire territory under international law.

**Occupation:** At first, discovery alone was given some status as a basis for a claim, but it was frequently challenged and seldom sustained. By the 18th century discovery alone was no longer adequate, it had to be followed by effective occupation. There have been a great many disputes over definition of effective occupation and its importance visa-a visa other claims to territory, and some of these disputes survive today. But since there is probably no undiscovered land remaining in the world and little unclaimed land, this basis for claims is of historical and legal interest.

**Prescription**: If an area claimed by a state is occupied by another state for years without serious objection by the original claimant, the little, whether or not clear and organized, may be considered abandoned and may pass to the occupying state. The rise of nationalism, however, has virtually eliminated prescription as a means of transferring territory, except for a few small and remote islands.

**Conquest and annexation:** Historically, territory has changed hands through conquest at least as often as by any other means. Conquest alone, however, does not enough. Conquers must take steps to annex the new territory and incorporate it in to their own, extending their laws over it, giving it representation in the national legislatures appointing administrators, or otherwise making the annexation effective.

**Voluntary cession: Formerly**, it was quite common for territory (with its inhabitants) to pass from one country to another simply by agreement. Today voluntary cession is rare. Remote Island is still being transferred, as when Charismas Island in the Indian Ocean was transferred from Britain to Australia in 1950. Minor boundary adjustments, generally involving exchange of territory, have been quite common in Europe since World War II.

**Accretion:** is the addition of land to a state by natural processes. This most commonly results from a gradual shift in the bed of a river that has been adopted as an international boundary. If the river changes courses suddenly, as a result of flood or earth quake, for example, the process is called allusion, and the boundary customarily remains in place. Land is also accreted in deltas, along emerging coastlines, as islands built up by rivers and ocean currents, and soon.

**Acquisition rights:** often one state grants the use of territory to another without title or sovereignty actually changing hands. Such transfer of rights takes the form of leases and servitudes. Today they have become rare. Example, USA in 1903 acquired from panama rights to the “use, occupation, and control” of a zone for the construction, operation and defense of an inter-oceanic canal, which it now gradually giving up.

**2.5.3. Structure of the State**

Federalism is a system under which significant government powers are divided between the central government and smaller units, such as regions/states. In a confederation, the constituent states get together for certain common purposes but retain ultimate individual authority and can veto major central governmental actions. The United Nations, the European Union, and the American government under the Articles of Confederation are examples. In a unitary system, the central government has all the power and can change its constituent units or tell them what to do. Japan and France have this kind of government

In terms of the patterns of power distribution among the central and local or sub-national government, states can be classified in to two: Unitary state and Federal state. 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.

### The Unitary State

A Unitary form of government is one in which sovereignty is wholly in the hands of the national government, so that the states and localities are dependent on its will. The unitary state is built up around a single political center and the territory of the state is under the control of this center. A unitary state has a single ultimate sovereignty.

* An ideal unitary state should not be in the “large” or “very large” categories of state territory.
* It should be also compact in shape.
* A fragmented or Prorupt territory may present obstacles to unity and cohesion
* The unitary state should be relatively densely populated and effectively inhabited.
* 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.

**Evolution and Present Distribution of Unitary States**

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. The old European States fostered a strong central authority, and it is here that the unitary State as it is known today emerged. 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.

Modern Prance was forged, in effect, by Napoleon, who swept away the old system of loosely tied divisions and replaced them with 90 separate "departments,'' based on rough equality of size. Each of these departments had the same relationship to the central political authority as did the next, and each sent representatives to Paris. Napoleon also developed an entirely new system of communications, focusing very strongly on Paris, to act as a unifying agent. Until the days of Napoleon, allegiance in France had been to individual divisions rather than to France, despite the forces of revolution and the overthrow of the monarchy. France today may be considered as nearly completely a nation-state.

Most of the former colonial territories of the world have adopted a unitary form of organization, especially those in which the indigenous population has taken control. 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 state, 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, only India 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**

Two types of centralized states are recognized.

**1. 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 o 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 the 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. 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. The overriding factors of proximity, inter digitation, interdependence, historical association produce the centripetal forces that bind the state together.

2. **Highly centralized** – in this type of unitary state, internal diversity, 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. Cuba in Latin America, Equatorial Guinea and Libya in Africa, and Saudi Arabia and Indonesia in Asia are some current highly centralized unitary states.

### 2. The Federal State

First of all, the idea of federalism was adoption of an idea with ancient Greek and roman roots. The term comes from the Latin feoderis; it means alliance and co-existence, a union of consensus and common interest. Federalism is the ideology which holds that the ideal organization of human affairs is best reflected in the celebration of diversity through unity. Federal state is a type of sovereign state characterized by a union of partially self-governing states or regions united by a central (federal) government. In federalism, the self-governing status of the component states is typically constitutionally entrenched and may not be altered by a unilateral decision of the central government

All large states, except china, have a federal constitution at the present time. Several small states, in there is strong regional feelings, have also adopted this practice of federation. The most 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. Examples of world federal states- Russia, Argentina, India, brazil, Mexico, Ethiopia, Germany, Nigeria, Switzerland, Pakistan etc.

**Features of Federal State**

1. In unitary state the central government exercises in power equally over all parts of the state. But the federal framework permits a central government to represent the various entities within the state where they have common interest, defense, foreign affairs and communications.
2. It allows these various entities to retain their own identities and to have their own law, policies and customs in certain fields. Thus, each entity (such as a state, province or region) has its own capital city, its own governor and its own internal budget. In turn each represented in the federal capital.
3. Federal states, like unitary states, evolve and change overtime.
4. 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. These impediments to contact and to control might disrupt unitary state, where as federal framework state; whereas federal framework can withstand such centrifugal forces.
5. In terms of shape, fragmented states and prorupted states may be served by a federal system. An elongated state possessing more than one core area also might turn to a federal arrangement.
6. Federal states can adjust to the presence of more than one core (a number of subsidiary cores) more easily than unitary states. Ideally, the government of the federal state functions in a capital city located in an area of federal territory set off within the state for the specific purpose of administration. These fore stalls any friction over the choice of an existing major city as the capital and prevents regional favoritism from occurring, as it has in some federal states. Example in Nigeria, an existing city (Lagos) was separated from the western region and made the capital for two reasons.
7. It was a long-term colonial capital and housed most government records and existing facilitates.
8. It happens to be the leading port of the country, thus guaranteeing the landlocked north exists through a federal rather than a regional port.

The federal arrangement is also a political solution for those territories occupied by peoples of widely different ethnic origins, languages, religions or cultures. By their flexibility, federal frameworks have able to accommodate expanding territories. Provisions are often made for areas not yet incorporated. USA, India, Mexico, Brazil, the unification of Germany (facilitated by clause of the West Germany federal constitution). Another advantages offered by the federal arrangement it its encouragement of individual and local enterprise. Economic development in USA took place as fast as it did largely for this reason. The west wards push of Brazil, as exemplified by the relocation of the capital, s an effort to stimulate a similar chain of events in its hinterlands.

**Types of Federal States**

A federation does not create unity out of diversity; rather it enables the two to exist. The centripetal forces must out weight the centrifugal forces present in any federal state. There are several different types of federal state. 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 take was and remains, essential for the well-being of state. In still 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.

### Regional States

As federal states become more centralized and unitary states grant more autonomy to regions with 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. Example, the United Kingdom has guaranteed regional autonomy to many of its regions, Finland and Spain.

**Chapter 3: Frontiers & Boundaries**

**3.1 Modern Concepts of Boundaries & Frontiers**

### 3.1.1 The Frontier

Is used in two senses; it can refer to either 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 a **zone**. It is a politico geographical area lying between the integrated region of the political unit and into which expansion could take place. Before boundaries were delimited, nations or empires were likely to be separated by frontier zones, ***ill-defined and fluctuating areas marking the effective end of a state's au­thority*.** Such zones were ***often uninhabited or only sparsely populated and were liable to change with shifting settle­ment patterns.*** Many present-day international boundaries lie in former frontier zones, and in that sense the boundary line has replaced the ***broader frontier*** as a marker of a state's authority. ***Frontier regions occur where boundaries are very weakly developed***. They involve zones of underdeveloped territoriality, areas that are distinctive for their marginality rather than for their belonging.

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. It is a border zone, unclaimed, unsettled and unused, in to which peoples from each side way at times intrude but over which neither sides claim or exercises an exclusive control. It is outer oriented i.e. its main attention is directed towards the outlying areas. ***The frontier is a manifestation of centrifugal forces***. At the local level many examples of frontier, or marginal, region exist. Although the residents of most towns and cities recognize a series of distinctive districts and neighborhoods, these are often separated by zones or spaces that are marginal.

### 3.1.2. 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. ***Boundary is a finite and precise line surrounding and defining the territory of a state***. In fact it is not a line but a plane, a vertical plane that cuts through the air space, the soil, and the sub soil of the adjacent states. ***It is inner oriented*** (i.e. created and maintained by the will of the central government. It is the outer limit within which a government exercise effective control). No portion of the earth's land sur­face is outside the claimed control of a national unit, that even uninhabited Antarctica has had territorial claims imposed upon it. Each of the world's states is separated from its neighbors by international boundaries, or lines that establish the limit of each state's jurisdiction and authority.

***Boundaries indicate where the sovereignty of one state ends and that of another begins.*** Within its own bounded territory, a state administers laws, collects taxes, provides for defense, and performs other such governmental functions. Thus, the location of the boundary determines the kind of money people in a given area use, the legal code to which they are subject, the army they may be called upon to join, and the language and perhaps the religion children are taught in school. These examples suggest how boundaries serve as powerful factor of cultural variation over the earth's surface.

Specifically, boundaries have the following functions:

* It is important for ***defensive function***
* Boundaries mark the ***limit of state jurisdiction***
* ***Commercial function of boundary*** (the government can erect tariff walls against outside competition for its market and thus assist international industries.
* ***Legal function*** - 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 borders.
* Serve as a state ***symbols of sovereignty***, and forester nationalism
* Needed for **administrative purposes**

### 3.1.3. The deference between frontier and boundary

* ***Frontier is the 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 a manifestation of centrifugal forces.*** On the other hand, the range and vigor of centripetal forces is indicated by the boundary.
* ***The frontier is an integrating factor***. Being a zone of transition from the sphere 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.*** It is the boundary that impinges on life. Few natural obstacles restricted the movement of persons, things and even ideas 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 frontier always unique.

**3.2 Boundary Making**

The **ideal sequence** of events in establishing a boundary is as follows**:**

The **first stage** involves the ***description of the boundary and the terrain*** through which it runs. This description identified, as exactly as possible, the location of boundary being established. This first stage, often formalized in treaties,is referred to as the ***definition of the boundary*.**

**The second stage** is when the treaty makers have completed their definition of the boundary in question, their work is placed before cartographers who, using large scale maps and ***air photographers plot the boundary as exactly as possible.***

**The third stage**is the task of ***marking the boundaries on the ground*** (***Boundary demarcation).*** This process has by no means taken place along every line defined & delimited. When a boundary is demarcated a variety of method is employed. A mere line of poles or stones may suffice.

**The final stage** in boundary making is ***administration***, that is establishing some regular procedure maintaining the boundary markers, setting minor local disputes over the boundary, use of waterways in the border area and attending to other housekeeping matters.

**3.2.1. 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.

***1. Ethnic:*** some political geographers have felt that ethnic criteria may be the most appropriate for the definition of international boundaries. In other word, boundaries should be drawn so as to separate peoples who are culturally uniform so that a minimum of stress will be placed on them. Example, the states of India, Pakistan and Burma were established on the bases that may loosely be called ethnic. However, it is difficult to completely or exactly separate people of the different character because the world population is too heterogeneous and inter digitated.

***2. Language****:* it might also be proposed as a basis for boundary definition. But map of the world’s languages shows patchwork of great complexity that would immeasurably compound the boundary framework existing today. Many states are a multilingual and would be fragmented in such effort. In this case then a boundary will inevitably a barrier between adjacent states. If a boundary separates which speak different languages, they are not likely to understand each other well, and with the result that relations may remain hostile across their international boundary.

***3. Religion***: peoples of varied races and languages have accepted the same faith, and people speaking the same language have adopted different religions. Nevertheless, in areas where religion has been strong sourced of internal friction, it has been a major basis for boundary definition. A good example is the portion of the Indian sub-continent it to (mainly Hindu) India and (mainly Muslim) Pakistan.

***4. 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. I.e. it 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.

### 3.2.2. Stages in the Development of Boundaries

***1. Allocation of boundary:*** refers to the political decision on the distribution of territory which is an alignment on a text or by marking on a map. In the other hand**,** involves the description of the boundary and the terrain through which it runs. This description identified as exactly as; the location of the boundary being established. It is formalized in treaties. Boundary defi­nition is a general agreement between two states about the allocation of territory, a verbal description of the boundary and the area through which it passes.

***2. Delimitation:*** involves the selection of a specific boundary site. It is when the treaty/agreement makers have completed their definition of the boundary and using large scale maps and air photographs, plot the boundary as exactly as possible. It involves the selection of a specific boundary site.

***3. Demarcation***: involves the identification of delimited line in the field, the construction of monuments or other visible features to mark the line, and the maintenance of the markings put on the ground. It is the task of making the boundaries on the ground. When the boundary is demarcated variety of method is employed. Example, a mere line poles or stones may suffice. Often demarcation does not follow promptly after delimitation; in fact, there are many boundaries which have never been demarcated.

The markers may be intermittent, like poles or pillars, or be continuous fences or walls. Most international boundaries are not demar­cated. For example, between the United States and Canada for most of its length. The "Iron Curtain" for­merly separating Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe from West Germany and Austria, in contrast, was marked along much of its length by fences, watch towers, and mine fields.

**Ideal boundary**

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

**Criteria for Ideal Boundary:**

1. *It should give unity and completeness to the area delineated. No culture within the boundary should fell compatible and complete. No large number of nationals should be excluding from national area.*
2. *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 neighbors. Ideas and goods should find easy access across boundaries in order to encourage cultural and material efficiently and advancement.*
3. *the boundary should afford protection from potential outside forces that might threaten the government or territory of the state*
4. *The boundary should be arrived at by mutual agreement, and should be satisfactory to all concerned.*

**3.3 Classification of Boundaries**

**Morphological classification:** is a classification according to their relationship to conspicuous/visible features of the landscape. From the morphological point of view, boundaries may be grouped in to:

* Follow the course of a mountain or hill range,
* Follow the line of rivers, canals and lakes,
* Run through a desert, a forest, or a swamp,
* Conform to some other feature that may once have been conspicuous in the landscape.

Generally, there are three main types of boundaries in the real world. These are natural, geometric and cultural boundaries.

1. **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. But the use of geometric lines implies, in general, an ignorance of the nature of the terrain.

The western portion of the United States-Canada border, which fol­lows the 49th parallel, is an example of a geometric boundary. Many such boundaries were es­tablished when the areas in question were colonies, the land was only sparsely settled, and detailed geographic knowl­edge of the frontier region was lacking.

1. **Natural (physical) boundaries** – are those boundaries based on recognizable physiographic features, such as mountains, rivers, and lakes. It is the most primitive and ancient boundaries. Although they might seem to be attractive as borders be­cause they actually exist in the landscape and are visible dividing elements, many natural boundaries have proved to be unsatisfactory. That is, they do not effectively sepa­rate states.

* **Mountains & hills**: boundaries drawn along mountains and hills, which seemed so unambiguous when first delimited have, proved to be the source of bitter controversy. Example the boundary between china and India was designed to follow the line of Himalayas and other ranges but it is disputed. Many international boundaries lie along mountain ranges, for example in the Alps, Himalayas, and Andes, but while some have proved to be stable, others have not. Mountains are rarely total barriers to interaction. Al­though they do not invite movement, they are crossed by passes, roads, and tunnels. High pastures may be used for seasonal grazing, and the mountain region may be the source of water for hydroelectric power. Border disputes between China and India are in part the result of the failure of mountain crests and headwaters of major streams to coincide.
* **Rivers, canals & lakes:** have the advantage of being more clearly marked on maps and more narrowly defined on the land than mountains and hills. The decision to locate boundary along the water course itself raises problems. These are two kinds.
* The position of the boundary, which is a line, in relation to river itself, which has width.
* 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.

Rivers can be even less satisfactory as boundaries. In contrast to mountains, rivers foster interaction. River val­leys are likely to be agriculturally or industrially productive and to be densely populated. For example, for hundreds of miles the Rhine River serves as an international boundary in Western Europe. It is also a primary traffic route lined by chemical plants, factories, blast furnaces, and power stations and dotted by the castles and cathe­drals that make it one of Europe's major tourist attractions. It is more a common intensively used re­source than a barrier in the lives of the nations it borders.

* **Forest, swamps and deserts**: these features of the earth’s surface have in common only their irregular extent and their scanty population. When peoples penetrated slowly from each other it can create dispute.

1. **Cultural boundaries**: it is based on language, religion social barriers. These boundaries usually involve wars, disputes and constant changes. Example, north Ireland and Ireland republic, India and Pakistan, Israel and Palestine.

Other classifications have been devised that can be quite useful in analyzing boundaries and boundary problems.

1. **Functional classification:** for what purpose the boundary is designed. It might reflect whether the boundary was originally(primarily) for defensive purposes, as a separator of cultures, administrative purpose, or ideological bases (communist or non-communist areas)
2. **Genetic classification**: it is based on when the boundary was laid out; the origin is related to the development of the societies, which they separate.
   * ***Antecedent boundary****:* it is boundary drawn before an area is well populated and prior to the cultural landscape features. Example, the western portion of the United States-Canada boundary is such an antecedent line, established by a treaty between the United States and Great Britain in 1846.
   * ***Subsequent boundary****:* a border drawn to accommodate existing cultural differences. Example the boundary between Pakistan and India, Northern Ireland and Ireland republic.
   * ***Superimposed****:* is a boundary imposed on an area by a conquering or colonizing power that is unconcerned about the preexisting cultural patterns. Example: the colonial powers in 19th-century Africa superimposed boundaries upon established African cultures without regard to the tradition, language, religion, or tribal affili­ation of those whom they divided. Other examples are Indonesia and Papua New Guinea.
   * ***Relict boundaries****:* is a former boundary line that once had meaning but no longer function as such, usually marked by landscape features. Example North and South Vietnam. The abandoned castles dotting the former frontier zone be­tween Wales and England are examples of a relict boundary. They are also evidence of the disputes that sometimes attend the process of boundary making.
   * ***Legal classification****:* could consider those boundaries that are settled and recognized in the international law; those recognized only by the adjacent and some others.

**3.4 Boundary Disputes**

Bounding of state with finite lines often leads to dispute 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 a greed delimitation, properly called ***a boundary dispute***, to claims over pieces of territory, large or small, properly called ***territorial disputes***. There is no clear-cut definition of the point at which boundary dispute becomes territorial dispute, i.e. how much ground is involved to warrant calling a dispute territorial rather than boundary.

Boundaries create many possibilities and provocations for conflict. Since World War II, almost half of the world's sovereign states have been involved in border disputes with neighboring countries. Just like householders, states are far more likely to have disputes with their neighbors than with more distant parties. It follows that the more neigh­bors a state has, the greater the likelihood of conflict.

Analysis of international 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 history; which will reveal that the evolution of the boundary is incomplete.
* **Second** - 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.
* **Third** - this important aspect concerns the aims of the government initiating boundary disputes. In many cases governments will be seeking additional territory or relief from some unacceptable administrative irritation connected with the boundary.

### *3.4.1 Types of Boundary Disputes*

Although the causes of boundary disputes and open conflict are many and varied, they can reasonably be placed into four categories.

**1. Territorial boundary dispute**: it 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. Territorial disputes over the ownership of a region often, though not always, arise when a boundary that has been superimposed on the landscape divides an ethnically homogeneous population. Each of the two states then has some justification for claiming the territory inhabited by the ethnic group in question. The Balkan countries of Eastern Europe offer numerous examples of such territorial disputes. Regional tensions provided the sparks that helped ignite both World Wars, and the area is far from stable today. Ethnic minority problems fueled by historic enmities affect all the Balkan countries.

Even land that might seem to be without value can become the subject of a territorial conflict. Since the early 1970s, thousands of people have been killed in a series of battles between Chad and Libya over ownership of an Aozou Strip, a 100,000 square kilometer (36,000 sq. mi.) piece of desert. The boundary between what is now Libya and Chad was originally set by France and Britain in 1899. In 1935, at the request of Italy, which had seized Libya, France agreed to move the boundary 100 kilometers (60 miles) south. Italy did not ratify the agreement, however, and Chad gained its independence with the original boundary intact. Libya disagrees, claiming the strip belongs to it.

**2. Positional boundary dispute**: it is a type of boundary dispute concerns the actual location of the boundary and usually involves 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 actual ground was intended as the boundary the treaty framers. The vague pre 1993 boundary delimitation between Iraq and Kuwaitis was the best example. Other example, the boundary between Argentina and Chile, originally defined during Spanish colonial rule, was to follow the highest peaks of the southern Andes and the watershed divides between east-and west-flowing rivers. Because the terrain had not been adequately explored, it wasn't apparent that the two do not always coincide. In some places, the water divide is many miles east of the highest peaks, leaving a long, narrow area of several hundred square miles in dispute. During the late 1970s, Argentina and Chile nearly went to war over the disputed territory, whose significance had been increased by the discovery of oil and natural gas deposits.

On the other hand, positional boundary dispute often originates 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.

**3. Functional boundary dispute**: arise when neighboring states disagree over policies to be applied along a boundary. Such policies may concern immigration, the movement of traditionally nomadic groups, customs regulations, or land use. U.S. relations with Mexico, for example, have been affected by the increasing number of illegal aliens entering the United States from Mexico. In Central America, relations between Honduras and El Salvador, two countries that have long disputed their common boundary, worsened in the late 1970s, when Honduras expelled Salvadoran farmers who had illegally occupied available agricultural land in western Honduras.

**4. Dispute over resource development:** it concerns the use of some trans-boundary resources such as a river or coalfield. Disputes of this kind usually have as their aim the creation of some organization which will govern use of the particular resource Neighboring states are likely to covet the resources -whether they are valuable mineral deposits, fertile farmland, or rich fishing grounds-lying in border areas and to disagree over their use. In recent years, the United States has been involved in disputes with both of its immediate neighbors, Mexico and Canada, over the shared resources of the Colorado River and Gulf of Mexico in the south and the Georges Bank fishing grounds in the northeast. As another example, for over 35 years India and Bangladesh have disputed the shared water resources of the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers, two of the world's largest waterways. They have been unable to agree on a long-term water management plan that would permit irrigation of more of the arable land in the river valleys, improve flood control, help stem deforestation, and allow development of the basin's hydroelectric potential.

### *3.4.2 The Origin/Cause of Boundary Disputes*

There is a many origin or causes of boundary disputes, but the major ones are the following.

1. 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.
2. At the conclusion of war, new boundaries sometimes were forced on the defeated country, which did not correspond with established patterns.
3. 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.
4. Civil wars may promote territorial disputes in two ways. 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 o external territory. On the other hand, 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. Example the Somalia government obviously decided to serious fighting in Eritrea province of Ethiopia in June 1975 provided an excellent opportunity to try to settle the Somali claim to the Haud & Ogden by force.
5. The transfer of power to indigenous government during the process of colonization has caused territorial disputes to flare. The new governments have often undertaken a much more diligent surveillance of their boundaries than the colonial administrations, example Uganda’s claim to western Kenya, Somalia’s claim to Ogden.

**Chapter 4: Core Areas & Capitals**

**4.1 Concepts of Core Areas**

Core area is one of the most germinal concepts in political geography; the core-area concept has seldom been clearly defined. The concept has been variously used to embrace both past and present areas of political dominance, areas of dominant national consciousness, and areas of economic leadership within the concerned states.

Core areas may develop in regions offering favorable geographic qualities, in particular superior transportation and communication conditions, an abundant endowment with resources, and a good access to population centers and markets. Some cores are rooted in historical-cultural locations of a specific significance, while others developed as a result of political decisions and administrative policies.

In the modern political history, it is generally recognized that the concept of' core area was first applied by Friedrich Ratzel in 1897. Ratzel put forth the idea of states beginning as small 'territorial cells'; through a gradual process of growth they became larger & larger as they annexed more & more areas & as their population increased partly by natural growth & partly by absorption of smaller neighboring communities" & eventually evolved into states/ empires.

It is not quite easy to define core area in exact terms. The problem is how to give the exact dimension & demarcate the line of core area of a state. It is also important to see that in which context the core areas are to be considered; global, regional & state level. Whatever, the criteria may be no core area exists today without a certain degree of urbanization.

Although, it is not difficult to form a sort of subjective image of the concept of core area, political geographers have not been able to agree entirely on a specific definition and appropriate usage of the term. This was pointed out by **Andrew Burghardt**, who suggested that one may begin to solve the problem by distinguishing between different types of core areas. His classification of core area is based on "historical & contemporary" aspects.

From the historical point of view, the case in which a small territory grows into a larger state, perhaps over a period of long time is called a 'nuclear core'. The other type is the 'original core', it was always the area of greatest political & economic importance within a larger framework. Finally, the contemporary core is described as the area which at present constitutes greatest political & economic significance of the state. The concept of the 'contemporary core' area holds the greatest values for political geographers".

### 4.1.1. Characteristics & the Process of a Core Area

The core area must have considerable advantage in order to perform the role in forming a particular group of states. The area must be in a position to defend itself against encroachment and conquest from neighboring core areas. Besides, it must have been capable at an early date of generating a surplus income above the substance level, necessary to equip armies and to play the role in contemporary power politics that territorial expansion necessarily predicts.

The development of core area elsewhere in America, Africa and Australia has taken place over a short period of time.

* In some African states, the evolution of the true core area is still in the process indicating the initial stages in character.
* In America and Australia core areas are already well established.
* The core regions of the United States & Canada are those areas where primary manufacturing units are concentrated.
* Core areas in Asia exhibit varying characteristics: the colonial legacy & authoritarian political culture made core region in Asia concentrated in those areas which have political and industrial base. However, the unique change brought by scientific, technological innovations & modern communications have beloved in forming new core in Asia. The process of core area formation in Asia is a continuous process.

Based on spatial considerations core areas can be centrally located core area, such as in France and South Africa, marginally located in the national territory like Brazil & Argentina. Spatial considerations immediately lead to other problematic characteristics of states core areas: certain states possess more than one focus, recognized multi-core, single core, & no core states.

* Nigeria has three core areas: one in the south west, 2nd in south east & a 3rd in the north.
* Ecuador has two core areas: one centered on the coast & another on the highland interior.
* Thailand has a single core area; Mauritania & Chad have no core units.

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

### 4.1.2. Core Areas around the World

The majority states of the modern world have not been created suddenly. They have grown slowly over a period of centuries. Sometimes their growth was interrupted by the loss of territory. States such as Ethiopia, Hungary, Bulgaria & perhaps Germany covered a greater territorial area than they now do.

A minority of states had not grown, they have been created. In some instances, a state so created happened to coincide with a nation and may so have reflected the political aspirations of a national group. But generally, it was not for this reason that the state was created, but to suit the needs and conveniences of other states. Thus, Albania appeared on the map in 1913 because it suited the Great Powers of Europe to create it rather than to dispute with one another over the control of strategically important territory. Similarly, Palestine, Syria & Iraq were created primarily to satisfy the power needs of Great Britain & France.

The term 'core area' has been used to embrace past and present areas of political dominance, area of intense national or cultural consciousness & areas of economic leadership*.* The following points & recommendations on terminology may help to clarify the **types** of the core areas.

1. **Germinal core areas**. These are core/nuclear areas that clearly influenced the growth i.e. the expansion of political control of a number of states. Example France, Russia, England.
2. **National core area.** It is 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.
3. **Economic core area.** Within each state is an area which 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 and Dublin areas, respectively, while in other cases, such as India, the dominance of a single economic region is much less marked.
4. **Separatist core area.** Some states include areas where, for historical & 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 or they may be focused on a particular cultural center, which has played a leading role in separatist iconography.
5. **Relic germinal, political, economic or separatist core area.** The germinal, national, and economic functions seldom occur in isolation, but usually appear in combination. The London and Paris areas combine all three roles. 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.
6. **Subsidiary areas.** 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. In Europe most core areas are nuclear, original, or contemporary- include one or more urban centers. The Paris Basin is the core area of France, and Paris is the focus of the Paris Basin. Normally in Europe, these cities are national capitals as well as the largest cities. In the United States and Canada, the core area is located in the eastern portions of the countries.

In each the core area contains roughly half the total population of the country and nearly 3/4th of the industrial employment. It is also the cultural and political heart of the State, the area in which the State idea originated, from which the westward movement began, 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.

We may recognize states with distinct core areas (Czechia, Great Britain) and those without distinct core areas (Albania, Belgium). The core area can be centrally located (Hungary, France) or marginally located (Slovakia, Argentina). We may recognize multi core states (Nigeria, Spain), single core states (Thailand, Egypt), and even no‐core states (Mauritania, Chad). The last example is characteristic especially for Africa where a number of states are so sparsely populated or such recently created that they have no true cores at all, yet. The cores are developing here generally around the capitals, a process quite the reverse of that observed in the course of history in Europe. Some core areas have a character of a small compact region (Greece, Sudan), some constitute rather a large area (Russia, Sweden).

### 4.1.3. The Core Area 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. 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 & communication network. 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. 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 are as contrasted with the lower density and level of use outside the core area.

The core area commonly plays a dominant political role. 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 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.

Generally, in every state of the modern world there is a core area today in which the principal institutions of economic, political, and social life of the nation are located. Many of these activities are carried on in the national capital. One finds that in almost every case there is a region within which most of these activities are concentrated.

4.2 Types & functions of core areas

Core areas perform certain distinct functions.

* It is the place for legislative gathering and the residence of the chief of the state.
* It is a prime place for the state’s reception of external influences, for embassies and international trade organization, offices are located there.
* In most states the capitals city is also the most cosmopolitan city
* Capital cities must act also as a binding agent in federal states. In federal state of a great diversity, the capital city can be the only place to which all the people can look for guidance.
* It is also 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.

### 4.2.2 Types Capitals

Capitals can view from the point of view of their position with reference to the state territory and the core of the State. This result in three classes of capital cities:

1. **Permanent capitals**- it 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. Example Athens, London, Rome, and Paris
2. **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.

1. **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, capita of one the old Boer republics that fought in the Boer War. The reason appears to satisfy the desire of both Africans-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.

**Chapter 5: Resource & Power**

**5.1 Resource: definition & types**

## Resource is 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.

## **Resource is 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.**

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.

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.

### 5.2.1 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 half 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. Examples of this category are the future development of cheap nuclear power, solar energy, the harnessing of the tide and the use of other such potential resources.

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:(1)by means of exports,(2)by means of service performed by the importing country and,(3)by means of payments in gold, securities, and some other internationally acceptable medium

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 political blackmail.

### 5.2.2 Types of resources

**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 labor 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](http://em.bracg.lhe) 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.

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 coal 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.

**Fuel resources**

Coal of all kinds, as well as petroleum and natural gas- are [more](file:///mqre) 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, Russia, 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. Over all 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 also vigorously developed as an alternative to solid fuel, E.g. Switzerland, Austria, Italy, France and Scandinavian countries.

The Middle East, Russia, 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 it 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 and 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.

**Metalliferous Resources**

Strategic metal 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, but, 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*: -*

1. **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. 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.
2. **The actual possession of the plant and equipment necessary to turn out the weapons and equipment of war.** The most varied and developed 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 favorable 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.

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.

**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:

**A. 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.

**B. internal**: Is concerned the 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. For rapid movement of large volumes of goods and numbers of people nothing can match the railroads. But at the same time they are particularly vulnerable.

**Population**: The essential elements of the State are land and people. The State is, according to Ratzel, a bit of land and some people. Without population it can have neither police nor the power with which to carry policy into effect. The size and density of population are thus basic to a study of national power.

The numerical size of the population is important in other respects besides a military sense. On the extent of the domestic population and on its purchasing power depends the size of the domestic market. Small State finds it difficult and costly to establish certain types of industry. There are certain industries or groups of industries, which are ordinarily found in large countries and not found in smaller countries. Large countries usually possess an automobile industry, an aircraft industry, locomotive building, heavy machine building both mechanical and electrical.

In other words, the State with a small population is likely to have difficulty in supporting those industries, which are strategically desirable. Furthermore, only a country of considerable population could operate some of the large-scale industrial undertakings economically and effectively.

**The structure of population**- The age structure of the population, the balance between the sexes, the educational attainments, the level of technical efficiency, the birth rate, net reproduction rate, and the rate of growth are all factors in the power potential of the State. **Education and Technical Development**- The overpopulated and less developed countries have, by whatever criteria it is measured, the lowest educational levels. The lack of trained personnel in public administration and industrial management and in science and technology must necessarily weaken the total power potential of the country.

5.2 the meaning & faces of power

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 desires.

Power is defined as by Max Weber the German sociologist and political scientist (1864-1920): “the possibility of imposing one’s will upon the behavior of other persons”. The will to impose is reflected by: threat of physical punishment, promise of reward, exercise of persuasion, or a deeper moral/cultural force that causes a person or persons subject to the exercise of power to abandon their own preferences and accept those of others. *The power of actor A over actor B is the amount of resistance on the part of B which can be potentially overcome by A*."

The definition of power in terms of decision making adds an important element to the production of intended effects on other persons-namely, the availability of sanctions when the intended effects are not forthcoming. It is the threat of sanctions, which differentiates power from influence in general. 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.

Power taken by themselves; they can become instruments in the hands of one seeking power. To convert them into power, the power seeker must fine human beings who value the things sufficiently to obey his orders in return. It is, therefore, to study politics as the process of acquiring, distributing, and losing power without taking into consideration the major objectives of the human beings involved in the situation studied.

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).

### 5.1.1 Classification of power by Etizoni coercive power:

***1. Coercive Power****:* Involves forcing someone to comply with one's wishes. A prison would be an example of a coercive organization*.*

**2. Utilitarian Power**: Is power based on a *system of rewards or punishments. Businesses*, which use pay raises, promotions, or threats of dismissal, are essentially utilitarian organizations.

**3. Normative Power**: Is power which *rests on the beliefs of the members* that the organization has a right to govern their behavior. A *religious* order would be an example of a normative organization. When previously considering power, you have perhaps not considered that it can be broken down in such a way. The way power is used or exists in all types of relationships is central to the understanding of politics –not just in government, perhaps even more importantly in family and friendship groups too. The most traditional view of power is that it is a form of control over a person –a way of forcing one person to obey another. This could otherwise be termed domination. Hobbes had argued that in a state of nature we would all have power over each other, meaning the most violent would win, in order to escape from this brutality we would have to accept and submit to a monarch. The King would have power over us, would dominate have the ability to force their will upon us and get us to do things we would not otherwise, but this is the price of order. However this view of power as domination is very narrow, and runs into the problem that in our daily lives power is very commonly exercised through the acceptance and willing obedience of the public.

### 5.1.2 Typology of Power:

**Condign Power**: Wins submission by the ability to impose an alternative to the preferences of the individual or group that is sufficiently unpleasant or painful so, that these preferences are abandoned. There is an overtone of punishment. The expected rebuke is usually too harsh, so the individual will endure, submit, or give into the power from fear or threat. The individual is aware of the submission via compulsion.

**Compensatory Power**: Wins submission by the offer of affirmative reward by the giving of something of value to the individual so submitting. Payments, share, praise, money for services. The individual is aware of the submission for a reward.

C**onditioned power**: Wins submission by changing beliefs. Persuasion, education, habituation, social commitment to what seems natural, proper, right causes the individual to submit to the will of another or others. Submission reflects the preferred course; the fact of submission is not recognized. Conditioned power is central to the functioning of the modern economy and polity, and in capitalist and socialist countries alike.

### 5.1.3 THE SOURCES OF POWER:

There are three main sources of power such as: Personality, Property, and Organization

**1.Personality**: leadership in the common reference, a quality of mind, physique, speech, moral certainty or personal trait that gives access to instruments of power. The ability to persuade or create a belief.

**2. Property**: wealthy, an aspect of authority, a certainty of purpose inviting conditioned submission. Property, income, wealth provides the wherewithal to purchase submission.

**3. Organization:** the most important source of power in modern society, taken for granted, and required. Persuasion and submission to the purposes of the organization.

### 5.1.4 Faces OF Power

Political theorists have debated the meaning and role of power in politics for most of the last century. One of the oldest and most well-known discourses on political power comes from Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) who was a philosopher, diplomat, writer, and an official in the Florentine Republic.

In his work The Prince, he asked whether it was better to be feared or loved as a ruler. He said it was better to be both, but given the choice, it was better to be feared. He believed that leaders should have the capacity to be ruthless, shrewd, and manipulative when necessary to maintain order and stability. He believes that fear was a more effective motivational tool than love. He said that women, nature, and fortune (which he groups together) all secretly wish to be dominated through violence by strong leaders. His ideas and arguments about politics operate to this day.

Theorists in the 20th century have made the distinction between "power over," which is about control and imposition of one's will, and "power to," which is framed as increasing capacity of people to take action for themselves, what we commonly call today, "empowerment."In discussing power, these theorists have identified four dimensions or ways in which power shapes our relationships and society. Most see these dimensions as negative. But there is an argument that using "power over" can expand justice, create a healthier society, and empower people to lead the lives they want.

A. **Four faces power:**

**Face 1 - Controlling the outcome**

Principle: A makes B do something B doesn't want to do, like drink Pepsi instead of Coke or join the army or pay taxes.

**Negative aspect**: Typically, thought about as coercion through violence or the threat of violence.

Some might argue that A knows B's interests better than B does. Even when true this is Paternalistic.

**Positive aspect**: This type of power can operate when both A and B create a system to decide who will be in control, such as an election. Both A and B have to agree to the rules and believe result is true. Note that elections must happen regularly otherwise, if B loses, they'll never have the chance to gain control and power and will try to undermine the system.

**Face 2 - Controlling the choices or agenda**

**Principle:** A lets B decide but only provides B with certain choices, like Pepsi and 7-UP instead of Coke. Other examples include all manner of government regulations, party leaders deciding what comes up for a vote in Congress, and the press only reporting on certain issues.

**Negative aspect**: This describes the current state of affairs in Russia where there are elections but Vladimir Putin has banned or imprisoned his political opposition and controls the media. The temptation will always exist for those in power to set up rules so they can stay in power and marginalize their opposition. This system ultimately results in coercion.

**Positive aspect:** A and B can also set up a system to determine choices that explicitly protects against bias and allows equal opportunity for all voices to be heard. This is John Rawls' argument idea of designing a system behind a "veil of ignorance" so no one gains systematic advantage.

**Face 3: Conscious manipulation of desires, norms, and expectations**

**Principle**: A uses education and the media to convince B that instead of Coke they should have Pepsi. Examples here include almost all advertising, mass schooling, and manufactured political outrage.

**Negative aspect**: The extreme cases of socialization include The Cultural Revolution in China and re-education camps in Cambodia during the Pol Pot regime. But Hitler was a master at using propaganda and blame to inflate the expectations of the German people and warp the norms of their society. Some would argue that school is simply a tool of the state to "domesticate" people away from resistance and questioning the norms that benefit those in power.

**Positive aspect**: Having established norms and desires within a society creates social cohesion.

Knowing what to expect from one another empowers people to take on more complex and satisfying tasks and enjoy a richer life. A and B can set up a system that allows norms and desires to arise naturally through individual decisions, public debate, and the free flow of information rather than determined by a central authority.

**Face 4: Controlling paradigm**

**Principle**: A and B both accept the basic assumptions that soda is a private good that requires to money to procure and should come in aluminum cans. A paradigm is an unquestioned set of basic beliefs that shape the reality of everyone in society. Neither A nor B controls the paradigm; the paradigm controls them.

**Negative aspect:** If socialization keeps us from asking certain questions, paradigms keep us from even knowing what the questions could be. They limit what counts as knowledge and serve to define fundamental social constructions such as gender and the nature of reality and the individual. Those who don't fit within the paradigm are often subject to violence

**Positive aspect**: Paradigms change when society runs out of productive ways to address their most pressing problems or there is a technological innovation, such as the computer, that opens up new perspectives and understanding of the universe. A and B can set up a political system that encourages innovation, imagination, creativity, and spiritual insight.

**B. Three face-powers:**

**First face-Decision making**

This came from the Hobbes view “power is the ability of an agent to affect the behavior of a patient” power involves being pushed or pulled against one’s will. However, in this first face, power does not just have to be being exerted by one person or group of people. Robert Dahl came up with the pluralist view –that power is exerted by lots of different groups, there isn’t one all powerful elite.

**Second face-Agenda Setting**

To define power as being only about making decisions began to be seen as too simplistic. If we only measure power when we see it exercised then we fail to see where power may exist but not be exercised. Groups may have the capacity to intervene in decisions but decide not to. Some groups may feel that the decisions are not going to affect them, so stay out it –for example an arms manufacturing company will not step into a debate about the education system..Power is the ability to set the political agenda, to decide what can be discussed, and perhaps even more importantly what cannot be discussed.

The second face of power –agenda setting, means that pressure groups that represent the well-informed, rich and most politically active stand a better chance of shaping the political agenda than groups such as the unemployed, homeless and vulnerable who have less “political capital”

**Third face-Thought control**

This is Lukes’s contribution, also known as the “radical view” of power. No human being possesses an entirely independent mind; the ideas, opinions and preferences of all are structured and shaped by social experience, through the influence of family, peer groups, school, workplace, mass media, political parties etc”.

This is the idea that we are all shaped by the world we live in, the norms of our culture. We all accept certain values without question (murder, incest, physical, mental and sexual abuse are all bad; pay taxes; don’t steal; cover your mouth when you cough), we label anyone who doesn’t as criminal, psychopathic or just insane. We can see that people benefit from these norms –this is the social contract. a society without opposition may be evidence of the success of an insidious process of indoctrination and psychological control.

### 5.1.5 Choice and Coercion

Coercion is the practice of forcing another party to behave in an involuntary manner (whether through action or inaction) by use of threats, rewards, or intimidation or some other form of pressure or force. Such actions are used as leverage, to force the victim to act in the desired way. Coercion may involve the actual infliction of physical pain/injury or psychological harm in order to enhance the credibility of a threat. It is a high degree of constraint and / or inducement; choice*,* a low degree. It 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.

**Negotiation and submission** refers to practices with regard to power (encounters) in situations of choice and coercion respectively. When the power practices are not coercively determined, one could say they are the outcome of negotiation. Submission may result from the form of power we call violence, as exemplified by military conquest or assassination. The coercive element stem from the exercise of eco-political power-the financial supporters of a political leader may stipulate changes in his program. Or it may be the exercise of political, which results in submission-a presidential veto, for example. The table below introduces terms for coercive and non-coercive value practices.

Table 5. 1 practices in choice and coercion situations

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Value** | **Choice** | **Coercion** |
| Power | Negotiation | Submission |
| Respect | Consideration | Obeisance /homage |
| Rectitude | Moral Freedom | Moral Subjection |
| Affection | Love | Servility |
| Weil-Being | Play | Toil |
| Wealth | Bargaining | Rationing |
| Skill | Artistry | Servitude |
| Enlightenment | Education | Indoctrination |

**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.**

# **Chapter Six**

# **6. Water Bodies & Islands**

## **6.1 Rivers**

Rivers are the most important freshwater resource for man. Social, economic and political development has, in the past, been largely related to the availability and distribution of fresh waters contained in riverside systems. A simple evaluation of surface waters available for regional, national or trans-boundary use can be based on the total river water discharge. The Colorado River, USA is an example where extraction of water has virtually depleted the final discharge to the ocean. The flow has been used almost completely by negotiated extraction and distribution to nearby states. Any increase in extraction and use would require diversion of a similar water quantity to guarantee the minimum flow required to meet all the water demands of the region. Upstream use of water must only be undertaken in such a way that it does not affect water quantity, or water quality, for downstream users. Use of river water is, therefore, the subject of major political negotiations at all levels. Consequently, river water managers require high quality scientific information on the quantity and quality of the waters under their control the purpose of water quality protection.

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. 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. 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.

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. The course of rivers is the common and inalienable property of all the countries through which they flow.

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.

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.

* + 1. 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 Rivers serves as boundaries, for which purpose they are not always as permanent an as unchanging as one could wish boundaries to be.
    2. 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.
    3. 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.
    4. The river basin constitutes a functional unit because water flows from all points in the basin toward its low point, 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.

### 6.1.1 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 riparian 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.

**The Congress of Vienna:** The Peace Conference at Paris (1919-1920) also appointed a commission to examine the whole question of the freedom of navigation on international rivers, 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 favorable as possible to the commerce of all nations.

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

1. *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.*
2. *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.
3. *The St. Lawrence* River and *the Great Lakes* between the US and Canada.
4. *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.*
5. *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.

### 6.1.2 Navigation of International Straits

The Strait of Gibraltar is one of the main straits used for international navigation, just like the Strait of Hormuz (between the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman), the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb (between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden),and the Bering Strait (between the Bering Sea and the Beaufort Sea). It is also one of the international straits with the highest levels of maritime traffic worldwide, since it stands as a required passageway between the ports of the Atlantic and Northern. Its coastal states are signatories of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and accept the transit passage regime. The agreements between the international community and the States bordering the Strait regarding the definition of maritime navigation lanes, with particular stress on the rights and obligations of the said States, as well as the international commitments.

European ports and those in the Mediterranean Sea, the Strait’s relevance to international navigation was expressly acknowledged in the studies made prior to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which included Gibraltar among the 33 straits “constituting routes used for international navigation”. This classification has been confirmed in practice by official data stating that over 95.000ships pass through the Strait every year, including a high number of oil tankers, taking into account that it has become one of the world’s most active oil routes ever since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1975. Because of its characteristics, this strait fulfills the necessary physical, functional and legal requirements to be considered as a strait used for international navigation

In order to better understand the layout of sea lanes in the Strait, we should analyze the sovereignty and jurisdictional boundaries of both its coastal States. Although the demarcation of borderlines is not essential to study navigation in the Strait, we must bear in mind that their definition always has two sides: a negative one involving the recognition of spatial boundaries for exercising authority (sovereignty and/or jurisdiction); and a positive one that favors the necessary and, in this case, essential cross-border cooperation between neighboring States.

Bridges pose practical problems in international straits. The problem a bridge poses is obvious--it can impede, if not stop, navigation. If it is a non-fixed span, such as a drawbridge, and the width of the non-fixed span is of sufficient width, the problem is greatly reduced, assuming, of course, that the main channel is under the non-fixed span and it is of sufficient depth to allow deep draught vessels to pass. In important straits of restricted width and congested traffic, a single movable span would also cause problems if its width were not sufficient to allow sufficiently broad traffic separation schemes for traffic to pass in both directions. Even if these criteria are satisfied, problems with the strait ' s hydrographic characteristics, such as severe tides and currents, and perhaps even habitually occurring strong winds, may effectively negate an otherwise acceptable design

## 6.2 Maritime Boundaries

Boundaries define political jurisdictions and areas of re­source control. But claims of national authority are not re­stricted to land areas alone. Water covers about two-thirds of the earth's surface, and increasingly countries have been projecting their sovereignty seaward to claim adjacent maritime areas and resources. A basic question involves the right of states to control water and the resources that it contains. The inland waters of a country, such as rivers and lakes, have, of course, traditionally been considered within the sovereignty of that country.

For most of human history, the oceans remained ef­fectively outside individual national control or interna­tional jurisdiction. The seas were a common highway for those daring enough to venture on them, an inexhaustible larder for fishermen, and a vast refuse pit for the muck of civilization. By the end of the 19th century, however, most coastal countries claimed sovereignty over a continuous belt 3 or 4 nautical miles wide (a nautical mile, or nm, equals 1.15 statute miles, or 1.85 km). At the time, the 3-mile limit represented the farthest range of artillery and thus the ef­fective limit of control by the coastal state. Though rec­ognizing the rights of others to innocent passage, such sovereignty permitted the enforcement of quarantine and customs regulations, allowed national protection of coastal fisheries, and made claims of neutrality effective during other people's wars. The primary concern was with secu­rity and unrestricted commerce. No separately codified laws of the sea existed, however, and none seemed to be needed until after War I.

The League of Nations Conference for the Codifica­tion of International Law, convened in 1930, inconclu­sively discussed maritime legal matters and served to identify areas of concern that were to become increasingly pressing after World War II. Important among these was an emerging shift from interest in commerce and national security to a preoccupation with the resources of the seas, an interest fanned by the Truman Proclamation of 1945.Motivated by a desire to exploit offshore oil deposits, the federal government under this doctrine laid claim to all resources on the continental shelf contiguous to its coasts. Other states, many claiming even broader areas of control, hurried to annex their own adjacent marine resources. Within a few years, a quarter of the earth's surface was appropriated by individual coastal states, largely without protest.

Unrestricted extensions of jurisdiction and territorial disputes over proliferating claims to maritime space and resources led to a series of United Nations conferences on the Law of the Sea. Meeting over a period of years, dele­gates from over 150 countries attempted to achieve con­sensus on a treaty that would establish an internationally agreed upon "convention dealing with all matters relating to the Law of the Sea." The meetings culminated in a draft treaty in 1982, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

### 6.2.1 An International Law of the Sea

The convention delimits territorial boundaries and rights by defining four zones of diminishing control.

1. The treaty allows for the **establishment of a territorial sea of up to 12 nm (22 km) in breadth**, providing various measures for distinguishing between internal and territorial waters. Coastal states have sovereignty over the territorial sea, including the exclusive right to fish in it. Vessels of all types have the right of innocent passage through the territorial sea, although in certain instances coastal states can challenge non-commercial vessels (primarily military and research).
2. **A contiguous zone is permitted out to 24 nm (44 km)**. Although a coastal state does not have complete sovereignty in this zone, it can enforce its customs, immigration, and sanitation laws and has the right of hot pursuit out of its territorial waters.
3. The convention allows the creation of an **exclusive economic zone** (EEZ) of up to 200 nm (370 km). In this zone, the state has certain rights for the purpose of economic advantage, notably sovereign rights to explore, exploit, conserve, and manage the natural resources, both living and nonliving, of the seabed and waters. Countries have exclusive rights to the resources lying within the continental shelf when this extends farther, up to 350 nm (648 km), beyond their coasts. The traditional freedoms of the high seas are to be maintained in this zone.
4. All parts of the sea that lie beyond the EEZ constitute the fourth zone, that of the **high seas.** Outside any national jurisdiction, they are open to all states, whether coastal or landlocked. Freedom of the high seas includes the right to sail ships, fish, fly over, lay submarine cables and pipelines, construct artificial platforms and other installations, and pursue scientific research. Mineral resources in the international deep seabed area beyond national jurisdiction are declared the common heritage of humankind, to be managed for the benefit of all the peoples of the earth.

The 1982 convention will not formally take effect until one year after 50 states have ratified it. Although the req­uisite number have not yet done so, by the end of the 1980s most coastal countries including the United States, had used its provisions to proclaim and reciprocally recognize jurisdiction over 12-nm territorial seas and 200-nm eco­nomic zones. Except for reservations held by the United States and a few other industrial countries about the deep seabed mining provisions, the convention is now so widely accepted as to be, for all practical purposes, international law.

EEZ lines are drawn around a country's possessions as well as around the country itself. Every island, no matter how small, has its own 200-nm EEZ. This means that while the United States shares continental borders only with Canada and Mexico, it has maritime boundaries with countries in Asia, South America, and Europe. Thus the United States and the USSR share a maritime boundary, yet to be precisely determined, in the waters of the Bering and Chukchi seas.

General acceptance of the Law of the Sea Convention has in effect changed the maritime map of the world. Three important consequences flow from the 200-nm EEZ con­cept: (1) islands have gained a new significance, (2) countries have a host of new neighbors, and (3) the EEZ lines result in overlapping claims.

# **Chapter seven**

# **7. Global Strategic Views**

## **7.1 Geopolitics and the World Order**

The term geopolitics came to prominence during the late nineteenth century, referred to the way in which ideas relating to politics and space could be used within national policy. Geopolitics is concerned with political relations between states, the external strategies of states and the global balance of power. It is about understanding the basis of state power and the nature of states’ interactions with one another. Thinking globally was then formally connected by geopolitical reason to acting globally; the actual practices of geopolitics began much earlier, when Europeans first encountered the rest of the world. Geopolitics is the study of the impact of geographical distributions and divisions on the conduct of world politics.

In its original usage it referred to the impact on inter-state relations of the spatial disposition of continents and oceans and the distribution of natural and human resources. Today, the term also covers examination of all of the geographical assumptions, designations and understandings that enter into the making of world politics. The territorial frameworks of such interrelationships vary in scale function range and hierarchical level from the national, international and continental to the provincial and local. The interaction of spatial and political processes at all of these levels creates and moulds the international geopolitical system.

Geopolitics evolved toward the end of the nineteenth century as new development 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 sphere of interest contributed to its development. The communication barrier has conquered many of the restrictions formerly imposed by distance and the power blocks of the world is much more complex because of the spatial overlap of great power interests and hierarchical nature of power relations.

Geopolitical analysis still is valid, place, accessibility to resources and equalization use of these resources through historically derived cultural advantages contain

In today's scene, the notion of strategic location has not diminished in importance. Any exercise of influence still depends upon accessibility. Thus the relative location with respect to power centers and transportation routes still vitally contributes to the identification of a strategic location. In other words, the study of geopolitics is based upon a foundation of multifarious items, which must be assembled to account for a state's progress, if not survival, in our current world society.

Geopolitics figures as the intermediate science reaching into geography, History, political science, and international relations to find its expression in national strategies, Geopolitics 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 geostrategic. 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).

Geographical analysis may serve purposes of contemplative research or policymaking and propaganda. Geopolitical analysis has two major aspects: -

1. Description of geographical setting as they relate to political power, and
2. 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 home land. 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.

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 or between the US and Mainland China. 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 word now may be divided into the world of direct capability 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.

## 7.2 Geopolitical Perspectives of the Ancients

River valleys like the Nile valley and Mesopotamia were natural units, unified control of which was the major geopolitical objectives. Adjoining landforms like deserts or hills treated as separate areas, which at best served as barriers against invasion, and at worst as breeding grounds for warlike incursions.

When man began to seek broader geopolitical horizons, in this period, he did not consider as his major goal the combination of major valleys, desert, and mountain into one complementary unit. He sought rather to unit various river valleys and their divides into one geopolitical region. He was oriented to one major landform.

The Greeks began to employ broad physical patterns as their basis for dividing the known world geographically. Hectares, 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 continentally oriented, and European centered. The habitable land area consisted of three divisions, Europe, Libya and Asia. Strabo's viewed the European continent as being "the quarter most favorable to the mental and social ennoblement of man."

### 7.2.1 Early Geopolitical Perspectives

**Alfred Thayer Mahan** (27 September 1840 - 1 December 1914) was a United States Navy officer, naval strategist, and educator, widely considered the foremost theorist of sea power

Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, USN, was the first person to use the term sea power. He used it in his principal work, The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783, published in 1890. Mahan proposed that there were six conditions required for a nation to have sea power:

1. An advantageous geographical position

2. Serviceable coastlines, abundant natural resources, and a favorable climate

3. Extent of territory

4. A population large enough to defend its territory

5. A society with an aptitude for the sea and commercial enterprise

6. A government with the influence to dominate the sea.

Sea power as a concept means more than military power at sea. Sea power describes a nation’s ability to protect its political, economic, and military interests through control of the sea. The principal parts of sea power are naval power, ocean science, ocean industry, and ocean commerce. Sea power encompasses commercial rivalries in peacetime, diplomatic maneuvering and the clash of fleets in wartime. The concept of sea power has been valid whether the fleets were wooden men-of-war or mighty battleships. It remains sound today, although technology has caused ship-to-ship battles to become part of history instead of part of contemporary tactics.

During World War II the emerging effects of aircraft, aircraft carriers, and radar meant we fought fewer battles with ships within sight of each other. In modern naval tactics, we employ gunfire for protection against aircraft and missiles or for bombarding shore targets. If aimed at ships, the targets will most likely be small, fast, patrol craft. These crafts deliver missile or torpedo attacks in coastal waters. Sea power today includes many aspects of the naval strength of a nation that did not exist in the last century. Sea power now encompasses maritime industry and marine sciences. These industries and sciences add to our national economy by exploring new resources for food, freshwater, minerals, and even living space

Modern geopolitics was rooted in the concern of an eminent English geographer, **Halford Mackinder,** with the balance of power in the world at the beginning of the 20th century. Believing that the major powers would be those that controlled the land, not the seas, he developed what came to be known as the **heartland theory.** The greatest land power, he argued, would be sited in Eurasia, the "World-Island" containing the world's largest landmass in both area and population. Its interior or heartland, he warned, would provide a base for world conquest, and Eastern Europe was the core of that heartland. Mackinder warned, "Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland, who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island, who rules the World-Island commands the World."

Developed in a century that saw first Germany and then the Soviet Union dominate East Europe, and the decline of Britain as a superpower, Mackinder's theory impressed many. Near the end of World War II, the theory was modified by **Nicholas Spykman**, who agreed with Mackinder that Eurasia was the likely base for potential world domination, but argued that the coastal fringes of the landmass, not its heartland, were the key. The coastal mar­gins, or Rimland, contained dense populations, abundant resources, and had controlling access both to the seas and to the continental interior. **Spykman'sRimland theory,** pub­lished in 1944, stated, "Who controls the Rimland rules Eurasia, who rules Eurasia controls the destinies of the world." The Rimland has tended throughout history to be politically fragmented, and Spykman believed that it would be to the advantage of both the United States and USSR if it remained that way.

By the end of World War II, the Heartland was equated in American eyes with the USSR. To prevent Soviet domina­tion of the World-Island, U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War was based on the notion of containment**,** or confining the USSR within its borders by means of a string of regional alliances in the Rimland: the North Atlantic Treaty Organi­zation (NATO) in Western Europe, the Central Treaty Orga­nization (CENTO) in West Asia, and the Southeast Treaty Organization (SEATO). Military intervention was deemed necessary where communist expansion, whether Soviet or Chinese, was a threat in Berlin, the Middle East, and Korea, for example.

A simple spatial model, the **domino theory,** was used as an adjunct to the policy of containment. According to this analogy, adjacent countries are lined up like dominoes; if one topples, the rest will fall. In the early 1960s, the domino theory was invoked to explain and justify U.S. intervention in Vietnam, and in the 1980s the theory was applied to involvement in Central America. The fear that war among the Serbs, Croatians, and Bosnians in Bosnia-Herzegovina would lead to the downfall of that state and spread into other parts of the former Yugoslavia led in 1995 to NATO airstrikes against the Serbs, a peace agreement forged with American help in Dayton, Ohio, and stationing of United Nations peacekeeping forces in Bosnia

**The East/West Divide and the Domino Theory**

In addition to a North/South divide based on imperial­ism and colonialism, the world order of states could also be seen to divide along an East/West split. The East/West divide refers to the gulf between communist and non-communist countries, respectively. Two countries, the USA and the USSR, headed the two blocs and their interaction structured the post-war international political scene. Though the cold war appears to have ended, the East/West divide played a sig­nificant role in global politics since at least the end of the Second World War in 1945 and, perhaps more accurate-y, since the Russian Revolution in 1917. By the second decade of the twentieth century, the major world powers were backing away from colonization. Still, many were reluctant to accelerate decolonization for fear that inde­pendent countries in Africa and elsewhere would choose communist political and economic systems instead of some form of Western-style capitalism.

The end of the Second World War marked the rise of the United States to a dominant position among coun­tries of the core. Following the war, the tension that arose between East and West translated into an Ameri­can foreign policy that pitched it against the former So­viet Union. The domino theory underlay that foreign policy, which included economic, political, and military objectives directed at preventing Soviet world domina­tion. The **domino theory** held that if one country in a re­gion chose or was forced to accept a communist political and economic system, neighboring countries would fall to communism as well, just as one falling domino in a line of dominos causes all the others to fall. The means of preventing the domino-like spread of communism was often military aggression.

The domino theory first took hold in 1947, when the postwar United States feared communism would spread from Greece to Turkey to Western Europe. It culminated in U.S. wars in Korea, Vietnam, Nicaragua, and El Sal­vador. Yet preventing the domino effect was based not just on military aggression. Cooperation was also empha­sized, as in the establishment of international organiza­tions like NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) in 1949, which had the stated purpose of safeguarding the West against Soviet aggression. After the Second World War, the core countries set up a variety of foreign aid, trade, and banking organizations. All were intended to open foreign markets and bring peripheral countries into the global capitalist economic system. The strategy not only improved productivity in the core countries but also was seen as a way of strengthening the position of the West in its confrontation with the East.

### 7.2.2 The New World Order

During the cold war period, from the end of the Second World War period until the early 1990s, the world was ideologically divided between states belonging to the US dominated North Atlantic Treaty Organization(democratic and capitalist) and states belonging to the USSR – dominated Warsaw pact(communist). The bipolar division no longer exists: a geopolitical transition has taken place.

The first sign of this transition was Poland’s installation of a non-communist government-approved by the USSR-in 1989. This was followed with remarkable rapidity by collapse of communist governments elsewhere in Eastern Europe, the symbolic breaching of the Berlin wall on 9 November 1989, the reunification of Germany in 1990, and the collapse of communism in the USSR in 1991. We are now living within a new and uncertain geopolitical world order.

# **Chapter eight**

# **8. International Relations**

## **8.1. 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 community ’s 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 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.

## 8.2 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.

## 8.3 Conflicts and Conflict Resolution

Conflict is the central concept to the operational environments for the fields of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution and the Army. The changes brought about by the end of the Cold War have caused these professions to take a hard look at this concept and how it is defined. These definitions are critical

**Conflict** as defined by the Army suggests several key characteristics. First, that it involves physical violence, as implied that it is an armed struggle or clash. Second, that it is at a minimum a social phenomenon, versus individual, because it ranges from groups to the international level. Third, its scope is limited and confined to either political or military objectives. Fourth, it is often protracted, implying a deep-rooted and multi-generational source that increases the complexity of finding a resolution. The Army states that the desired end state for conflict is to defeat the enemy, attain the nation's goals for the conflict, and set conditions for a sustainable post-conflict stability.

**Conflict resolution**, as with conflict, is manifest from the individual to the international level. Conflict resolution researchers state that the similarities at the individual level to the national far outweigh the differences. This is not an attempt of reductionism, but the observation that the causes of conflict and the methods of conflict resolution at the individual level have applicability at the higher levels because individuals still make the decisions at the national level.

Conflict is and always has been a main focus of the Army. Today's doctrine, principles, and mission statements all focus on the Army's responsibility as the premier land power to win the nation's wars. War, by most definitions, is armed conflict. However, conflict can exist as a status or a manifestation of a condition between two people or groups or, on the other extreme, it can be armed conflict between nations. The reality of today’s current operational environment is that the Army is being called on to deal with conflicts between lower level groups (not national). The purpose of their involvement is often to ensure peace not to win war. To further complicate the matter, peace itself has varied definitions. As this shift occurs the Army needs to fully comprehend what conflict means at allievels--the less violent level.

### 8.3.1. The defining characteristics of conflict

**1. The first characteristic is that of intensity which describes when a conflict crosses from being non-violent to violent**. This transition is significant to the Army because a conflict that has made this transition is seen by world governments as having a greater need for military involvement. This characteristic is comprised of two opposite distinctions: non-violent and violent. Each of these distinctions consists of two parts: non-violent consists of positive peace and negative peace; and violent conflict consists of open hostilities and warfare

**2. A second defining characteristic of conflict is the value systems of the two individuals or groups**. If the goals or values of the parties are identical or nearly identical then the issue is merely a matter of how to accomplish that goal (competition or rivalry) or uphold those values if one or both parties violate or are perceived as violating them (dispute). It can be solved through negotiation or a court system where an authority makes a ruling and the parties abide by it or appeal based on the rule of law or established norms and procedures.

This is not a true conflict. Conflict is a values disagreement. The two groups are not operating in an arena where they both agree on right, correct or proper.

**3. A third characteristic is cognition**. It is divided into two categories: awareness and perception. Parties involved in rivalries, competitions, disputes mayor may not be aware of the values or system which they are operating under. However, this awareness is not essential since they are using the same set of values. In the case of latent conflicts, both participants are not aware or do not manifest an awareness that their values are in opposition to the values of the other party.

**4. The final characteristic is scope**. The characteristic of scope captures the size of the conflict from two people to global conflict. This is a good measure of how to approach a conflict. It lends itself to suggesting possible solutions, and is a technique for organizing the information concerning conflict and conflict resolution theory.

**Conflict**: Conflict was originally used to mean “strike at another, to fight with an enemy or to do battle with an opposing force”. Today it equally means to be antagonistic towards others or to be in sharp disagreement with others. The ability to successfully manage conflict within oneself and between persons reduces antagonism, disagreement and hatred.

**Conflict resolution refers to**:an outcome in which the issues in an existing conflict are satisfactorily dealt with through a solution that is mutually acceptable to the parties, self sustaining in the long run and productive of a new, positive relationship between parties that were previously hostile adversaries; and process or procedure by which such an outcome is achieved.

In all this, one understands conflict resolution to imply that conflict is bad hence it is something that should not be encouraged. It also assumes that conflict is a short term phenomenon that can be “resolved” permanently through mediation or other intervention processes.

### 8.3.2. Methods of conflicts resolutions

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.

**1. Avoidance**: This style of resolution is seen when one or two of the parties are advised to avoid one another, avoid talking about the issue at conflict. This avoidance style can be a very useful, constructive resolution tool,when words between individuals may become so heated that a period of avoiding one another could lead to reducing the intensity of the conflict; and by avoidance, the individuals could think more clearly and possibly come together in a more friendly way after their feelings have settled down.

**2. Direct Command Resolution Style (Government)**:- This type of resolution style occurs when a legitimate official or group of persons settle a conflict situation by the power and dominance stemming from State or ecclesial authority.It may be verbal or written. When using this method, care should be exercised as it may be counterproductive especially when the person or group of persons exerting the authority does so in a manner that may increase the conflict.

**3. Non-Governmental/Third Party Intervention: -** Third party intervention takes place when a person or a group (especially NGOs or. Professional) not favoring either side in the conflict is asked to make a decision that is acceptable to both parties. This style of conflict management is most effective when the third party is acceptable to the persons in the conflict; and when the third party has the wherewithal to rule on the issues, or is seen as knowledgeable, professional and competent in the area of the conflict. Third party intervention is usually not successful when the person is seen as favoring one of the parties involved in the conflict.

**4. Compromise or Negotiation Track: -** This is a track which is most familiar to persons in conflict situation. It is usually based on the principle of giving and getting. It is hoped that both parties will profit from the outcome of the conflict situation or at least the persons have a sense of a fair settlement. This style of conflict management is based on the assumed goodwill of the persons in conflict.

5. **Synergistic Style**: - This is the joining action of people or organizations to increase each other’s effectiveness, and is perhaps the most successful type of conflict management. This style emphasizes on, and uses integration of values, needs and communicative collaboration. It encourages a mutual search for a creative alternative which resolves the conflict and is mutually rewarding to both individuals/parties involved in the conflict. It does not necessarily include the process of giving and getting as involved in compromise.

**6**. **Religion or Peacemaking through Faith in Action**: - This track or method involves and deals with beliefs and peace oriented pronouncements, statutes and actions of spiritual and religious communities and societies.

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. This is seen and described as the voluntary, informal, nonbinding process undertaken by an external party that fosters the settlement of differences or demands between directly interested parties.

**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.

**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.

## 8.4. The Evolution of International Trade

Internal trade or domestic trade refers to the exchange of goods and services between the buyers and sellers within the political boundaries of the same country. It may be carried on either as a wholesale trade or a retail trade. External trade or international trade, on the other hand, is the trade between different countries i.e. it extends beyond the political boundaries of the countries engaged in it. In other words, it is the trade between two countries. Hence, it is also known as foreign trade.

International trade on large scale has become a phenomenon of the 20th century especially after the Second World War. There is practically no country today, which is functioning as a closed system. Even socialist countries like Russia and China are now taking concrete steps to capture foreign markets for the products produced in their country. International trade, thus, has become as essential ingredient of the normal economic life of any country. In terms of economic development, international trade is a potentially effective engine of growth.

Modern international trade began with the Industrial Revolution and the decline of mercantilism.

The dominant economic theory during the late middle Ages and into the eighteenth century in Europe was mercantilism*.* The theory was based on the notion that wealth consisted only of gold and silver. The wealth of a country was measured in terms of the amount of gold and silver treasure. Three ways were recognized by which countries accumulated these precious metals:(I) by stealing or conquering countries that have stores of it,(ii) By finding and exploiting new sources of the precious metals; and(iii) By exchanging goods and services for gold and silver.

**Mercantilism** was an essentially restrictive economic policy that made a few individuals and governments rich but did nothing to improve the lot of the many millions of ordinary people in the world. It is not hording of these precious metals that improve people's lives but rather the production of goods and services. The exchange of surplus production increases the value of the initial investment and augments people's real income. The theory of comparative advantage, specialization, is a basic thinking of free trade. The indisputable advantage of specialization and trade led to the free trade movement of the nineteenth century and the increasing world trade that developed forms it.

Few countries ever adapted a completely **laissez-faire** attitude toward international trade; in most, the liberalization of trade was limited by protectionist policies. Still, comparative advantage, economies of scale, and different demand for goods in countries with different cultures were powerful forces generating the expansion of trade. The colonial economy gradually was surpassed in importance by trade among the countries of the north.

As a result of their control over manufacturing, commodities, and trade, the industrialized countries became richer. These states began demanding and producing ever-more sophisticated and expensive products. The only feasible sources of the goods they wanted were other industrialized countries, through no coincidence at all, were only the only countries rich enough to buy the new manufactured goods they were producing. The bulk of world trade then began to flow among the rich countries themselves. This pattern is reinforced by the restrictions placed by the countries of the north on manufacturing and trade from their ex-colonies or Third World countries. These industrialized States carry out this by imposing protective tariffs, by subsidization of local agriculture, by development of substitutes for some commodities, and by other practices and developments. This pattern is still dominant, even though many poor countries really are developing and becoming more important traders in their own right rather than serving simply as appendages of the developed countries.

**Gains from International Trade:-**

The various gains of international trade can be listed as follows:

**1. International Specialization:** International trade enables to specialize in the production of those goods in which each country has special advantages. Each country or region is endowed with certain special facilities in the form of natural resources, capital and equipment and efficiency of human powder.

2. Increased Production and Higher Standard of Living: It is well known that specialization leads to the following:

A. Best utilization of the available resources.

B. Concentration on the production of those goods in which there are advantages.

C. Saving of time and energy in production and perfecting of skills in production.

D. Inventing and using new techniques of production

**3. Availability of Scarce Materials:** International trade is the only method by which a country can supplement its storage of resources or certain essential materials. There is no country in the world including the U.S.A and the U.K, which has all the resources it requires.

**4. Equalization of Prices between Countries:** An important gain of international trade or the effect of it is the tendency of internationally traded goods to have the same price everywhere

All these indicate one basis advantage viz., increased production. Increased production will also mean higher standard of living for people in both the countries. Thus, due to international trade there is a gain for both the countries.

**5. Evolution of Modern Industrial Society:** The modern industrial society is based on extensive specialization and large-scale production. Both are based on the size of the market. The larger and more extensive the market for the products, the greater is the degree of specialization and large-scale production.

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