An Atlas of WORLD AFFAIRS

Eleventh edition

Andrew Boyd &
Joshua Comenetz

An Atlas of World Affairs

The economic, social and environmental systems of the world remain in turmoil. Recent years have seen possibly irrevocable change in the politics of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Entirely revised and updated, the eleventh edition of *An Atlas of World Affairs* describes the people, factions and events that have shaped the modern world from the Second World War to the present day. International issues and conflicts are placed in their geographical contexts through the integration of nearly one hundred maps. The political context provided for current events will be invaluable to all those uncertain about the changing map of Europe and Africa, conflicts in the Middle East, and the appearances in the headlines and on our television screens of al-Qaeda, Chechnya, the Taliban, Mercosur, Somaliland, Kosovo, AIDS, OPEC and Schengenland. Critical new issues are covered, including the war on terrorism, nuclear proliferation, European Union expansion, and the pressing environmental concerns faced by many sovereign states. This edition provides guidance through all these recent changes (and many more).

This book offers up-to-date coverage of all regions in great detail. It contains an objective and concise explanation of current events, combining maps with their geopolitical background. It provides a clear context for events in the news, covering the Middle East, Korea, China, the European Union, east Africa and every other part of the world. Revised and in print since 1957, *An Atlas of World Affairs* continues to provide a valuable guide for the student, teacher, journalist and all those interested in current affairs and postwar political history.

Andrew Boyd began his acquaintance with international affairs in 1946, when as a British liaison officer he attended the very first sessions of the United Nations (his other books include three about the UN). He travelled widely and reported on international affairs while writing on world affairs for *The Economist* for 37 years.

Joshua Comenetz has used cartographic methods to visualize spatial data and explain the causes and effects of international conflicts, demographic change and natural disasters since 1990. As a consultant he has solved problems in areas ranging from political redistricting to ethnic and religious mapping, and he has taught international relations and geography at university level.

An Atlas of World Affairs

Eleventh edition

Andrew Boyd and Joshua Comenetz

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 1957 by Methuen & Co. Ltd
Second edition 1959
Third edition 1960
Fourth edition 1962
First published by Methuen as a University Paperback (fifth edition) 1964
Sixth edition 1970
Seventh edition 1983
Reprinted 1985
First published by Routledge (eighth edition) 1987
Reprinted 1989, 1990
Ninth edition 1991
Tenth edition 1998
Eleventh edition published 2007 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2007.

"To purchase your own copy of this or any of Taylor & Francis or Routledge's
collection of thousands of eBooks please go to www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk."

© 2007 Andrew Boyd and Joshua Comenetz

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or
reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic,
mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter
invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any
information storage or retrieval system, without permission in
writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN 0-203-96752-6 Master e-book ISBN

ISBN10: 0–415–39168–7 (hbk)
ISBN10: 0–415–39169–5 (pbk)
ISBN10: 0–203–96752–6 (ebk)

ISBN-13: 978–0–415–39168–9 (hbk)
ISBN-13: 978–0–415–39169–6 (pbk)
ISBN-13: 978–0–203–96752–2 (ebk)

To Andrew

Andrew Boyd first brought *An Atlas of World Affairs* to our shelves in 1957. Through ten revised editions, it has become canonical for students, teachers, journalists and anyone with an interest in postwar politics and current affairs. His comments on the ever-changing political, economic, social and environmental systems of the world can be accused of nothing but honesty, without a hint of bias.

In between writing *An Atlas of World Affairs* and many other works of a similar genre, he excelled as a journalist for *The Economist* and was a fantastic father and grandfather. It was only true to his nature that he bowed out after ten editions, claiming in sublime modesty that he was not well enough to continue with another edition. Andrew Boyd sadly passed away in January 2003, but will forever be remembered on both a personal and professional basis as a talented and extraordinary gentleman.

Written by Claire

Contents

Foreword ix

1 People and Pressure 1
2 Economic Groupings 5
3 Energy 8
4 Nuclear Geography 12
5 Sea Law 17
6 No Longer Three Worlds 20
7 United Nations 23
8 Terrorism 27
9 Commonwealth 30
10 Europe: East and West 33
11 Atlantic Alliance 36
12 European Unities 39
13 Germany 44
14 Central and Eastern Europe 47
15 Former Yugoslavia, Albania 51
16 Former Soviet Union 55
17 Russia 58
18 Baltic to Black Sea 61
19 Caucasus 64
20 Ex-Soviet Central Asia 67
21 Scandinavia 71
22 Northern Seas 73
23 Minorities and Micro-States 76
24 Ireland 80
25 Gibraltar 82
26 Cyprus, Greece and Turkey 84
27 Asia and Africa 86
28 Islam 89
29 The Arab World 92
30 Africa 94
31 Southern Africa 97
32 Central Africa 99
33 Angola and Namibia 102
34 Republic of South Africa 105

35 Sudan and the Horn of Africa 108
36 East Africa 111
37 Nigeria and Guinea Coast 114
38 Ex-French Africa 117
39 North Africa 120
40 Morocco and Western Sahara 123
41 Middle East and North African Oil 125
42 Suez and Indian Ocean 128
43 Israel and Arabs I 131
44 Israel and Arabs II 135
45 Lebanon and Syria 140
46 Arabia 143
47 Gulf States and Iran 146
48 Iraq's Wars 150
49 Kurds 154
50 Afghanistan 156
51 South Asia I 159
52 South Asia II 162
53 Himalayas, Tibet, Burma 165
54 China and Russia 168
55 China and Other Neighbours 171
56 Taiwan 173
57 Hong Kong and Macau 175
58 Japan 177
59 Korea 180
60 South-East Asia 183
61 Indochina 186
62 Cambodia 189
63 Malaysia and Singapore 191
64 Indonesia and New Guinea 193
65 Australia and New Zealand 196
66 South Pacific 199
67 America and the Pacific 202
68 United States of America 205
69 Canada 208
70 Mexico 211
71 Central America, Caribbean, Cuba 213
72 Colombia and Panama 217
73 East Caribbean, Guianas, Venezuela 220
74 Latin America 222
75 Argentina and Falklands 226
76 Antarctic 230
77 Arctic 232

Tables 234
Related Information Sources 237
Index 239

Foreword

The world changed dramatically in the past decade. The ‘war on terror’ replaced interstate war and focused attention on the Middle East. Nuclear proliferation brought Iran, North Korea, Pakistan and India into the headlines. The US invaded Afghanistan and Iraq, war engulfed central and eastern Africa from Congo to Sudan, and Somalia collapsed. East Timor broke away from Indonesia, as did Montenegro from Serbia (and Kosovo sought to do the same). China absorbed Hong Kong and rose as high as second place in the world economic ranking; India aimed to follow. The European Union grew to include 27 nations, and NATO expanded into eastern Europe, both incorporating the former Baltic republics of the Soviet Union. This revised edition of *An Atlas of World Affairs* provides guidance through all these recent changes (and many others).

An Atlas of World Affairs was first published in 1957. The first edition’s foreword included this passage:

Anyone who tries to set down some of the complexities of this changing world in simple form is indebted to the pioneer work of Mr J. F. Horrabin. The admirable simplicity of his pre-war *Atlas of Current Affairs* is hard to emulate nowadays . . . But, like Mr Horrabin’s, this is still ‘an exercise in the art of leaving out’.

Fifty years on, in the face of ever-increasing complexity, the aim is still to select what is relevant, and to explain a changing world’s problems with the aid of simple maps and brief notes.

Notes

For the sake of brevity, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is usually called Britain; the Netherlands is called Holland, and so on. The United States of America may be America, the US or the USA. The former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics may be the Soviet Union or the USSR. The European Union, formerly the European Community, appears as the EU or the EC.

Distances are expressed in miles. One mile is roughly 1.61 kilometres. One nautical mile is roughly 1.85 kilometres. To convert square miles into square kilometres, multiply by 2.59. The ton and the metric tonne are roughly equivalent. There are about seven barrels of oil in a ton.

An italic number in brackets – e.g. *(68)* – is a cross-reference. The number refers to a section and its accompanying map or maps, not to a page. So do the entries in the index.

1 People and Pressure

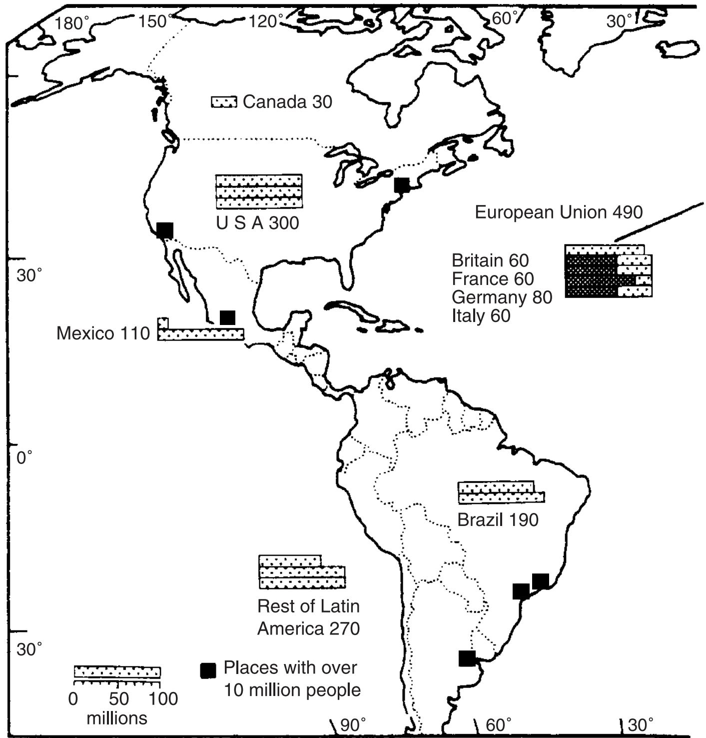
The human race has trebled its numbers in less than one lifetime. In 1930 there were about 2 billion people. Now there are about 6.5 billion. The annual increase is reckoned to be about 75 million.

Today the two most populous countries, China and India, have between them more inhabitants than the whole world had in 1930. Both countries are in Asia, which, for countless centuries, has always contained more than half of humanity. Together, Asia, Africa and Latin America now contain almost five-sixths; and that proportion is still rising, because many countries in those regions have relatively high rates of population growth. By contrast, rates of natural growth are generally low in European and East Asian countries, and in some of them growth has stopped, although immigration may keep the population figures rising.

Growing at 2% a year, a population doubles in 35 years. A few decades ago most countries outside Europe and North America exceeded this rate. In recent years growth rates have dropped around the world, and now few countries outside Africa are growing at such a pace. The majority of the world's governments have adopted policies aimed at limiting population growth, but the results have varied. The limiting of family size has been actively discouraged by some religious authorities and some national governments, though even theocratic governments such as Iran's have moved to reduce population growth. As birth rates decline, migration and ageing will continue to increase in importance as the world's primary drivers of demographic change.

Historically, population growth was sometimes seen as a sign of national strength. Forests were meant to be felled and plains to be tilled. This was especially true in the Americas, vast and thinly populated in the sixteenth century – the more so after genocide and diseases brought by European explorers and settlers decimated the indigenous population. When Thomas Malthus warned in 1798 that population growth would eventually overwhelm the earth's capacity to provide food, he was observing what was then the zone of fastest natural increase in the world: the United States. Intensive agriculture has ensured that his prediction has not come true, nor is there any immediate prospect of a worldwide food shortage. But more people means more pressure on natural resources. In the past few decades, some effects of rapid population growth have become more visible and more alarming: soil erosion, overgrazing, destruction of forests, enlargement of deserts; in the oceans, the devastation of fish stocks; in cities, the multiplication of crowded slums.

The last of these is associated with a prominent feature of our time: the growth of giant cities. In 1950 there were only six cities or conurbations that contained as many as 5 million inhabitants. Now half of the world's population lives in urban areas and there are at least twenty whose population exceeds 10 million. Some of these include huge slums packed with people who have been forced to leave overpopulated rural areas.



180° 150° 60° 30°

CANADA

60°

USA

New Orleans

30°

Miami

0°

BRAZIL

90° 30°

Densely populated low-lying areas: at risk from sea-level rise ●

Main 'acid rain' zones

Other regions of severe industrial pollution (P)

Desert regions

Areas in danger of becoming desert

Main zones of tropical rainforest ← R

0°
60°
90°
120°
150°
60°
Russia 140
Rest of
Europe 150
China 1300
Japan 125
30°
Arabs 280
Pakistan 170
Rest of Asia
and Pacific
650
Nigeria 130
Rest of Africa
620
Bangladesh
150
0°
India 1100
Indonesia
250
30°
Australia
and
New
Zealand 25
0°
30°
60°
90°
120°

0°
90°
120°
150°
180°
60°
NETHERLANDS
P
ARAL
SEA
RUSSIA
GOBI
CHINA
JAPAN
Nile Delta
NILE
SAHARA
INDIA
BANGLADESH
30°
S-A-H-E-L
VIETNAM
PACIFIC
ISLANDS
R
0°
AUSTRALIA
30°
0°
30°
60°
90°
120°
150°
180°

Ill-chosen policies have contributed to the loss of forests and the growth of deserts. In some countries, uncontrolled logging and misdirected subsidies have caused disastrous deforestation. The 'great leap forward' that China's Maoists ordered from 1958 to 1962 left vast tracts of land deforested and desertified, as well as causing 28 million deaths from famine. In the 1990s, desert areas around the Aral Sea were still expanding, and that sea itself was drying up, as a result of Soviet 'planning' *(20)*. High population growth in arid regions from the Middle East to the south-west US has increased the pressure on groundwater resources. In some dry areas, ancient deposits of underground 'fossil water' are not replenished by rainfall, and aquifers are being used up or 'mined'. The most notable example is Libya's Great Manmade River, a system of pipelines that supplies coastal cities and agriculture from Sahara aquifers.

The 'acid rain' that damages forests comes mainly from emissions of sulphur dioxide. These have been cut by a third or more since 1980 in western Europe and North America but are on the increase in industrializing Asia. Airborne pollution from the burning of coal or oil (fossil fuels) can also endanger health. And by the 1980s, there were fears that carbon dioxide emissions from fossil-fuel use would cause a 'global warming'. If the ice in Antarctica and Greenland *(77)* then melted, the sea level would rise and inundate densely populated coastal areas. The Kyoto Protocol of 1997 sought to reduce global warming through internationally agreed national limitation of carbon dioxide emissions. Little has been accomplished, partly because the Protocol was not ratified by the US, the world's largest economy and greenhouse-gas producer. On another kind of harmful emission, however, action was taken. Man-made chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) had made a hole (over Antarctica) in the ozone layer in the stratosphere that shields the earth from ultra-violet rays. By 1996 production of CFCs in the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries was phased out, and the hole has stopped growing.

The future extent of a manmade 'global warming' is still debatable. The experts who predict it and measure its beginnings do not all agree about its speed, scale and effects, but the level of carbon dioxide and other atmospheric greenhouse gases has risen rapidly in recent decades. Sceptics point out that, in the past, temperatures have often changed without any help from mankind, so the changes now detected may not be wholly manmade. But those who seek to curb the use of fossil fuels have other arguments. Although many new oilfields may yet be found, these fuels are finite. The long-term aim must be to avert the exhaustion of finite fuels by making maximum use of renewable energy sources. An encouraging development is that the costs of harnessing wind and solar power have been falling.

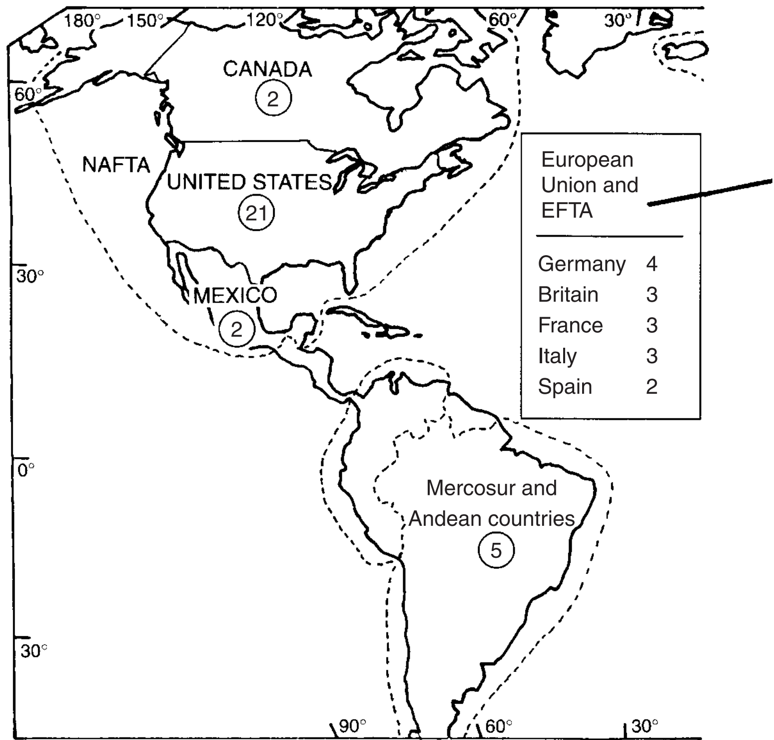
2 Economic Groupings

There have been dramatic changes in the balance of economic power. When that power lay mainly in North America and Europe, and the only challengers were the Soviet Union and, later, Japan, the simple concept of a world consisting of a rich 'north' and a poor 'south' seemed valid. It is less valid now that some southern economies are growing much faster than northern ones, while the Soviet collapse glaringly revealed the relative poverty of eastern Europe and Russia.

A 'rich north' can still be identified. The members of the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) comprise 22 European states, along with Australia, Canada, Japan, Mexico, New Zealand, South Korea, Turkey and the United States. A few years ago, these nations, with only a sixth of the world's population, were rated as producing three-quarters of its total output. They loom less large now that such institutions as the World Bank use 'purchasing power parities' ('PPP') in comparing one nation's GDP (gross domestic product) with another's. The PPP measure uses theoretical exchange rates reflecting cost-of-living variations rather than market exchange rates. This increases the size of poorer countries' economies because their cost of living is generally well below that of wealthier countries. By this measure, the output of the OECD states is now about half of the world total.

The older method of basing comparisons on market exchange rates had disguised the rapid growth of some Asian economies. In recent years China's GDP was achieving an annual growth of around 10%; South Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and other 'newly industrialized countries' (NICs) usually had much higher growth rates than the OECD states. Between the 1950s and the 1980s, Asia's most spectacular performance had been that of Japan; its GDP became the world's second-largest *(58)*. Now, by the PPP measure, China has moved past Japan, and is expected to pass the US in several decades. Although China is far behind Japan in income per head by any measure, it has ten times Japan's population. The same process of rapid economic growth applied to a very large population will soon lift India into third place in the world.

Both large and small states have been discovering the advantages of regional and bilateral free-trade pacts. In western Europe, which took the lead, the original six-nation 'common market' has expanded to make free trade broadly effective across the continent. Nowhere else has there been such an ambitious move towards integration as the forming of the 25-member European Union, but the basic idea of regional free trade has been widely adopted. A free-trade area comparable in scale to the European one has appeared in North America, where the Canada–United States pact that took effect in 1989 was enlarged in 1994 by Mexico's inclusion in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

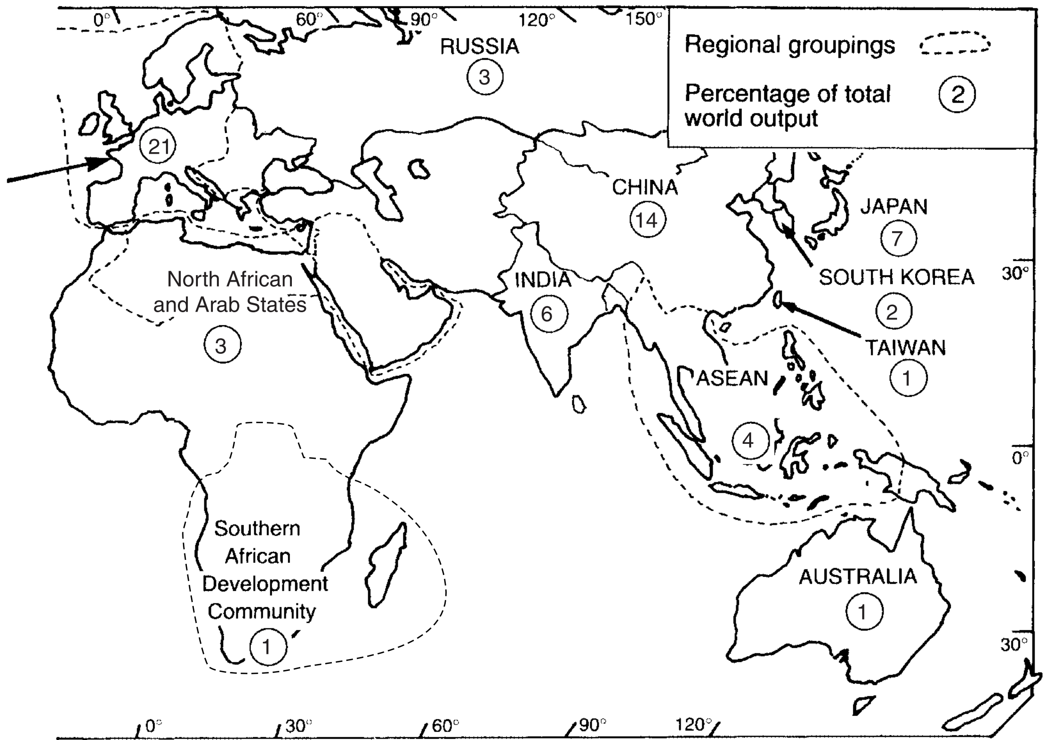


In 1991, Mercosur (Mercado Común del Cono Sur – Common Market of the Southern Cone) was created by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay; trade among them had increased fourfold by the late 1990s. In a 1991 treaty, the Andean Group (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela) aimed to establish a common market within a few years. In 2004 the two groups announced plans for a continent-wide South American Community of Nations *(74)*.

A similar target was set in 1990 by the Caribbean Common Market states (the ex-British West Indian islands, plus Belize and Guyana); and in 1993 the six-member Central American group undertook a gradual approach to a customs union. In South-East Asia, the ASEAN countries *(60)* agreed in 1991 to create a free-trade area; they began to reduce tariffs in 1993.

The membership of the OECD now overlaps with that of an even looser grouping, the Asia–Pacific Economic Co-operation forum (APEC). Created in 1989, it is by population the largest regional trade association. Since 1998 it has included all larger Pacific Rim economies – Australia, Canada, Chile, China, Japan, South Korea, Mexico, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Russia, Taiwan, the United States and the ASEAN countries (excluding Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar). The Americans and some others have been trying to encourage reductions of trade barriers between the members.

On a worldwide scale, important reductions of barriers to trade were achieved in 1994, with the signing of an agreement thrashed out during the complex negotiations called the 'Uruguay round'. A new World Trade Organization (WTO) replaced the 1948 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). A decade later almost all countries in the world were either members of the WTO or were 'observers' that planned to apply.



The initial goals of the WTO were to achieve reductions in tariffs and the European, Japanese and American farm subsidies which deprived other countries of markets and caused injurious 'dumping' of artificially created food surpluses. But huge subsidies continued, as did many restraints on trade – often less obvious, but more effective, than tariffs – and governments and lobbies showed great skill in preserving them. Further promotion of international trade has also been slowed by the anti-globalization movement, which sees consideration of workers' rights, environmental impacts and human rights as essential components of trade agreements. Globalization has, however, continued, with international trade growing faster than the world economy.

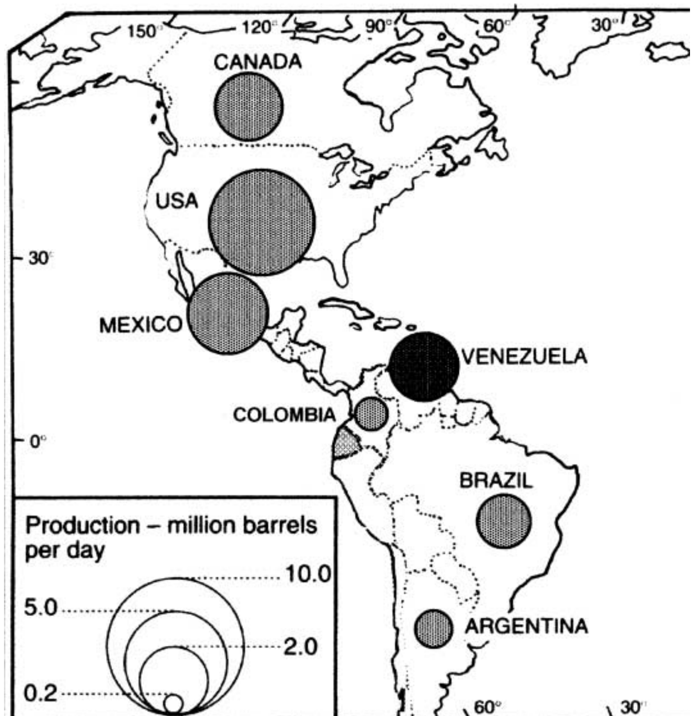
3 Energy

In the 1960s coal was succeeded as the world's biggest source of industrial energy by oil (petroleum) and the natural gas that is often found with it. World production of crude oil, which had been 275 million tons in 1938, rose to 1,050 million tons in 1960, to 2,275 million in 1970 and to 3,100 million in 1979.

The upsurge was then checked. Output fell by 10% between 1979 and 1981. This was a reaction to the startling increases in oil prices in the 1970s. Prices almost quadrupled in 1973–4 and then tripled in 1978–80. In both cases the rises were linked to turbulence in the Middle East.

Hardest hit were oil-importing countries in the 'poor south' *(2)*, but recession and inflation also hit rich industrialized states. In many places, demand for energy stopped growing; in some, it fell. Where they could, consumers switched from oil to other sources of energy.

Just before the 'oil shocks', the pattern of production had been changing rapidly. In 1960,

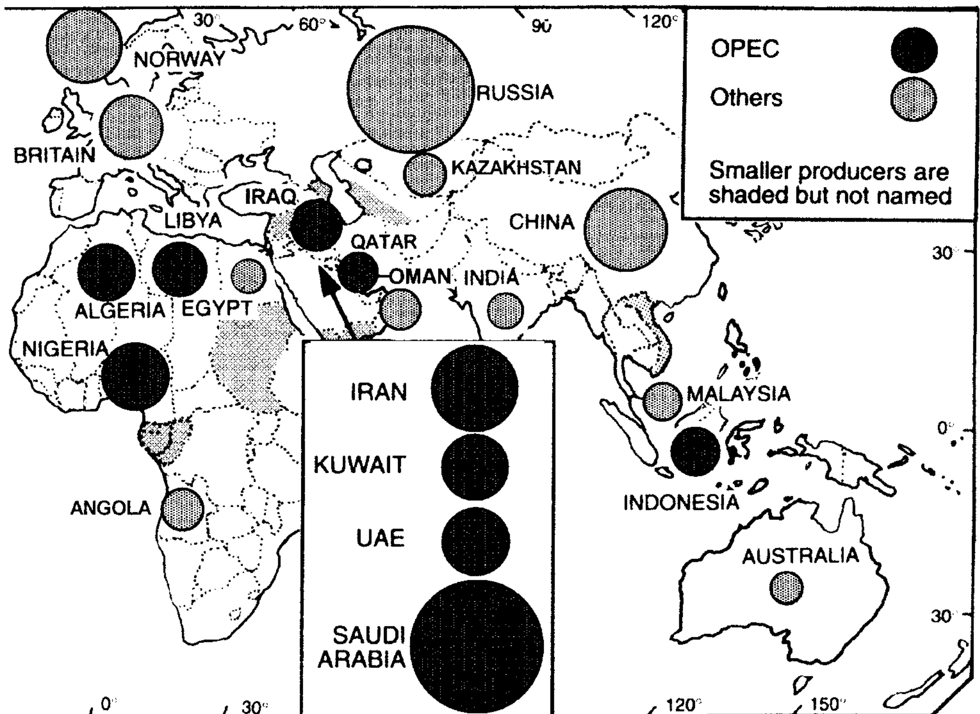


34% of all oil output was in the United States, only 25% in the Middle East and North Africa *(41)*. But Middle East oil was easy to extract and thus cheap. By 1970, Middle East and North African oil made up 40%, US oil only 21%, of a world output which had doubled in ten years. Europeans, Japanese and, to a lesser extent, Americans were heavily dependent on oil from Arab states and Iran.

The Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries (OPEC) was founded in 1960, and the members of this 'cartel' began to try to raise prices, mainly by limiting output. (The present members of OPEC are Algeria, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Venezuela.) Their strength was suddenly increased during the 1973 Arab–Israeli war *(43)*, when Arab states cut off supplies to some western countries. Prices soared, while economies sagged – except in the oil-exporting states. The second big wave of price rises began in 1978, when Iran's exports were sharply reduced during the last turbulent months of the Shah's rule *(47)*.

By 1981 the recession caused by this 'oil shock' had cut demand enough to start prices falling. In the 1980s the Iran–Iraq war had little effect on total output or on prices; the price rises of the 1970s had encouraged exploration and production in non-OPEC countries, including Britain, whose North Sea fields *(22)* soon made it a net exporter. A steep price fall in 1986 followed Saudi Arabia's decision to raise its output, after keeping it at only a third of capacity for several years; the Saudis, the biggest OPEC producers, saw that the cartel's strategy of raising prices had boomeranged, bringing it new competitors, and they reverted to exploiting their ability to produce oil cheaply. By the late 1980s oil prices were lower, in real terms, than they had been in the mid-1970s.

In 1990 there was only a brief jump in prices when Iraq seized Kuwait. For a year after that, no oil came out of Kuwait; for the next six years, only a trickle came out of Iraq, which



had brought a United Nations embargo upon itself. (Until 1996, Iraq rejected UN offers to let it sell a limited amount of oil on condition that part of the proceeds should go to compensate the victims of its actions – *48*.) Another big increase in Saudi output helped to fill the gap. After declining to below production cost for some non-OPEC producers in the late 1990s, prices stabilized for a time. With the US action against Iraq in 2003 and increasing demand from China, prices have recently risen steadily, beginning to approach (in real terms) the late-1970s high.

World demand remained at much the same level from 1980, when the great oil upsurge had ended, through the mid-1990s. Since then improvements in energy efficiency have not matched economic growth.

Over 60% of known oil reserves are in the Middle East, and Saudi Arabia alone has almost 25%. Iraq, Iran and Kuwait have about 10% each. If oil sands (oil-saturated sand deposits that are more expensive to process than conventional liquid crude oil) are included, Canada has about 15% of world reserves. In the early 2000s the OPEC members' annual output was around 10 billion barrels; their share of total output is 40%.

The map shows the OPEC states and other large producers. Smaller non-OPEC producers include Azerbaijan, Brunei, Congo-Brazzaville, Denmark, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Sudan, Syria, Turkmenistan, Vietnam and Yemen *(6)*. Some producers are net importers; most conspicuously, the United States consumes a quarter of total world output, but produces only an eighth.

Natural gas has, in recent years, provided an amount of energy roughly equivalent to 60% of all the oil produced. It is estimated that around 30% of known reserves of gas are in Russia. At least 40% more are in the Middle East. Until the 1960s gas was mostly piped only to places in its country of origin; now long pipelines take it from Russia to both eastern and western Europe and from the Caspian Sea region to the Mediterranean through Turkey. Tankers carry liquefied natural gas on long sea routes, notably from Australia and Indonesia to Japan. Much gas is still flared (burned off, therefore wasted) as a by-product of oil production.

The US has more than 25% of the world's coal reserves, with Russia, China, India and Australia together accounting for another half. Concerns about air pollution and the difficulty of adapting coal for use in vehicles prevent it from replacing oil in oil-importing countries. High oil and gas prices could encourage greater use of coal in power generation.

The nuclear power plants built since the 1950s now provide 16% of the world's electricity (6% of its total energy supplies). Some countries' nuclear reactors provide a much bigger proportion of their electricity: 75% in France, 50% in Sweden and Ukraine, 40% in South Korea, 30% in Germany, Hungary and Japan.

All this power has come from uranium. (To use lighter elements would require the harnessing of controlled processes of nuclear fusion; that has not yet been achieved, despite considerable research spending.) Uranium is found in many places, but America, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Kazakhstan, Namibia, Niger, Russia and South Africa together have more than 80% of recoverable reserves. Canada and Australia now mine half the world's uranium, and most of the rest is produced in the former Soviet Union (Kazakhstan, Russia, Uzbekistan) and Africa (Niger, Namibia) *(4)*.

In some countries there has been sharp controversy about nuclear energy. Its advocates point out that coal and oil cause pollution, may cause 'global warming', and will in time be exhausted *(1)*. Its opponents emphasize the risks: their arguments were underlined by the disaster in 1986 at the Chernobyl plant in Ukraine *(18)*, which spread radioactivity across Europe. The disposal of dangerous reactor waste remains an unsolved problem. Falling

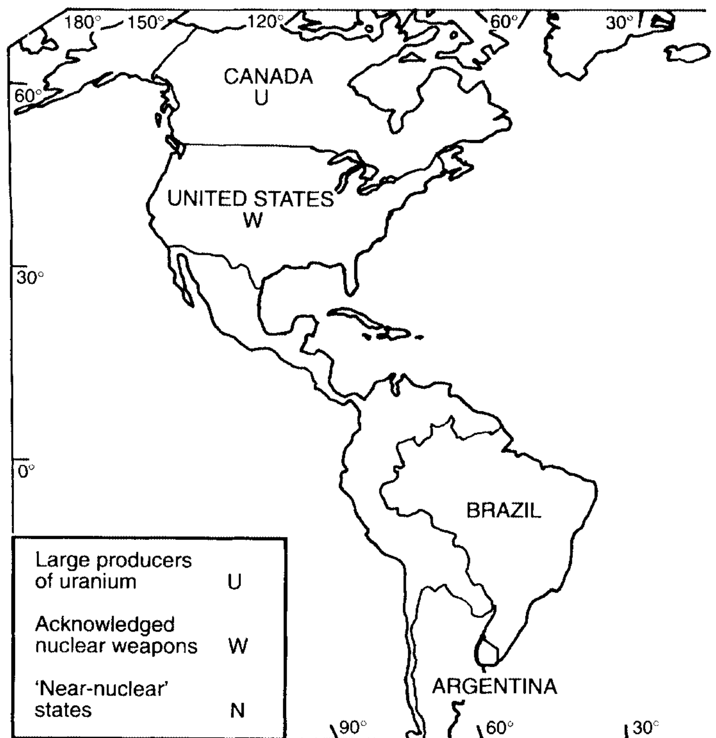
prices of coal and oil helped to reduce enthusiasm for nuclear energy in the 1980s and early 1990s, but more recently high oil prices have begun to reawaken interest in it.

The use of nuclear power will be encouraged by continued rapid economic growth, especially in Asia, and consequent competition for oil. At present, China and India generate less than 3% of their electricity from uranium, and both are heavily dependent on oil imports. World hydroelectric capacity is unlikely to increase much, because of growing opposition to dam-building on environmental grounds. Use of wind, solar and other renewable power sources is expected to expand rapidly, but these together account for only 1% cnt; of global energy production. Increased efforts at conservation will help slow the rate of growth in the demand for energy but are unlikely to produce an actual reduction in world energy needs.

4 Nuclear Geography

Nuclear weapons inspire a natural horror; yet their influence on world affairs over the past half-century was not entirely evil. The two bombs dropped on Japan in 1945 saved far more (mainly Japanese) lives than they took. They forced Japan's ruling militarists to abandon their plans to make the country fight to its last woman and child against the coming Allied invasion – which had been seen as the only means of ending the 1939–45 war and liberating all the Japanese-occupied lands. And in the subsequent decades, at several critical moments, the fear of nuclear devastation helped to prevent tense east–west confrontations from exploding into full-scale war.

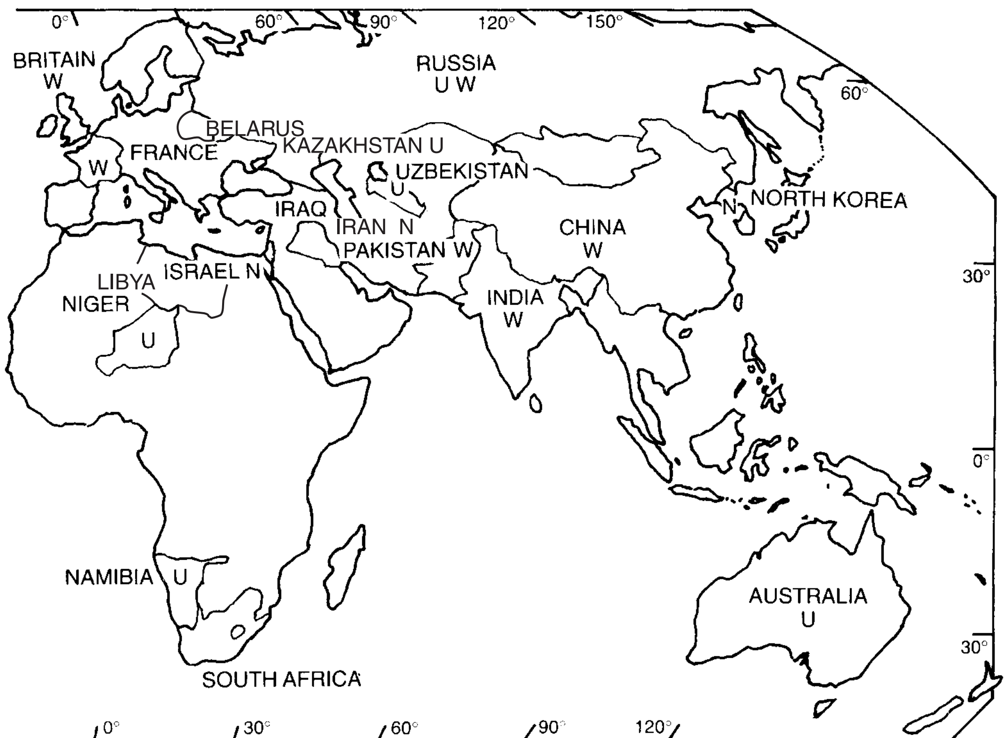
But the two superpowers' efforts to maintain an uneasy 'nuclear balance' – plus the creation of the relatively small British, Chinese and French nuclear arsenals – burdened the world with an almost unimaginably large array of powerful new weapons. And the old

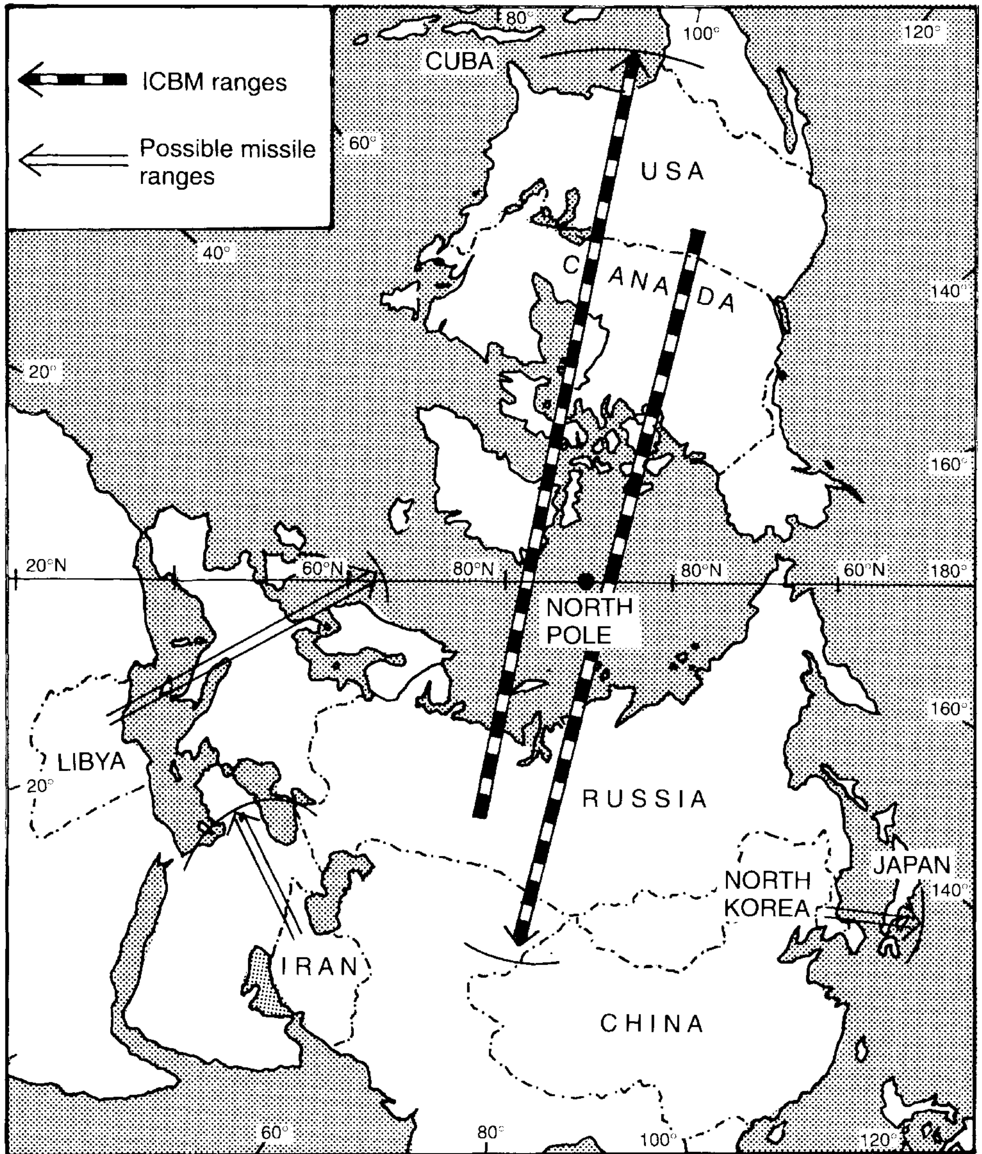


concepts of war were transformed. Instead of troops marching across a frontier, nuclear missiles could now be sent to strike an enemy thousands of miles away.

During the 1960s both the Soviet Union and the United States developed and deployed intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) whose range of over 6,000 miles made it possible for them to strike each other across the Arctic *(77)*. Both of them sent missile-firing submarines out into the oceans (Britain and France soon followed this example). The Soviet arsenal included intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs), capable of hitting western Europe, China or Japan; China was not slow to respond by targeting Soviet cities with IRBMs (by the 1980s it was deploying ICBMs). As well as ballistic missiles (high-trajectory missiles moving at bullet-like speed), America built 'cruise' missiles – sophisticated developments of the German V-1 'pilotless planes' used against London in 1944 – which could find their targets by map-reading.

The new Soviet leadership installed in 1985, headed by Mikhail Gorbachev, saw that the floundering Soviet economy had to be relieved of the ever-growing burden of the arms race. In the first east–west disarmament deal, the 1987 INF (intermediate-range nuclear forces) treaty, the two superpowers undertook to destroy 2,600 missiles. In the 1990 CFE (conventional forces in Europe) treaty, the 22 NATO and Warsaw Pact governments *(10)* agreed on phased reductions which would leave the two alliances with forces of roughly equal size in the area between the Atlantic and the Urals. (The subsequent disappearance of the Soviet Union and of the Warsaw Pact left the CFE treaty in need of much revision, but its essence was preserved.) There followed the START-1 (strategic arms reduction) treaty, committing America and Russia to reducing the number of their strategic missiles





and long-range bomber aircraft to about 6,500 on each side by the year 2001. Implementation of its successor, START-2, was complicated by US withdrawal from the 1972 anti-ballistic-missile treaty to allow for development of missile defence systems. However, there followed the SORT (strategic offensive reductions) treaty, committing each side to a maximum of 2,200 warheads by 2012. Destruction of surplus nuclear warheads continued, with financial support from the US to aid Russia in securing its nuclear facilities.

After China's first test explosion, in 1964, there were five recognized nuclear-armed nations: America, Britain, China, France and the Soviet Union. The 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was designed to prevent an expansion of the 'nuclear club'. Members of the 'club' were to undertake not to help non-members to acquire nuclear arms.

Other signatories, if they had nuclear power plants, were to allow inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to ensure that no material was diverted into making weapons.

All nuclear reactors produce plutonium, which can be used to make atomic bombs – but only after reprocessing. Bombs can also be made with highly enriched uranium. However, both methods require the construction of special installations. By 1996 most of the countries that had the necessary advanced technology had signed the NPT and accepted IAEA 'safeguards'; nuclear-armed China and France, after long resistance to the NPT, had accepted it. Argentina, Brazil and South Africa had abandoned their attempts to make atomic bombs; in 1992, Argentina and Brazil accepted the 1967 Tlatelolco Treaty *(74)*. But there was still cause for concern about some countries that were rated as 'near-nuclear'.

In the 1990s, India, Israel and Pakistan were still rejecting the NPT, and (despite official denials) it was believed that they had made much progress towards acquiring nuclear arsenals. India had staged a test explosion in 1974, claiming that it had only 'peaceful purposes' in mind, and carried out further tests in 1998. These prompted Pakistan to conduct its own tests the same year, expanding formal membership of the 'nuclear club' to seven. In 2006 the US and France signed agreements with India allowing for the transfer of 'civilian' nuclear technology. India accepted IAEA inspection of 'civilian' nuclear facilities – but it did not agree to limit future weapon production, allow monitoring of 'military' facilities, or sign the NPT. Israel is not known to have carried out tests, but it is thought that Israel has completed the bomb-making process and has constructed a number of weapons in an effort to discourage attack by its larger neighbours.

The breaking up of the USSR in 1991 temporarily increased the 'nuclear club' membership: some of the former Soviet nuclear weapons were in Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine. However, with American financial and technical help, all the warheads had been transferred to Russia by 1996. The larger effort to identify and secure (or destroy) all nuclear, chemical and biological weapons materials in the former USSR has made considerable progress but is likely to take several decades to complete.

Three countries that had signed the NPT failed to give the IAEA inspectors full access to their nuclear installations: Iran, Iraq and North Korea (the US-designated 'axis of evil'). From 1991 until the American invasion in 2003, a United Nations commission was unearthing and destroying Iraq's facilities for making nuclear, chemical and biological weaponry *(48)*. North Korea, which had signed the NPT in 1985, withdrew in 1993, then suspended its withdrawal, but continued to make difficulties about accepting inspection. After ejecting inspectors, North Korea once again withdrew from the NPT in 2003, claiming in 2005 to have constructed nuclear weapons *(59)*. Iran's nuclear programmes reached a crisis after 2003. It alternately allowed access by inspectors and refused to co-operate with the IAEA, while insisting that its uranium-enrichment programme was for peaceful purposes. Like Libya – which abandoned its nuclear weapons programme in 2003 – Iran received nuclear technology and material from Pakistan. Attempts by European countries to negotiate an end to Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons had not succeeded by 2006.

At NPT review conferences, the 'club' members were repeatedly warned that the non-proliferation system would break down if they did not fulfil their promises to cut back their development of new weapons technology or 'vertical proliferation' – as distinct from the 'horizontal' proliferation (cross-border technology transfer) banned by the NPT. As a priority, they were urged to stop nuclear tests. A 1963 treaty had limited America, Britain and the USSR to underground tests (France's testing was underground from 1974, China's from 1980). In 1996 a comprehensive test ban treaty was at last concluded, and signed by

most governments, including those of America, Britain, China, France and Russia. A similar treaty banning the production and use of chemical weapons was adopted in 1993 and ratified by most countries.

As the huge arsenals of the nuclear-armed powers began at last to shrink, more attention was turned to the growing number of missiles in the hands of 'Third World' states *(6)*. During Iraq's wars, it fired ballistic missiles at Tehran in Iran, at Tel Aviv in Israel and at Riyadh in Saudi Arabia *(48)*. About thirty Third World countries have ballistic missiles, including Algeria, Egypt, India, Iran, Libya, Pakistan and Syria. There was particular concern about North Korea, not only because of its rulers' unpredictable and secretive ways but also because it was known to have missiles with a 700-mile range and to be developing ones with a range of more than 3,000 miles. Missile technology from China, North Korea and Russia is believed to have supported missile development in Iran, Libya, Pakistan and Syria. North Korea and Iran combined possession of missiles with an alarming eagerness to acquire nuclear weapons *(47, 59)*. And, although only a few of the missile-possessing states were also classed as 'near-nuclear', concern was not limited to these cases. In the 1991 'Gulf war' there had been fears that the ballistic missiles fired by Iraq might prove to be carrying chemical or biological warheads.

5 Sea Law

Seven-tenths of the earth's surface is covered by the 'seven seas'. Until recently, nearly all of this vast area was under no national jurisdiction. Most coastal states claimed territorial waters extending only 3 nautical miles from shore (100 nautical miles are about 115 land miles or 185 kilometres). But some states' claims grew larger and larger as expanding populations and industries increased the demand for fish and oil (petroleum). Disputes over fishing rights, and rights to seabed oil, became more frequent. United Nations conferences on the law of the sea (UNCLOS) in 1958 and 1960 failed to resolve most of these problems. However, the 1958 conference produced a convention on the 'continental shelf' (the relatively shallow offshore part of the seabed); it was on this basis that the countries around the North Sea shared the rights to the oil and gas lying beneath it *(22)*.

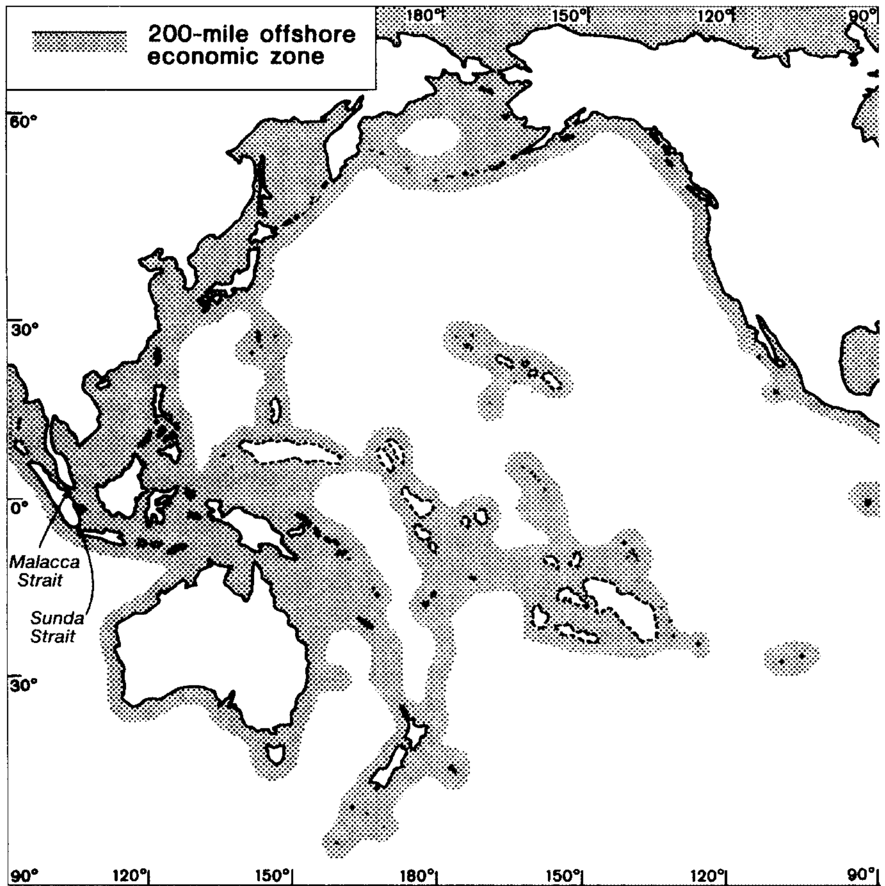
The third UNCLOS ran from 1974 to 1982 and negotiated a whole new code of sea law. The standard for territorial waters was set at 12 miles, and each coastal state would also control fishing and extraction of seabed oil in a 200-mile-wide 'exclusive economic zone' (EEZ). A third of all the oceans was thus to come within the jurisdiction of coastal states. Even a small island state could claim a sea zone of some 130,000 square miles. Where two states' zones overlapped, a median line, equidistant from their coasts, would normally be drawn.

The general right of freedom of navigation was upheld in the EEZs, and also in straits of international importance, even where these straits became territorial waters (for example: with 12-mile limits, any ship passing through the 21-mile-wide Dover strait must enter British or French territorial waters). The new code did not affect the existing special rules that apply to the Turkish straits (Bosporus and Dardanelles) or those that apply to the Suez and Panama canals.

The UNCLOS code needed to be ratified by at least sixty nations, and this was not achieved until 1994, when it duly came into force. One cause of delay was a long wrangle over the code's provisions about future 'mining' on the deep ocean floor. The United States and Germany, in particular, objected to these clauses, arguing that they would penalize those states that pioneered new methods of dredging up minerals from the depths; eventually some amendments were agreed.

Long before 1994, many states had acted as if the new code were already in force, claiming EEZs and often getting into disputes based on those claims. In some cases, long-dormant disputes over small islands were intensified when it was seen that claims to large areas of sea might now be involved; this was relevant to Argentina's quarrel with Chile about the Beagle Channel islets and to its 1982 attempt to annex the Falklands *(75)*.

By adopting the new code, the world's governments may well have averted a general collapse of sea law into anarchy. They have not necessarily averted a collapse of the



world's fisheries. Between 1950 and 1990, the total world catch showed a fivefold increase. In 1995 the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) gave warning that nine of the world's 17 major fishing grounds had already been disastrously overfished, and that four others looked like sharing that fate.

Nine-tenths of the world's fish stocks are in waters less than 200 miles from shore; now that the coastal states have full powers of control in their EEZs, they ought to be able to ensure the conservation of those stocks. A UN agreement on fish stocks, ratified in 2001, calls for regional co-operation in the management of migratory fish species, including conservation measures where necessary. It has been signed by most large Atlantic but not many Pacific fishing nations. But many states, while taking action against foreign intruders, failed to prevent overfishing by their own fleets and indeed encouraged it by granting lavish subsidies. Some small states sold fishery rights in their waters to bigger nations, whose fleets then fished out those waters with no regard for conservation. And sharp disputes still arose about the exact positions of vessels fishing near to the 200-mile zones, especially when they were equipped to make huge catches. In 1996, for example, Ireland accused Japanese ships of entering its zone, each towing a fishing line 70 miles long.

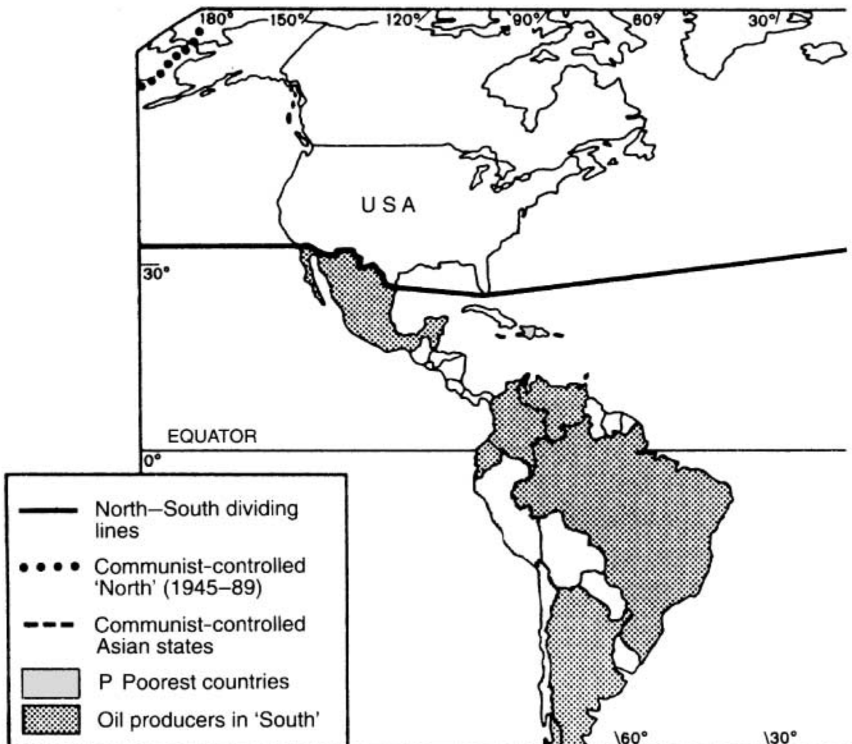
The losses caused by unsustainable fish harvests are compounded by the large fraction of 'by-catch' or unwanted fish, dolphins and turtles taken, then discarded, as part of

commercial operations. The result is a continuing decline in fish populations worldwide. A corresponding increase in aquaculture (fish-farming) makes up part of the loss but introduces new problems of pollution and damage to coastal ecology.

Most nations adhere to the 1986 international moratorium on commercial whaling. Japan, Norway and Iceland continue to hunt whales, claiming that some whale species are no longer threatened with extinction and that whales eat fish needed for human consumption.

6 No Longer Three Worlds

By the early 1990s the world could no longer be seen as divided, like Caesar's Gaul, into three parts. That division had taken shape between the late 1940s and the 1960s. The Soviet Union had sealed off its newly enlarged domains behind its 'iron curtain', and joined hands with a China whose civil war had brought it under communist rule, to create a formidable-looking 'east'. Fear of Soviet armed strength led most of the west European states to form, with the United States and Canada, the largest alliance that had ever existed in peacetime; with a few democratic 'neutrals', they constituted the 'west' – not a monolithic bloc, but a group which, under new pressures, was showing a new unity. Meanwhile, from 1946 onwards, decolonization in Asia and Africa *(27)* was creating new independent states whose basic interests were those of the 'south', or the 'Third World'. East–west issues were of little

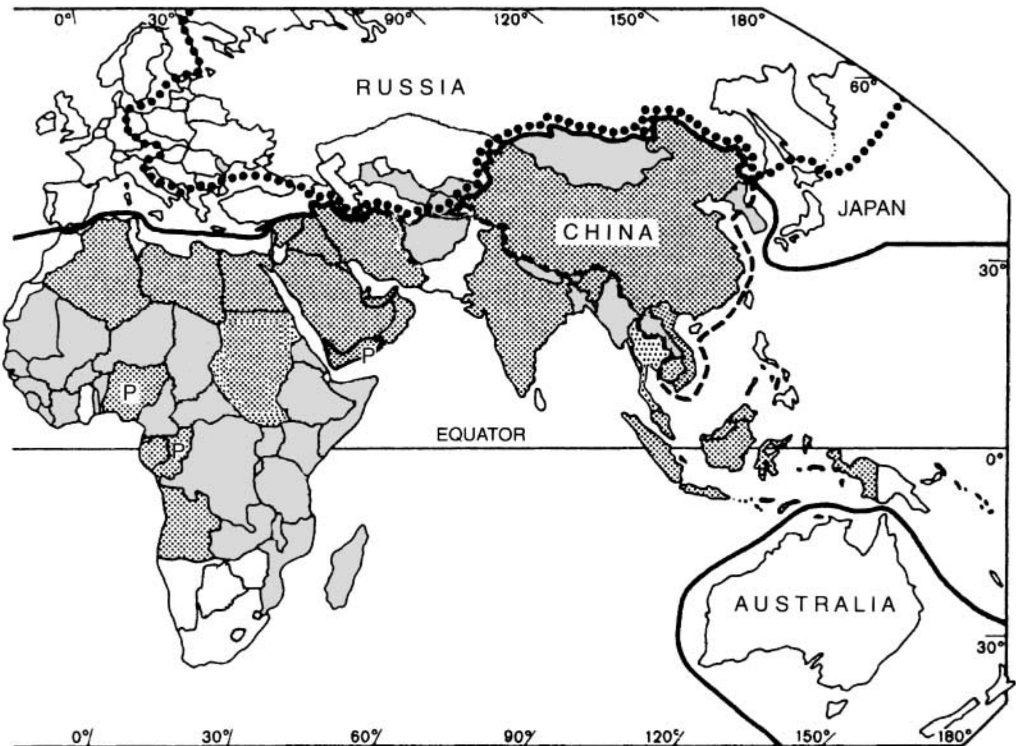


interest to their new rulers. Indeed, at times it seemed that, in third-world eyes, there were only two worlds: south and north.

These terms were not geographically exact. Japan was often lumped in with 'the west'; Australia and New Zealand were labelled as 'north'; China might be called 'east' or 'south'. But it was broadly true that west and east, between them, had most of the world's economic power and most of its armaments; and that the south was poor, preoccupied with the kind of difficulties that new nations face (including many local quarrels), and reluctant to get involved in east–west conflicts. An embodiment of this reluctance, the 'non-aligned' movement, launched in Belgrade in 1961, eventually drew in 113 member states.

Some members of that movement were not truly non-aligned; they received subsidies from, or had defence links with, either the Soviet Union or western powers. And alignments became still more complex after the Soviet–Chinese breach in the 1960s. The 'oil shocks' of the 1970s *(3)* further divided the third-world states, enriching some and impoverishing others; later, gaps widened between states with fast-growing economies and those that were making no progress at all. But a basic three-worlds pattern remained visible until the end of the 1980s brought the ending of Soviet domination in eastern Europe, followed by the break-up of the Soviet Union itself.

Communist rule continued in China, North Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia (until 1993) and Cuba, and for a time in some parts of eastern Europe and of the former Soviet Union. To that extent, it might be said that there were still three worlds; or perhaps two and a half. And there were signs of some Russians' aspirations to reassemble the Soviet Union (or part of it), in substance if not in form. But during the early 1990s, in most parts of what had once



been a solid communist eastern bloc, the economic structures were becoming more open, and so were the frontiers. East and west were no longer two antagonistic rival camps, maintaining a precarious military balance and defending totally opposed economic and political systems. When antagonism did emerge, national factors were more likely to underlie it than ideological ones. For example: when, in the turmoil of what had been Yugoslavia, Russia opposed some western moves to restrain the Serbs, the main reason was that Serbia had old historical claims to Russia's sympathy.

The breakup of the 'east', which national factors had hastened, strengthened those same factors in both 'west' and 'south'. Several members of the 'south', among them South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Israel and Singapore, built technologically advanced economies and achieved income levels exceeding those of some 'northern' countries. China's communist government oversaw the development of a capitalist economy rivalling that of Japan. The western allies, feeling less need to hold together, bickered about Yugoslavia, Cuba, Iran, Iraq and Libya, about the future of the European Union, and about admitting east European applicants to the union or the alliance. In the Third World, the loss of Soviet subsidies, arms supplies and diplomatic support brought some rulers down and made others change course. Some regimes which had long counted on American support, because they took anti-communist attitudes, found the Americans becoming less charitable about some of their other actions. And those who had tried to play east and west against each other learned that this particular game was over. The three-worlds framework, so restricting and yet so reassuringly familiar, was gone.

7 United Nations

Today there are more than 190 sovereign states; 80 years ago there were only 70, but many empires have broken up – most recently the Soviet empire. Nations and communities that had been parts of an empire have quarrelled, sometimes going to war (e.g. Armenia and Azerbaijan, India and Pakistan, Cyprus, Congo, Sudan). And the chances of war breaking out have been increased simply by the increase in the number of nations.

Nationalism has become a prevalent force. But internationalism has also developed. The United Nations, the world organization created after the 1939–45 war, has lasted more than twice as long as the League of Nations, its predecessor. America never joined the League, and Germany and the Soviet Union were not members for long; but today the only significant absentee from the UN is Taiwan, prevented from joining by China.

Operations by UN forces, UN observer missions, and multinational forces acting with UN authorization (some entries include multiple operations)

(a) Ended by 2005

1 Indonesia, 1947–51 *(64)*
2 Greece, 1947, 1952–4 *(15)*
3 Korea, 1950–3 *(59)*
4 Lebanon/Syria, 1958
5 West New Guinea (Irian), 1962–3 *(64)*
6 Yemen, 1963–4 *(46)*
7 Dominican Republic, 1965–6 *(71)*
8 Egypt/Israel, 1956–67, 1973–9 *(43)*
9 Afghanistan/Pakistan, 1988–90 *(50)*
10 Iran/Iraq, 1988–91 *(48)*
11 Angola, 1988–99 *(33)*
12 Namibia, 1989–90 *(33)*
13 Central America, 1989–92 *(71)*
14 Cambodia, 1991–3 *(62)*
15 El Salvador, 1991–95 *(71)*
16 Iraq/Kuwait, 1991–2003 *(48)*
17 Mozambique, 1992–4 *(32)*
18 Somalia, 1992–5 *(35)*
19 Former Yugoslavia, 1992–2002 *(15)*
20 Uganda/Rwanda, 1993–4 *(36)*
21 Rwanda, 1993–6 *(36)*
22 Chad/Libya, 1994 *(38)*
23 Tajikistan, 1994–2000 *(20)*
24 Croatia, 1995–8 *(15)*
25 Macedonia, 1995–9 *(15)*
26 Bosnia, 1995–2002 *(15)*
27 Guatemala, 1997 *(71)*
28 Central African Republic, 1998–2000
29 Sierra Leone, 1998–2005 *(37)*
30 East Timor, 1999–2005 *(64)*

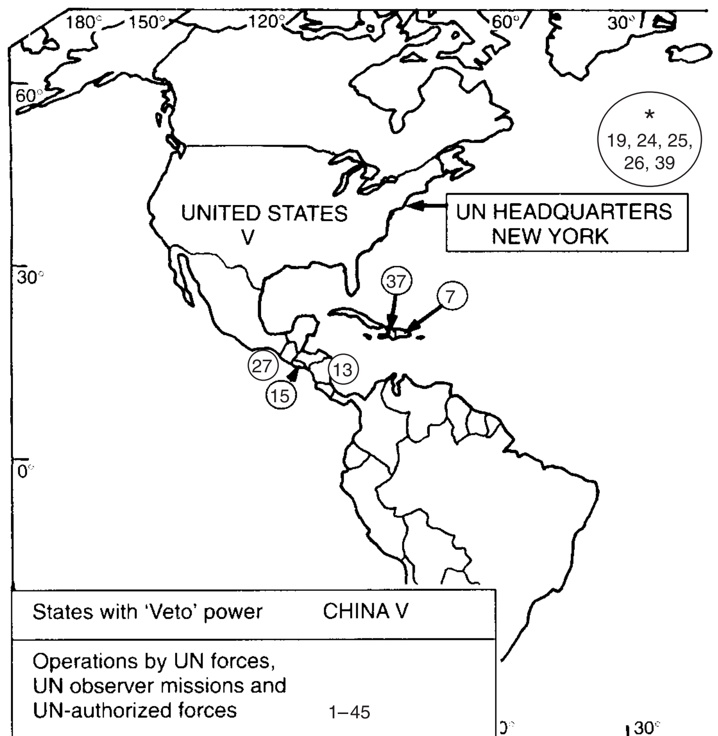
(b) Continuing in 2006

31 Arabs/Israel, 1948– *(43, 44)*
32 India/Pakistan, 1949– *(51)*
33 Cyprus, 1964– *(26)*
34 Syria/Israel, 1974– *(43, 44)*
35 Lebanon, 1978– *(43, 45)*
36 Western Sahara, 1991– *(40)*
37 Haiti, 1993–2000, 2004– *(71)*
38 Georgia, 1993– *(19)*
39 Kosovo, 1999– *(15)*
40 Congo (Zaire), 1960–4, 1999– *(32, 36)*
41 Ethiopia/Eritrea, 2000– *(35)*
42 Liberia, 1993–7, 2003– *(37)*
43 Ivory Coast, 2004– *(37)*
44 Burundi, 2004– *(36)*
45 Sudan, 2005– *(35)*

The UN today has 191 members, of which five – America, Britain, China, France and Russia (replacing the Soviet Union) – are permanent, veto-wielding members of the Security Council. Ten more Council members are elected for two-year terms. Financial contributions are levied on the basis of economic strength, with the US expected to contribute 22%, Japan nearly 20%, and the 25-member EU 38%. Voting is on the basis of one country, one vote, so the weight of India (population 1.1 billion) equals that of Tuvalu (12,000). Recent calls for reform of Security Council membership, to involve expansion or addition of new permanent members, are tempered by national rivalries and are therefore unlikely to succeed in the near future.

The work of the 'UN family' on such matters as trade, food, aviation, refugees, drugs and health has mostly been done through its 'specialized agencies'. The primary role assigned to the United Nations itself was to give governments a means of working together to prevent wars, or at least to limit their effect. Sometimes diplomatic or other pressures, such as economic 'sanctions', might suffice. But the new practices evolved in the UN's six decades of activity have often required the use of soldiers, in peacekeeping forces or as observers. Experience has shown that 'peace is too serious to be left to civilians'.

Operations of this kind became more numerous from the late 1980s onward. Relations between the major powers were improving, so a proposal to take action through the UN was less likely to be vetoed by one of the five permanent members of the Security Council. There was also growing concern about stopping civil wars – which, in recent years, have greatly outnumbered international ones. Indeed, the only active armed conflicts between

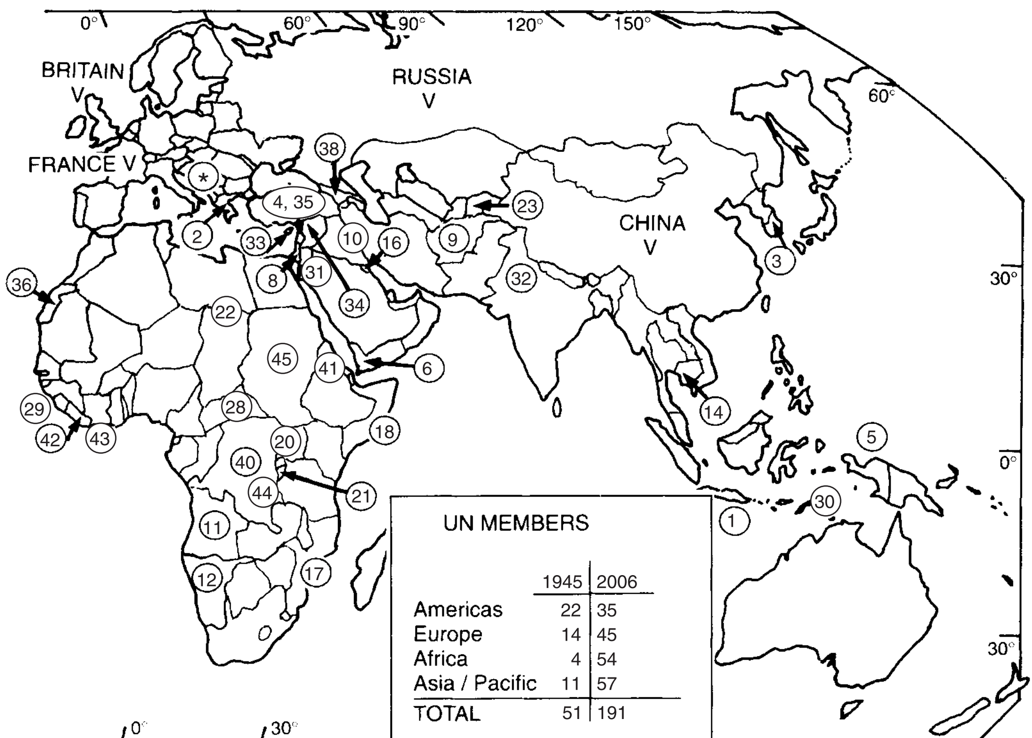


sovereign states are minor affairs by historical standards, and there is no immediate potential for any major wars – a rare situation in centuries of human history.

There has been only one instance of a UN member state invading and annexing another member state: Iraq's seizing of Kuwait in 1990. Iraqi obduracy made it impossible to negotiate a withdrawal which a small UN force or observer mission could supervise. To liberate Kuwait, a full-scale military operation was necessary. The American-led forces that carried it out were not UN forces, but there was enough agreement on the need for action to enable the Security Council to authorize it.

The UN's founders designed it to tackle conflicts between states, but not conflicts inside them. At times, this distinction could be hard to make. In some civil wars (e.g. in Greece, 1945–8, or Angola, 1975–91) there was blatant meddling by other countries; in some there was a danger of other countries being drawn in (e.g. Cyprus, 1961–4). But the fighting from 1991 to 1995 in Somalia was a purely internal conflict; nothing could be done to halt or limit the war by deterring other countries from taking a hand (nor could peace terms be settled with Somalia's own government, as there was none). By the mid-1990s, experiences such as this were making UN member governments more cautious about trying to stop civil wars.

The shift from international to internal conflict has left the UN open to criticism for inaction. It did not, or was not permitted to, intervene to prevent the Rwandan genocide of 1994 or recent wars in Sudan. On the international level, its ability to resolve Middle East conflicts is limited by the refusal of some members to recognize Israel (which has never been permitted to serve on the Security Council). Credibility in other areas has



	1945	2006
Americas	22	35
Europe	14	45
Africa	4	54
Asia / Pacific	11	57
TOTAL	51	191

been harmed by financial crises, and by the appointment of countries with poor human rights records to the Commission on Human Rights (including Libya as chair in 2003). Current reform efforts may enhance the UN's ability to act against genocide and terrorism.

8 Terrorism

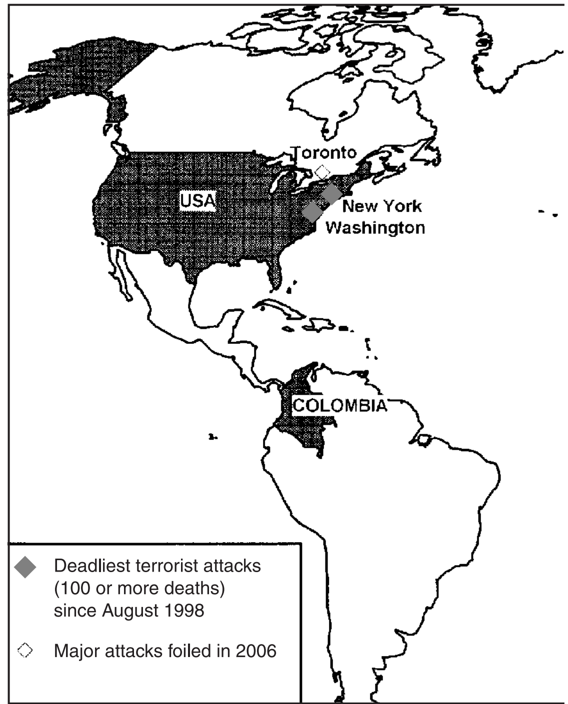
Politically motivated violence against civilians is not new, but its projection across national borders has increased in recent decades. This transition is marked by the emergence of the al-Qaeda terrorist network, whose first large-scale attack was the 1998 bombing of American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

Since then, 90% of terrorist attacks and casualties have occurred in the countries shown on the map. The more deadly recent attacks reflect the activities of Islamists – including the largest attack, when members of al-Qaeda hijacked aeroplanes for suicide attacks on New York and Washington that killed 3,000 people on 9/11 (September 11, 2001). The largest area of recent terrorist activity has been Iraq after the US overthrew its dictator in 2003 *(48)*; Afghanistan *(50)* also ranks high. Outside Iraq and the USA, the deadliest individual attacks were committed by Islamists in India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Russia and Spain; and by non-Islamic rebel groups in Angola and Uganda. Frequent, if somewhat less deadly, attacks have occurred along the borders of the Muslim world *(28)* – in the Caucasus, Israel, Kashmir, the Philippines and southern Thailand – and, reflecting local rebellions, in Colombia, eastern India, Nepal and Sri Lanka.

There is no agreement on the limits of 'terrorism'. Individual incidents are generally of short duration, directed at non-military targets that are sometimes randomly selected, and designed to instill fear rather than achieve specific military or political goals – though political changes are often sought. Thus, genocides, revolutions, coups and military conflicts are not classed as terrorism, though terrorist action may be associated with them. An armed rebellion against a government and its army, as in the conflict between UNITA and the Angolan government *(33)*, may involve both 'war' and terrorist incidents.

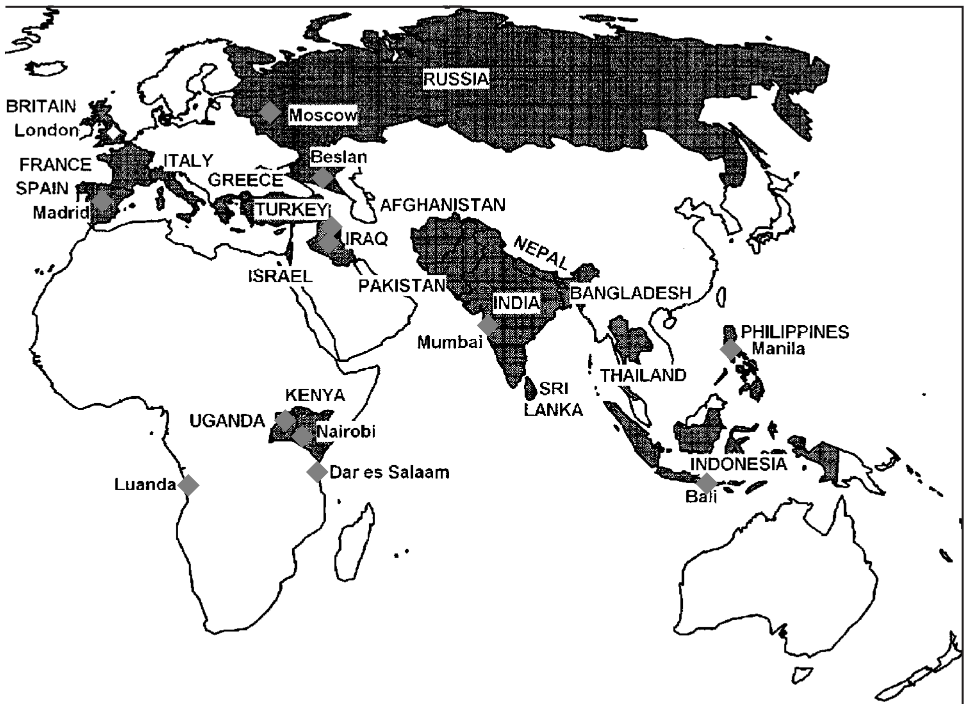
Repressive regimes suffer less terrorism than democracies because they can crush dissent more vigorously and control the movement of their people. Thus, of the states on the map, only Pakistan is clearly under military or dictatorial rule – and government control of the country is not complete there. Authoritarian governments are, however, vital supporters of terrorist groups outside their borders. Iran and Syria arm and finance Hezbollah, Hamas and other Palestinian terrorist groups, and until recently Iraq and Libya did the same; Sudan and Afghanistan hosted al-Qaeda in the 1990s; India accuses Pakistan of failing to control Pakistan-based terrorist groups responsible for bombings in India; Cuba has aided Colombian rebels. Western support for violent rebel groups or dictators has also contributed to terrorist activity; for example, the US supported Central American armies and guerrillas that killed civilians during the 1990s.

As the frequency of interstate wars has declined, armies designed to fight each other have had problems adapting to more amorphous challenges. Terrorist organizations are rarely conquered in war; 'wars on terror' mostly kill the civilians who live where terrorists



operate and are used as their 'human shields'. Combined political, popular and military pressure can encourage negotiation. Several terrorist organizations reduced or ended their activities in the 1990s and 2000s, including the Irish Republican Army, the Kurdish PKK in Turkey, and some of the Colombian paramilitaries *(72)*. Other groups – such as Hezbollah in Lebanon – increased in power, using external sources of money and arms to resist state or popular opposition.

Prevention of terrorism depends on intelligence-gathering and security measures. Apparent schemes to blow up multiple aeroplanes leaving London in 2006 and airports in



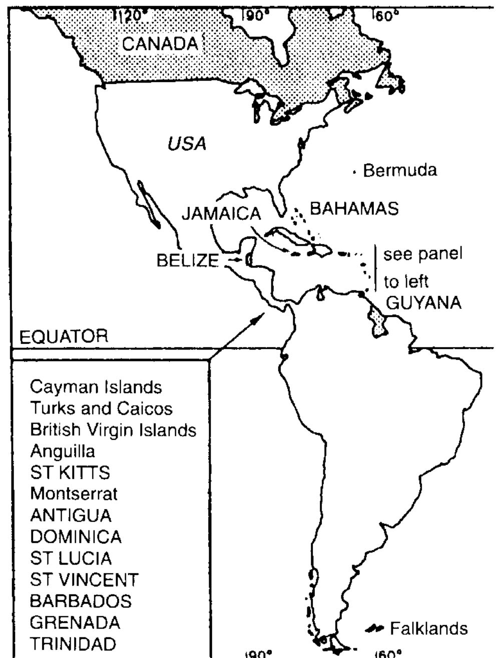
Asia in 1995 were foiled, as were planned bombings in Toronto in 2006. Though threatened by numerous terrorist groups, Israel has deterred hijackings with tight airport security and reduced the level of land-based violence through construction of border fences.

Apart from a gas attack on the Tokyo subway in 1995, terrorists have relied on conventional weapons. The September 2001 attack on the US was carried out by hijackers with knives. But the methods and materials for creating 'weapons of mass destruction' are readily available, and no means has yet been devised to scan all travellers and cargo shipments; attacks that kill thousands rather than dozens can only become more common.

9 Commonwealth

The Commonwealth consists almost entirely of countries which were once part of the British empire. (It is a voluntary association; Burma, on becoming independent, chose not to join.) The old Dominions were confirmed in their independence by the 1931 Statute of Westminster. India and Pakistan became independent in 1947. The 'decolonization' of other dependencies followed, and by 1965 the Commonwealth member states numbered 22; by 1985, 49; and, in 2006, 53.

The former Irish Free State left the Commonwealth on becoming a republic in 1949 (retaining some special privileges; for instance, Irish citizens living in Britain can still vote in British elections). South Africa left in 1961 but was readmitted in 1994; Pakistan left in 1972 but returned in 1989. Fiji's membership was suspended from 1987 to 1997, from 2000 to 2001, and again in 2006, Nigeria's in 1995–9, and Pakistan's from 1999 to 2004, in each case following the overthrow of an elected government or human rights violations. After



criticism of its presidential election in 2002 *(32)*, Zimbabwe was suspended and withdrew from the Commonwealth the following year.

Membership was not contemplated for some states, such as Sudan, which, although under British control for a time, had not been formally classed as British dependencies. On the other hand, membership was granted in 1980 to Vanuatu, formerly a British–French condominium; and in 1995 to Cameroon, the larger part of which had been under French rule. These two, and other Commonwealth states, including Canada, also joined the '*Francophonie*' association, many of whose 47 members had been French dependencies. Similarly, Mozambique, formerly a Portuguese dependency and part of the eight-member Community of Portuguese Language Countries, was admitted to the Commonwealth in 1995 'as an exceptional case'.

One very small state, Nauru *(66)*, is called a 'special member'; it does not take part in the 'summit' meetings of heads of government (prime ministers and presidents) that are normally held every two years (Tuvalu, formerly a special member, became a full member in 2000). Naturally, the smaller and poorer members have benefited most from the services of the Secretariat, the technical co-operation fund and other joint institutions; but all members have seen the advantages of remaining in a group that bridges the gap between the world's 'north' and 'south' *(2, 6)*.

Predictions that Britain's entry into the European Community in 1973 would destroy the Commonwealth proved wrong. It has been able to adapt itself to the fact that nearly all its members have also joined regional groupings and alliances. It has survived bitter disputes, and even wars, between its members.

In some of them, military rulers or one-party regimes have, at times, suppressed all opposition and flouted basic human rights. In such cases the Commonwealth, while

respecting each state's sovereignty, has tried to help restore freedom; for example, between 1990 and 2004 it sent 46 teams of observers to 26 member countries to improve the chances of elections being free and fair. The suspensions of Fiji *(66)*, Nigeria *(37)* and Zimbabwe were moves intended to encourage a return to democracy in those countries.

10 Europe: East and West

In the years 1989–91 the face of Europe was changed. This was the end of a 45-year period during which the continent had been more sharply divided into two parts than ever before (except in wartime). Eastern Europe's rulers sealed it off, depriving its inhabitants of contact with their western neighbours. Families were divided; letters were censored; western broadcasts were jammed; people who tried to escape to the west were killed.

In 1944–5, when Nazi Germany's hold on Europe was broken *(13)*, the advancing Soviet army imposed Soviet control on East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria; and in 1948 a Soviet-backed communist coup turned Czechoslovakia into one more police state. An 'iron curtain' (in Winston Churchill's words) fell across the middle of Europe. The USSR made formal alliances with its satellite states, whose armies were, in practice, already under Soviet control; in 1955 a new treaty, the Warsaw Pact, consolidated these alliances. The Soviet economic grip on the satellites was formalized by the creation in 1949 of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance ('Comecon'). The Hungarians made a bid for liberation in 1956; the Czechoslovaks tried, in 1968, to make their communist regime more tolerable; the Soviet army crushed both attempts, reimposing the 'iron curtain' *(14)*.

In western Europe (where, after 1945, some communist parties, and notably those of France and Italy, were strong), fear of Soviet domination produced in 1948 the five-member Brussels Treaty, and in 1949 the North Atlantic Treaty, which by 1982 had developed into an alliance of 16 democracies, including the United States and Canada *(11)*. Five European democracies, Austria, Finland, Ireland, Sweden and Switzerland, although 'western' in their sympathies, remained 'neutral' for special reasons, and two communist states, Yugoslavia and Albania, broke away from the 'Soviet bloc' *(15)*; but these were minor exceptions to the basic rule of east–west division in the Europe of 1945–89.

The Soviet rulers repeatedly called for all-European 'security' agreements, their main aim being to legitimize the partition of Germany and the communist hold on eastern Europe. What eventually emerged suited them less well. At Helsinki in 1975, after long negotiations in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), an agreement was signed by thirty-three European governments, and by the United States and Canada (whose participation had been reluctantly accepted by the USSR). The Helsinki text included promises that all signatories would promote freedom of movement and contact between their countries. The Soviet bloc's rulers, who had been very unwilling to make these promises, broke them brazenly, and persecuted the 'Helsinki groups' that asked them to comply. But, at the CSCE review conferences that continued until 1989, most western governments pressed for compliance, and the Helsinki message was spread among the east European peoples.

The 'iron curtain' was fraying. In 1989 it gave way. Unrest had become widespread in

eastern Europe. The new Soviet leaders were in difficulty with their own crumbling economy; their army was disheartened by ten years of failure in Afghanistan *(50)*; they did not try to reimpose hard-line regimes in eastern Europe by sheer force, as their predecessors had done in 1956 and 1968. By the end of 1990, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia had elected non-communist governments; in Bulgaria and Romania the old communist bosses had been removed; the East German state had been wiped off the map *(14)*. In 1991 the Soviet Union itself fell apart, and even in Russia the communist party lost control *(16, 17)*.

Now that Europe was no longer forcibly divided, old links were gradually restored, especially between the central European countries; but several new problems were posed. Former Soviet satellites sought admission to their western neighbours' European Union and to NATO, the North Atlantic alliance *(11, 12)*, but Russia strongly opposed enlargement of the alliance. The violent disintegration of Yugoslavia *(15)* caused concern throughout Europe – and showed that it was still difficult for Europe's governments to take united action.

The CSCE machinery was developed in 1994 into the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the membership rising to fifty-three with the admission of the new states that had emerged from the former USSR. Missions and monitoring teams from the OSCE were sent to some areas of conflict in former Yugoslav and Soviet territories; but Russian suggestions that the OSCE could take over the whole task of providing security in Europe, and that NATO could then be disbanded, found no favour with the western allies.

12 European Unities

Problems that troubled European governments in 2005 included those raised by Turkish and Balkan requests for admission to the European Union, the integration of new and potential East European members, international migration *(24)*, and the failure of the proposed EU constitution. Heated debate on these questions sometimes obscured the amount of progress already made towards European unity.

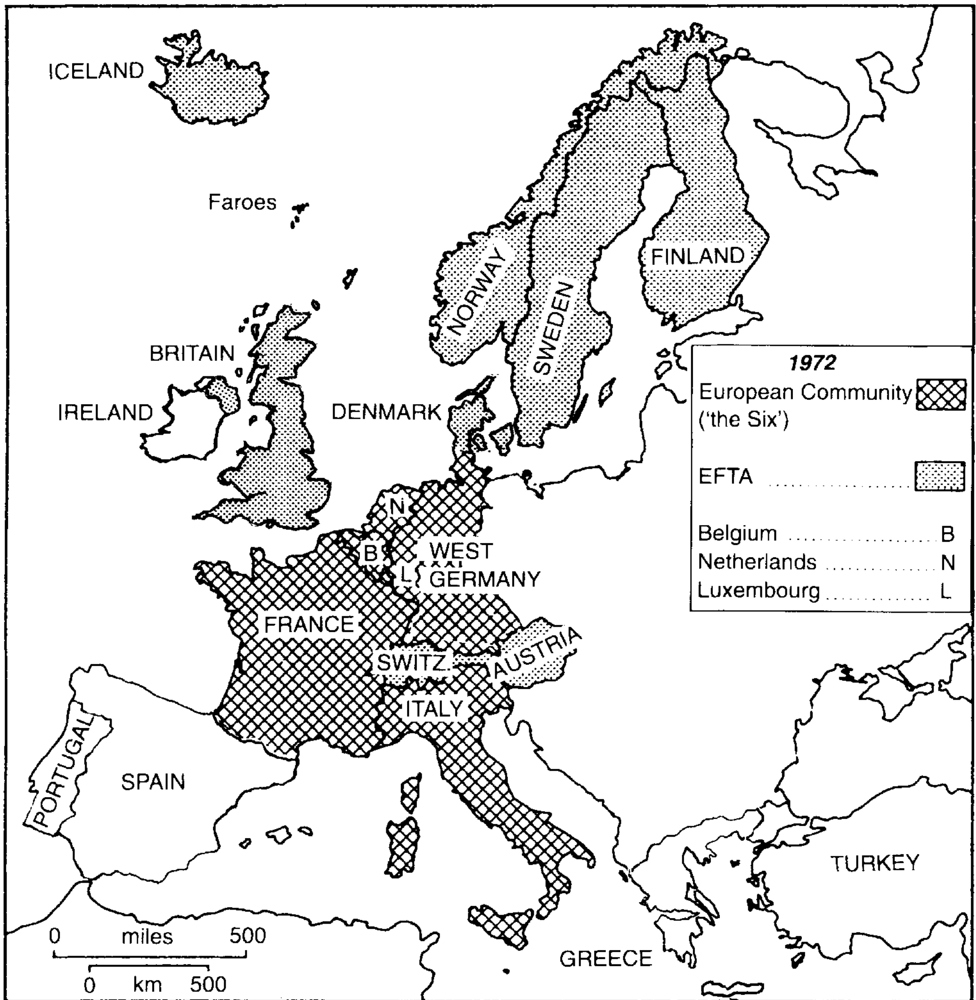
Three things had motivated that progress. After the 1939–45 war, there was a strong desire to knit European states together in such a way as to prevent a recurrence of wars between them. There was an awareness of the need to band together against the Soviet power that had engulfed eastern Europe. And Europeans came to see that, if their relatively small domestic markets and economies remained separate, they would be at a great disadvantage in competing with the Americans and the Japanese.

Habits of working together began to develop in 1947, when the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) was formed to handle the European Recovery Programme (or Marshall Plan) backed by American aid; it was succeeded in 1961 by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), a group with more members and wider aims *(2)*. In 1948, Belgium, Britain, France, Holland and Luxembourg signed the Brussels Treaty; in 1949, with other Europeans, Canada and the United States, they signed the North Atlantic Treaty; in 1955 the Brussels Treaty five, West Germany and Italy created the Western European Union (WEU) – later joined by Greece, Portugal and Spain *(11)*. From 1949 on, the democracies sent ministers and members of parliament to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg (by 2005 it had 46 members, including all European states except Belarus). The conventions it drafted included one on human rights; to adjudicate on this, the European Court of Human Rights was created.

In 1948, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg created a customs union, called 'Benelux'. During the 1950s the Benelux trio, France, West Germany and Italy, formed the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and an atomic energy community, 'Euratom'. By the 1957 Treaty of Rome, they created the European Economic Community (EEC) – the 'Common Market'. Trade among the 'Six' was duty-free by 1968.

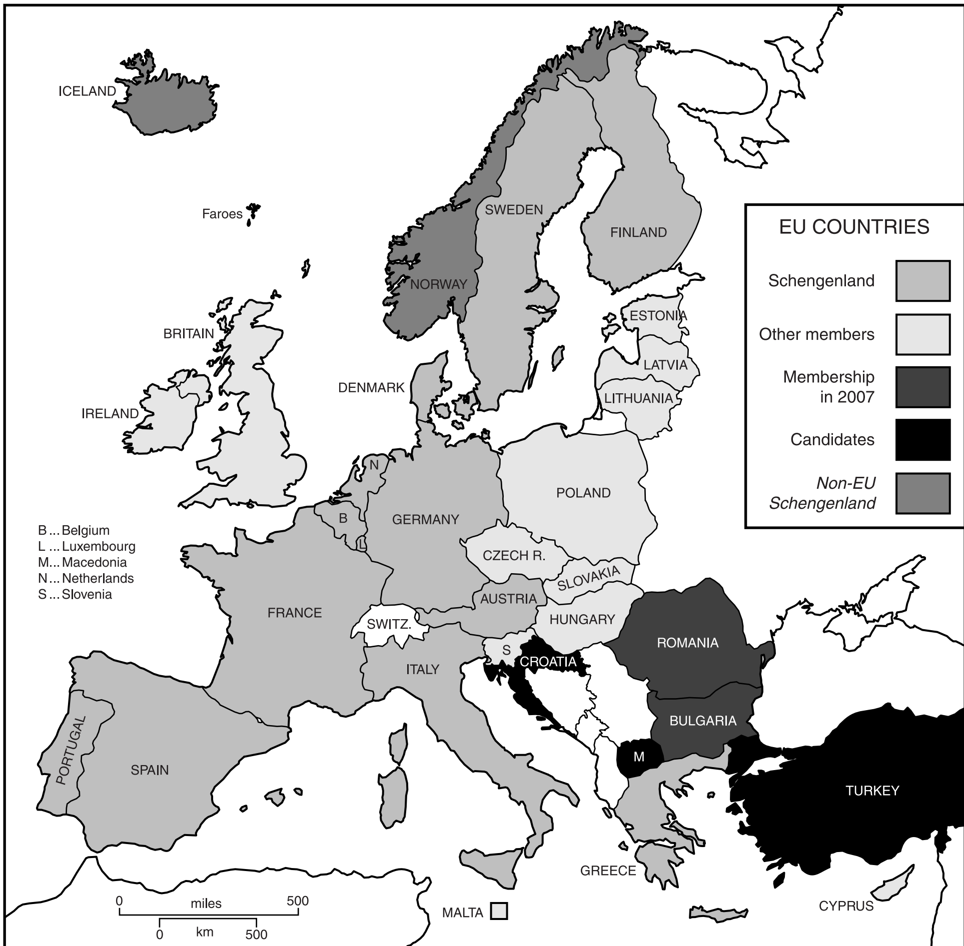
The Six agreed to merge the EEC, the ECSC and Euratom into a European Community (EC), and in 1967 they replaced the three executive bodies by a European Commission, based in Brussels. The Community shaped a common agricultural policy (CAP), promoted integration in other ways, and established a European Parliament at Strasbourg, whose powers were gradually enlarged, although final authority remained with the Council of Ministers, representing the member governments.

Britain and other countries which did not want to go as far or as fast as the Six formed the European Free Trade Association in 1960. By 1967 they had abolished tariffs on



non-farm trade between member countries. In 1973, Britain and Denmark left EFTA and joined the EC, and Ireland also joined. Greece joined the EC in 1981 and Portugal and Spain in 1986, giving it a membership of 12. The remaining EFTA countries – Austria, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland – made free-trade agreements with the EC in 1972–3. As a result, duty-free trade in industrial goods was in effect by 1984 between all 18 members of the two groupings.

In a series of conventions signed at Yaoundé in Cameroon, at Arusha in Tanzania, and at Lomé in Togo, EC aid and access to the EC market were granted to 70 African, Caribbean and Pacific states. But this was offset by the protectionist CAP, and by the massive CAP subsidizing of European farming, which led to surpluses being 'dumped' outside the Community, doing grave harm to farmers in other regions *(2)*. As a large component of an EU budget that now must cover infrastructure improvement in the new East European members, and a point of contention with the World Trade Organization, agricultural subsidies seem likely to decline in the future despite the current slow pace of reform.



In 1993 the 'European Union' emerged from the ambitious attempt to redesign the EC that had been made in the 1991 Maastricht treaty; and a 'single market', with full freedom of movement for people, capital and services as well as goods, was achieved – in principle. In 1995 the EU's membership rose to 15 when Austria, Finland and Sweden were admitted.

Iceland, Norway and Liechtenstein *(23)* became closely linked with the Union as members of the European Economic Area, established in 1994. Switzerland stayed out of both the EU and the EEA, but retained the free-trade links with the EU it had forged as a member of EFTA. There was now a 19-member free-trade zone with a population of 380 million.

After the fall of communism, the EU signed 'Europe agreements' with seven east European states and the three ex-Soviet Baltic states. Until 2004 the only ex-communist area that had gained entry was the former East Germany (whose absorption into a united Germany made the German position in the Union even more dominant than before [*13*]). In that year, eight eastern countries – the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia

and the Baltics – joined the EU, along with Cyprus and Malta. Romania and Bulgaria joined in 2007; Croatia, Macedonia and other Balkan countries are moving through the application process.

According to the 'Copenhagen criteria' of 1993, a potential member country of the EU must be a democracy with a market economy and respect for human rights, including the rights of minorities. EU members must also have agreed borders with their neighbours and be European, though what constitutes European has never been formally defined. All Balkan countries and several of the former Soviet countries are expected to seek admission eventually – but Morocco has also sought to join (though it is not a democracy), and Israel (a democracy, but without agreed borders) has considered applying. By 1996 the EU had formed a customs union with Turkey, and in 2005 Turkey (largely located in Asia) was approved as a candidate country. Discussion of the merits of admitting a secular Muslim country that would become the EU's most populous member, with borders extending to the Middle East, raised doubts as to whether Turkey will ever actually be admitted, and if so, on what terms.

In principle, the EU has aimed at enlargement. In practice, the big net contributors to its huge budget – Austria, Britain, France, Germany, Holland, Italy and Sweden – did not relish the prospect of new, low-income members with poorly managed economies lining up, with high hopes of generous handouts, alongside the existing group of big beneficiaries – Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain.

Inside the EU, strains showed between enthusiasts for integration, stubborn defenders of national sovereignty, and those who, while willing to edge towards closer union, saw danger in moving too fast. In some cases, the more cautious member states negotiated 'opt-outs'. In others, groups went ahead on their own. In 1995, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the Benelux three, under an agreement signed at Schengen in Luxembourg ten years earlier, ended (with some exceptions) the checking of passports at frontiers between them – thus creating 'Schengenland'. Since then, they have been joined by the other west European EU members except Britain and Ireland. Norway and Iceland (not EU members) are also in Schengenland, and all ten of the new EU members plus Switzerland have signed the treaty, providing for passport-free movement across most of the European continent by 2007.

A proposed constitution would have 'deepened' (further integrated) the EU by reducing the number of areas in which each member could veto policy changes without support from others, giving the EU more control over immigration policy, and establishing more clearly the primacy of EU law over national law. It was rejected by referendums in France and the Netherlands in 2005. Supporters of 'ever deeper union' continue to find little common ground with those opposing any encroachment on national sovereignty. No member has yet withdrawn from the EU, with the exception of the Danish territory of Greenland in 1985, which thereby regained control over its fisheries. (Several overseas provinces or territories of France, Spain and Portugal are part of the EU, while territories of other members have varying levels of ties with the Union.)

The EMU (Economic and Monetary Union) project, aiming at the adoption of a single currency, the 'euro', caused rifts not only between the warier members (notably Britain) and the enthusiasts, but also among the latter. Germany wanted a 'strong' euro; France, EMU's other chief sponsor, insisted on a 'weak' one; both eyed Italy and Spain nervously. It seemed that, to qualify for EMU, several governments would have to adopt unpopular economic policies, or questionable financial devices, or both. But by 1998 the exchange rates of euro-zone countries were fixed in preparation for the single currency. In 2002, the euro replaced

national currencies in Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain. It also circulates in several micro-states and parts of the former Yugoslavia.

In 2006 the economy of the EU was roughly equal in size to that of the US, but its population was half again as large. Unlike the US, most EU countries had birth rates well below the 'replacement level' – implying future population decline if immigration is not drastically increased.

26 Cyprus, Greece and Turkey

Cyprus was ruled by Turkey from 1570 to 1878, then by Britain, but three-quarters of its population (now 800,000) is Greek. When it became independent in 1960, Britain, Greece and Turkey were given the right to keep forces in Cyprus, and to intervene to maintain its constitution, which included provisions designed to protect the Turkish minority. At independence, Britain retained sovereignty over bases at Akrotiri and Dhekelia.

By 1964, Greek pogroms had driven the Turks into small enclaves (including part of the capital, Nicosia). A United Nations force was sent to forestall a Turkish invasion. The UN men kept conflicts from escalating until 1974, when the army officers then ruling Greece organized a coup in Nicosia, aiming at '*enosis*' (union of Cyprus with Greece). Turkey sent troops to occupy the north of the island; 180,000 Greeks fled to the south, 45,000 Turks to the north. In Greece the 'rule of the colonels' collapsed, and democracy was restored.

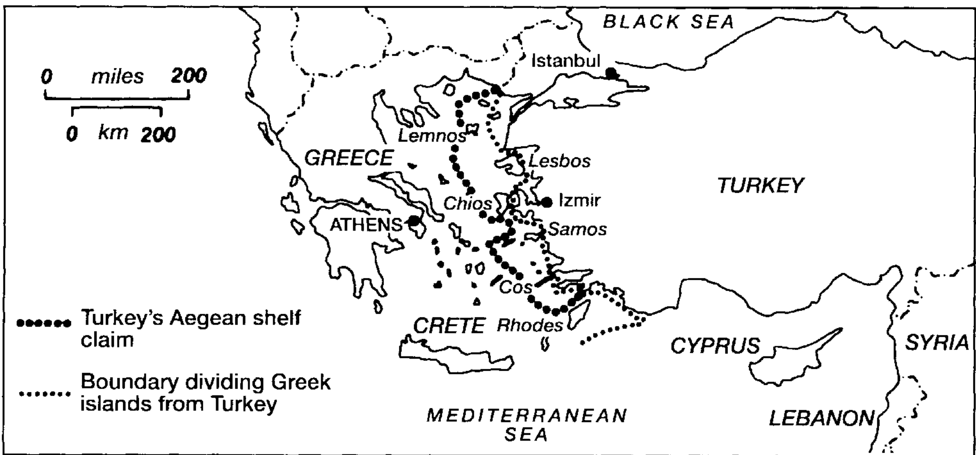
Many unsuccessful attempts at UN mediation in Cyprus were made. Turkey kept 30,000 soldiers there, and the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' – recognized only by Turkey – was proclaimed in 1983. By 1996 the UN force, reduced from 6,000 men to 1,200 (mainly Argentine and British), could not always prevent clashes between Turkish soldiers and gangs of Greeks attempting to cross the buffer zone. The Greek-Cypriot National Guard (which Greece supplied with officers) made no effort to stop such attempts.

Conflicting claims in the Aegean Sea brought Greece and Turkey close to war in 1976, 1987 and 1996. Greece rejected Turkey's claim to part of the 'continental shelf'; Turkey wanted access to some of the Aegean's oil potential, and showed that it would reject a claim to 12-mile territorial waters for the Greek islands close to Turkey's coast *(5)*.

These quarrels led Greece to veto Turkey's requests for economic links with the European Union, and to obtain an EU ban on trade with northern Cyprus. In 1995 the EU agreed to start talks about the admission of (Greek) Cyprus to the union; Greece then lifted its veto, and a customs union between Turkey and the EU states took effect in 1996.

In 2002 the EU invited Cyprus to join the EU two years later. UN-sponsored talks sought to reunify the island prior to admission, and a 2003 referendum proposed a loose federation of north and south, with some territorial transfer to the Greek side and Turkey retaining the right to station troops in Cyprus. Turkey, itself pursuing EU membership *(12)*, supported unification, as did a majority of Northern Cyprus voters. But, with EU membership assured, the Greek side soundly rejected the plan, considering that it conceded too much to Turkey.

TURKEY
45 MILES
N
Komi Kebir
Boghaz
KYRENIA (Girin)
FAMAGUSTA
Varosha
NICOSIA
Morphou
Xeros
Kokkina
DHEKELIA BASE
LARNACA
TROODOS MOUNTAINS
Troodos
Zyyi
UN buffer zone
British sovereign base areas
Paphos
Episkopi
LIMASSOL
AKROTIRI BASE
0 miles 20
0 km 20



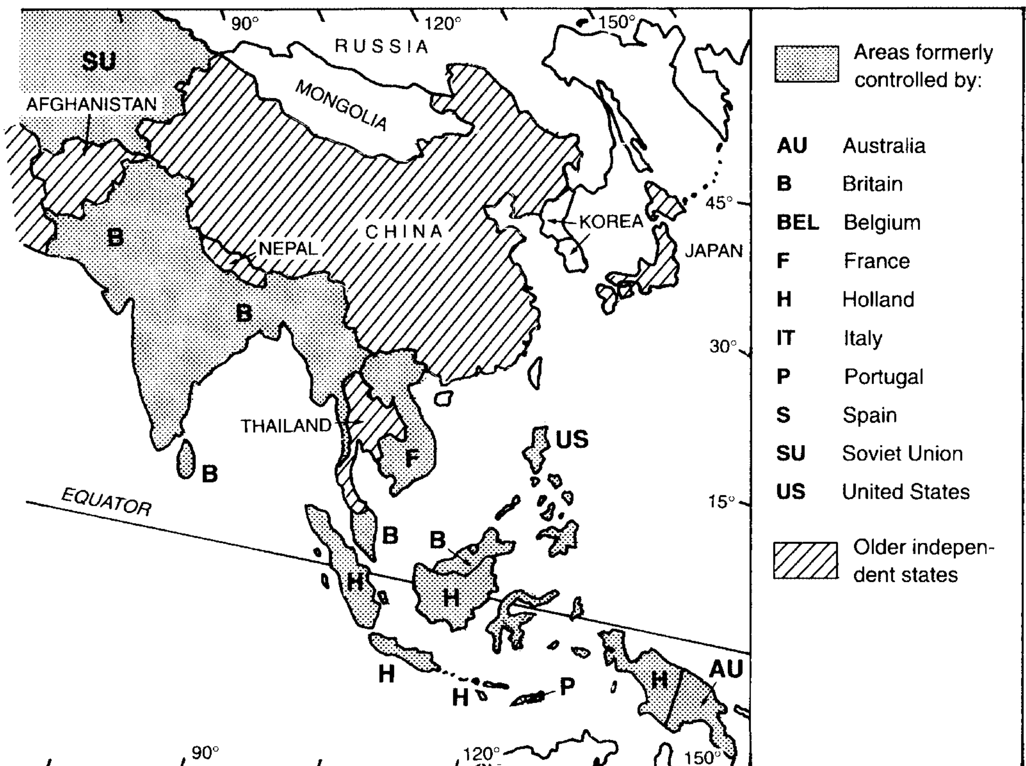
27 Asia and Africa

The map of these two continents has been transformed since 1945 by a rapid process of 'decolonization'. Before the 1939–45 war there were only a dozen sovereign states in the Afro-Asian world; now there are more than a hundred. Few vestiges remain of the colonial empires that European countries created after the first Portuguese penetration of the Indian Ocean region in the 1490s. In some places their ending followed long and bloody conflicts; but this uniquely big and swift change in the world map was also distinguished by the fact that, in most cases, the transfer of power was made by negotiation and without war.

The greater part of the transformation took place within a period of only twenty years, starting in 1946–9, when the Philippines, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia and several Middle Eastern states became independent. Portugal, the pioneer of colonization in Asia and Africa, was particularly reluctant to give up; it did not withdraw from any of its territories until after its own revolution in 1974. But since 1977, when France made Djibouti independent, the only places in Africa ruled from Europe are Ceuta and Melilla, Spain's two enclaves on the coast of Morocco *(40)*.

In Asia, only one large area was still under European control in the 1980s: the eastern part of the Soviet Union. The inhabitants of its Siberian northern regions are mainly Russian; and, although those regions are geographically Asian (they are close neighbours, on their Pacific coasts, to China, Japan and Korea), it was evident that they would remain part of Russia when the USSR broke up in 1991. To the south, in what had been Soviet Central Asia (and, earlier, Turkistan), five independent Asian states emerged; and a sixth state, Mongolia, gained an independence which it formerly had only in name *(20, 54)*.

Afro-Asian summit conferences were held at Bandung, in Java, in 1955 and at Algiers in 1965, but the second was a fiasco and no permanent grouping was formed. Instead, most of the Asian and African states joined the 'non-aligned' movement *(6)*. For many years, they could generally unite in pursuing the natural aims of such new states: primarily, to see that decolonization was completed and white-minority rule in South Africa ended. Once those aims were achieved, Afro-Asian unity became more elusive – although there remained a common interest in pressing richer 'northern' countries for more economic aid and for concessions in regard to trade.



When ‘east–west’ rivalries impinged on their regions, Asian and African states sometimes suffered, but sometimes profited, often contriving to play one side against the other. Complications faced them when China and the Soviet Union took to siding with contestants in the Afro-Asian world – China supporting Pakistan and Cambodia in their conflicts with Soviet-backed India and Vietnam. Later, when the Soviet Union and the ‘three worlds’ pattern disappeared, Asian and African states, like others, had to work out new approaches to a changed situation *(6)*.

China, as the biggest and strongest of the Afro-Asian countries (but never one of the ‘non-aligned’), has posed some special problems for them. At times, it proclaimed itself their natural leader and champion; yet it invaded India in 1962 and Vietnam in 1979, and in the early 1990s its claims to islands in the South China Sea alarmed the South-East Asian states *(53, 55, 61)*.

Chinese economic expansion *(57)* has contributed to its military strength, but China has not (yet) sought worldwide influence on the scale of the Soviet Union. Thus, a new division has emerged between countries that align themselves (formally or tacitly) with the US and its allies and those that resist US influence – without being able to count on the support of a major power.

As for Japan – whatever the map may suggest – it cannot be counted as just one of the Afro-Asian countries. Some of those countries still show a certain reserve towards Japan because they have not forgotten its misdeeds in its years of aggressive expansion before 1945. More significant today, however, is the plain fact of Japan’s status as an economic superpower with ‘western’ living standards *(2, 58)*. Inevitably, its interests and viewpoints have very little in common with those of a ‘developing’ (that is, still poor) country. As Asia’s ‘newly industrialized countries’ (NICs) *(55)* climb towards the Japanese level, it can be seen that similar gaps – in outlook as well as in income – are widening between them and the poorer Afro-Asian states *(2)*. Yet it cannot be assumed that these newly enriched countries will adopt ‘western’ attitudes in all respects. As is already being seen, Asian societies can adapt remarkably well to changing circumstances without losing their familiar characteristics.

28 Islam

The Islamic religion took shape in Arabia nearly 1,400 years ago, and it was first spread by Arab conquests. Its scriptures are in Arabic. Mecca, in Saudi Arabia, is its holiest shrine, to which vast numbers of Muslims make a pilgrimage (*haj*). But only a fifth of the world's 1.3 billion Muslims are Arabs. There are more Muslims in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh than in the Arab countries. And not all Arabs are Muslim.

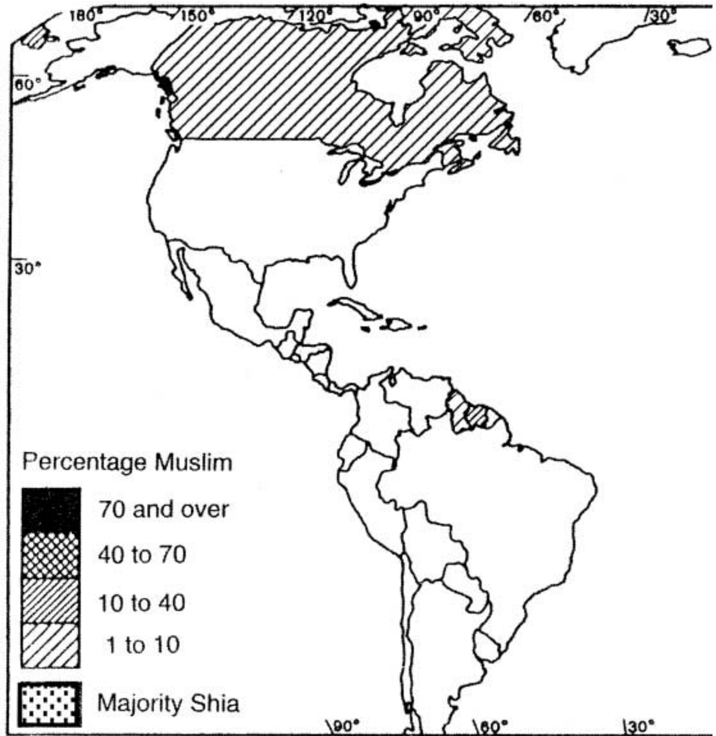
In historical perspective, the power of Islam was at its greatest height 300 years ago, when Muslim rulers controlled the Balkans, Greece, part of Russia and nearly all of India. It was in eclipse by the 1920s, after the breaking up of the old Turkish empire; there were then only five independent Muslim states. But since 1945 there has been a new increase in Islam's significance in world affairs. Many of the states that emerged from the old European empires in Asia and Africa *(27)* are peopled and ruled by Muslims; so are some of the states that have emerged from the former Soviet Union *(20)*; and several Muslim states are now major exporters of oil *(41)*.

In some Muslim countries (first and foremost, in Turkey; later, notably, in Iran) the twentieth century saw a movement towards religious toleration and a separation of religious authority from government. Now, in many places, a backlash against this secularism has brought a surge of Muslim fundamentalism; modernizing policies are branded as alien 'westernizing' ones. A dramatic example was the 1979 revolution in Iran *(47)*.

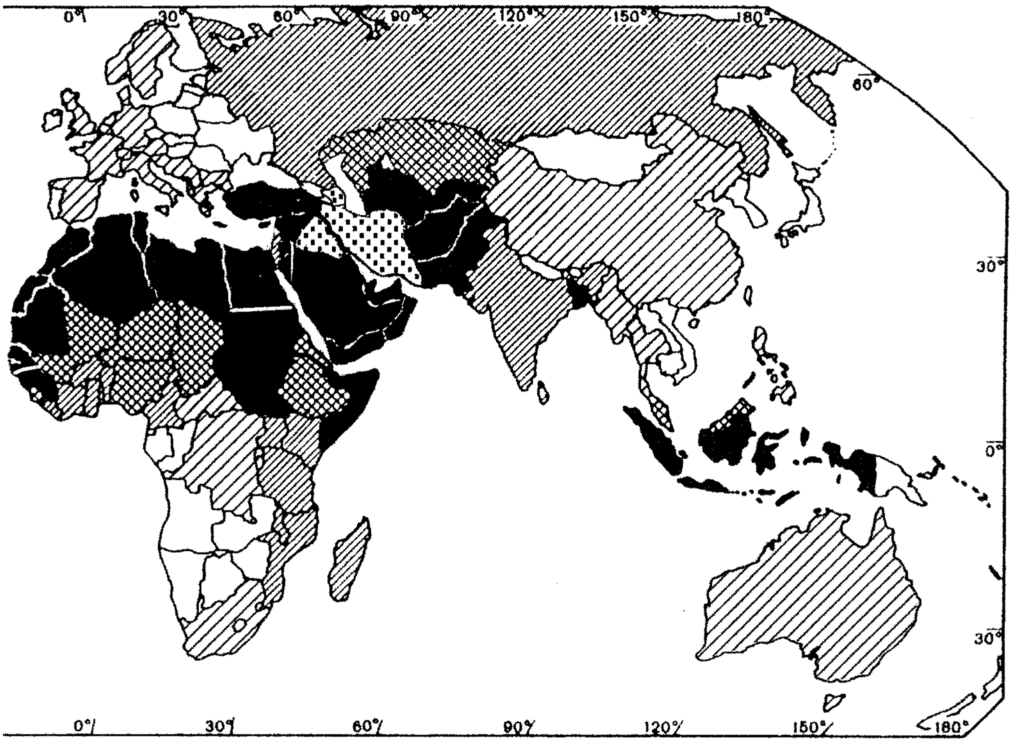
The Islamic Conference Organization (ICO), founded in 1969, had 57 members by 2001. They had been united, at least in principle, on such things as support for the Palestinian Arabs, for Afghanistan during the Soviet invasion, and for the Muslims of Bosnia *(15)*. But some members were alarmed when others – e.g. Iran, Iraq and Libya *(39)* – used Islamic appeals to disguise their ambitions.

There are sectarian divisions in Islam, as in other religions. From its earliest years the Shias (about 200 million) have been in conflict with the orthodox Sunni majority. For 500 years Iran has been the main Shia stronghold, and the mullahs who have ruled it since 1979, although posing as champions of all Islam, have exacerbated its divisions. Iran has worked hard to manipulate Lebanon's Shias and more recently those of Iraq, where Shias are in the majority. During its war with Iraq it tried, but failed, to win over the Iraqi Shias; renewed efforts followed the fall of the Sunni-led government of Saddam Hussein in 2003. Most Shias live at the heart of the Muslim world, with few east of Pakistan or west of the Red Sea.

In Britain in 1989 an author had to go into hiding when an imam in Iran, accusing him of blasphemy, told Muslims to murder him. This *fatwa* (Islamic legal ruling) against Salman Rushdie is still in force. Some Muslims living in Britain openly supported it; in other countries, two people involved in publishing Rushdie's work were killed. Iran's agents have also murdered a number of Iranian exiles in several European countries.



Neither the Iranians nor the Shias have a monopoly of modern Islamic fanaticism and fundamentalism. Libya's rulers have used fanatical assassins in Britain and many other countries. Sudan harbours Islamic extremist groups from other African countries, providing them with arms, money, and training in terrorist tactics. More than 50,000 lives have been lost in five years of conflict between Algeria's government and its fundamentalists, whose terrorism has forced most foreigners to flee the country *(39)*. Attacks on foreign visitors by Islamists in 1992–4 halved Egypt's earnings from tourism (which, however, revived in 1995 after a crackdown on extremists). A 1993 meeting of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, attended by 35 Muslim countries' ministers of religious affairs, felt obliged to denounce terrorism and extremism as 'distortions that are alien to Islam'.

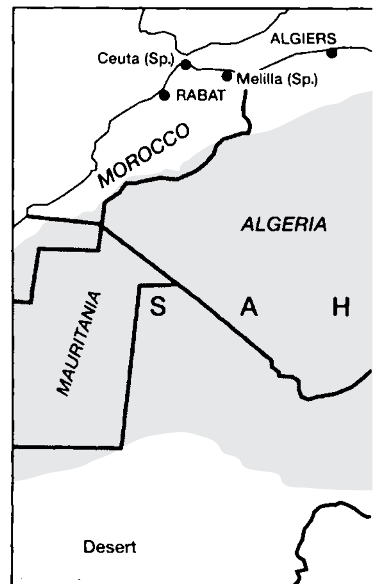


The idea of a holy war (*jihad*) against infidels is as old as Islam; but some modern rulers have twisted its meaning to suit their ambitions. Iran proclaimed that its war with Muslim Iraq from 1980 to 1988 was a *jihad*, and that its 700,000 dead were 'martyrs', killed while trying to 'liberate' Shia shrines at Karbala and other places in Iraq. In turn, Iraq claimed to be engaged in a *jihad* in the period 1990–1, when it seized Muslim Kuwait and attacked Saudi Arabia, the guardian of Mecca; but it was opposed and eventually defeated by a coalition that included forces from eight Muslim countries. In 1998, Osama bin Laden's 'World Islamic Front for Jihad against Jews and Crusaders' called on Muslims to kill Americans. Bin Laden, a Saudi, opposes the US military presence in Saudi Arabia, and his al-Qaeda organization is held responsible for several terrorist attacks *(8)*.

29 The Arab World

The Arabic language links 250 million people inhabiting a belt that runs from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. Most Arabs are Muslims (though there are large Christian communities in Egypt and Lebanon), and Mecca, Islam's holiest place, is in Arabia; politicians and rulers seeking pan-Arab support often exploit Islamic feeling. But when a sense of Arab unity has been strong it has been a reaction against alien rule – first by Turkey and then by west Europeans *(27)* – and, more recently, against the creation of the Jewish state of Israel near the centre of the Arab world. Reaction to the latter included persecution of the region's large Jewish communities, and Arabic-speaking refugees from North Africa, Iraq, Syria and Yemen formed a large part of Israel's population by 1960.

The Arab League, founded by Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen in 1945, was later joined by Algeria, Bahrain, Comoros, Djibouti, Kuwait, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Its headquarters was moved from Cairo to Tunis in 1979, when Egypt's membership was suspended, but returned to Cairo when Egypt was readmitted in 1989 *(44)*.

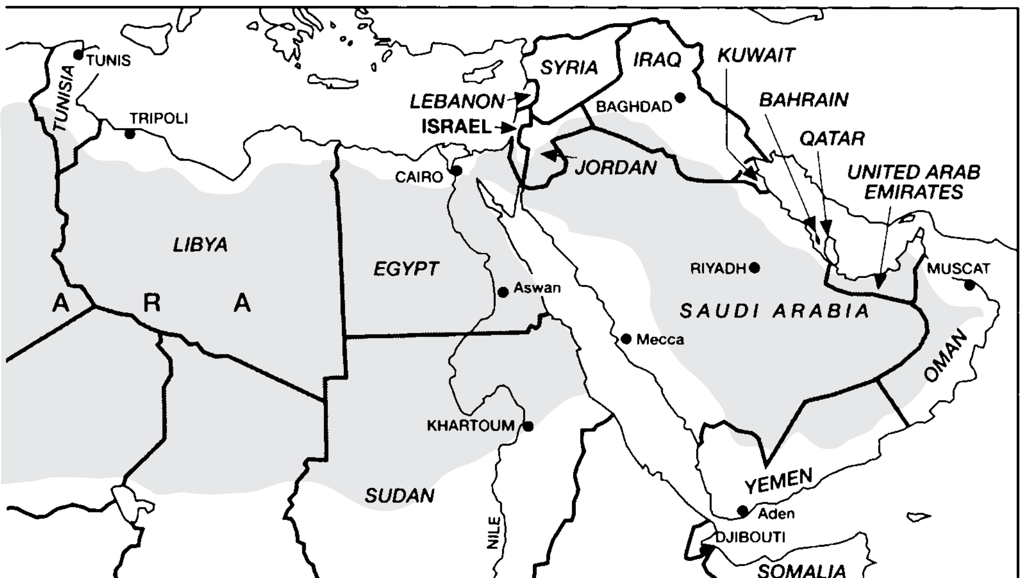


No clear line marks the Arab world's borders. The south Sudan is neither Arab nor Muslim. Djibouti and Mauritania are only partly Arab, and Somalia is not usually regarded as an Arab state. Iraq's north is peopled by Kurds *(49)*; Iran's south-west partly by Arabs *(47)*. The Berber language, which was widely spoken in North Africa before the eighth-century Arab conquest, survives in parts of Algeria and Morocco.

Seven small Gulf states formed the United Arab Emirates (UAE) in 1971–2. Yemen and the former South Yemen (Aden) were united in 1990. Other attempted mergers have failed. The United Arab Republic (UAR) formed by Egypt and Syria in 1958 was dissolved in 1961.

Sub-regional groupings have appeared. In 1981, Saudi Arabia and five small neighbours created the Gulf Co-operation Council *(47)*. In 1989 the Arab Maghreb Union was formed in North Africa. But the Arab Co-operation Council formed by Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Yemen in 1989 broke up in 1990 when Iraq invaded Kuwait; Egypt, with other Arab states, denounced Iraq and contributed troops to the line-up against it.

A shared language, and some amount of shared national feeling, has not prevented frequent quarrels. Disputes between Morocco and Algeria, Libya and Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Yemen, and Syria and Iraq have been particularly bitter. But Iraq's swoop on Kuwait was the first attempt by one Arab League member to seize and hold another one by force.



30 Africa

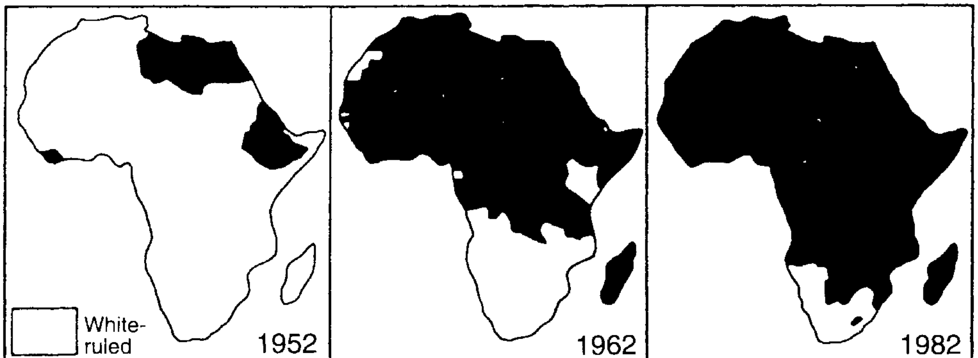
In Africa, European colonization and decolonization were both rapid *(27)*. Until the 'scramble for Africa' in the 1880s, Europeans had controlled only a few coastal strips and some areas in the extreme south and north *(34, 39)*. Then, within one century, nearly all of Africa came under European rule and re-emerged as independent states. Long guerrilla wars preceded the liberation of Algeria, Angola and Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia); but most of the other states attained independence peacefully. In 1977 it came to Djibouti, the last area ruled from Europe in 'black' or sub-Saharan Africa (that is, excluding Arab North Africa: *[39, 40]*). Rule by white minorities was ended in Zimbabwe in 1980, in Namibia in 1990, in South Africa in 1994.

Africa's deserts, dense tropical forests and lack of navigable rivers impede communications. Several hundred languages are spoken, and old tribal antagonisms have troubled many states. All except Morocco (which withdrew in 1984 when Western Sahara, under its control since 1975, was admitted as a member) are among the fifty-three members of the African Union, founded as the Organization of African Unity in 1963. As such, they usually discourage secessions and frontier changes. Although today's frontiers are mostly those that colonial powers drew – splitting or combining previously separate ethnic or linguistic communities – it is feared that failure to respect them would lead to much more fragmentation.

Recent conflicts have driven millions of Africans across frontiers and into refugee camps. In the 1980s and 1990s, droughts and civil wars combined to produce severe famine in several countries, notably Ethiopia, Mozambique, Somalia and Sudan. Government policies forcing migration or land redistribution magnified the suffering, as in Ethiopia in the 1990s and Zimbabwe since 2000.

As a whole, sub-Saharan Africa, which in the 1960s was keeping food production abreast of population growth and slowly raising its living standards, had become poorer by the 1980s, and acutely dependent on food aid from America and Europe. By then some African governments had begun to see the damage done by their own policies, which in many places had sharply discouraged the production of both food and exportable commodities. In the early 1990s there were signs of recovery in several countries where reforms had been initiated, but even after 2000 per capita GDP was still growing slowly in most African countries (it was even declining in a few), and food production per head had not improved since 1960.

To maintain a constant standard of living, a country's economy must grow as fast as its population; countries with high population growth struggle to maintain the even higher economic growth rate required to raise per capita GDP. In several African countries, the rate of population increase exceeds 3% per year – more than twice the world rate.



The burden of disease is also greater than elsewhere. Worldwide, 1% of people aged 15 to 49 are infected with HIV, the virus that causes AIDS; south of the Sahara the proportion rises to 7%, and it is above 20% in southern Africa. While not as widespread as malaria, AIDS kills adults in their working years; thus, its economic consequences are especially damaging.

Among African countries, the fastest growth rates in recent years have been found in countries recovering from wars (such as Angola and Mozambique) and where oil has been discovered (Equatorial Guinea, Chad). Democracies and other states with stable governments – Botswana (the world's largest diamond-producer), Cape Verde, Mauritius, Ghana, Uganda and a few others – have also managed consistent growth. War, famine, disease and dictators have disproportionately affected the rest.

41 Middle East and North African Oil

Oil production began in Iran (Persia) in 1912; in Iraq in the 1920s; in Saudi Arabia in 1939; in Kuwait in 1945. By the mid–1950s the Middle East was supplying three-quarters of Europe's needs. The Arab countries of North Africa then began to produce oil. By 1960 the Middle East and North African oil-exporting states – all of them Arab, except Iran – were producing 25% of world output; by 1970 they produced 40% of it. Their oil was plentiful, easily accessible (even in the offshore fields, which lie under relatively shallow water) and thus cheap to extract. Much of it came from desert areas, and it enriched formerly poor countries such as Saudi Arabia and Libya.

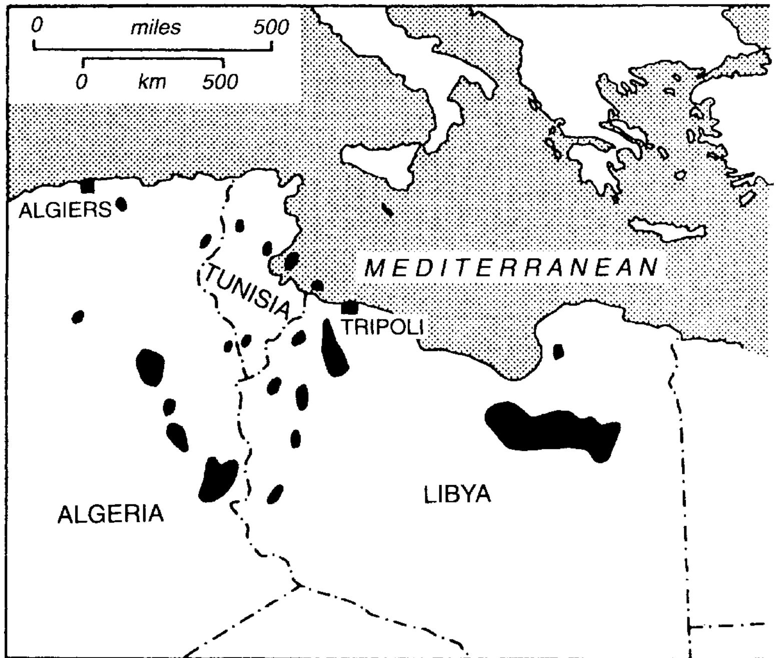
The oilfields were developed by American, British, Dutch and French companies. In 1951, Iran expropriated the British company working there and seized its refinery at Abadan. Thereafter the exporting states' governments steadily tightened their grip on the industry, increasing taxes, nationalizing companies, and creating their own state corporations.

The first pipelines built to carry Iraqi and Saudi oil to the Mediterranean were put out of action by the successive conflicts that involved Israel, Lebanon and Syria. Tanker traffic from Gulf ports to Europe through the Suez Canal was halted by the conflicts that closed the canal in 1956–7 and 1967–75 *(43, 44)*. The longer 'Cape route' round Africa had to be used, huge supertankers were built for this purpose, and the deepening and widening of the canal in 1980 did not bring all the oil traffic back to it. Meanwhile new pipelines were built: one through Egypt and one through Israel, both from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean; one from Iraq across Turkey to the Mediterranean at Ceyhan; others carrying Saudi and Iraqi oil to Yanbu on the Red Sea.

Iraq deprived itself of the ability to export oil by tanker when it invaded Iran in 1980; traffic from its terminal near Basra was promptly blocked. Its invasion of Kuwait in 1990 led to the blocking of the pipelines carrying Iraqi oil across Turkey and Saudi Arabia. Iraq's exports remained completely blocked (except for a little oil sent out by road) until 1996, when it accepted the conditions that the United Nations had set for a strictly limited resumption *(48)*. These rules remained in effect until war began again in 2003.

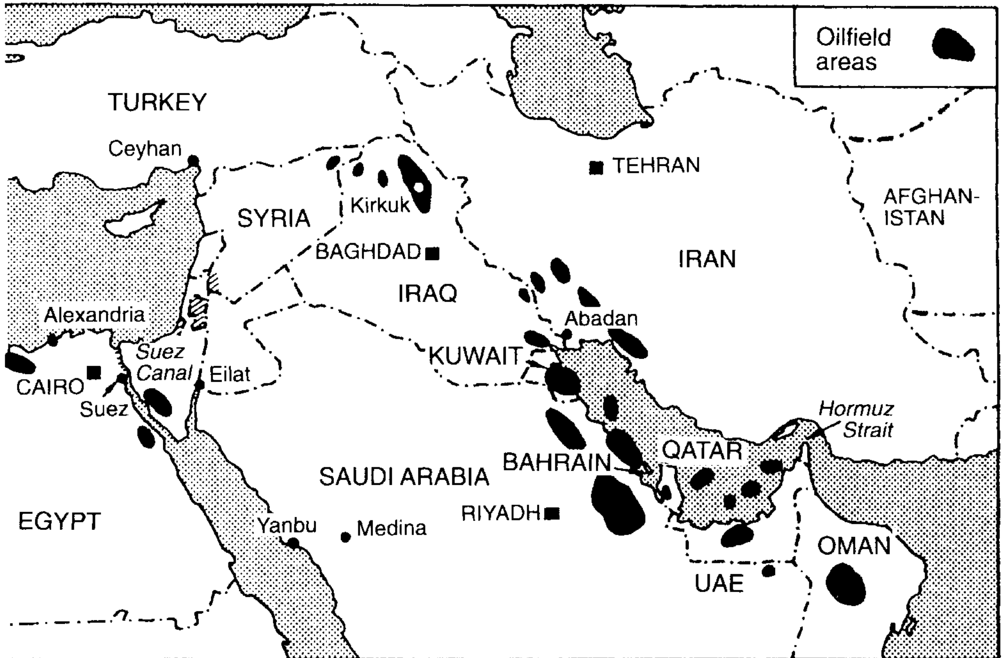
One reason for the strong international reaction to the invasion of Kuwait was that, of all known reserves of conventional oil (excluding oil sands *[3]*), about 10% are in Iraq, 10% in Kuwait and 25% in Saudi Arabia. If the Iraqis' annexation of Kuwait had been tamely accepted, they might have been emboldened to seize the adjacent Saudi oilfields, too; they would then have had control of 45% of the world's oil reserves.

For a long time the Soviet Union's proximity to the oil-rich Gulf region, with its vulnerably weak states and local conflicts, had caused recurrent anxiety in the west – particularly after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, which followed the withdrawal



of the last British forces in the region *(42)* and the upheaval that ended Iran's role as a western-armed buffer against possible Soviet southward thrusts *(47)*. But Iraq's war with Iran and invasion of Kuwait, which posed more immediate threats to the flow of Gulf oil, led westerners to regard the USSR, in its last few years, as potentially helpful in preserving the region's stability.

In the early 2000s about one-third of world oil output was coming from the Middle East and North Africa. Saudi Arabia was much the biggest producer in OPEC *(3)*. Europe's formerly acute dependence on the Middle East for fuel had been somewhat reduced by



developments elsewhere – including the exploitation of North Sea oil and gas *(22)* and the piping of gas to Europe from Russia *(77)*. Japan and China, however, had become massive consumers of Gulf oil, which was also providing a quarter of American imports. The world had repeatedly seen how its whole economy could be drastically affected by disturbances in the region *(3)*; and there was good reason for continuing international concern about a region that contained two-thirds of all the reserves of oil that were then known. Rapid economic growth in oil-poor China and India promised to squeeze supplies further, despite more efficient use of energy in wealthier importing countries since the 1970s.

42 Suez and Indian Ocean

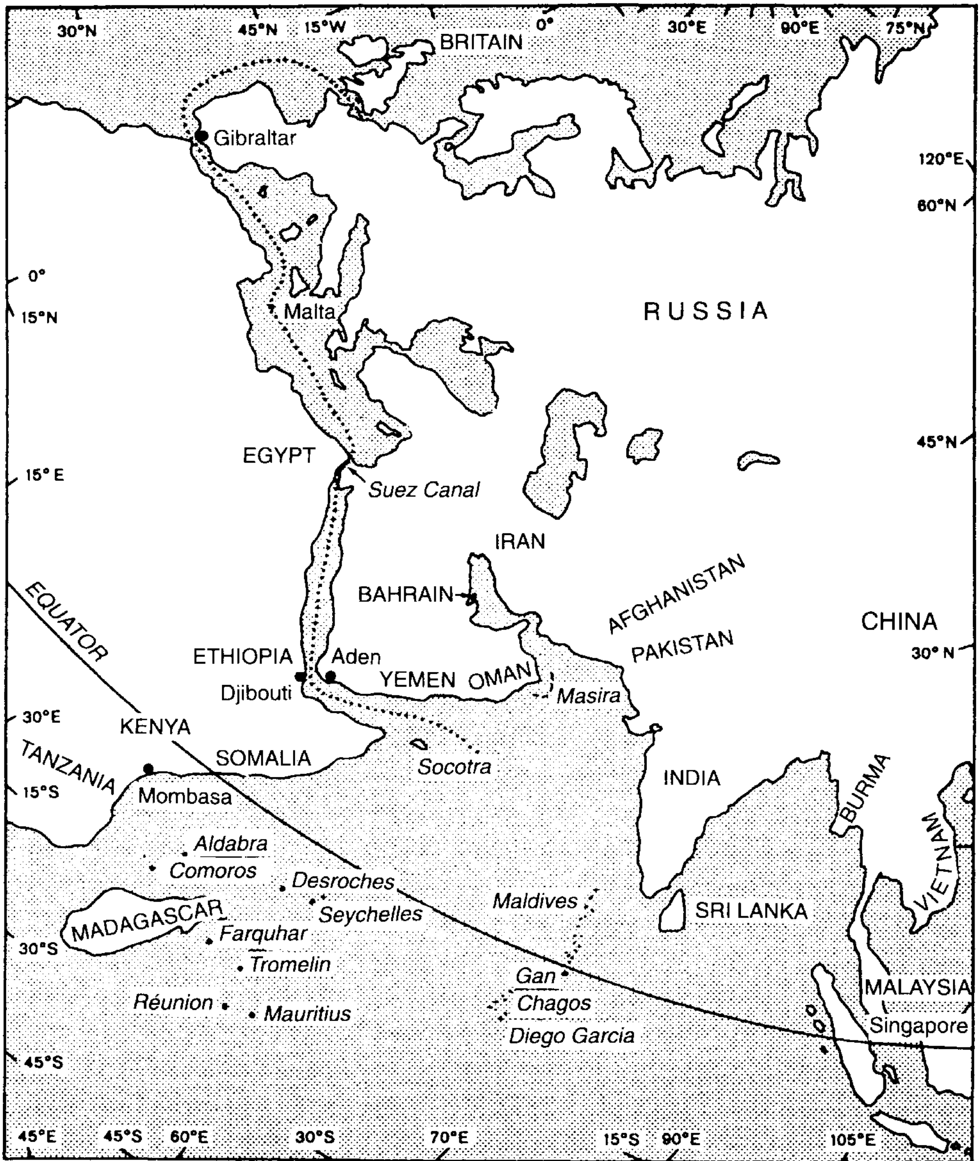
The Suez Canal was built in the 1860s by a French-based international company, by agreement with the rulers of Egypt and of the Turkish empire. In 1882 the British occupied Egypt, completing a strategic chain in which the main links were Gibraltar, Malta, the Suez Canal and Aden. The Suez route became Britain's imperial lifeline to its possessions in the east, which at one time included India, Burma, Malaya, Australia, New Zealand, much of East Africa and many of the Indian Ocean islands. Later, Britain became dependent for three-quarters of its oil supplies on tankers from the Middle East passing through the canal *(41)*; its own North Sea oilfields were not fully developed until the end of the 1970s.

Under a 1936 treaty with Egypt, British forces withdrew from most of the country but remained in the canal zone. In the 1939–45 war, when British and Commonwealth forces repelled German and Italian attempts to seize the canal and reach the Indian Ocean, the canal zone became a major British base. This base was evacuated, at Egypt's demand, a few months before the 1956 Suez conflict *(43)*.

Meanwhile the British relinquishment of empire had begun with the achievement of independence by India and Pakistan in 1947. 'East of Suez', the process had almost been completed by 1968, when Britain announced plans to remove its remaining forces from the small Gulf states and Singapore by 1971 *(47, 63)*. Among the Indian Ocean islands, Britain gave independence to the Maldives in 1965, to Mauritius in 1968 and to Seychelles in 1976 (when the islands of Aldabra, Desroches and Farquhar were transferred to Seychelles control).

With the era of British predominance in the Indian Ocean thus ended, the Suez Canal lost much of its strategic importance. However, the new situation in the region carried echoes of the nineteenth-century period when the British saw Russia's conquest of central Asia *(54)* as a threat to their Indian empire, and feared that Russia might reach the Indian Ocean by way of Iran (Persia). Tsarist Russia had been deterred from trying to take control of Afghanistan; the Soviet Union was not. When its attempts in the 1970s to manipulate a client regime there failed, it sent in an army which waged a ten-year war. A million Afghans were killed, and more than 5 million fled from their devastated country into Iran and Pakistan.

Continuing Afghan resistance forced the USSR to withdraw its army in 1989; but in the previous two decades it had established itself in the Indian Ocean as a naval power, acquiring bases for its fleet in Vietnam, at Aden in South Yemen, in Somalia, and later in Eritrea, then part of Ethiopia. Largely because of this new extension of Soviet naval power, the Americans took to maintaining a similar presence in the Indian Ocean. One of their moves was the building of an airfield on Diego Garcia, in the Chagos group – officially, since 1965, the British Indian Ocean Territory. This last-remaining British dependency in the



region presented its own problems. Before the airfield was built, 1,400 people of Mauritian origin, who had come to Diego Garcia as plantation workers, were evacuated to Mauritius; in 1982, Britain agreed to pay compensation to these '*Ilois*'; meanwhile Mauritius made a claim to the whole Chagos group.

Réunion remained an overseas *département* of France, which also had base facilities at Djibouti *(35)*. France had granted independence to Madagascar in 1960 and to the Comoros in 1975, but the people of one of the Comoro islands, Mayotte, had insisted on remaining under French protection.

The Indian Ocean's small island states did not always preserve the image of a tranquil

tropical paradise. In Seychelles the regime installed by a coup in 1977 survived later attempts at countercoups by calling troops from Tanzania to its aid. In 1988, India sent troops to help the Maldives fight off an attempted coup in which mercenaries from Sri Lanka were employed. In 1989 a French force removed a band of French and Belgian mercenaries who had made themselves masters of the Comoros; in 1995, France had to act again to prevent a repetition of this. In 1997 two of the three main islands, Anjouan and Mohéli, declared independence from the government on the third, Grande Comore; an agreement on greater autonomy for each island reunited the country four years later.

The islands of the Maldives were hard hit by the Asian tsunami of 2004 *(64)*. With a maximum elevation of 8 feet above sea level, they are particularly vulnerable to the effects of global warming; even a small sea-level rise would force evacuation of many islands.

The 1980–8 war between Iraq and Iran, which led to attacks on Gulf oil shipping, and Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 *(48)* turned the major powers' minds towards co-operation in the region, instead of confrontation. Soviet warships joined American and British in protecting tankers against Iranian attacks; Soviet votes at the United Nations backed the ousting of Iraq's forces from Kuwait by the Americans and their allies. Then the breakup of the USSR meant that the early 1990s saw an Indian Ocean in which there was no longer a Soviet naval presence. But wars and other conflicts were enough to keep US naval and air forces in the region; both Iraq (through 2003) and Afghanistan (2001) were bombed by planes based at Diego Garcia.

43 Israel and Arabs I

In an area formerly part of the Turkish empire, Syria and Lebanon were taken over by France, and Palestine and Transjordan by Britain, after the 1914–18 war – under League of Nations mandates. The Palestine mandate provided for the creation of a modern Jewish 'national home' in the biblical homeland, without prejudice to other communities' rights – a difficult aim. Since the 1890s the Zionist movement had promoted Jewish settlement in Palestine. The persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany increased their migration – though Britain refused to allow free entry of Jewish refugees – and the Arabs began to attack their settlements. The Nazis' massacre of millions of Jews during the 1939–45 war brought Zionism wider support, particularly in America; Holocaust survivors struggled to reach Palestine; the British, unable to stop Arab–Jewish fighting, took the problem to the United Nations.

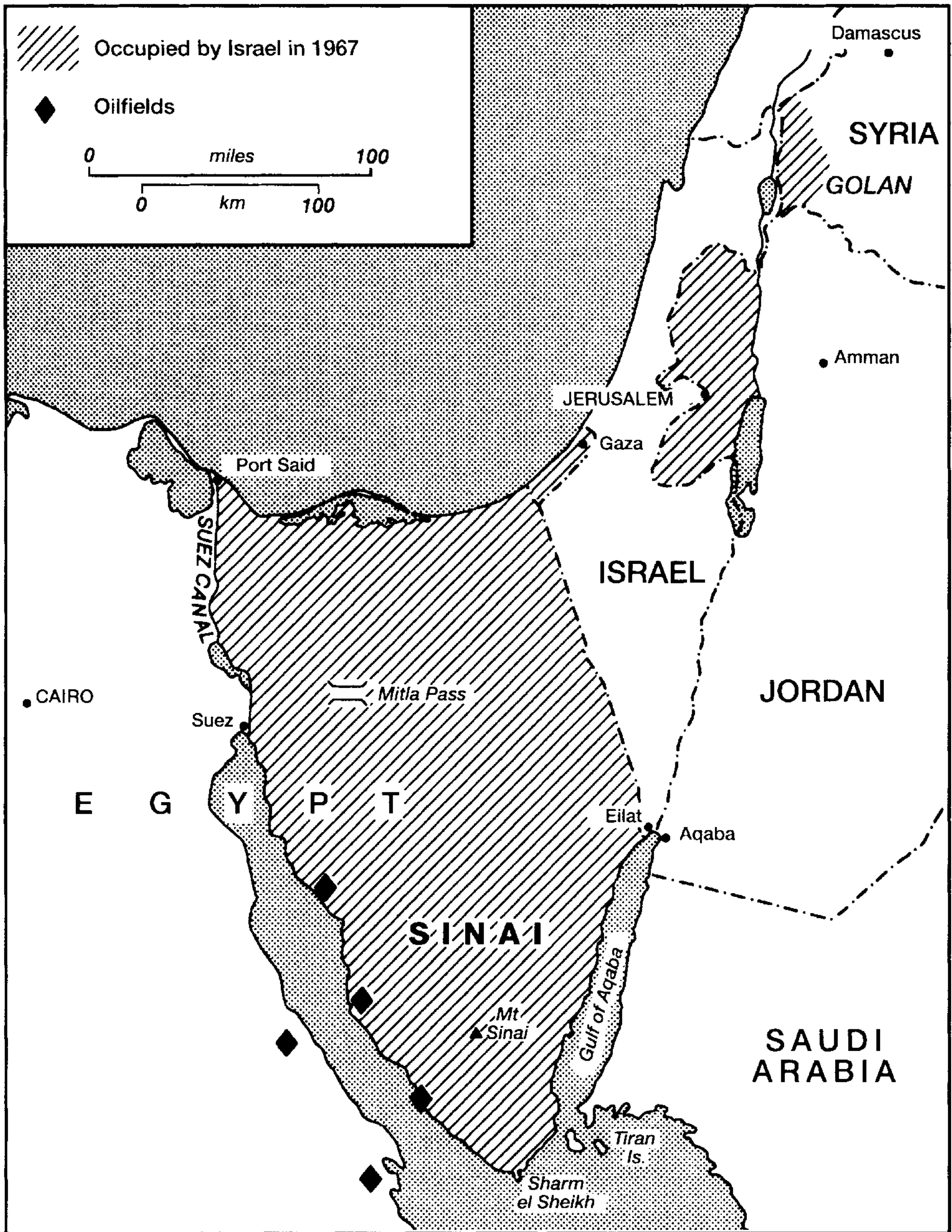
British Palestine at first included what is today Israel (including much of the Golan Heights), Jordan, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. In the early 1920s, Britain gave the Golan region to France and designated the region east of the Jordan river as the new territory of Transjordan; what remained retained the name Palestine. In 1947 the UN approved a plan to partition this area (a quarter of the original mandate, then containing about 600,000 Jews, 1,100,000 Muslim Arabs and 150,000 mainly Arab Christians); the Arabs rejected this plan. In 1948 the British left. The Jews proclaimed their state of Israel; it was attacked by all the neighbouring Arab states and Iraq, which undertook to destroy it.

After the Israelis managed to push back the invaders, UN mediation secured armistices in 1949. Egypt kept a hold on Gaza. Transjordan (independent since 1946) annexed the 'West Bank' areas of Judaea and Samaria and half of Jerusalem, renaming itself Jordan. About 700,000 Arabs from the area that was now Israel became refugees in Gaza, Jordan and Lebanon; about 700,000 Jewish refugees from Arab countries came to Israel in its first years. The Arab governments refused to make peace, or recognize Israel, or let its ships use the Suez Canal or the Gulf of Aqaba. On the frontiers, Arab raids and Israeli counterattacks continued.

In 1956, Egypt's expropriation of the Suez Canal Company set off an international crisis. In October, Egypt, Syria and Jordan formed a new alliance against Israel. Israel then attacked and defeated Egypt's army in Sinai. The British and French governments pressed Egypt to let them take control of the canal; their declared aim was only to protect shipping, but they wanted to strike a blow at Egypt, which had been working against them all over the Arab world. The extent of their collusion with Israel became clear later. When Egypt rejected their demands, they destroyed its air force and then captured Port Said. The UN called for British, French and Israeli withdrawals (these were completed by April 1957) and approved the sending of an emergency force (UNEF), which policed the Egypt–Israel

1946
Latakia
Hama
Homs
LEBANON
BEIRUT
Damascus
SYRIA
Haifa
PALESTINE
Jordan
Tel Aviv
Amman
JERUSALEM
Gaza
Dead Sea
TRANSJORDAN
EGYPT
Aqaba
0 miles 50
0 km 50

1950
BEIRUT
LEBANON
Haifa
Nablus
JORDAN
Tel Aviv
Jaffa
Jericho
JERUSALEM
Hebron
Gaza
Beersheba
Dimona
ISRAEL
Negev Desert
EGYPT
Eilat
Aqaba
0 miles 50
0 km 50



border for ten years. Israeli ships could now use the Gulf of Aqaba; UNEF maintained a post at Sharm el-Sheikh.

In May 1967, Egypt moved its army up to the Israeli border, demanded the removal of UNEF and announced a new blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba. Israel's appeals to the UN brought it no reassurance, and in June it attacked Egypt, Jordan and Syria. In this 'Six-Day

War' Israel captured the West Bank, Gaza and all of Sinai, and the Golan heights, from which Syria had shelled the Galilee lowlands.

The Suez Canal was now a 'front line', closed to all traffic, but the Gulf of Aqaba was again open to Israeli ships. Israel had acquired better defence lines than before 1967 (when even Tel Aviv was within range of shellfire from Jordan); but it had also acquired large Arab populations in its 'occupied territories'. With all of Palestine in Israeli hands, the Palestinian Arabs developed a new resistance. Rival groups combined to form the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) – although various Arab states still backed various groups, and terrorist acts in western countries offset the PLO's efforts to win international sympathy.

In 1970 the PLO forces in Jordan challenged its government, were defeated, and withdrew to Lebanon. From then on it was Israel's northernmost areas that were most persistently attacked.

In October 1973, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel while it was observing the annual Yom Kippur rites. The Syrians were soon defeated, and the Israelis advanced to within 25 miles of Damascus. The Egyptians had crossed the Suez Canal, but a counterattacking Israeli force, crossing the canal near Ismailia, turned south and encircled an Egyptian army east of Suez town. This 'Yom Kippur War' aroused fears of a direct American–Soviet confrontation. Arab states cut oil deliveries, setting off an 'oil shock' that affected the whole world economy *(3)*.

The UN obtained ceasefires, and sent a second UNEF to Sinai and another force to man an Israeli–Syrian buffer zone. Israeli withdrawals in 1974–5 released the trapped Egyptian army and permitted Egypt to occupy both banks of the canal (which was reopened in 1975 after eight years' closure), with UNEF-2 manning a buffer zone in Sinai. Egypt, disenchanted by the ineffectiveness of the Soviet arms aid it had received, became increasingly ready to talk about peace. In 1977, President Anwar Sadat made a dramatic visit to Israel and started a series of talks.

44 Israel and Arabs II

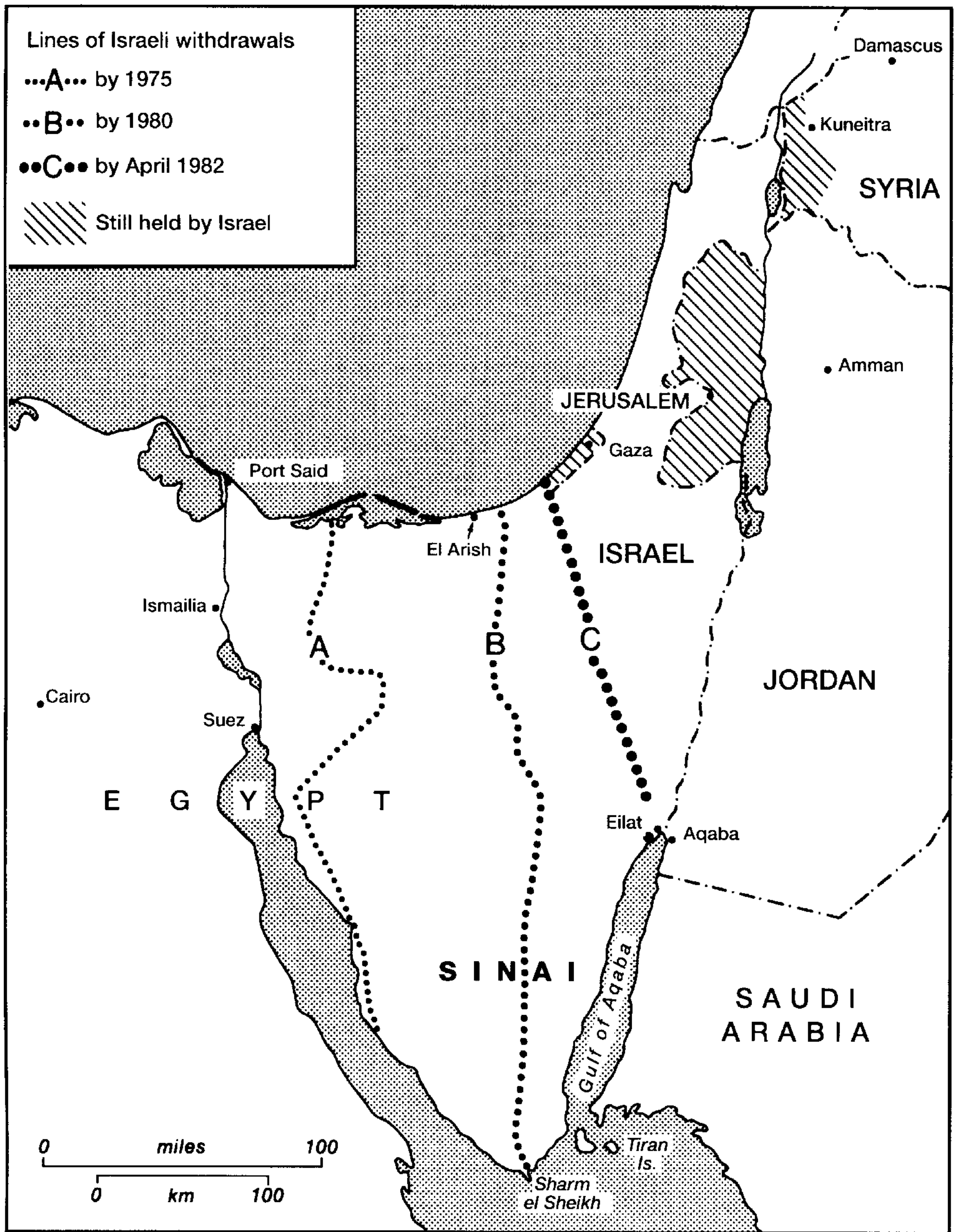
In 1978 the Egyptian and Israeli leaders met as President Carter's guests at Camp David, the rural presidential retreat north-west of Washington. In 1979 they signed a peace treaty based on the 'Camp David agreements'. The benefits it brought Egypt included large amounts of American aid as well as the recovery of Sinai. Israel, for the first time in its existence, was at peace with one of its immediate neighbours.

Resenting the peace treaty, other Arab governments broke off relations with Egypt (but most of them had restored relations by 1987). The Arab League suspended Egypt's membership (but readmitted it in 1989). The Soviet Union (which, after hailing Israel's birth in 1948, had goaded on its enemies in 1967 and 1973) also voiced its anger. Egypt withstood the pressure; Sadat was murdered by extremists in 1981, but the treaty held. Israel handed back the greater part of Sinai in 1980, and completed its withdrawal by 1982. A Soviet veto forced the removal of UNEF-2, but an American-organized substitute, the 'multinational force and observers' (MFO), was installed in 1982 along the Egypt–Israel border and the Gulf of Aqaba.

The Israel–Egypt treaty provided for negotiations about giving the 'occupied territories' autonomy, but these became deadlocked. Meanwhile Israeli settlements in the West Bank multiplied. In 1975, 3,000 Jews lived there; by 1985, 45,000; by 1995, 145,000 (and east Jerusalem, solidly Arab in 1967 because Jordan had excluded Jews from the territory under its control, became half Jewish). Some settlers were devoted to the idea that Israel should embrace all of Palestine. In 1987 the Arabs' frustration broke out in an *intifada* ('uprising'), a campaign of sniping, stone-throwing and arson which led to new repressive measures.

The PLO leadership had been recognized by many Arab and other governments as, in effect, a government-in-exile. For years, its statements about wishing to live in peace with Israel were ambiguous, yet went too far to suit the terrorist groups encouraged, in some cases virtually owned, by Iran, Iraq, Libya or Syria. In 1990, when the PLO leaders praised Iraq's aggression against Kuwait, they thereby broke with both Egypt and Syria, and so angered Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states that 600,000 Palestinians who were living there were forced to leave.

In late 1991 the Americans (their hand strengthened both by their expulsion of Iraq from Kuwait and by the eclipse of the Soviet Union) got Israeli–Arab bilateral contacts going. Despite many setbacks, they kept up the pressure. Jordan – which had already renounced its claims to the West Bank – was induced to end its state of war with Israel, and then to sign a peace treaty, in 1994. Israel and Syria were deadlocked; Syria wanted to have the whole Golan region handed back in one piece, and rejected any conditions, compromises or phasing; and while this deadlock lasted, there could be no agreement between Israel and



Lebanon, as any Lebanese move needed Syria's approval *(45)*. Negotiation with Syria ended in 2000.

Israeli–Palestinian deals were thrashed out in 1993 at Oslo and in 1995 at Taba, an Egyptian Red Sea resort; each was later solemnized in Washington. The PLO recognized Israel; Israel recognized the PLO as representative of the Palestinian Arabs. As a first move towards Palestinian self-government, control of Gaza and Jericho was transferred in

1994. By 1996 the Israelis had handed over other West Bank cities – Bethlehem, Hebron, Jenin, Nablus, Qalqiliya, Ramallah and Tulkarm – and most of the small towns and villages (Hebron, where an Israeli settlement lay in the heart of the Arab city, presented special problems); and a Palestinian Council had been elected, with a *rais* (chief or president) – the PLO leader, Yasser Arafat. The Oslo and Taba agreements envisioned the negotiation of a 'permanent status' pact by 1999; this was not achieved, but subsequent talks at the Wye River Plantation east of Washington and Sharm el-Sheikh (another Egyptian resort) led to the PA controlling or partly controlling about 40% of the West Bank by 2000.

Both sides' extremists tried to disrupt these deals. Denouncing Arafat as a traitor, Hamas, an Islamist group, stepped up terrorist action. In 1995 a Jewish fanatic murdered Israel's prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin; the 1996 election gave Israel a more hardline government.

The Palestinian Authority (PA) government, under the control of Arafat, did not prevent terrorism against Israel. Attacks increased with the 'second *intifada*' that began in 2000 after Israeli foreign minister Ariel Sharon visited the Temple Mount in Jerusalem (location of the ancient Jewish Temple and currently home to important mosques). In 2002, Israel intercepted a ship carrying arms to the Palestinian Authority in violation of the Taba agreement. From 2000 to 2005, hundreds of bombings, shootings and rocket attacks were carried out by members of Hamas, Islamic Jihad, Fatah (part of the PLO) and other terrorist groups, of which the more than 100 'suicide bomber' attacks were particularly deadly.

In retaliation, Israel assassinated numerous leaders of terrorist organizations, but neither military action nor intermittent talks and international pressure succeeded in diminishing terrorist activity. In 2003, Israel began building a 'security fence', a barrier running approximately along the 'Green Line' but incorporating several small areas of dense Israeli settlement in the West Bank (there was already a fence around Gaza). This proved highly effective at preventing the entry of terrorists – the number of incidents declined sharply after a peak in 2002 – if inconvenient for travel and the Palestinian economy.

Starting in 2002, the 'Quartet' of the US, the EU, Russia and the UN sought to restart negotiations with a 'roadmap to peace' that proposed the creation of an independent Palestinian state by 2005, conditional on an end to Palestinian terrorism against Israelis. This was not forthcoming. Yasser Arafat died in 2004, and was replaced by another member of his Fatah organization; but a parliamentary election in early 2006 was won by Hamas. This was seen as a reaction to the corruption of the Palestinian Authority under Fatah; Arafat himself was revealed to have transferred hundreds of millions of dollars to secret bank accounts. The Quartet called on Hamas to renounce terrorism, recognize Israel and accept the peace process, but Hamas refused, and found itself isolated internationally. The US, Canada and the EU cut the flow of aid, bringing the PA government close to collapse.

In 2000, Israel began a series of steps towards 'disengagement' from some of the areas it had held since the 1967 war and the Lebanon invasion by pulling out of its southern Lebanon buffer zone. Its unilateral efforts to withdraw to secure borders and reduce vulnerability to terrorism increased – unexpectedly – after Ariel Sharon (a right-wing former army general) was elected prime minister in 2001. The security fence was planned to separate Israel and the West Bank; and, in 2005, Israel pulled its soldiers and all 8,000 settlers out of Gaza, turning the territory over to the PA. Several small West Bank settlements were evacuated at the same time, as a first step towards a larger disengagement. However, continued rocket fire and other terrorist activity from Hamas (based in Gaza) and Hezbollah (based in Lebanon *[45]*) led to Israeli attacks on both areas in 2006 and made the new Israeli government reluctant to transfer more territory without better security guarantees.

The years after Oslo saw a greater willingness by Arab states to accept – if not officially recognize – Israel's right to exist. Besides its formal diplomatic relations with Egypt and Jordan, formal ties were arranged with Mauritania in 1999 and trading relationships were established with Oman, Qatar, Tunisia and Morocco in 1994–6 (all but Qatar suspended these ties after the beginning of the 'second *intifada*' in 2000).

In 2006 there were 1.4 million Arabs in Israel, about a million in Gaza and at least 1.5 million in the West Bank. (Thus, in the whole area that had been Palestine in 1947, there

were three times as many Arabs as there had been in 1947.) In Jordan there were more than 2 million Arabs of Palestinian origin, so that only by renouncing its claim to the West Bank could Jordan avoid a large Palestinian majority; in other Arab countries there were a million or more, and in other parts of the world half a million.

There were about 5.4 million Jews in Israel, including a million who had come from the former Soviet territories since 1989 and 200,000 in settlements in the West Bank. Of the world total of about 14 million Jews, 6 million were in the United States and more than a million in the EU, and there were large communities in the former Soviet Union, Latin America, Canada, Australia and South Africa.

47 Gulf States and Iran

Now that Persia is called Iran, what used to be known as the Persian Gulf is often just called 'the Gulf'. (Confusingly, 'Gulf', in oil-industry jargon, sometimes refers to the Gulf of Mexico.)

Saudi Arabia has been called a Gulf state, although its Red Sea coast is longer; so has Oman, which is outside the Gulf, except for a small enclave at the Hormuz Strait. But, strictly, the 'Gulf states' are four small ones: *Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar* and the *United Arab Emirates* (UAE). All were formerly under British protection by treaty, as was Oman.

Kuwait became fully independent in 1961; the other three in 1971. The UAE had been formed by Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Umm al Qaiwain, Ras al Khaimah and Fujairah. These seven sheikhdoms were formerly known as the Trucial States, or Trucial Oman; in 1853 they had signed a 'Perpetual Maritime Truce' with Britain.

In 1952, Britain was involved, as the protecting power of Oman and Abu Dhabi, when Saudi Arabia claimed and occupied the Buraimi oasis area on the border between those two states; after long wrangling, the Saudis withdrew in 1955. Between Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, until 1966, there was a 'neutral zone' which they jointly controlled; they then divided the area, but continued to share the oil revenues from it. An old territorial dispute between Bahrain and Qatar over the Hawar islets was settled in 2001, but parts of the borders between Saudi Arabia and its neighbours remained uncertain.

Elected or partly elected parliaments with quite limited powers have been allowed or approved in most Gulf states, but nowhere has the monarch ceded real authority. In some cases women have been allowed to vote.

The four Gulf states joined Saudi Arabia and Oman in forming the Gulf Co-operation Council in 1981. All six GCC states had been enriched by the oil price rises of the 1970s *(3, 41)*. With the oil boom, immigrants flooded in; these included many Palestinian Arabs, but the majority came from southern Asia. On the Gulf's Arab side there are small Iranian communities, and larger ones of Shia Arabs; Iran's influence on them has, at times, troubled the GCC states' Sunni rulers *(28)*.

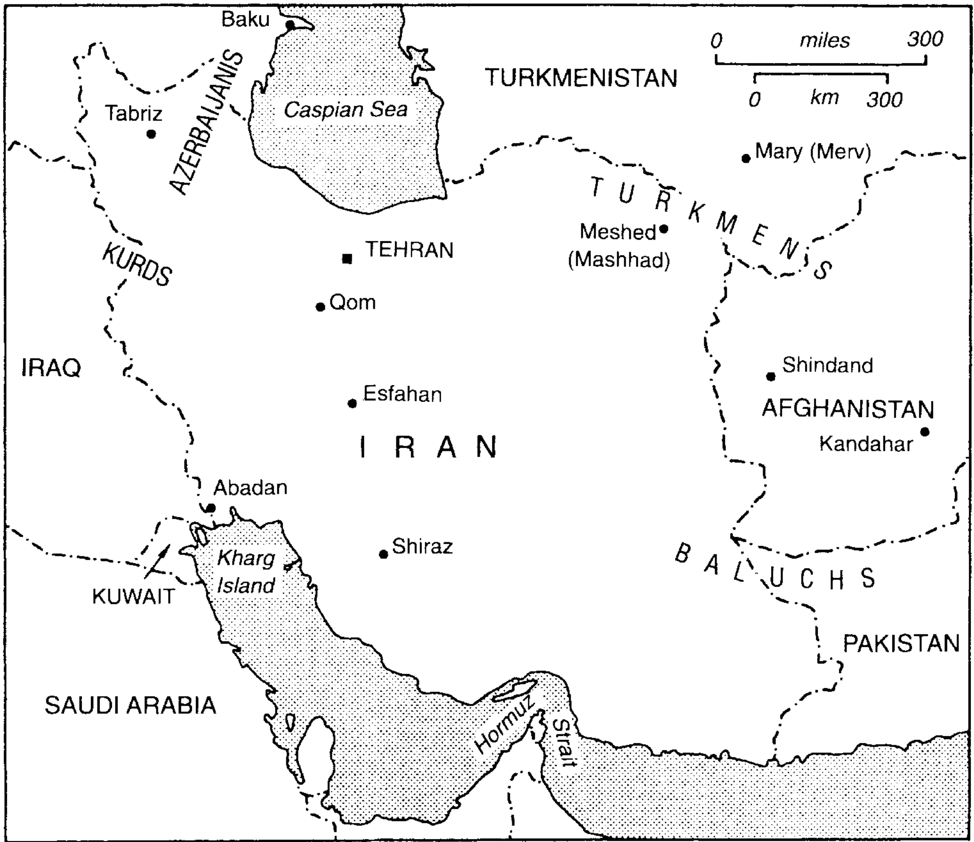
Iran, which had long maintained a claim to Bahrain, renounced it in 1970. In 1971, Iran occupied Abu Musa and the two Tumbs islands just west of Hormuz, which UAE member states claimed. Later it was agreed that Iran could man a base there, while the UAE retained administrative control; the question of sovereignty was left unresolved. However, in 1992, Iran claimed sovereignty and ejected UAE officials from these islands.

In Iran's population of 70 million, not much more than half are Farsi-speaking Persians. At least a quarter are Azerbaijani (or Azeri) Turks. Near its western frontiers there are Kurdish and Arab minorities, near its eastern ones Turkmens and Baluchis.

In 1941, British and Soviet forces, ousting a government that favoured Nazi Germany,

occupied Iran (which had stopped calling itself Persia in 1935 – besides being the country's indigenous name, the word 'Iran' comes from the same root as 'Aryan'). American and British war supplies were sent to the USSR across it. When the 1939–45 war ended, the USSR continued to occupy north-western Iran, setting up puppet Azerbaijani and Kurdish regimes there. The Soviet forces left in 1946, and Iranian rule was restored; but Iranian fear of the USSR was heightened. When Iran asserted itself against western economic power in 1951 by seizing the British oil refinery at Abadan, the US and Britain arranged a coup to overthrow the prime minister. In 1954, British and US oil companies resumed production, and Iran joined the western-backed Baghdad Pact in 1955. Later, it was helped to build up its armed forces by the Americans, who hoped that Iran would shield the Middle East from Soviet pressures.

In the 1970s there was growing opposition to the regime headed by the Shah. His enthusiasm for education and social reform angered the Shia Muslim mullahs; his pro-American policy angered leftists; joining hands, they fomented mob violence. By the end of 1978, Iran was in turmoil; its oil exports were halted, and this set off the second big wave of worldwide oil price rises *(3)*. In 1979 the Shah was forced into exile. Power passed to the



mullahs; they crushed their former leftist allies, and imposed a regime which became notorious for religious persecution.

They denounced the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan *(50)*, which sent 3 million Afghans fleeing into Iran. But they were more interested in hounding the Americans. The US embassy in Tehran was seized, and its staff were held hostage for more than a year. This violation of a basic rule of international relations caused widespread outrage. Iran's consequent isolation encouraged Iraq to invade it in 1980 *(48)*.

During the war that ensued, Iran failed to turn the Shias of southern Iraq against their rulers; elsewhere, however, its appeal to Shia loyalty sometimes prevailed over old Arab suspicions of Iran. It armed, paid and directed some of the Shia groups in Lebanon which, as well as helping to wreck the country by sectarian fighting, specialized in seizing Europeans and Americans as hostages *(45)*.

Iran made ruthless use of assassins in Europe and elsewhere. In 1989 it told all Muslims that it was their duty to murder an author living in Britain who, according to the mullahs, deserved death as a 'blasphemer'; this *fatwa* is still in force *(28)*. Yet, in the 1980s, while Iran's ruling mullahs were enforcing a strict 'Islamic' orthodoxy and thundering against Jews and against the United States, they secretly bought Israeli arms through the US (on which they could put pressure because Iranian-backed groups in Lebanon were holding Americans hostage); this emerged during the 'Irangate' hearings in Washington in 1987.

One effect of its new rulers' actions was that Iran got very little international sympathy when Iraq invaded it. As that war dragged on, Iran seemed insistent on continuing the bloodshed, although the Iraqis, having been driven back all along the frontier, were asking for peace. And it was Iranian attacks on neutral shipping in the Gulf that brought American, Soviet, British and other warships there to protect tankers.

Neither the ending of the Iran–Iraq war nor the concentrating of international anger on the Iraqis when they invaded Kuwait sufficed to remove all fears about Iran's intentions. In 1995 the US stopped all its direct trade with Iran. However, as Iran (unlike Iraq) was freely exporting its oil, it could offer lucrative deals to Europeans and others. Disputes about whether it was wise to do business with Iran caused friction between the Americans and the Europeans and the Japanese.

Power in Iran is shared between unelected conservative Islamic authorities headed by the Supreme Leader (a Shia ayatollah) and an elected president and parliament. A comparatively liberal president elected in 1997 sought reforms, including greater press freedom and some warming of relations with the US, but his efforts were soon blocked by the conservatives.

Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons was of growing concern. In 2002, Russia began building Iran's first reactor (ostensibly for electric power, despite the country's oil wealth); in 2003, the International Atomic Energy Agency demanded inspections under the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT *[4]*). Iran at first co-operated, but after the 2005 election of a hardline president who called for the destruction of Israel, it resumed enriching uranium and resisted all diplomatic pressure to comply with the NPT. By 2006 even Russia and China had begun to participate in anti-enrichment efforts by the US and the EU.

48 Iraq's Wars

The 1980–8 war between Iraq and Iran followed a series of disputes between them, particularly over the Shatt al-Arab, the waterway through which the Euphrates and the Tigris flow into the Gulf. Iraq had also tried to stir up unrest among the Arabs in Iran's Khuzestan province; similarly, Iran wooed the Shias of Iraq *(28)*; in this, neither had much success.

Iraq's ruler, Saddam Hussein Takriti, invaded Iran in the mistaken belief that its army was too shaken by the Shah's fall *(47)* to offer much resistance. By 1982 the invaders had been pushed back to the frontier in most sectors. Saddam sued for peace, but the Iranian rulers said they would fight on until he was brought down. They had blocked Basra, Iraq's only port; Iraq could export oil by pipeline, but all its imports had to come in by costly road transport. Although Saddam obtained subsidies from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, Iraq's economy was hard hit.

Iran's ruling mullahs proclaimed a holy war (*jihad*) and used 'human sea' tactics, sending forward wave after wave of men, and often children, to be mown down. (Iraq's war dead exceeded 250,000, but Iran's were three times as many.) By 1986 the Iranian forces had crossed the Shatt near its mouth, capturing Fao.

This 'Gulf war' spread to the Gulf itself in 1984, when Iraq began air attacks on Kharg island, Iran's main oil terminal. Iran then attacked ships using Kuwaiti ports, refusing to regard them as neutral. The 'tanker war' escalated; as Kuwait had no export pipelines, its oil exports were particularly imperilled. In 1987 the United States took over some Kuwaiti tankers and provided escorts for them. By then British, French and other mine-sweepers were in the Gulf; the 75 warships there included Soviet ones, protecting Soviet tankers chartered by Kuwait. Iran had threatened to close the Gulf to all shipping – using missiles deployed near the Hormuz strait – but the maritime powers' angry reactions deterred it.

In 1988, United Nations pressure on Iran secured a ceasefire, to Saddam's relief. In 1990, after making a second disastrous mistake by underestimating the reactions to his swoop on Kuwait, he had to appease Iran. He pulled his troops out of the small areas in Iran which they still held, and agreed to share control of the Shatt, abandoning his primary war aim of obtaining full control of the waterway. Thus, his eight-year war had left an impoverished Iraq with no gains of any kind.

Iraq was also left with a large army and a frustrated, dictatorial and still ambitious ruler. Its weaker Arab neighbours eyed it anxiously. It became known that Iraq was producing poison gas at Samarra (it had used gas against Iran and its own Kurds *(49)*), and it was detected trying to buy components for long-range 'super-guns' and for nuclear weapons. Soon Saddam was pressing Kuwait to hand over some border areas and oilfields.

In 1961, Iraq – then ruled by General Qasim, who had seized power in 1958 – had asserted a claim to the whole of Kuwait. The other Arab states opposed this claim (Kuwait had never been part of an independent Iraq). The British force sent to protect Kuwait in 1961 was soon replaced by an Arab League force, which remained there until Iraq renounced its claim in 1963.

In August 1990, Saddam's army attacked and overran Kuwait, and he announced its annexation. The UN Security Council ordered Iraq to withdraw, imposed a trade embargo and other sanctions, and authorized the use of 'all necessary means' to make Iraq withdraw

if it had not done so by mid-January 1991. The Arab League approved the sending of troops to protect Saudi Arabia, in response to urgent Saudi appeals.

Under the trade embargo, the pipelines carrying Iraqi oil across Turkish and Saudi territory were shut, and the Saudis clearly risked a retaliatory attack. An American-led coalition mustered air, ground and naval forces in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf. They came from America, Britain, Canada, France, the USSR and 20 other countries; among these, notably, were seven Arab states (including Egypt and Syria) and four other Muslim states (including Bangladesh and Pakistan).

When the January 1991 deadline arrived, air attacks on Iraq began. In February, Kuwait was liberated in four days by American, British, French, Egyptian, Syrian, Saudi and other Arab forces. The fleeing Iraqi troops carried off all the loot they could, and set many of Kuwait's oilfields on fire; it took nine months to extinguish these fires.

During this brief 'second Gulf war', Saddam fired Scud missiles into Israel as well as into Saudi Arabia. Israel did not hit back; it thus defeated his plan to drag it into the war so that he could pose as the champion of Arab grievances against Israel, diverting attention from his aggression against an Arab state. Among the Arabs, only Jordan, Sudan, Yemen and the PLO *(43)* had hailed his swoop on Kuwait; and all of these except Sudan switched to condemning it when they felt the effects of other Arab states' anger.

Defeated, Iraq had to admit a UN monitoring commission whose task was to discover and destroy its stocks of, and capacity for making, nuclear, biological or chemical 'weapons of mass destruction' (WMDs). The ban on Iraqi oil exports, imposed in 1990, was to be maintained until the commission completed its work. However, Iraq was offered the opportunity to sell a limited amount of oil, provided that part of the proceeds went to victims of its aggression against Kuwait and that the rest went to buy food, to be distributed under UN supervision. After protesting for several years that these conditions were unacceptably humiliating, Iraq accepted them in 1996.

Other restraints on Iraq after the 1991 conflict included the imposition of 'no-fly zones' on its air force. The northern zone was created to prevent air attacks on the Kurdish area near the Turkish frontier *(49)*, and the southern covered the Shia region south of Baghdad.

The Iraqis repeatedly tried to obstruct the UN commission, but its inspection teams worked on patiently through 1998, when Iraq refused to co-operate further. Bombing of military targets by the US and Britain through 2003 did not bring Iraq into full compliance with UN requirements, though some progress was made in 2002. The US, Britain and Spain then sought UN Security Council agreement for military action but were opposed by most other members, including Russia, France and Germany, which favoured a greater inspection effort.

Without UN approval but aided by a 'coalition of the willing', the US invaded in March 2003, quickly routing the Iraqi army and seizing Baghdad (Saddam Hussein was not captured until December). Investigation over the next year found no remaining WMDs.

Peace proved elusive. By September 2006 the US still had 130,000 troops in Iraq; Britain and other countries contributed 20,000 more. About forty countries had participated, including predominantly Muslim Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, but there were no Arab states among them. The coalition had lost 3,000 troops, mostly after the declared end of 'major combat operations' in May 2003, and Iraqi civilian deaths were estimated at more than 40,000 – many from car and suicide bombings. Violence between Sunni and Shia Arabs threatened to escalate towards civil war.

About three out of five Iraqis are Shia Arabs, who dominate the region south of Baghdad; roughly equal numbers of Sunni Arabs and Kurds (also primarily Sunni) are most of the rest. Under Saddam Hussein, the Sunni Arab minority held power. A parliament elected after voters approved a new constitution in 2005 was split largely along ethnic and religious lines, with the main Shia party holding the largest number of seats.

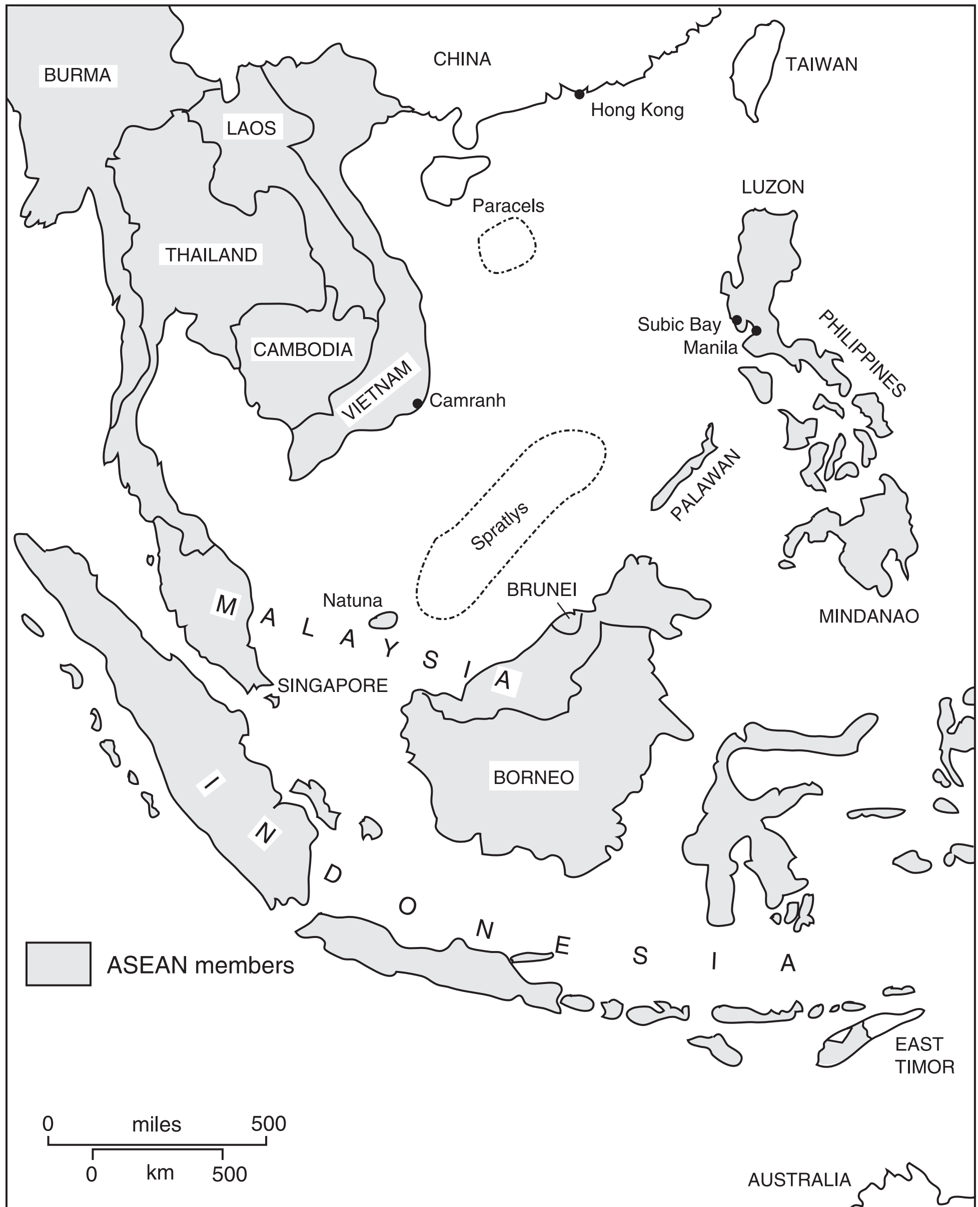
60 South-East Asia

Before the 1939–45 war the only independent nation in South-East Asia was Thailand (then called Siam). The rest of the region was under European or American rule: French in Indochina (Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia); Dutch in the East Indies (now Indonesia); British in Burma, Malaya and northern Borneo; American in the Philippines. The Japanese moved into Indochina in 1940 and overran the whole region in 1941–2 *(58)*. In 1945 the Dutch were unable to regain full control of Indonesia, which later became independent *(64)*. The United States gave independence to the Philippines in 1946; Britain gave it to Burma in 1948 and to Malaya in 1957 *(53, 63, 67)*. In Vietnam the French faced a communist-led independence movement which, for some time, had the support of both the USSR and China *(61)*.

By 1954, North Vietnam was being taken over by a communist regime which was also gaining footholds in Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam. Communist guerrillas were active in Burma, Malaya and the Philippines, and there were fears about the new strong China's influence on the region's large Chinese communities (about 30 million Chinese live in South-East Asia, and their economic importance is greater than their numbers would suggest). Thailand and the Philippines joined Australia, Britain, France, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United States in signing the 1954 Manila treaty on South-East Asian defence, often called SEATO. These allies agreed to act together against any attack in the region on one of them, or on Cambodia, Laos or South Vietnam (although any allied action in one of those three states would require its consent).

No joint defence action was ever taken under SEATO's formal authority, although American, Australian, New Zealand, Philippine and Thai forces went to fight in Vietnam in the 1960s *(61)*. In the 1970s, SEATO's activities were ended. By then, much had changed in the region. In Indochina, military victory had gone to the communists; but Vietnam's communist rulers had broken with China, siding with the USSR against it and initiating a new quarrel over Cambodia *(62)*. Meanwhile a new grouping, more truly regional than SEATO, had been formed.

The Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was formed in 1967 by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand; Brunei joined them in 1984, Vietnam in 1995, Laos and Myanmar (Burma) in 1997, and Cambodia in 1999. ASEAN was never a military alliance, but its members sought to unite in pursuing their common interests – for example, in trade negotiations with the European Union. In 1994 the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) began a series of consultative meetings in which China, the EU, Japan, Russia and the United States all took part. The ASEAN members also joined the Asia–Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) forum *(2)* and have ties with north-east Asia through 'ASEAN+3' meetings that include Japan, South Korea and China. In seeking to extend its regional influence, China also supported an East Asian summit that was held in 2005. This



excluded the US but – because other participants were wary of Chinese influence – brought in India, Australia and New Zealand.

The big American naval and air bases in the *Philippines* – at Subic Bay and Clark Field, near Manila – were relinquished in 1991–2 (when the breakup of the USSR led to the abandoning of the Soviet naval base at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam *[61]*). The Philippines had been troubled since 1969 by insurgency among the Moros, its Muslim minority that live mostly in Mindanao and other southern islands. In 1993 the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF, the main rebel group) agreed to negotiate with the government, and in 1996 a

peace pact, providing for more local autonomy, was signed. Another group, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, continued its activities; ceasefires have ended in violence, but talks began again in 2005. The US strengthened military links following the 9/11 terrorist attack *(8)* in order to pursue the Abu Sayyaf, an offshoot of the MNLF linked to al-Qaeda that seeks an Islamic state in the southern Philippines.

Partnership in ASEAN has helped its members to avoid clashes over some territorial disputes, such as the Philippines' old claim to Sabah in Malaysia. A dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia over Ligitan and Sipadan, two small islands east of Borneo, was taken to the International Court at The Hague (which settled in Malaysia's favour in 2002), and Malaysia and Singapore brought a similar problem to the Court in 2003. In the South China Sea, although Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam all claimed some of the Spratly islets (hoping to find offshore oil near them), there was little friction between them; they were, instead, united in protesting against China's intrusions and its sweeping claim to the whole island group *(55)*.

A problem for the whole region emerged when millions of people began to try to escape from Indochina after the communist conquests of 1975. Cambodian refugees mostly fled into Thailand, but many of the far more numerous refugees from Vietnam put out to sea in small craft. Those 'boat people' who survived these voyages found only a temporary refuge in the ASEAN countries, which demanded assurances that they would be resettled elsewhere. The 200,000 'boat people' who reached Hong Kong presented particularly acute problems for a crowded little territory which was already struggling to avoid being swamped by Chinese seeking to escape from the mainland.

The United States accepted more than a million refugees from Vietnam; Australia, Canada and France about 130,000 each; smaller numbers went to a dozen other countries. Some 50,000 were induced to return from Hong Kong to Vietnam. Economic reforms improved the situation in Vietnam after 1986, and the Hong Kong refugee camp closed in 2000.

61 Indochina

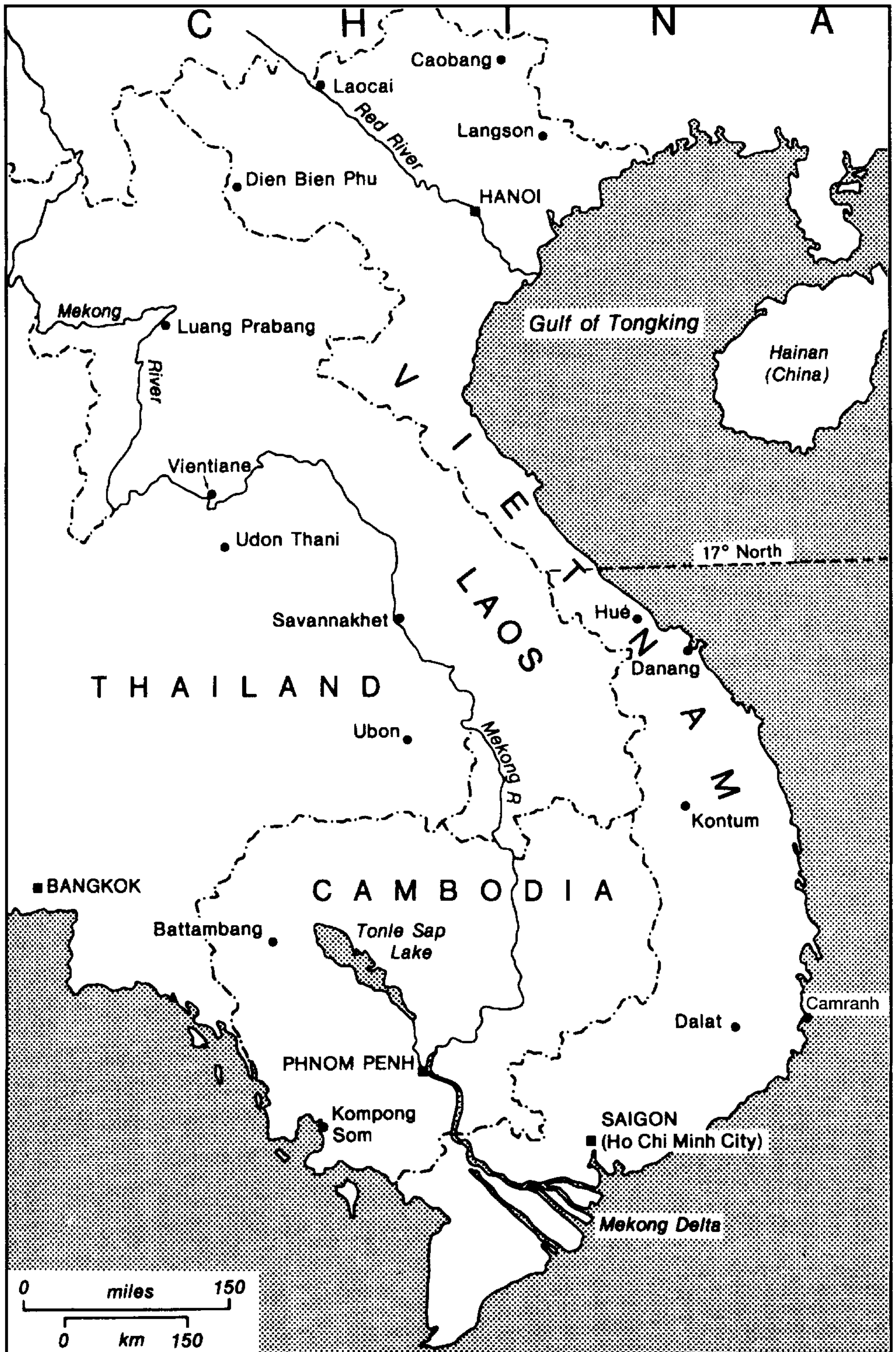
Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam all came under French rule between 1860 and 1900, forming French Indochina. During the 1940–5 Japanese occupation, the communist-led Vietminh movement launched a resistance campaign in northern Vietnam (Tonkin, or Tongking). In 1945 it set up a government in Hanoi. Although the French reoccupied Hanoi in 1946, they faced a long conflict with the Vietminh. In 1954, after the Vietminh had trapped a French force at Dien Bien Phu, ceasefire agreements were signed. Vietnam was divided at the 17° North parallel. The French withdrew from North Vietnam, where a communist government was again installed in Hanoi. In South Vietnam the French completed the transfer of sovereignty to the government in Saigon. About 800,000 Vietnamese fled from north to south.

France also withdrew its forces from Cambodia and Laos, whose governments now had full sovereignty. In Laos attempts to include the communists in a coalition government failed, clashes multiplied, and by 1961 communist troops were threatening Vientiane, the capital. A new coalition was installed in 1962, but the conflict was soon resumed. Weak governments in Laos and Cambodia allowed North Vietnam to move its troops across their territory (along the 'Ho Chi Minh trail', which in reality consisted of many tracks through the hills) so that they could infiltrate South Vietnam from the west.

By the early 1960s, South Vietnam's government was losing control of many areas to 'Viet Cong' guerrillas armed, reinforced and directed from North Vietnam, which in turn was being aided by China and the USSR. The Americans, who were supporting South Vietnam in the hope of checking the southward advance of communist power, became more deeply involved in the struggle. By 1963 there were 16,000 US military personnel in Vietnam; in 1965, US aircraft began to bomb North Vietnam, and US ground forces arrived in the south; by 1968 there were 500,000 Americans fighting there, and alongside them and the South Vietnamese troops were contingents from Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, South Korea and Thailand.

A series of peace offers failed; the Hanoi government was bent on, and eventually succeeded in, taking over South Vietnam. In 1969 the withdrawal of the US and allied troops began; it was completed by 1973. A ceasefire was then announced, but the conflict was soon resumed. By 1975 the North Vietnamese army fighting in the south was larger than South Vietnam's; it captured Saigon and the other cities, and Vietnam was forcibly united under communist rule. (Hanoi remained the capital; Saigon was renamed Ho Chi Minh City.) There followed a new flight of about 1,600,000 refugees. 'Boat people' escaped in small craft; thousands of them perished at sea – many at the hands of pirates – before they could reach land in places ranging from Hong Kong to Indonesia *(60)*.

In 1975, Laos was also taken over by communist forces which were effectively controlled



C H I N A
Caobang
Laocai
Red River
Langson
Dien Bien Phu
HANOI
Mekong
Luang Prabang
River
Gulf of Tongking
Hainan (China)
V I E T N A M
Vientiane
Udon Thani
17° North
LAOS
Hué
Savannakhet
Danang
THAILAND
Ubon
Mekong R.
Kontum
BANGKOK
CAMBODIA
Battambang
Tonle Sap Lake
Camranh
Dalat
PHNOM PENH
Kompong Som
SAIGON (Ho Chi Minh City)
Mekong Delta
0 miles 150
0 km 150

from Hanoi. However, the 'Khmers Rouges' who simultaneously took over Cambodia looked to China for support and were soon in dispute with the Soviet-backed Hanoi government *(62)*. When Vietnam invaded Cambodia late in 1978, China responded by staging a limited invasion of Vietnam early in 1979 – but, after capturing some border towns, it withdrew its troops, which had suffered heavy losses. Thus, in three decades, Vietnam had turned away three of the post-1945 great powers.

For a time, the whole of Indochina became a Soviet sphere of influence. The Soviet navy secured a base at Cam Ranh Bay which increased its ability to operate in the Indian Ocean as well as in Far East waters *(42)*. By the late 1980s, however, the USSR began to regard Indochina as more of a liability than an asset. It reduced its subsidies to Vietnam's rulers and withdrew its forces from Cam Ranh Bay. Those rulers, alarmed by the changes they saw in the Soviet sphere, sought to improve their relations with China. When China offered them little help they turned elsewhere, opening up the economy enough to obtain investments and aid from Japan and other countries. In 1995, Vietnam joined ASEAN *(60)* and established diplomatic relations with the United States; economic ties grew rapidly in the next decade. Though still a one-party state under tight communist control, Vietnam had chosen the Chinese path towards export-oriented growth.

62 Cambodia

Cambodia (Kampuchea) is the remnant of the old Khmer kingdom which once included the Mekong delta. It was a French protectorate from 1863 until 1953. Unlike Laos, it has no border mountains separating it from Vietnam; some Vietnamese settled in Cambodia, although there was an old antagonism between the two neighbours. During the 1960s, Cambodia tried to keep out of the Vietnamese conflict, turning a blind eye to the way North Vietnamese troops were sent along the 'Ho Chi Minh trail' through Laos and eastern Cambodia to fight in South Vietnam *(61)*; but in 1970 Cambodia itself became a battlefield. Its communist guerrillas, called the Khmers Rouges ('Red Khmers'), got the upper hand

when American support for the government was withdrawn. In 1975 they captured Phnom Penh, the capital, and took over the country.

Cambodia's communist rulers became infamous for doctrinaire ruthlessness. They forcibly emptied the cities, created a famine, and killed at least 1.5 million people; thousands fled into Thailand. While Vietnam toed the Soviet line, the Khmers Rouges sided with China. In 1978, after many border clashes, communist Vietnam invaded communist Cambodia. A puppet government (headed by dissident Khmers Rouges) was installed in Phnom Penh, backed by 150,000 Vietnamese troops. More Cambodians fled to Thailand; others got only as far as refugee camps along the Thai border, which were mostly controlled by Khmer Rouge guerrillas.

In 1982 three resistance movements, one of them run by Khmers Rouges, formed an anti-Vietnam coalition government which, although it held only a few border areas, was recognized by many other countries. By the late 1980s, Vietnam was no longer receiving large Soviet subsidies, and it could not maintain its large army of occupation in Cambodia, which it withdrew in 1989. A new struggle among the local factions ensued, and the UN sent a force to restore order and supervise an election, held in 1993. Although the Khmers Rouges boycotted it (and refused to disband their forces), there was a 90% turnout. The 370,000 Cambodians who had fled to Thailand began to return home.

Following the election, a government was formed in which power was divided – uneasily – between the main non-communist (royalist) party and the party that had formerly collaborated with the occupying Vietnamese forces. Since then, this coalition has kept power with a mix of electoral success and force.

In the mid-1990s, Khmer Rouge forces still held areas in the north and west, mostly close to the Thai frontier. In 1996 a split developed among their commanders; some of them announced that, if they were allowed to play a part in Cambodia's politics, they would stop fighting. Government troops were sent to support these dissidents in their clashes with the remaining diehard Khmers Rouges. In 1997 the leader of the ex-socialist party (formerly allied with Vietnam) mounted a coup against the prime minister, a member of the royal family. This slowed Cambodia's entry to ASEAN *(60)*, but the coalition returned to power after another election.

63 Malaysia and Singapore

Malaysia, a monarchical federation, consists of the sultanates and states of mainland Malaya (including Penang and Malacca) and the Borneo states of Sabah (formerly British North Borneo) and Sarawak. Four-fifths of its 26 million inhabitants live on the mainland. About half are Malays – who are mostly Muslims – but a quarter are Chinese and 7% Indians; in the Borneo states indigenous groups form a majority of the population.

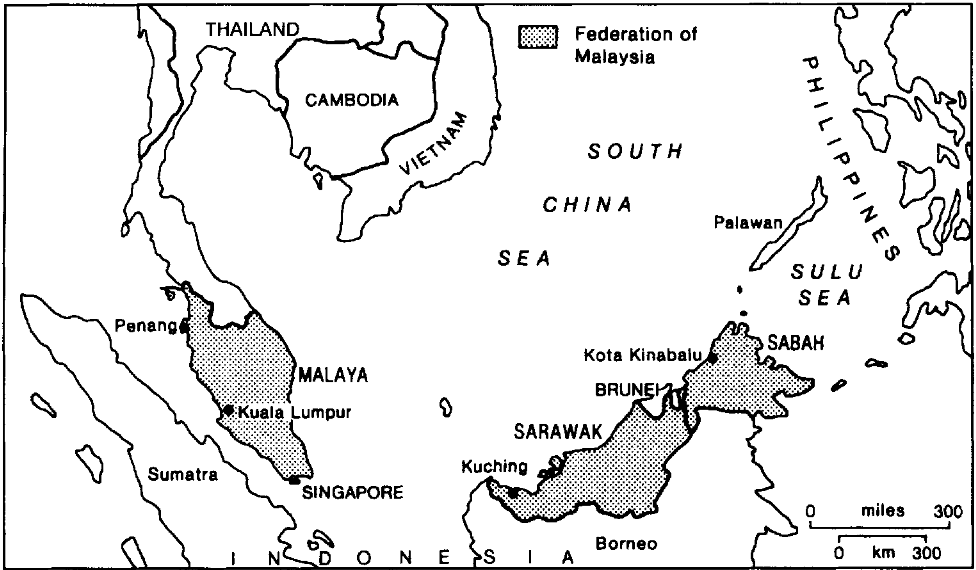
Mainland Malaya became independent in 1957, after a long period of British rule interrupted by the Japanese occupation of 1942–5. From the 1950s onwards, democratic elections produced governments based on a Malay-led alliance that included Chinese and Indian parties. The main opposition came from an Islamic party supported by Malays who resented the economic strength of the Chinese. A series of steps were taken to increase the Malays' share of the economy, and to meet demands for the upholding of Muslim traditions; but the alliance-based governments resisted the more extreme demands of Islamic fundamentalists. Whether pro-Malay policies should continue has come into question as the economy as a whole and the Malay-controlled share have both increased.

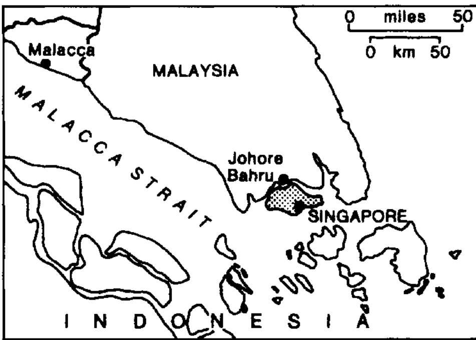
The decision by Sabah and Sarawak to join Malaysia in 1963 was resented by Indonesia, which launched raids across the frontier. These attacks were repelled with the help of British forces, and in 1965 Indonesia abandoned its policy of 'confrontation'.

Singapore, an island territory with an original area of 225 square miles (expanded by a fifth through land reclamation), developed under British rule into a major port. It now has 4 million inhabitants, 76% of them Chinese, 14% Malay and 9% Indian. In 1963 it joined the newly enlarged Malaysian federation; but mainland Malays were unhappy about taking in such a large Chinese element, and in 1965 Singapore had to withdraw from Malaysia. As an independent republic, Singapore further developed its role as a trade and finance centre, and adapted itself to the new high-technology era in industry so successfully that by 2005 its income per head nearly matched that of Japan.

Malaysia's economy grew rapidly in the 1990s as foreign investment in manufacturing led to electronics replacing rubber and minerals as the most important exports. The Asian financial crisis of 1997 and increasing competition from lower-wage China slowed growth. Malaysia sought to move from manufacture to software and technology production through creation of a Singapore-sized 'multimedia super corridor' adjacent to the capital, Kuala Lumpur.

The sultanate of *Brunei* (population 400,000, two-thirds Malay) remained under British protection until 1984, when it became fully independent, with the formal name of Brunei Darussalam. It was formerly distinguished by its possession of a rich oilfield, but offshore finds have now made Malaysia a bigger producer of oil.





Malaysia and Singapore were founder members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, and Brunei joined ASEAN in 1984 *(60)*.

Tables

Table 1 Population

	Millions	*% of world total*
World	6,500	
China	1,300	20%
India	1,100	17%
EU 25	460	7%
United States	300	5%
Indonesia	250	4%
Brazil	190	3%
Pakistan	170	3%
Bangladesh	150	2%
Russia	140	2%
Japan	130	2%
Nigeria	130	2%
Mexico	110	2%
Other countries	2,070	32%

Table 2 GDP

US$ at PPP exchange rates	*Total (billions)*	*Per capita*
World	61,000	9,500
United States	12,000	42,000
EU 25	12,000	28,000
Germany	*2,500*	*30,500*
Britain	*1,800*	*30,500*
France	*1,800*	*30,000*
Italy	*1,700*	*29,000*
Spain	*1,000*	25,500
China	8,900	7,000
Japan	4,000	31,500
India	3,600	3,500

Russia	1,600	11,000
Brazil	1,600	8,500
Canada	1,100	34,000
Mexico	1,100	10,000
South Korea	1,000	20,500
Other countries	14,000	

Table 3 Share of World Economy (GDP)

	PPP	*Market exchange rates*
United States	20.4%	29.0%
EU 25	20.1%	30.9%
China	14.6%	5.2%
Japan	6.6%	10.8%
India	5.9%	1.7%
Russia	2.6%	1.7%
Brazil	2.6%	1.4%
Canada	1.8%	2.4%
Mexico	1.8%	1.6%
South Korea	1.6%	1.9%
Other countries	22.1%	13.4%

Table 4 Proven Oil Reserves

	Billions of barrels
World	1,300
OPEC 11	870
Saudi Arabia	*260*
Iran	*120*
Iraq	*110*
Kuwait	*99*
UAE	*90*
Venezuela	*71*
Libya	*37*
Nigeria	*35*
Qatar	*18*
Canada*	180
Russia	67
Kazakhstan	25
United States	24
Mexico	19
China	17
Other countries	98

* 90% oil sands, 10% conventional reserves

Table 5 Annual Military Spending

	Billions of US$	*% of world total*
World	1,100	
United States	520	47%
EU 25	210	19%
France	*45*	*4%*
Britain	*43*	*4%*
Germany	*35*	*3%*
Italy	*28*	*3%*
Spain	*10*	*1%*
China	81	7%
Japan	44	4%
Arab League 21	39	4%
Saudi Arabia	*18*	*2%*
South Korea	21	2%
Russia	20	2%
India	19	2%
Australia	18	2%
Turkey	12	1%
Brazil	10	1%
Other countries	110	10%

Related Information Sources

1 Periodicals and Government Sources

BBC Timelines. Online: news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/ (summary of events for most countries and territories).

The Economist. Online: www.economist.com (world news and economic trends).

Europa World Yearbook. Routledge.

Jerusalem Report (Middle East events).

Statesman's Year Book. Macmillan.

UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office Country Profiles. Online: www.fco.gov.uk (select countries & regions).

UN Demographic Yearbook. Online: unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic

UN Peacekeeping. Online: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/ (description of current and past operations).

US Central Intelligence Agency *World Factbook*. Online: www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook (data on every country and territory).

US Department of State Background Notes. Online: www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/ (current situation in each country).

US Library of Congress Country Studies. Online: rs6.loc.gov/frd/cs/ (Books covering history, politics, demographics and economy for each country).

2 Other Atlases (latest editions)

Allen, John. *Student Atlas of World Politics*. McGraw-Hill, 2005.

Chaliand, Gerard, and Jean-Pierre Rageau. *The Penguin Atlas of Diasporas*. Penguin, 1997. (Demographics and migration.)

Chaliand, Gerard, and Jean-Pierre Rageau. *A Strategic Atlas: Comparative Geopolitics of the World's Powers*. HarperCollins, 1993.

Donald, Stephanie, and Robert Benewick. *The State of China Atlas*. University of California Press, 2005.

Duncan, Andrew, and Michel Opatowski. *Trouble Spots: The World Atlas of Strategic Information*. Sutton, 2000. (Focus on conflicts.)

Gilbert, Martin. *The Routledge Atlas of the Arab–Israeli Conflict*. Routledge, 2005.

Griffiths, Ieuan. *The Atlas of African Affairs*. Routledge, 1993.

McEvedy, Colin, and David Woodroffe. *The New Penguin Atlas of Recent History: Europe Since 1815*. Penguin, 2003.

Magocsi, Paul. *Historical Atlas of Central Europe*. University of Washington Press, 2002. (Detailed mapping of central and eastern Europe.)
Smith, Dan. *Penguin Atlas of War and Peace*. Penguin, 2003.
Smith, Dan. *State of the World Atlas*. Penguin, 2003.
Veregin, Howard (ed.). *Goode's World Atlas*. Rand McNally, 2005.

Index

Each number refers to a section (map and/or accompanying notes), not to a page. Former names are shown in *italic* in parentheses, e.g. Harare (*Salisbury*). Where appropriate, the number for the main entry is shown in **bold**.

Abadan 41, 47, 48
Aberdeen 22
Abidjan 37
Abkhazia 19
Aboriginals 65
Abu Dhabi 47
Abu Musa 47
Abuja 37
Abyssinia *see* Ethiopia
Accra 37
Aceh (Achin) 64
acid rain 1
Addis Ababa 35
Aden 29, 42, **46**
Adyge 19
Aegean Sea 26
Afar 35
Afghanistan 7, 8, 10, 11, 20, 27, 28, 42, 47, **50**, 52–4
African National Congress (ANC) 32, 34
African Union **30**, 35, 38–40
Afrikaans/Afrikaners 34
Agadir 40
AIDS/HIV 17, 30, 34, 36
Ajaria 19
Ajman 47
Akmola *see* Astana
Akrotiri 26
Aksai Chin 51, 53
Alaska 67, **68**, 69, 77
Albania 10, 14, **15**
Alberta 69
Aldabra 42
Aleutians 58, 67
Alexandria 41
Algeciras 25
Algeria 3, 4, 28–30, **39**, 40, 41
Algiers 27, 39
Almaty (*Alma Ata*) 20
al-Qaeda **8**, 28, 46, 60
Altai 17, 54
Alto Adige 23
Amal 45
Ambon (Amboina) 23, **64**
America *see* United States of America
American Indians *see* indigenous Americans
Amharic 35
Amin, Idi 36
Amman 43, 44
Amoy (Xiamen) 56
Amritsar 51, 52
Amu Darya (*Oxus*) 20
Amur (Heilongjiang) 54
Anchorage 68, 77
Andamans 51
Andean group 2, 74
Andhra Pradesh 52
Andorra 23
Angkor 62
Angola 3, 7, 8, 23, 30–2, **33**
Angostura 73
Anguilla 73
Anhui (*Anhwei*) 55, 56
Antarctic 1, 75, **76**
Antigua 9, **73**
ANZUS **65**, 67
Aoun, Michel 45
Aozou 38
apartheid 34
APEC (Asia–Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum) 2, 60, 67
Aqaba 43, 44
Arab Co-operation Council 29
Arab League **29**, 44, 48
Arab Maghreb Union 29, **39**
Arabs 1, 3, 23, 28, **29**, 39–41, 43–8
Arafat, Yasser 44
Aral Sea 1, **20**, 54

Ararat 19
Arbil 49
Archangel 77
Arctic 22, 69, **77**
Argentina 2–4, 5, 26, 74, **75**, 76
Arizona 68
Arlit 38
Armageddon *see* Megiddo
Armenia 7, **19**
Aruba 71, **73**
Arunachal Pradesh 52
Arusha 12, 35, 36
Ascension Island 75
ASEAN 2, **60**, 61, 63
Asia–Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum *see* APEC
Asir 46
Asmara 35
Astana (*Akmola*, *Tselinograd*) 20
Assam 52, 53
Association of Caribbean States 73
Association of South-East Asian Nations *see* ASEAN
Aswan 29, 35
Atlanta 68
Atlantic alliance *see* NATO
Atlantic provinces 69
Atlas Mountains 39
AUC *see* United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia
Auckland 65
Aung San Suu Kyi 53
Australia 1–3, 6, 9, 60, 61, **65**, 66, 67, 76
Austria 10, 12, **13**, 14, 23
Awali 45
Ayodhya 52
Azerbaijan/Azeris 3, 7, **19**, 47

Bab el Mandeb 5
Baganda 36
Baghdad 41, 46, 48
Baghdad Pact 46
Bahamas 9, 71
Bahrain 3, 9, 29, 41, 46, **47**
Bahutu 36
Baikal, Lake 17, 54
Baikonur 54
Baja California 70
Bakongo 33
Baku 19
Bali 8, 64
Balkans 14, 15, 28
Balkar 19
Balkhash, Lake 20, 54
ballistic missiles 4, 48
Baltic Sea/Straits 5, **21**
Baltic States 11, 12, 16, **18**, 21
Baltimore 68
Baltisk 18
Baluchs/Baluchistan 47, 50, 52
BAM railway 16, 54
Bamako 37
Banaba (Ocean Island) 66
Bandar Abbas 47
Bandar Khomeini (*Bandar Shahpur*) 47
Bandung 27, 64
Bangkok 61, 62
Bangladesh 1, 8, 9, 48, **52**, 53
Bangui 32, 38
Banja Luka 15
Banjul (*Bathurst*) 37
Banyamulenge 32, 36
Barbados 9, 73
Barbary *see* Berber
Barbuda 73
Barcelona 23
Barents Sea/Council 22
Barotseland 32
Bashkirs/Bashkortostan 17
Basotho Qwa Qwa 34
Basques 8, 23
Basra 41, 46–8
Basutoland *see* Lesotho
Batavia *see* Jakarta
Bathurst *see* Banjul
Battambang 61, 62
Batumi 19
Bay of Pigs 71
Beagle Channel 5, 74, **75**
Bear Island 22
Beaufort Sea 69, 77
Bechuanaland *see* Botswana
Beersheba 43, 44
Beijing (*Peking*) 54, 55, 57
Beira 32
Beirut 43–5
Bekaa 45
Belarus (*Byelorussia*) 4, 11, 16, 17, **18**
Belau *see* Palau
Belfast 24
Belgian Congo *see* Congo-Kinshasa
Belgium 9, 11, 12, **23**, 27, 32, 36, 38, 76
Belgrade 6, 15
Belize (*British Honduras*) 9, **71**
Belmopan 71
Benelux 12
Bengal/Bengalis 51, 52
Benghazi 39
Benguela 32, 33
Benin (*Dahomey*) 30, **37**, 38
Benin (in Nigeria) 37
Berber 29, 39
Berbera 35
Bering Strait 68, 77

Berlin 10–12, **13**, 14, 39
Bermuda 9, 74
Berne 23
Beslan 8
Bethlehem 44
Bhutan 9, **52**, 53
Biafra 37
Biarritz 23
Bihac 15
Bihar 52
Bikini 66, 67
Bilbao 23
biological weapons *see* weapons of mass destruction
Birobijan 17
Bishkek (*Frunze*) 20
Black Sea 18, 19
'boat people' 60, 61
Boers 34
Bogotá 72, 74
Bohemia 14
Bokassa, Jean Bédel 38
Bolívar, Simón 73
Bolivia 2, 3, 72, 74
Bolzano (Bozen) 23
Bombay *see* Mumbai
Bonaire 73
Bonins 58, 67
Bonn 13
Bophuthatswana 34
Borneo 58, 60, 63, **64**
Bosnia 7, 14, **15**, 28
Bosporus 5, 19
Boston 68
Botswana (*Bechuanaland*) 9, 30–4
Bou Craa 40
Bougainville 64
Bouvet 74, 76
Brasilia 74
Bratislava 14
Brazil 1–4, 74, 76
Brazzaville 32, 38
Brcko 15
Britain (United Kingdom) 1–4, 7–9, 22–4, 65, 66, 75–7;
  and Africa 27, 31–37;
  and Asia 51–53, 57–60, 63;
  and Caribbean 71, 73;
  and Europe 10–13, 25, 26;
  and Middle East 42–49
British Antarctic Territory 76
British Cameroons 37
British Columbia 69
British Honduras *see* Belize
British Indian Ocean Territory 42
British North Borneo *see* Sabah
British Somaliland 35
British Togoland 37
British Virgins 73
Brittany 23
Brunei 3, 9, 60, **63**, 64
Brussels 12, 23
Brussels Treaty 11, 12
Bucharest 14
Budapest 14
Buddhists 51, 53
Buenos Aires 74, 75
Buganda 36
Bujumbura 36
Bukavu 32, 36
Bukhara 20
Bulawayo 32
Bulgaria 10–12, **14**
Buraimi 47
Burkina Faso (*Upper Volta*) 30, **37**, 38
Burma (Myanmar) 9, **53**, 58, 60
Burundi 7, 30, 32, **36**, 38
Buryatia/Buryat Mongols 17, 54
Byblos *see* Jubail
Byelorussia *see* Belarus

Cabinda 33
Cadiz 25
CAFTA (Central American Free Trade Agreement) 2, 74
Caicos 71
Cali 72
California 68
Cam Ranh Bay 60, 61
Cambodia (Kampuchea) 6, 7, 27, 55, 60, 61, **62**
Cameroon 9, 12, 30, **37**, 38
Camp David 44
Canada 1–7, 9–11, 48, 60, 67, 68, **69**, 77
Canary islands 40
Canberra 65
Canton *see* Guangzhou
CAP (Common Agricultural Policy) 12
Cape of Good Hope/'Cape route' 34, 41
Cape Horn 74, **75**
Cape Province 34
Cape St Vincent 25
Cape Town 34
Cape Verde islands 30, 37
Caprivi Strip 33
CAR (Central African Republic) 7, 30, **38**
Caracas 71, 73
Caribbean 71, 73
Caribbean Common Market 2
Caribbean Community ('Caricom') 73
Carolines 58, **66**, 67
Carpathians 14, 18
Cartagena (in Colombia) 72, 74
Cartagena (in Spain) 25

Carter, Jimmy 44
Casablanca 40
Casamance 37
Caspian Sea 16, 19, 20, 47
Castro, Fidel 71
Catalonia 23
Caucasus 16, 17, **19**
Cayenne 73
Cayman Islands 71
Celebes *see* Sulawesi
Celtic Sea 22
Central African Federation 31
Central African Republic *see* CAR
Central American Free Trade Agreements *see* CAFTA
Central European Initiative 14
Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) 46
Ceuta 25, 29, 40
Ceyhan 41
Ceylon *see* Sri Lanka
CFCs *see* chlorofluorocarbons
CFE (Conventional Forces in Europe) Treaty 4
Chaco 74
Chad 7, 30, 35, 37, **38**
Chagos 42
Chandernagore 51
Channel Islands 22, 23
Charlotte 68
Charlottetown 69
Chávez, Hugo 73
Chechnya/Chechens 17, **19**
Chekiang *see* Zhejiang
chemical weapons *see* weapons of mass destruction
Chenpao *see* Damansky
Cherkess 19
Chernobyl 3, 18
Chhattisgarh 52
Chiapas 70
Chicago 68
Chile 2, 5, **74–6**
Chin 53
China 1–4, 6, 7, 15, 27, 41, 47, 52, 53, **54**, **55**, 56–62, 64, 76
Chios 26
Chisinau *see* Kishinev
Chittagong 52
chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) 1, 76
Chongqing (*Chungking*) 55
Chouf 45
Christchurch 65
Chungking *see* Chongqing
Chuvash 17
Cincinnati 68
Circassians 19
Ciskei 34
Ciudad Bolivar (*Angostura*) 73
Ciudad Guayana 73
Ciudad Juárez 70
Ciudad Trujillo *see* Santo Domingo
Cleveland 68
Cluj 14
coca/cocaine 72, 74
Colombia 2, 3, 8, 71, **72**, 74
Colombo 51, 52
Colón 72
Comecon 10
Common Agricultural Policy *see* CAP
Common Market (EEC) 2, **12**
Commonwealth 9
Commonwealth of Independent States 16
Commonwealth of Sovereign Republics 18
Comoros 29, 42
Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe *see* CSCE
Congo-Kinshasa (Democratic Republic of the Congo, ex-Belgian) 7, 31, **32**, 35, 36, 38
Congo-Brazzaville (Republic of the Congo, ex-French) 3, 30–2, 38
Contadora group 74
continental shelf 5, 22, 26
'contras' 71
Conventional Forces in Europe *see* CFE
Cook Islands 65, 66
'Copenhagen criteria' 12
copper 31, 32, 64, 65, 74
Copperbelt 31
Corsica 23
Cossacks 19
Costa Rica 71
Côte d'Ivoire *see* Ivory Coast
Council of Europe 12
'Council of Ireland' 24
Cracow (Krakow) 14
Craigavon 24
Crimea 17, 18
Crna Gora *see* Montenegro
Croats/Croatia 7, 12, 14, **15**
cruise missiles 4
CSCE (Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe) 10
Cuba 6, **71**, 73, 74
Cuban forces in Africa 33, 35
Curaçao 71, 73
Cyprus 7, 9, 12, **26**
Cyrenaica 39
Czech Republic 11, 12, **14**
Czechoslovakia 10, 11, 13, **14**

Dacca (Dhaka) 51–3
Dagestan 19
Dahomey 37
Dairen *see* Lüda

Dakar 37, 40
Dakhla 40
Dalai Lama 53
dalits 52
Dallas 68
Daman 51
Damansky 54
Damara 33
Damascus 43–5
Damman 47
Danang 61
Danube 14
Danzig (Gdansk) 13, 14
Dardanelles 5
Dar es Salaam 8, 32, 35
Darfur 35, 38
Dayton 15
decolonization 6, 9, **27**, 30, 51
de Gaulle, Charles 39
de Klerk, Frederik 34
Delhi 51–3
Denendeh 69
Denmark 3, 11, 12, **21**, 22, 77
Denver 68
Derry (Londonderry) 24
deserts/desertification 1, 20, 30
Desroches 42
Detroit 68
Dhahran 47
Dhaka *see* Dacca
Dhekelia 26
Dhofar 46
diamonds 17, 31, 33, 34, 37, 69, 77
Diaoyu *see* Senkakus
Diego Garcia 42
Dien Bien Phu 61
Dimona 43
Diu 51
Djakarta *see* Jakarta
Djibouti 29, 30, **35**, 46
Dniester 14, 18
Dobruja 14
Dodoma 35
Doha 47
Dokdo (Takeshima) 58
Dominica 9, **73**
Dominican Republic 7, **71**, 73, 74
Dover Strait 5
drug trafficking 7, 50, 53, 72
Druse 45
Druzhba 54
Dubai 47
Dublin 24
Dubrovnik (*Ragusa*) 15
Durban 34
Durrës (*Durazzo*) 15
Dushanbe 20
Dutch East Indies 58, 60, 64
Dutch Guiana *see* Surinam
Duvalier family 71

East African Community 36
East Bank (of Jordan river) 43, 44
East Germany 10–12, **13, 14**
East London 34
'East of Suez' 42
East Prussia 13, 18
East Timor 7, 23, 64
Eastern Slavonia 15
EC *see* European Community
ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) 37
ECSC (European Coal and Steel Community) 12
Ecuador 2, 3, 74
EEA (European Economic Area) 12
EEC (European Economic Community) 12
EEZs *see* exclusive economic zones
EFTA (European Free Trade Association) 12
Egypt 3, 4, 7, 9, 28–30, 35, 39, 41, **42–4**, 46, 48
Eilat (Elath) 41, 43, 44
Eire *see* Ireland
El Aiun 40
Elisabethville *see* Lubumbashi
Ellice Islands *see* Tuvalu
El Paso 70
El Salvador 71
ELN *see* National Liberation Army
EMU (economic and monetary union) 12
English Channel 22
Eniwetok 66
Entebbe 36
Episkopi 26
Equateur (in Zaire) 32
Equatoria (in Sudan) 35
Equatorial Guinea (*Spanish Guinea*) 3, 30, 37, 38
Eritrea 7, 30, **35**, 42
Espiritu Santo 66
Essequibo 73
Estonia 11, 12, 16, **18**, 21
Ethiopia (*Abyssinia*) 7, 27, 30, 35, 42
Etorofu (Iturup) 58
EU *see* European Union
Euphrates 48
Euratom (European Atomic Energy Community) 12
'euro' 12
European Coal and Steel Community 12
European Community (EC) 9, 12, 21, 22, 65
European Court of Human Rights 12
European Economic Area (EEA) 12
European Economic Community (EEC) 12
European Free Trade Association (EFTA) 12

European Union (EU) 2, 7, **12**, 13–15, 18, 26, 37, 39, 44, 47, 49
Everest, Mount 53
exclusive economic zones (EEZs) 5, 22, 69

Fairbanks 68
Faizabad 50
Falashas 35
Falklands 5, 9, 74, **75**, 76
Famagusta (Gazimagusa) 26
Fao (Faw) 48
FARC *see* Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
Faroes 21, 22
Farquhar 42
Farsi 47
fatwa 28, 47
Fergana 20
Fernando Poo 37
Fez 40
Fiji 9, **66**
Finland 10, 12, **21**
fisheries 1, 5, 22, 69, 76
Flanders/Flemish 23
FLEC 33
Florida 25, 68, 71
FNLA 33
Fonseca 71
Foochow *see* Fuzhou
forest losses 1
Formosa (Taiwan) 56
Fort Worth 68
fossil fuels 1
France 2, 3, 4, 7–9, 22, **23**, 27, 65, 66, 69, 73, 76;
and Africa 35–40, 42;
and Asia 51, 60–2;
and Europe 11–13;
and Middle East 41–6, 48, 49
Franco, Francisco 23, 25
Francophonie 9, 38
Frankfurt am Main 13
Free Trade Area of the Americas (proposed) 73, 74
Freetown 37
French Equatorial and West Africa 38
French Guiana (Guyane) **73**, 74
French Indochina 61
French Polynesia 66
Frunze *see* Bishkek
Fujairah 47
Fujian (*Fukien*) 55, 56
Fuzhou (*Foochow*) 56
FYROM (Macedonia) 15

Gabon 3, 30, **38**
Gaborone 33
Gagauz 18
Galicia 14, 18
Galilee 43, 44
Galla (Oromo) 35
Gambia, The 9, 30, **37**
Gambier 66
Gan 42
Gandhi, Indira 52
Gandhi, Rajiv 51
Gansu (*Kansu*) 54, 55
Garo 52
Gartok 53
gas, natural 3, 16, 18, 20, 22, 39, 41, 65, 68, 69, 73
GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) 2
Gauteng 34
Gaza 43, 44
Gazankulu 34
Gdansk (*Danzig*) 13, 14
Gdynia 14
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade 2
Georgia (in Caucasus) 7, 16, **19**
Germany 2, 5, 10–12, 13, 14, 22, 23, 36, 39, 42, 49, 57, 58, 64, 75, 76
Ghana (*Gold Coast*) 9, 30, **37**
Gibraltar 5, 9, **25**, 42
Gilbert Islands *see* Kiribati
Gilgit 53
'global warming' 1, 76, 77
Goa 51, 52
Gobi 54
Godthaab (Nuuk) 69, 77
Golan Heights 43–5
gold 16, 20, 22, 31, 34, 65
Gold Coast *see* Ghana
Goma 36
Gorazde 15
Gorbachov, Mikhail 4, 16
Gorky *see* Nizhni Novgorod
Gough Island 75, 76
Granada 25
Great Manmade River 1
Greece 7, 8, 11–13, 15, **26**
'Green Line' 44
Greenland 12, 21, 22, 69, 76, 77
Grenada 9, **73**
Grozny 19
Guadalajara 70
Guadalcanal 66
Guadeloupe 73
Guam 58, 66, 67, 71
Guangdong (*Kwangtung*) 55–7
Guangxi (*Kwangsi*) 55
Guangzhou (*Canton*) 57
Guantánamo 71
Guatemala 7, 71
Guiana *see* Guyana

Guinea (*French Guinea*) 37, 38
Guinea, Gulf of 37
Guinea-Bissau (*Portuguese Guinea*) 37
Guizhou (*Kweichow*) 55
Gujarat 52
'Gulag Archipelago'/*gulags* 16, 77
Gulf (*Persian Gulf*) 41, 42, 46–8
Gulf Co-operation Council 29, **47**
Gulf Stream 22, 77
'Gulf wars' 4, 11, 47, **48**
Gurkhas 52
Guyana (*British Guiana*) 9, **73**, 74
Guyane *see* French Guiana

Habomai 58
Hadramaut 46
Haifa 43, 44
Haile Selassie 35
Hainan 55, 57, 61
Haiti 7, **71**, 74
Halabja 48, 49
Halifax (in Nova Scotia) 69
Halley 76
Hama 43
Hamas 8, 44
Hamburg 13
Hanoi 61
Harare (*Salisbury*) 31, 32
Hargeisa 35
Haryana 52
Hasa 46
Haud 35
Havana 71
Hawaii 67, 68
Hawar islets 47
Hebei (*Hopei*) 55
Hebron 43, 44
Heilongjiang (Amur) 54
Hejaz 46
Helmand 50
Helsinki 10, 21
Helsinki agreement (CSCE) 10
Henan (*Honan*) 55
Herat 50
'Herceg-Bosna' 15
Hercegovina 15
Herero 33
Hermon, Mount 45
heroin 50, 53, 59, 72
Hexagonal group 14
Hezbollah 8, 44, 45
Himachal Pradesh 52
Himalayas 51, **53**
Hindi 52
Hindu Kush 50
Hindus 51, 52
Hiroshima 67
Hispanics 68, 74
HIV *see* AIDS
Ho Chi Minh City (*Saigon*) 61
'Ho Chi Minh trail' 61
Hohhot (*Huhehot*) 54
Hokkaido 58
Holland (Netherlands) 1, 11, 12, 22, 23, 34;
  and Asia 27, 60, 64;
  and Caribbean 73
Holocaust 23, 43
Holstein 13
Honan *see* Henan
Honduras 71
Hong Kong 6, 9, 55, 56, **57**, 58, 60
Hopei *see* Hebei
Hormuz Strait 5, 41, 46–8
Houston 68, 70
Hrvatska *see* Croatia
Huambo 33
Hubei (*Hupeh*) 55
Hudson Bay 69, 77
Huhehot (Hohhot) 54
Hunan 55
Hungary 3, 10, 11–13, **14**
Hupeh *see* Hubei
Hutu 32, 36, 38
Hyderabad (in India) 51, 52
hydroelectric power 3

IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) 4,
    47
Ibo 37
ICBMs (inter-continental ballistic missiles) 4
Iceland 5, 11, 12, 21, **22**, 77
Ichkeria 19
Ifni 40
'Ilois' 42
Imjin 59
Inchon 59
Incirlik 49
India 1–4, 6–10, 20, 27, 41, 42, **51–3**, 76
Indian Ocean 42
indigenous Americans 1, 68–72, 74
Indochina 55, 58, 60, **61**, 62
Indonesia 1, 3, 7, 8, 55, 58, 60, 63, **64**
Indus 52
INF (Intermediate Nuclear Forces) Treaty 4
Ingush/Ingushetia 19
Inkatha 34
Inner Mongolia (Nei Mongol) 54
International Atomic Energy Agency 4
intifada 44
Inuit (Eskimo) 69
IRA (Irish Republican Army) 8, 24, 72
Iran 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 20, 27, 28, 42, **47**, 48–50, 52
'Irangate' 47
Iraq 3, 4, 6–9, 28, 29, 42, 43, **46**, 47, **48**, 49

IRBMs (intermediate-range ballistic missiles) 4
Ireland 5, 9, 10, 22, **24**, 39
Irian Jaya 64
'iron curtain' 10
Islam 8, 14–21, 23, **28**, 29, 35, 37–9, 43–51, 63, 64
Islamabad 51–3
Islamic Conference Organization **28**, 37
Islamic Jihad 44
Ismailia 43
Israel 4, 6–9, 12, 29, 39, **43–45**, 46, 48, 49
Issa 35
Istanbul 26
Italian Somaliland 35
Italy 2, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, **23**, 35, 39, 76
Iturup *see* Etorofu
Ivory Coast (Côte d'Ivoire) 7, 30, **37**, 38
Iwo Jima 58
Izmir (*Smyrna*) 26

Jaffa 43
Jaffna 51
Jaintia 52
Jakarta (*Batavia*) 64
Jamaica 9, 71
James Bay 69
Jammu 53
Jan Mayen Island 22
Japan 1–7, **27**, 41, 55–7, **58**, 59, 60, 64–7, 76
Java 64
Jedda (Jidda) 46
Jenin 44
Jerez 25
Jericho 43, 44
Jerusalem 43, 44
Jesselton *see* Kota Kinabalu
Jews 14, 17, 23, 29, 35, **43**, **44**
Jharkhand 52
Jiangsu (*Kiangsu*) 55
Jiangxi (*Kiangsi*) 55
jihad 28, 48
Jilin (*Kirin*) 54
Johannesburg 31, 32, 34
Jordan (*Transjordan*) 9, 29, 43, 44–6, 48
Jordan river 43, 44
Juba 35, 36
Jubail (*Byblos*) 45
Judea 43, 44
Jugoslavia *see* Yugoslavia
Juniye 45
Jura (canton) 23

Kabardino-Balkaria 19
Kabul 50
Kabylia 39
Kachin 53
Kalimantan (Borneo) 64
Kalinin *see* Tver
Kaliningrad (*Königsberg*) 13, 17, **18**
Kalmyk 17, 19
Kamchatka 16
Kampala 35, 36
Kampuchea *see* Cambodia
Kanaks 66
Kanarese *see* Kannada
Kandahar 50
Kandy 51
KaNgwane 34
Kannada 52
Kano 37
Kansu *see* Gansu
Karabakh 19
Karachai 19
Karachi 51, 52
Karafuto 58
Karaganda 16, 20
Karakoram 53
Karbala 28, 48
Karelia 17, 21
Karen 53
Karlsruhe 13
Karnataka (*Mysore*) 52
Kasai 32
Kashgar 20, 53, 54
Kashmir 51–3
Katanga (Shaba) 32
Katmandu 52, 53
Katyn 18
Kaunas 18
Kazakhs/Kazakhstan 3, 4, 16, **20**
Kazan 16
Kenya 1, 8, 9, 30, 31, 35, **36**
Kerala 52
Kerguelen 76
Key West 71
Khakass 17
Kharg 47, 48
Khartoum 29, 35
Khiva 20
Khmers Rouges 61, **62**
Khorramshahr 48
Khuzestan 48
Khyber pass 50
Kiangsi *see* Jiangxi
Kiangsu *see* Jiangsu
Kiev 18
Kigali 36
Kilimanjaro 36
Kimberley 34
Kinshasa (*Léopoldville*) 32
Kirgizstan *see* Kyrgyzstan
Kiribati (*Gilbert Islands*) 9, 58, **66**
Kirin *see* Jilin
Kirkuk 41, 48, 49

Kisangani (*Stanleyville*) 32
Kishinev (Chisinau) 18
Kivu 31, 32, 36
Knin 15
Kohima 52, 53
Kola peninsula 21, 22
Kolwezi 31, 32
Kolyma 16, 77
Komi 17
Kompong Som (*Sihanoukville*) 61, 62
Königsberg *see* Kaliningrad
Korea 4, 7, 11, 55, 58, **59**, 60, 65, 67
Kosovo 7, 11, 15
Kota Kinabalu (*Jesselton*) 63
Kourou 73
Kowloon 57
Krajina 15
Krakow (Cracow) 14
Kuala Lumpur 63
Kunashiri 58
Kuneitra 44, 45
Kuomintang 56
Kurds 8, 23, 29, 46–8, **49**
Kuriles 16, 58
Kut 48
Kuwait 3, 7, 9, 28, 29, 41, 42, 44, 46, **47**, **48**
Kuybyshev *see* Samara
Kwajalein 66
Kwangju 59
Kwangsi *see* Guangxi
Kwangtung *see* Guangdong
KwaZulu 34
Kweichow *see* Guizhou
Kyongsong *see* Seoul
Kyrenia (Girne) 26
Kyrgyzstan 16, 17, **20**

Labrador 69
Laccadives 51
Ladakh 53
Lagos 37
Lahore 51
Lakshadweep 51
La Linea 25
Languedoc 23
Laos 6, 55, 60, **61**, 62
Larak 47
Larnaca 26
Las Vegas 68
Latakia 46
Latvia 11, 12, **18**, 21
League of Nations 7, 43, 58, 68
Lebanon 7, 28, 29, 43, 44, **45**, 46
Lebowa 34
Leh 53
Lena 16, 17
Leningrad *see* St Petersburg
Lennox 75
León 70
Léopoldville *see* Kinshasa
Lesbos 26
Lesotho (*Basutoland*) 9, 30, **34**
Lhasa 53
Liaoning 54
Liberia 7, 30, **37**
Libya 3, 4, 6–8, 28–30, 36, 38, **39**, 40, 41, 52
Liechtenstein 12, 23
Ligitan 60
Lima 74
Limassol 26
Limerick 24
Limpopo 32
Litani 45
Lithuania 11, 12, **18**, 21
'little dragons' 55
Ljubljana 15
Lobito 32, 33
Lockerbie 39
Lod (*Lydda*) 44
Lomé 12, 37
London 8
Londonderry 24
Lop Nor 54
Lord's Resistance Army 36
Loro Sae *see* East Timor
Lourenço Marques *see* Maputo
Luanda 8, 32, 33
Luang Prabang 61
Lublin 14
Lubumbashi (*Elisabethville*) 32
Lüda (*Dairen/Port Arthur*) 54
Lüderitz 33
Lusaka 32
Lushai Hills *see* Mizoram
Luxembourg 11, 12, **23**
Lvov 14, 18
Lydda (Lod) 44

Maastricht 12
Macau (Macao) 57
Macassar 64
Macedonia 7, 11, 12, 15
Macias Nguema *see* Fernando Póo
Mackenzie 69, 77
McMahon Line 53
Madagascar 30, 42
Madeira 40
Madhya Pradesh 52
Madrid 8
Magadan 16, 77
Magellan Strait 5, **75**
Maghreb 29, **39**
Maharashtra 52
Malacca/Malacca Strait 5, **63**, 64

Malaga 25
Malagasy *see* Madagascar
Malawi (*Nyasaland*) 9, 31, **32**
Malaya 58, 60, 63
Malayalam 52
Malaysia 3, 9, 55, 60, **63**, 64
Maldives 9, **42**, 52
Mali 30, 37, 38
Malta 9, 12, 25, 39, 42
Maluku (Moluccas) 64
Malvinas/Malouines *see* Falklands
Man, Isle of 23
Managua 71
Manchuria 54, 58
Mandalay 53
Mandela, Nelson 34
Manila 8
Manipur 52
Maoist guerrillas (Nepal) 52
Maoist guerrillas (Peru) 74
Maoris 65
Maputo (*Lourenço Marques*) 32
maquiladoras 70
Maracaibo 71
Marathi 52
Mari 17
Marianas 58, *66*, 67
Marjayoun 45
Maronites 45
Marquesas 66
Marrakesh 40
Marshalls 58, **66**, 67
Martí, José 71
Martinique 73
Mary (Merv) 20, 47
Mashona/Mashonaland 32
Matabele/Matabeleland 32
Matsu 56
Mauritania 29, 37, 38, **40**
Mauritius 9, 30, **42**, 44
Mayotte 42
Mazar-e Sharif 50
Mecca 28, 29, 46
Medellin 72
Medina 46
Meech Lake 69
Meghalaya 52
Megiddo (*Armageddon*) 44
Mekong 61, 62
Melanesians 64, 66
Melilla 25, 29, 40
Mercosur 2, 74
Mérida 71
Mesopotamia *see* Iraq
Mexico 1–3, 68, **70**, 71, 72, 74
Mexico City 70
MFO 44
Miami 1, 68, 71
Micronesia 58, **66**, 67
Midway 67
Midwest 68
Minneapolis 68
Minorca 25
Minsk 18
Miquelon 69
Mizoram (*Lushai Hills*) 52
Mogadishu 35
mohajirs 52
Moldova (*Moldavia*) 7, 14, 16, 17, **18**
Moluccas (Maluku) 64
Monaco 23
Mongolia 20, 27, 54
Monrovia 37
Montenegro 15
Monterrey 70
Montevideo 74
Montserrat 73
Moravia 14
Mordva/Mordovia 17
Morocco 12, 25, 29, 30, 39, **40**, 44
Moros 60
Moscow 8, 16, 17, 19, 20
Mosquito Coast 71
Mostar 15
Mosul 48, 49
Mozambique 7, 9, 23, 30, 31, **32**
MPLA 33
Mumbai (*Bombay*) 8
Munich (München) 13
Murmansk 21, 22, 77
Mururoa 66
Muscat 46
Muslims *see* Islam
Myanmar *see* Burma
Mysore *see* Karnataka

Nablus 43, 44
NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) 2, 68–70
Nagaland 52
Nagorno-Karabakh 19
Nairobi 8, 35, 36
Najaf 48
Nakhichevan 19
Namibia (*South West Africa*) 3, 7, 9, 31, 32, **33**
Nansei *see* Ryukyus
Natal 34
National Liberation Army 72
NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) 4, 11, 12–15, 21, 50
Nauru 9, **66**
Navarra 23
Nazareth 44

Ndebele (Matabele) 34
Ndjamena (*Fort Lamy*) 37, 38
NEFA *see* Arunachal Pradesh
Negev 43, 44
Nei Mongol *see* Inner Mongolia
Neisse *see* Oder–Neisse Line
Nejd 46
Nepal 8, 9, 52, **53**
Netherlands *see* Holland
Neutral Zone 47
Nevada 68
Nevis 73
New Amsterdam 73
New Britain 64
New Brunswick 69
New Caledonia 66
New England 68
New Guinea 58, **64**
New Hebrides *see* Vanuatu
New Ireland 64
New Orleans 1, 68
New South Wales 65
New York 7, 8, 68
New Zealand 1, 2, 6, 9, 61, **65**, 66, 67, 76
Newfoundland 69
Nicaragua 71
Nicosia (Lefkosa) 26
NICs (newly industrialized countries) 2, 27
Niger 3, 37, **38**
Niger Delta region 37
Nigeria 1, 3, 9, 30, **37**
Nile delta 1
Niue 65, 66
Nizhni Novgorod (*Gorky*) 17
Non-Aligned Movement 6, 27
Nordic Council 21
Noriega, Manuel 72
Norilsk 16, 77
North American Free Trade Agreement *see* NAFTA
North Atlantic Drift 21, 77
North Atlantic Treaty Organization *see* NATO
North Korea 4, 6, 52, 58, **59**, 67
North Ossetia 19
North Pole 77
North Sea 3, 5, **22**
North West Frontier 50–2
North West Passage 69
Northern Ireland 24
Northern Mariana islands 67
Northwest Territories 69
Norway 3, 5, 11–13, **21**, 22, 76, 77
Nouakchott 40
Nova Scotia 69
Novaya Zemlya 16, 77
NPT (Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty) 4, 47
nuclear power 3, 4
nuclear weapons *see* weapons of mass destruction
Nueva 75
Nunavut 69
Nuuk (Godthaab) 69, 77
Nyasaland *see* Malawi

Oahu 67
OAS (Organization of American States) 71, **74**
OAU (Organization of African Unity) *see* African Union
Ob 16, 17, 77
Obote, Milton 36
Occitanie *see* Languedoc
Ocean Island 66
Oder-Neisse Line 13
Odessa 14, 18
OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) 1, 2, 12
OECS (Organization of Eastern Caribbean States) 73
OEEC (Organization for European Economic Co-operation) 12
Ogaden 35
Ogasawara *see* Bonins
oil (petroleum) 3, 5, 6, 16–20, 28, 53–5, 58, 63–5, 68, 69, 70, 73, 75, 77;
  in Africa 33, 35, 37–9;
  in Middle East **41**, 42, 43, 46–8
Okinawa 58, 67
Omaha 68
Oman 3, 9, 29, 41, 44, **46**, 47
OPEC (Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries) 3, 41
opium 50, 53, 72
Oran (Wahran) 39
Orange Free State 34
Ordzhonikidze *see* Vladikavkaz
Organizations: *see* OAS, OAU, OECD, OECS, OEEC, OPEC, OSCE
Orissa/Oriya 52
Orkneys 22
Oromo (Galla) 35
Osama bin Laden 28, 46, 50
OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) 10
Ossetia/Ossetians 19
Ottawa 69
Oubangui-Chari *see* CAR
Ovambo 34
Ovimbundu 34
Oxus *see* Amu Darya
ozone layer 1, 76

Padang 64

Pakistan 1, 4, 7–9, 20, 23, 27, 48, 50, **51**, **52**, 53, 59, 60
Palau (Belau) 66
Palawan 63
Palestine/Palestinians **43**, **44**, 45, 47
Palestine Liberation Organization 29, 43–5, 48
Palestinian Authority 44
Pamirs 20, 50
Panama 71, **72**
Panama Canal 5, 67, 71, **72**
Panjshir Valley 50
Panmunjom 59
Papua 64
Papua New Guinea (PNG) 2, 9, **64**, 66
Paracels 55
Paraguay 2, 74
Partnership for Peace 11
Patagonia 75
Pathans 50–2
peacekeeping forces 7, 15, 26, 32, 33, 35, 36, 43–5, 62, 64, 71
Pearl Harbor 67
Pearl river 57
Pechenga (*Petsamo*) 21
Peking *see* Beijing
Penang 63
Penghu (Pescadores) 56
Pentagonal group 14
Perim 46
Perpetual Maritime Truce 47
Persia *see* Iran
Persian Gulf *see* Gulf
Peru 2, 72, 74
Pescadores (Penghu) 56
Peshawar 50
Petsamo (Pechenga) 21
Philadelphia 68
Philippines 8, 55, 58, **60**, 61, 67, 71
Phnom Penh 61, 62
Phoenix 68, 70
Picton 75
Pinochet, Augusto 74
Pitcairn 66
PKK *see* Kurds
'Plan Colombia' 72
Plate (Rio de la Plata) 74
PLO *see* Palestine Liberation Organization
plutonium 4, 59
PNG *see* Papua New Guinea
Poland 1, 10–13, **14**, 18, 21, 76
Polisario 40
pollution 1
Polynesia 65, **66**
Pomaks 14
Pomerania (Pommern) 13
Pondicherry 51
population change 1, 30
Port Arthur 54, 57
Port Moresby 64
Port Said 43
Port of Spain 73
Port Stanley 75
Portland 68
Portugal 11, 12, 27, 31–3, 37, 57, 64, 74
Poznan (*Posen*) 14
Prague (Praha) 14
Pratas (Tungsha) 56
Preah Vihear 62
Presidios 25
Pretoria 34
Prince Edward Island 69
Prince Edward Islands 76
Principe *see* São Tomé
Prudhoe Bay 68, 77
Puebla 70
Puerto Rico 71, 73
Punjab 51, 52
Punta Arenas 75
Puntland 35
Pusan 59
Pushtun 50
Pyinmana 53
Pyongyang 59

Qaddafi, Muammar 39
Qalqiliya 44
Qatar 3, 9, 29, 41, 44, 46, **47**
Qom 47
'Quartet' 44
Quebec 69
Quemoy (Chinmen) 56
Quetta 50
Quito 74

Rabaul 64
Rabta 39
Rajasthan 52
Ramallah 44
Rand (Witwatersrand) 34
Rangoon (Yangon) 53
Rarotonga 66
Ras al Khaimah 47
Ras Tannurah 47
Red Sea 39, 46
Renamo 32
Réunion 42
Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) 72
Rhodes, Cecil 31
Rhodes (island) 26
Rhodesia *see* Zambia *and* Zimbabwe
Riga 14, 18
Rio Grande 70
Rio de Janeiro 1, 74

Rio de Oro 40
Rio Treaty 74
Riyadh (Riad) 4, 46
Rockall 22
Roma ('Gypsies') 14
Romania (Rumania) 10–12, **14**, 18
Romansh 23
Rome Treaty 12
Rössing 33
RSA *see* South Africa
Rushdie, Salman 28, 47
Russia 1–4, 6, 8, 10–15, **16**, **17**, 18–22, 42, 44, 47, 54, 58, 67, 76
Ruthenia 14, 18
Rwanda 7, 23, 32, 35, **36**, 38
Ryukyus (Nansei) 55, 58, 67

Saar 13
SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation) 52
Sacramento 68
Sadat, Anwar 43, 44
SADC (Southern African Development Community) 31
Saddam Hussein 48
Sahara 1, 30, 38
Sahel 38
Sahrawis 40
Saida *see* Sidon
Saigon (Ho Chi Minh City) 61, 62
St Barthélemy 73
St Christopher *see* St Kitts
St Helena 9, 75
St Kitts and Nevis 9, **73**
St Louis (in Senegal) 40
St Louis (in US) 68
St Lucia 9, **73**
St Martin 73
St Petersburg (*Leningrad*) 16, 17, 21
St Pierre and Miquelon 69
St Vincent 9, **73**
Saipan 66
Sakha *see* Yakutia
Sakhalin 16, 58
Sakia el Hamra 40
Salang 50
Salisbury *see* Harare
Salonika 15
Samara (*Kuybyshev*) 17
Samaria 43, 44
Samarkand 20
Samarra 48
Sami ('Laplanders') 22
Samoa 9, 65, **66**, 67
San Diego 67, 68, 70
San Marino 23
San Salvador 71
Sandinistas 71
Sanjak 15
Santo Domingo (*Ciudad Trujillo*) 71
São Paulo 74
São Tomé and Principe 37
Sarajevo 15
Sarawak 63, 64
Saudi Arabia 3, 4, 27–9, 41, 44, **46**, 47, 48
Schengen/'Schengenland' 12
SCO *see* Shanghai Co-operation Organization
Scotland 23
SEATO (South-East Asia Treaty Organization) **60**, 65, 67
Seattle 68
Semipalatinsk (Semey) 20
Senegal 30, 37, **38**
Senegambia 37
Senkakus (Diaoyu) 55, 56
Seoul 59
Serbia 6, 14, **15**
Sevastopol 18
Seychelles 9, **42**
SEZ *see* special economic zone
Shaanxi (*Shensi*) 55
Shaba (*Katanga*) 31, 32
Shan 53
Shandong (*Shantung*) 55
Shangaan 34
Shanghai 56, 57
Shanghai Co-operation Organization 20, 54
Shantou (*Swatow*) *56*
Shantung *see* Shandong
Shanxi (*Shansi*) 55
Sharjah 47
Sharm el Sheikh 43, 44
Sharon, Ariel 44
Shatt al Arab 48
Shensi *see* Shaanxi
Shenzhen 57
Shetlands 22
Shias **28**, 45–8, 50, 52
Shikotan 58
Shining Path 74
Shipki Pass 53
Shona *see* Mashona
Siachen glacier 53
Siam *see* Thailand
Siberia 16, 17, 27, 77
Sichuan (*Szechwan*) 55
Sidon (Saida) 45
Sidra 39
Sierra Leone 7, 9, **37**
Sikhs 51, 52
Sikkim 52, 53
Silesia 13
'Silicon Valley' 68
Simla 53

Sinai 43, 44
Sind 51, 52
Singapore 6, 9, 42, 55, 58, 60, **63**
Sinhala/Sinhalese 51
Sinkiang *see* Xinjiang
Sipadan 60
Six Day War 43
Skopje 15
Slavs 16
Slavonia 15
Slovakia 11, 12, 14
Slovenia 11, 12, 14, **15**
Smyrna *see* Izmir
Society Islands 66
Socotra 42
Sofia 14
Solidarity organization 14
Solomon Islands 9, 58, 64, 65, **66**
Somalia 7, 9, 29, **35**, 42
Somaliland 35
Somoza family 71
Sotho *see* Basotho; Lebowa; Lesotho
Soudan 37, 38
South Africa (RSA) 3, 4, 9, 30–3, **34**, 76
South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) 52
South China Sea 55
South-East Asia Treaty Organization *see* SEATO
South Georgia 75, 76
South Korea 2, 6, 11, 55, 58, **59**, 60, 67
South Lebanon Army 45
South Orkneys 75, 76
South Ossetia 19
South Pole 76
South Sandwich Islands 75, 76
South Shetlands 75
South West Africa *see* Namibia
Southern African Development Community (SADC) 31
Soviet Union (USSR) 1–4, 6, 7, 15, **16**, 17–22, 71, 76, 77;
  and Africa 33–35;
  and Asia 50, 54, 58–62;
  and Europe 10–15;
  and Middle East 41–44, 46, 47
Spain 8, 11, 12, 23, 25;
  and Africa 27, 37, 40;
  and Latin America 71, 74
Spanish Guinea *see* Equatorial Guinea
Spanish Sahara *see* Western Sahara
SPARTECA 66
special economic zone (SEZ) 57
Spitsbergen (Svalbard) 22, 77
Split 15
Spratlys (Nansha) 55, 60
Srebrenica 15
Sri Lanka (*Ceylon*) 8, 9, 42, **51**, 52
Srinagar 53
Stalin–Hitler pact 13
Stalingrad *see* Volgograd
Stalino/Stalinsk 17
Stanley *see* Port Stanley
Stanleyville *see* Kisangani
START Treaties 4
Statute of Westminster 9
Stettin *see* Szczecin
Stormont 24
Strait of Malacca *see* Malacca
Strasbourg 12
Subic Bay 60
Sudan 3, 7, 9, 29, 30, **35**, 48
Sudd 35
Sudeten/Sudetenland 13
Suez Canal 5, 41, **42**, **43**
Sukhumi 19
Sulawesi (Celebes) 64
Sulu 63
Sumatra 64
Sunda Strait 5, 64
Sunnis 20, **28**, 45–52
Sur *see* Tyre
Surinam 23, **73**, 74
Svalbard (Spitsbergen) 22, 77
Sverdlovsk *see* Yekaterinburg
SWAPO (South West African People's Organization) 33
Swatow *see* Shantou
Swaziland 9, 30, 34
Sweden 3, 10, 12, **21**, 22
Switzerland 7, 10, 12, **23**
Syr Darya 20
Syria 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 17, 29, 41, 43–5, **46**, 48, 49
Szczecin (Stettin) 13, 14
Szechwan *see* Sichuan

Tachens 56
Tahiti 66
Taiwan 2, 6, 7, 55, **56**, 58, 67
Tajiks/Tajikistan 7, 17, **20**, 50, 54
Takeshima *see* Dokdo
Taliban 50, 52
Tallinn 14, 18
Tamils 51, 52
Tampa 68
Tanganyika *see* Tanzania
Tangier 25, 40
Tannu-Tuva 54
Tanzania 9, 31, 32, 35, **36**
Tashkent 20
Tasman Sea 65
Tatars/Tatarstan **17**, 54
Taylor, Charles 37
Tazara railway 32
Tbilisi (*Tiflis*) 19

Tegucigalpa 71
Tehran 4, 47
Tel Aviv 4, 43, 44
Telugu 52
Temesvar *see* Timisoara
Tenerife 40
territorial waters 5, 26
terrorism/terrorists 7, **8**, 11, 19, 20, 23, 24, 28, 35, 39, 43, 44, 46, 50, 51, 52, 60, 64, 66, 71, 72
Texas 68, 70
Thailand 2, 8, 53, 58, **60**, 61, 62, 67
'Third World' 6, 75
Three Mile Island 68
Thule 69, 77
Tianjin (*Tientsin*) 55
Tibet (Xizang) 53
Tientsin *see* Tianjin
Tierra del Fuego 75
Tiflis *see* Tbilisi
Tigre 35
Tigris 48
Tijuana 70
Timbuktu 37
Timisoara (Temesvar) 14
Timor 64
Timor Sea 64
Tindouf 40
Tirana 15
Tirol 23
Tlatelolco Treaty 4, **74**
Tobago *see* Trinidad and Tobago
Tobruk 39
Togo 12, 30, **37**, 38
Tokelaus 66
Tokyo 8, 58
Toluca 70
Tombouctou *see* Timbuktu
Tomsk 17
Tonga 9, **66**
Tongking (Tonkin) 61
Toronto 8
Torréon 70
Trafalgar 25
Transcarpathia 18
Transjordan *see* Jordan
Transkei 34
Transnistria 18
Transvaal 34
Transylvania 14
Trento (Trent) 23
Trieste 15
Trincomalee 51
Trinidad and Tobago 3, 9, **73**
Trinidade 75
Tripoli (in Lebanon) 45
Tripoli (in Libya) 39
Tripura 52
Tristan da Cunha 75, 76
Tromelin 42
Trucial States 47
Truong Sa *see* Spratlys
Tselinograd *see* Astana
Tsushima 59
Tuamotu 66
Tulkarm 44
Tumbs 47
Tunisia 3, 29, **39**, 41, 44
Turkey 1, 3, 8, 11, 12, 14, 19, 20, 23, **26**, 27–9, 39, 41, 43–6, **49**
Turki/Turkistan 20, 54
'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' 26
Turkish Straits 5
Turkmens/Turkmenistan 3, 16, **20**, 47, 50
Turks and Caicos 71
Tutsi (Watusi) 32, **36**, 38
Tuva/Tuvinia 17, 54
Tuvalu (*Ellice Islands*) 7, 9, **66**
Tver (*Kalinin*) 17
Tyre (Sur) 45
Tyumen 17

UAE *see* United Arab Emirates
UAR *see* United Arab Republic
Udmurt 17
Uganda 8, 9, 30, 32, 35, **36**
Uighurs 54
Ukraine 3, 4, 14, 16, 17, **18**, 76
Ulan Bator (*Urga*) 54
Ulster 24
Umm al Qaiwain 47
UNCLOS conferences 5, 22
UNITA 8, 33
United Arab Emirates (UAE) 3, 9, 29, 41, 46, **47**
United Arab Republic (UAR) 29, 46
United Kingdom *see* Britain
United Nations 3, 4, 5, 7, 15, 26, 71;
and Africa 32–6, 39, 40;
and Asia 50–2, 59, 62, 64;
and Middle East 43–48
United Provinces *see* Uttar Pradesh
United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia 72
United States of America 1–9, 11, 13, 15, 65–7, **68**, 69–74, 76;
and Africa 33–5, 39;
and Asia 50, 56, 58–61;
and Middle East 42–50
Upper Volta *see* Burkina Faso
Urals 4, 17
uranium 3, 4, 20, 31, 38, 54, 65, 68, 69
Uruguay 2, 74, 76
'Uruguay round' 2
Urumqi 54

USSR *see* Soviet Union
Ussuri (Wusuli) 54
Uttar Pradesh 52
Uttaranchal 52
Uzbeks/Uzbekistan 3, **20**, 50, 54

Valdez 68
Vancouver 69
Vanuatu (*New Hebrides*) 9, **66**
Vatican City 23
Venda 34
Venezuela 2, 3, 71–4
Victoria (in Australia) 65
Victoria (in Hong Kong) 57
Vientiane 61
Vietnam 1, 3, 6, 27, 55, 60, **61**, 62, 67, 68
Vilnius 14, 18
Virgins 73
Visegrad 14
Vladikavkaz (*Ordzhonikidze*) 19
Vladivostok 16, 54
Vojvodina 14, **15**
Volcano Islands 58, 67
Volga 13, 17, 20
Volgograd (*Tsaritsyn, Stalingrad*) 17
Vorkuta 16, 77
Vostok 76

Wahabi 46
Waitangi Treaty 65
Wake 58, 67
Wales 23
Walesa, Lech 14
Wallachia 14
Wallis and Futuna 66
Walloons/Wallonia 23
Walvis Bay 33
'war on terror' 8, 46, 68
Warsaw Pact 4, 10, 13
Washington, DC 8, 68
Watusi *see* Tutsi
weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) 4, 8, 13, 17, 39, 47, 48, 54, 59, 67, 74
Wellington 65
West Bank (of Jordan river) 43, 44
West Indian Federation 71
West Indies 71, 73
West Irian 7, 64
Western European Union 11, 12
Western Sahara 7, 23, 30, 39, **40**
Western Samoa 9, 65, **66**
WEU *see* Western European Union
whaling 5
Windhoek 33
wind power 1
Witwatersrand 31, 34
World Trade Organization 2, 11, 56
Wroclaw (*Breslau*) 14
WTO *see* World Trade Organization
Württemberg 13

Xhosa 34
Xiamen (Amoy) 56
Xinjiang (*Sinkiang*) 54
Xisha *see* Paracels
Xizang *see* Tibet

Yakuts/Yakutia (Sakha) **17**, 54, 77
Yalta 14
Yalu 59
Yamoussoukro 37
Yanan (Yenan) 55
Yanbu 41, 46
Yangon *see* Rangoon
Yangzi (*Yangtse*) 55
Yaoundé 12, 37
Yarkand 53, 54
Yekaterinburg (*Sverdlovsk*) 17
Yemen 3, 7, 9, 29, **46**, 48
Yerevan 19
Yom Kippur War 43
Yongbyon 59
Yoruba 37
Yucatán 70
Yugoslavia 6, 7, 10, 14, **15**, 23
Yukon 69
Yunnan 53, 55

Zagreb 15
Zaire *see* Congo-Kinshasa
Zambezi 32, 33
Zambia (*Northern Rhodesia*) 1, 9, 31, **32**
Zanzibar 35, 36
Zapatista National Liberation Front 70
Zhejiang (*Chekiang*) 55, 56
Zhuhai 57
Zimbabwe (*Southern Rhodesia*) 9, 30, 31, **32**
Zionism 43
Zulus 34
Zyyi 26