



A Scholarly
Publication
of the
National
Geographic
Society

SUMMER 1994

Research & Exploration

.....
Ungulates
in Tibet
.....

.....
Olmec
Sculpture
.....

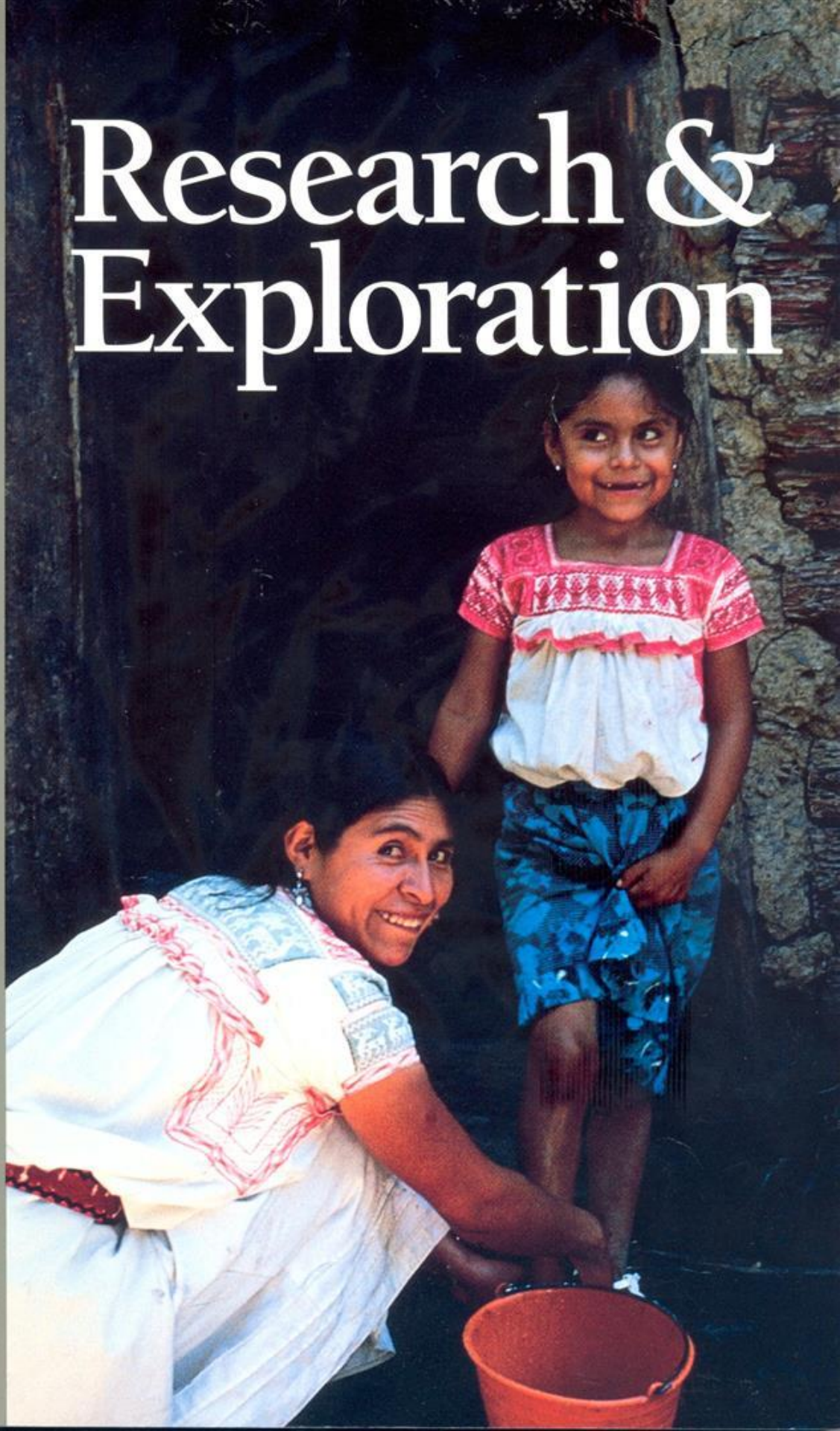
.....
North
American Bird
Population
Density
.....

.....
Perceptions
of Fresh Water
.....

.....
Mexican
Textiles
.....

.....
Street-vending
in Peru
.....

.....
MAP SUPPLEMENT:
Europe
of Regions
.....



Ethnicity vs Nationalism— the European Nations

Richard Griggs

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHERS and other social scientists have widely adopted the anthropological paradigm of "ethnicity" in their attempts to explain and define nationalism. The categories belonging to this paradigm (ethnic group, ethnic minority, ethnolinguistic group, and ethno-nationalist) are not coextensive with the phenomenon I describe. (See the map supplement; a map of ethnicity would not resemble a map of nationalist claims.) The associations (ties by common ancestry, minority membership in a state, and no legitimate claims to territory) do not adequately describe nationalist assertions.

The application of the term "ethnic group" to nationalist claims conflates 2 different geographical processes: immigration to a place, and territorial annexation by an expansionist state or nation. The term is employed equally to a group that maintains its folkways from the old country (eg, Swedes in Wisconsin) as it is to a historic nation annexed by state expansionism (eg, Skaneland absorbed by Sweden in 1658).

The terms ethnic group and ethnolinguistic group also present a problem of geographic distribution. The distribution of the ethnic Cornish is global. The nationalist claim to Cornwall is place specific. Ethnolinguistic group is equally problematic because the geographical distribution of language groups is not coextensive with the distribution of nationalist claims to territory. For instance, most Scottish nationalists speak English.

The term minority is no more useful. Nationalist claims are not always made by minorities. Bolivia, Guatemala, Peru, Burundi, and South Africa for instance have been ruled by minority



Figure 1.
*Stepping out for their 1st day of classes,
children destined for School 119
in Odessa, Ukraine, carry flowers
to their teachers.
The sashes of 2 youngsters
announce in Russian their
status as 1st graders.*

STUVE RAYMER

national cultures fewer in number than the population of other nations included in the states. Many nationalists also claim that within their stated boundaries, they are the majority.

The term ethno-nationalist is an attempt to distinguish between the "nationalism" exhibited by states and that exhibited by nations (the ethno-nationalists). It compounds the common confusion between a nation (a people with ties to a cultural homeland) and a state (a military and civilian bureaucracy that represents a body of people within defined borders). The prefix "ethno" merely adds

another layer of confusion. Nation loyalties produce nationalists, a national identity, and nationalism. State loyalties produce statists, a state identity (citizenship), and patriotism.

Through its associations, the ethnic group paradigm when applied to rival nation and state claims to territory is biased toward the state. Ethnicity is perceived in terms of common ancestry with no necessary relationship to a territorial base except in the distant past (eg, Semitic). Furthermore, ethnic groups of all kinds are associated with membership in a state structure. Nationalists are not claiming ethnic minority status in a state but some sovereign status distinct from the state. Their ties may or may not be ancestral but they also involve contemporary cultural ties to territory. Nationalists employ the term "nation" because it is the basis of their territorial claims. Statists resisting those claims prefer the ethnicity paradigm.

Finally certain geopolitical actors are left out of the ethnicity paradigm. First, ethnicity is associated more with non-Caucasians of Third World origin than with First World Caucasians. References are seldom made to the "ethnic English." Secondly, the claim to nationhood by any multinational state automatically relegates old nations to ethnic group status. During a nearly 50-year armed struggle for independence the Eritreans were more commonly described as ethnic Ethiopians or Ethiopian rebels. The key geopolitical actor was concealed and stripped of legitimacy through the use of the ethnicity paradigm: Eritrea (which ironically won the war of independence in 1993).

The semantic debate is evidence itself of 2 separately conceived geographies that can be mapped. Within the

EUROPE OF REGIONS

A SPECIAL MAP SUPPLEMENT TO:
Research & Exploration

A Specialty Publication of the National Geographic Society
A Special Double-Page Spread Edition of the 1994 National Geographic
Magazine, Vol. 87, No. 3, March 1994
ISSN 1040-1531
RESEARCH 1994

The nations of Europe include both recognized and unrecognized territorial cultures. Recognized nations have achieved statehood. There are some 130 unrecognized nations within Europe's multinational states (some 6000 to 9000 nations worldwide). State efforts to culturally assimilate these historic nations have largely failed and national organization persists with varying degrees of political power compared as regional, autonomous, city-states, religious, economic, academic, and the hegemonic nation states of states.

- Recognized Nations**
 - 1. Iceland
 - 2. Denmark
 - 3. Norway
 - 4. Sweden
 - 5. Finland
 - 6. United Kingdom
 - 7. Ireland
 - 8. Germany
 - 9. Poland
 - 10. Czech Republic
 - 11. Slovakia
 - 12. Austria
 - 13. Hungary
 - 14. Switzerland
 - 15. Italy
 - 16. France
 - 17. Spain
 - 18. Portugal
 - 19. Greece
 - 20. Turkey
 - 21. Russia
 - 22. Ukraine
 - 23. Belarus
 - 24. Lithuania
 - 25. Latvia
 - 26. Estonia
 - 27. Slovenia
 - 28. Croatia
 - 29. Serbia
 - 30. Montenegro
 - 31. Bosnia and Herzegovina
 - 32. Albania
 - 33. Macedonia
 - 34. Bulgaria
 - 35. Romania
 - 36. Moldova
 - 37. Cyprus
 - 38. Malta
 - 39. Vatican City
 - 40. San Marino
- Unrecognized Nations**
 - 41. Abkhaz Republic
 - 42. South Ossetia
 - 43. Transnistria
 - 44. Nagorno-Karabakh Republic
 - 45. Artsakh Republic
 - 46. Republic of Crimea
 - 47. Donetsk People's Republic
 - 48. Luhansk People's Republic
 - 49. Dagestan Republic
 - 50. Chechen Republic
 - 51. Ingush Republic
 - 52. Kabard-Balkar Republic
 - 53. Tatar Republic
 - 54. Crimean Tatar Republic
 - 55. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 56. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 57. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 58. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 59. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 60. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 61. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 62. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 63. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 64. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 65. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 66. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 67. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 68. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 69. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 70. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 71. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 72. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 73. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 74. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 75. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 76. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 77. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 78. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 79. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 80. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 81. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 82. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 83. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 84. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 85. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 86. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 87. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 88. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 89. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 90. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 91. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 92. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 93. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 94. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 95. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 96. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 97. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 98. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 99. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 100. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 101. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 102. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 103. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 104. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 105. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 106. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 107. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 108. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 109. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 110. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 111. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 112. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 113. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 114. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 115. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 116. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 117. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 118. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 119. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 120. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 121. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 122. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 123. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 124. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 125. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 126. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 127. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 128. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 129. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 130. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 131. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 132. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 133. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 134. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 135. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 136. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 137. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 138. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 139. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 140. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 141. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 142. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 143. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 144. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 145. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 146. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 147. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 148. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 149. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 150. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 151. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 152. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 153. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 154. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 155. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 156. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 157. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 158. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 159. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 160. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 161. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 162. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 163. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 164. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 165. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 166. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 167. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 168. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 169. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 170. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 171. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 172. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 173. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 174. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 175. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 176. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 177. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 178. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 179. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 180. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 181. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 182. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 183. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 184. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 185. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 186. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 187. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 188. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 189. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 190. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 191. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 192. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 193. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 194. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 195. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 196. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 197. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 198. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 199. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 200. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 201. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 202. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 203. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 204. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 205. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 206. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 207. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 208. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 209. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 210. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 211. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 212. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 213. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 214. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 215. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 216. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 217. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 218. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 219. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 220. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 221. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 222. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 223. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 224. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 225. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 226. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 227. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 228. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 229. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 230. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 231. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 232. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 233. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 234. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 235. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 236. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 237. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 238. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 239. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 240. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 241. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 242. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 243. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 244. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 245. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 246. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 247. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 248. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 249. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 250. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 251. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 252. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 253. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 254. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 255. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 256. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 257. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 258. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 259. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 260. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 261. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 262. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 263. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 264. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 265. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 266. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 267. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 268. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 269. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 270. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 271. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 272. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 273. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 274. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 275. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 276. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 277. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 278. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 279. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 280. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 281. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 282. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 283. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 284. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 285. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 286. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 287. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 288. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 289. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 290. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 291. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 292. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 293. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 294. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 295. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 296. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 297. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 298. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 299. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 300. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 301. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 302. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 303. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 304. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 305. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 306. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 307. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 308. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 309. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 310. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 311. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 312. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 313. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 314. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 315. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 316. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 317. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 318. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 319. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 320. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 321. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 322. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 323. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 324. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 325. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 326. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 327. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 328. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 329. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 330. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 331. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 332. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 333. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 334. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 335. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 336. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 337. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 338. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 339. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 340. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 341. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 342. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 343. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 344. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 345. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 346. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 347. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 348. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 349. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 350. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 351. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 352. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 353. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 354. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 355. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 356. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 357. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 358. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 359. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 360. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 361. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 362. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 363. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 364. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 365. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 366. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 367. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 368. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 369. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 370. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 371. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 372. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 373. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 374. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 375. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 376. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 377. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 378. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 379. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 380. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 381. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 382. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 383. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 384. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 385. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 386. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 387. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 388. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 389. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 390. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 391. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 392. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 393. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 394. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 395. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 396. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 397. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 398. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 399. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 400. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 401. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 402. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 403. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 404. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 405. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 406. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 407. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 408. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 409. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 410. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 411. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 412. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 413. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 414. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 415. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 416. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 417. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 418. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 419. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 420. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 421. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 422. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 423. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 424. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 425. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 426. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 427. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 428. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 429. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 430. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 431. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 432. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 433. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 434. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 435. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 436. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 437. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 438. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 439. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 440. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 441. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 442. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 443. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 444. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 445. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 446. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 447. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 448. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 449. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 450. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 451. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 452. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 453. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 454. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 455. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 456. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 457. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 458. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 459. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 460. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 461. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 462. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 463. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 464. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 465. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 466. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 467. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 468. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 469. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 470. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 471. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 472. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 473. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 474. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 475. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 476. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 477. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 478. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 479. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 480. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 481. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 482. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 483. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 484. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 485. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 486. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 487. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 488. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 489. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 490. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 491. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 492. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 493. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 494. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 495. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 496. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 497. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 498. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 499. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 500. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 501. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 502. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 503. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 504. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 505. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 506. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 507. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 508. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 509. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 510. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 511. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 512. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 513. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 514. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 515. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 516. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 517. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 518. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 519. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 520. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 521. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 522. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 523. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 524. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 525. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 526. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 527. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 528. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 529. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 530. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 531. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 532. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 533. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 534. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 535. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 536. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 537. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 538. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 539. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 540. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 541. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 542. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 543. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 544. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 545. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 546. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 547. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 548. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 549. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 550. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 551. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 552. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 553. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 554. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 555. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 556. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 557. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 558. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 559. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 560. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 561. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 562. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 563. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 564. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 565. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 566. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 567. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 568. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 569. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 570. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 571. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 572. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 573. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 574. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 575. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 576. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 577. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 578. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 579. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 580. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 581. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 582. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 583. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 584. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 585. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 586. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 587. Abkhaz Autonomous Republic
 - 588. South Ossetian Autonomous Republic
 - 589. Transnistrian Autonomous Republic
 - 590. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic
 - 591. Artsakh Autonomous Republic
 - 592. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 593. Donetsk Autonomous Republic
 - 594. Luhansk Autonomous Republic
 - 595. Dagestan Autonomous Republic
 - 596. Chechen Autonomous Republic
 - 597. Ingush Autonomous Republic
 - 598. Kabard-Balkar Autonomous Republic
 - 599. Tatar Autonomous Republic
 - 600. Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic

world of 191 states there are 6000 to 9000 historically sovereign or autonomous nations that lay claim to territories distinct from the legal boundaries on world political maps. While world political maps of states are readily available, no world map or atlas of nation claims exists. This partly owes to a paradigm that views nations as ethnic groups belonging to discrete states. State claims cannot be confused with nation claims. Thus, I refer to boundaries that define claims to a single national culture as a nation. A set of internationally recognized boundaries that comprise >1

nation is a state. A nation-state is then a situation in which cultural and legal boundaries coincide (eg, Iceland).

Maps that can distinguish between nations and states are particularly important when studying the role of nationalists in state breakdown (new internal boundaries that permit greater autonomy for "nations" within a state) or breakup (the breakup of a state into ≥ 2 new ones). State breakdown and breakup occur most commonly along the boundaries of historic nations. These old nation boundaries can be considered cultural faultlines since nations often persist in

cultural form centuries after their legal boundaries have been absorbed by expansionist states or nations. Recent examples of breakup along cultural faultlines include Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union. Breakdown in terms of generating new boundaries within the state structure can be exemplified by Spain's post-Franco development of 17 Autonomous Communities.

The map supplement illustrates and categorizes Europe's cultural faultlines; projects are under way through the World Center for Indigenous Studies in Olympia, Washington, to

produce a world atlas of these claims. The primary value of this work is that one can identify various levels of geopolitical activity and engage in a more specifically geographic analysis than the ethnicity paradigm allows.

I categorized European nations according to their sovereign status. These include: recognized, autonomous, enduring, renescent, remnant, nation-cores, irredenta, and city-states (see explanation in the map text).

The categories present the nationalist challenge to the state structure in terms of 8 distinct geopolitical forces. Once outlined and assessed it is important to look at the collective force of this challenge and what may be called synchronous geopolitical factors. These include other geopolitical allies, geopolitical resistance, and any relevant social, economic, and ecological factors (eg, the contribution of Chernobyl or the Aral Sea disaster to the Soviet breakup).

Recognized, autonomous, and renescent nations, along with city-states and some irredenta, have been organized through various assemblies with Europe-wide membership. Regionalists and nationalists are represented through organizations such as the Federal Union of European Nationalities, the Assembly of European Regions, the European Free Alliance, the International Union of Local Authorities, or the Council of European Municipalities and Regions. Unionists (those seeking a single political union rather than an organization of states) and pro-federal organizations commonly allied on many issues. For instance, Europe's Standing Conference of Local and Regional Authorities in Europe, which is a permanent advisory body to the European Commission, has passed >240 resolutions to promote regional institutions as the most democratic way of organizing Europe.

This whole set of organizations and alliances has been dubbed the Europe of Regions movement. It refers to the concept of a united Europe based upon a strengthened confederal organization along national and regional lines. The fundamental aim is to cre-

What best distinguishes nations from the states that claim them is culture and age. States claim sovereignty over a territory in consequence of wars and treaties with other states. Nations claim a cultural homeland on the basis of their development as a people.



STAGSDEN, ENGLAND. DAN J DEY



HELSINKI, FINLAND. JORDI COBB; POZZUOLI, ITALY. O F MAZZATENTA



DANSK



FRANCE. JAMES L. STANFIELD

Fourth World nations . . . comprise ~90% of the world's distinct cultures—1/3 the world's population—and cover 1/2 the Earth's land area. No map, no list, no encyclopedia, no almanac to date has displayed all the world's nations.



W. POLAND. JAMES L. STANFIELD; MADRID, SPAIN. © L. MAZZATENTA



ate a European Union that reflects its geographic realities. For instance, the physical geography of Europe does not always fit well with economic dominance by state capital. Malmö, the capital of Skaneland, is hundreds of kilometers closer to Copenhagen than it is to Stockholm but politics rather than local geography dictates that Skaneland make its trading hub the latter rather than the former. The European Union is seeking to stimulate trade by enhancing natural trading regions and liberating regional economies to take advantage of their locations. Committees have been set up under European Union auspices to reinvigorate old trading regions that follow geographic logic rather than politically bounded space. One example is the European Union-sponsored Atlantic Arc that renews the ancient trading line among Cornwall, Brittany, Galicia, and Portugal.

The harmonization of nationalist, regionalist, federalist, and unionist strategies puts the state under significant pressure. Any loss of power upward to the European Union or downward to the nations or regions means a weakening of the state and a trend toward a new political geography. As a transgenerational project, a Europe of Regions and Nations could emerge as part of a pan-European federal structure.

Of the 130 nations studied >90% had as their specific strategy more representation for nations and regions in European Union institutions with domestic autonomy consistent with the aims of a regionally organized confederation. In this manner, old nations long suffering from accusations of "tribalism" and "atavistic nationalism" have turned the tables on their accusers. Nationalists are organized around the theme of European unity while states attempt to maintain old political boundaries being challenged by a powerful alliance of unionists, nationalists, and regionalists.

RICHARD GRIGGS, political geographer, Department of Environmental & Geographical Science, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch 7700, South Africa.