

Journal of Borderlands Studies

Volume 23 No. 1  
Spring 2008

Special Issue  
*Structures and Narratives of  
Border Change: Perspectives  
from North America, Europe  
and the Middle East*

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U.S. Hegemony in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Cuba's Place in the Regionalizing Geopolitics of North America and Caribbean Countries

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Re-Making of Europe's Borders Through the European Neighbourhood Policy

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From Imposed Ceasefire Line to International Border: The Issue of the Green Line Between Palestine and Israel

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# Structures and Narratives of Border Change: Perspectives from North America, Europe and the Middle East

Seán L'Estrange and Liam O'Dowd\*

## Introduction

The proliferation, differentiation, and re-configuration of political borders are integral parts of the story of contemporary globalization. In this context, borders and borderlands have proved to be compelling sites for studying empirically the relationships between processes of capital accumulation, new forms of governance and transformations of identity manifest in different forms at the level of large geo-economic blocs, states, and sub-state regions. While the thrust of capital accumulation may be to transcend fixed territorial borders—notably those of national states—states nevertheless remain essential to regulating and supporting such processes. Thus transnational blocs—such as the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA), the European Union (EU), and the *Mercado Común del Sur* (Mercosur, or Common Market of the South)—can be seen to figure as part of a new bordering strategy for the global economy in which classical national state borders are not so much replaced as displaced whilst acquiring new functions and meanings.

In the course of such “global re-bordering,” geo-economic blocs remain heavily influenced by the military and policing power of the United States, which since September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 has continually prioritized and promoted a global “security” discourse. This discourse (and its associated practices) can be seen reflected in the pandemic of wall and fence construction between states and their neighbors in many areas of the world (Dyer 2007) as well as in the ever more elaborate policing strategies devised to control and regulate the movement of people across borders. The latter is arguably at its most advanced in the European Union. Here, the complex set of rules embodied in the Schengen agreements—to which the majority of EU member states subscribe—institutes the removal of physical border controls between subscribing member states yet replaces such controls with less visible surveillance procedures and information sharing that enables the monitoring and regulation of movement in a new border security architecture. As Andreas (2003, 78) observes: “in many cases, more intensive border law enforcement is accompanying the demilitarization and economic liberalization of borders.”

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# 'Routinizing' Cooperation and Changing Narratives: The Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America

Jason Ackleson and Justin Kastner\*

**Abstract:** *March 2005 witnessed the heads of state of Canada, Mexico, and the United States signing the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP), a new international framework for cross-border cooperation in North America. The SPP features two important agendas relevant for the post-September 11th era: one revolving around national security and the other around economic prosperity.*

*In this paper, we explore how the SPP impacts the dominant narrative of the U.S.-Canada border. After tracing the historical trajectory of the border, we suggest the emergent narrative eschews the notion that security and trade at the frontier are incompatible and instead maintains that regulatory policies can achieve both through bilateral and trilateral cooperation. The SPP agreement, and related accords such as 'Smart Borders,' signals, at least for a time, a new way of perceiving and managing the border. That vision has been recently set back for reasons discussed in this article.*

*This paper analyzes the SPP in several ways based on historical research and interviews conducted with policymakers in Ottawa and Washington, D.C., during 2005. First, we look at the SPP in terms of Milner's International Political Economy framework for international cooperation, arguing for the primacy of national domestic interests. Second, we examine the dynamics of cross-border bilateral cooperation, focusing on 'routinization' and bureaucratic policymaking. Finally, we explore how multidisciplinary scholarship may assist us in determining whether the SPP is a model for other border regions.*

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*Ackleson and Kastner coordinate Frontier—an interdisciplinary program for the historical studies of border security, food security, and trade policy (<http://frontier.k-state.edu>).*

# U.S. Hegemony in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Cuba's Place in the Regionalizing Geopolitics of North America and Caribbean Countries

Heather N. Nicol\*

***Abstract:** This paper is concerned with the implications of U.S. hegemony upon the strategic location of regional geo-economic and geopolitical borders in North America and its neighbors. In a case study which uses U.S. foreign policy towards Cuba as a measure of the regional influence of American hegemonic pressure, the paper explores the way in which extraterritorial policies like the Helms Burton Act, transnational intergovernmental economic structures like NAFTA, or border accords and agreements like the 'Third Border,' both influence and respond to U.S. 'Cuban policy.' It raises question such as how, in doing so, do they contribute to the discourse and practice of U.S. hemispheric domination? Or, how can we evaluate the degree to which these foreign policy and transnational agreements, in asserting hegemony, influence the contours of existing 'regional boundaries' in North America in the post 9/11 era?*

\*Nicol is Associate Professor in the Department of Geography at Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario, Canada.

# Re-Making of Europe's Borders Through the European Neighbourhood Policy

Bohdana Dimitrovova\*

***Abstract:** This article examines the implication of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) framework for the development of political community around the problem of re-bordering processes in Europe. It suggests that the ENP can be viewed as an attempt to reconcile two potentially contradictory bordering processes. The first—'border confirming'—is about confirming border areas of demarcation and division in which borders are conceived as boundary lines, frontier zones, or barriers that protect the Union and its citizens. The second—'border transcending'—consists in a challenge to open European borders and involves the transformation of the EU's external boundaries into zones of interactions, opportunities and exchanges, where the emphasis is on transcendence of boundaries. In order to sort out some of the contradictions surrounding highly contested phenomena of mobility in the neighborhood, the article critically examines three bordering strategies: state borders, the imperial analogy, and borders as networks. Each corresponds to different forms of territoriality and each implies a different form of control over the population.*

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# A Borderless Region? (Nazi-)German *Westforschung* and the German-Dutch-Belgian Borderland

Ad Knotter\*

**Abstract:** *This paper focuses on the historical research tradition of Kulturraumforschung (the study of 'cultural regions') as it was developed in Germany before World War II, and its impact, not only on the Nazi program of border change in the 1930s and 1940s, but also on the contemporary political construction of a 'de-bordered' Euregio Meuse-Rhine in the German-Dutch-Belgian borderland. The paper argues that the profound essentialism of this way of thinking is best replaced by constructivist and actor-oriented approaches based in the social sciences. Historically, we cannot overlook the impact of the formation of political borders in the 19th and 20th centuries. Political borders institutionalized national territories in the borderlands and promoted the construction of regional identities within a national context. The emerging border studies in geography and anthropology can help historians to develop a non-essentialist comparative interpretation of cross-border history in the Meuse-Rhine Area.*

\*Knotter is Professor of Regional History and Director of the Sociaal Historisch Centrum voor Limburg at Maastricht University, Maastricht, Netherlands.

# From Imposed Ceasefire Line to International Border: The Issue of the Green Line Between Palestine and Israel

Rassem Khamaisi\*

***Abstract:** The border between the state of Israel and a future Palestinian state has not yet been settled, and has instead been postponed to final-status negotiations. The question of the location of the border, however, is critical. Will it be alongside the separation wall and fence which Israel is constructing? Or will it fall along the Green Line defined by the ceasefire agreement of 1949, prior to Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip? This paper shows, as a case study, how the Green Line, a temporary separation line determined by military considerations, changed over time into a de-facto boundary, and later became regarded as an international border—thus highlighting that what may be intended to be 'temporary' in bordering processes can rapidly seem permanent. The paper also describes and analyses historical developments and narratives with respect to boundaries in Mandatory Palestine, and concludes with an analysis of the possible consequences of a failure to establish a new international border. It indicates that bordering processes are complicated matters that must take into account many factors, including narratives, changing ethno-demographic realities and powerful interests, in contrast to ceasefire and separation lines, which usually relate solely to military matters.*

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