

The Geopolitics South American in Badia Malagrida Carlos

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Abstract: *The South American geopolitics presents a framework of clear disputes between Brazil and Argentina for hegemony on the continent this framework established in the 1930s, however, was already in place in the 1920s, opening on the work of Carlos Badia Malagrida that besides put Argentina as core country before a regionalization process aims to increase the presence of Spain in the subcontinent. Our interpretation will give up on this assumption with the primary point of this geopolitical ideas followed by the demonstration and in particulares its proposal for regionalization.*

Keywords: *Geopolitics; South America; regionalization.*

I. Introdução

Goal of this article is to comprehend the reflection process ideas of Carlos Badia Malagrida in front of the regionalization geopolitics proposal for the south American continent, the interpretation will be made the terms light of a geared vision to the Spanish origin countries invigoration in the south American subcontinent for the State development, being your second moment done by the regionalization process comprehension for their continent nuances, as Malagrida.

The excuse for this reflection is based on comprehension of the modern geopolitic processes south americans that still engineer conjuncture geopolitics, despite many advocate the end of these processes around a homogeneous vision, in front of the blindness of the economic processes, therefore, it puts as fundamental the comprehension of the previous facts that in many visions still remain in the current geopoliticises of the continent, thus the need to is seen comprehending the previous geopoliticises in the south American continent.

The analyses done by Carlos de Badia Malagrida (1946) aim at the units strategy geopolitics in the south American continent and at the same time the Hispanic social or economic ideas invigoration in the constitution of a new empire in the continent. This fact is related to origin own nationality of the geopolitic, being this way, repeating the other actions of all the state in the world that had as her starting point strategies geopoliticises in your origin country, therefore, related to needs to Spanish state, The temporality of development of these ideas is the beginning of Century XX, through its work, The Geographical Factor in the South american Politics (1919) being this the first edition.

As Malagrida apud Martins (2011) the process of geopolitic perception occurs through the continent regionalization or in its compartmentalization, fact that also followed by Mário Travassos (1930) contemporary and analyst of these ideas geared to the Brazilian point of view, besides the continent division it has other factors that will be parts components for your development, according to the geopolitic project put as territorial extension, location, circulation presence of economic goods or strength economic, could be made potent with the countries organization new form.

It stakes Malagrida who the necessary terms that determine the development of the National State or your geopolitic projects are the existing stimulus in the territory that are made potent by the territorial politicises, being a set of natural and political factors. Ratzel apud Pfrimer (2011) that in the Century XIX already pointed important premises at the development of these stimulus of physical nature or not linked of direct form to the soil that serve of base for the development of any State action.

The soil favors or prevents the State growth, as it favors or it prevents individuals' action and of the families. Thence the water influence on the development state owned company: The State that are extended naturally about the rivers margins or the back, they prosper where nature foresaw a communications system, as in the great fluvial basins. The more the State approach from the border of ecumene, except they are populated, less balanced is the relation between soil surface and the population, as it is the characteristic of mountainous State. The more remote of the Equator, more the great powers develop about a space narrow, more the soil is precious. The biggest and more powerful State are in the zones moderated, in Netherlands, installed to the sea neighborhood (RATZEL apud PFRIMER, 2011, p.51).

Other important factor in its proposed is the waters importance linked directly to the denominated basins hydrographic and fundamental oceans in the circulation process, as it was already pointed by Ratzel, where they served how to to presuppose in the characterization geopolitics and of Malagrida (1946), and we have as fundamental the strategy and the paper of the existing resources in the territory and Estado's Paper.

What is important to highlight that Malagrida (1946) as well as Travassos (1935) pointed to the geography importance of the Estado having in mind the existing territorial resources in the configuration that would result in a largest vocations expansionists performance or inhibition and to the same of leadership in your continents.

The state appears as central point in Malagrida's Analyses (1946) when they propose the unification or return of the State-Protos smaller countries and invigoration incorporation by authoritarian bias, observing here once again, the influence ratzeliana in their conceptions, the kernel of its proposed is vice-reign Silver and counterpoint river territorial structure restoration the territorial fragmentation that occurred with the Spanish descolonização process in South America. The composition of great territorial State will strengthen the new units. Costa (1992) relates of the following way the extension matter, position for Ratzel also seen in the thought of the Catalan geopolitic,

It is necessary, therefore, recommend, that between in game the capacity and Estado's Ability to invert this tendency, searching rearticulate permanently that all fragmentary, mostly in the great organisms state owned companies case- territorial, more subject to that process, that will demand of the measured activity state owned company specific geared to a correct distribution of the circulation and of the defense elements. Because of this, for Ratzel, the situation value is incontestable, put by him primarily regarding the extension and to the borders (Costa, 1992, p.38).

In front of a new territorial formation the state incorporation with smaller territorial extension will have as guideline the natural formation, in other words, the geological base of which are settled these countries, being this way, the incorporation carries in consideration the physical factors that in its vision are necessary to conclude the contentious that there are in the region in view of the existence of these small state as the Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia.

There is an unanimity between geopolitic Argentine and Travassos (1935) where they point some areas pivots of disputes and crucial at South America hegemony and leadership two countries platinum and one that represents a great complex in function of not presenting a cohesive territorial body sheltering dimensions of differentiated geographical complexes, therefore, Bolivia, represents that case specify in South America.

Still related to thought of the Catalan geopolitic with ideas Ratzel apud Costa (1992) it remits to some premises in the form of conceiving the Estado, being “[...] The half more powerful that it disposes one Be about to persecute your growth lost of peace and to clarify the conflicting interstate relations” (Costa, 1992, p.37), in other words, one of the forms of maintaining the potential balance of the new countries requires a forces equation that are multiple due to the existence of a countries great quantity, being this way, the first point would be to abolish the small countries.

Other preoccupation in the unification project of the Spanish former-colonies is the federation and approach conception invigoration with Spain in the economic relations. In the invigoration pretenses scope of the liaisons among Spanish origin countries and Spain it has the continent potentialities Geoeconomic rising. Martins (2011) puts these inquiries of the following form,

This way, we understand the needs that are entailed to the author's thought and their goals. It calls attention the paper that the international commerce performs for the construction of this CO-prosperity's Sphere hispanic american. In fact, The geographical factor in politics is more than one care for Geopolitics, he is a continent regional potentialities inventory in terms of economic integration. Proof of this is concomitantly with the defense of her “confederaciones” are meticulous important surveys concerning about of the agricultural potentialities, industries and of the terms of economic complementarity among participants State. Resume of form effects the commercial and political liaisons with the old colonies is a solution for the isolation for Latin America problem, once the continent is a place of weak and turbulent republics mined by conflicts and at the mercy of the domain american. In this case, in between the lines of the text of Malagrida does not let reveal the guardianship function destined to Spain inside super american hispanic nation. (MARTINS, 2011, P. 30).

Contain the United States was fundamental to do not occur an exploration new process in the former-colonies at the same time, thinking in front of the geographical factors they could occur so much by the more northern area of the continent as by Pacific's Basin. Travassos (1935) the main theoretician of the modern Brazilian geopolitics pointed to that fact in its analysis on the continent pointed south American thus some countries as Venezuela, Colombia and the continent coast west bathed itself by Pacific,

It is worth tell, unlike by the fact of the America serve of arena for the United States ascension and its projection, initially, about Antilles and, after, in the south american area, starting by the Panama channel and Colombia. The game also would be preoccupying because, besides the caning north American, there would be other much more near and harmful to the country position (HAGE, 2013, p.100).

The north american strategic of world and at the same time regional ascension are real and the composition of your continent can be one of these examples visas through territorial annexations given by wars, agreements, imposed that in fact they portray her actions expansionists in front of your interests. Other point the observed being is its performance at the sea of the Caribbean where becomes to have the control of the same, through located bases at this sea, having a strong influence on the countries of the more northern part of the south American subcontinent.

At the same action the United States performance is observed in the system of the Pacify in the islands acquisition and economic development in its coast West the vertebra for an internal cohesion and the great highway appearance, linking both oceanic back, portraying this way, their world hegemonic actions and at the same time your interests in front of the south American subcontinent. Losano (2005) interprets of the following form:

On the other hand, the United States were conscious of such German ambitions with regard to South America. In 1914, Roosevelt wrote, indeed: "Do you not believe that if Germany won in this war, smashed the English Fleet and destroyed the British Empire, within a year or two she would insist upon taking the dominant position in South and Central America? Time that the geopolitics inspired by Haushofer also had clamorous repercussions in Argentina and in Brazil, Haushofer could not miss Sergio da Costa's Book, who remembers it as numerous associations exciting, founded already before the naziism, to keep the contacts with the Germen abroad (LOSANO, 2005, p.21).

The north american pretenses in front of the south American continent make part of an international offensive and at the same time protecting the interests americans having as influential area South America, therefore, the first step for this strategy was the independence Spanish origin south american state recognition process itself, making part of the pretenses and invigoration of the north american doctrine geopolitics.

In the against offensive of this hegemony that should be thought the constitution of a great federation in the south American continent of which will represent the process of political, economic stability that are fundamental elements in the integration project among continent nations on Spain's Aegis strengthening in its vision the fraternal liaisons as Malagrida (1946) between old Metropolis and the former-colonies, therefore, resulting in constitution of the super-nation. In your point of view is not a substitution of a new subordination.

Reflecting in your internal and internal concrete project for the American subcontinent-south would have as breakpoint for the development of this goal the adoption of the natural borders in the regionalization great subdivisions or process constitution of the continent, what seems to resort and to recognize a previous territory, in other words, its before same existence of the current State. Magnoli (2003) demonstrates how the same artifice was used in the Estado's Portuguese imperial constitution as below,

The unit program also asked the production of an "imaginary", able to territory act like platform for the borders policy of the Estado imperial. The doctrine of the natural borders had, at the beginning of the century XIX, full reached diplomatic citizenship. This was borders policy doctrinaire base of the Brazilian empire. The historical base of this political were the borders treaties signed among Iberian crowns in the Monday half century XVIII and, very especially, the field and cartography recognition work undertaken by the limits commissions. The documents generated by the Portuguese commissions they constituted, in the Empire first decades, in production sources of an "imaginary territory", circumscribed by natural and vertebrate accidents by the basins unit notion of the Silver and of Amazonas (MAGNOLI, 2003, p.8).

The territorial political balance in the Spanish's Vision is important in the division of the existing countries instead of use the artificial borders that would be problematic as the used in Uti Possidetis, as it occurred in the division among Spanish empires and Portuguese.

The tendency to the utilization of the natural elements as border is used since century XIX used by Friedrich Ratzel and popularized by your followers. The relations between border and region as geographical entity are acquired by means of the geology, in the model adopted by the regionalization and at the same time related to borders formation among elements, it has the courses d'water formed by the basins hydrographic that carry for problems in Malagrida's Vision (1946) in establishment function of an imaginary limit in a river between countries that can cause future problems.

Based on their geopolitic models of interpretation differentiated in view of the needs to nationalistic pretenses of their countries Malagrida and Travassos are unanimous in point the problems related existing to limits established in the basins hydrographic, in other words, the great problem rotated around of the matters hydrographic and of your limits. Nogueira (2007) already it points the contentious sense from the border of gradual and historical form as it highlights,

Limit of the national territory, the border presupposes a control center, that it can be geographical or not, of where leave the orders, in the form of political that vary in view of the relationship that is established with the neighbor. Such politicses can have a sense of relations narrowing demanding a minor vigilance by the Estado in the that tells respect to the territory safety, or on the other side, when military fortifications are established to guarantee the territorial patrimony. Here it is important to highlight, in advance, the Estado's territorial extension, because as it affirms Claval (1979), is difficult an economic politics in a small State to do not interfere in your neighbor (Nogueira, 2007, p. 30).

To repair the territorial inheritance some modifications are necessary in the south American map, the Spanish geopolitic thinker uses as tool the geographical criteria, in other words, having in account the physical considerations and, above all of the geological composition, of which these countries are settled, as already pointed, fact this one that does not correspond to the reality as if they find the south american republics, in other words, in front of their real needs, that would not carry the union, and yes the disaggregation and the weakness in the constitution in several units that in its vision did not occur in the Portuguese America case, because we kept cohesive.

The premise of an Estado and your natural limits relapses inside a context that is based on Ratzel's Work, in other words, in the needs to Estado of extending its border until his natural limits, being this way, the geographical substratum is stimulating factor for the peoples movement in the advance and retrocession as in direction to the rivers or the circulations ways. It puts as factors overlapped in this political action that the state pretense and your different orders actors is to foment the geopolitics development as ideology and at the same time instrumentalization that still govern the world as Albuquerque and Brigola (2011)

And as uncoil it of the historical process enraged appears of social contradictions, the Geopolitics appears particularly disputed by the ideologies, doing confuse ideas world and the real world, doing confuse individual interests and actors' collective interests state owned companies. Thence, the Geopolitics be questioned as science in your conceptual foundations, even the ones that more its explicitam materiality dimension, cases of the classical acceptance of "vital space" and "heartland", among so many another. This dual perspective, that is, at the same time Geopolitics material and ideological, it appears clearly in the "contention strategies" and defense's policies of the National State, and that according to the realistic tradition, it is intrinsic to an international system marked by the power balancing notion, where each actor state owned company search persecute political goals particularists. Unfortunately, this dual perspective of the Geopolitics has been being hardly comprehended by the international geographical community, since the French criticism to Geopolitics German Classic, but yet, more emphatically from "deconstruction proposed ideological in the work of Yves Lacoste (1989) (ALBUQUERQUER, BRIGOLA, 2011, p.22).

Besides the geopolitic purposes put by the state in a vision more manichean instrumental and ideological still there is a preoccupation in Malagrida (1946) based with the history and having as support the nationalism, in which it resulted in an organization pre-established ideal, made in the continent with vice-reigns and that should be followed by the existing units, therefore, the divergencies arisen in the independence process, the republican format importing bring consequences until current days. The process of territorial harmony will finish with the territorial feuds.

To all of these analyzed facts it has the regionalization for the continent for he constituted in its proposed by the existence of a Silver Confederation, formed by Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Chaco Bolivian, this division serves as decrease of existing conflicts between these state. Bolivia in particular was considered as artificial, problematic country in function of its own geographical diversity the other than gave her an identity, being necessary being suppressed.

Century XX areas pivots should be extinct and have as origin the erroneous division of the continent because of this they represent mere satellites as it is Paraguay case and of Bolivia that I had a pendular previous politics oscillating among Argentine and Brazilian interests modifying nowadays as it puts Albuquerque (2013).

Then, the nucleus State of the "south american area pivot develop its own geopolitics, aiding a foreign policy that larger search independence regarding the littoral neighbors. The Paraguay wants to sell expensive the entrance approval of Venezuela in Mercosul, Bolivia claims the territories lost to Chile and demands of Brazil investments in its infrastructure of national integration as compensation to keep the exports of energetic resources (ALBUQUERQUE, 2013, P. 165).

Dando continuidade ao processo de regionalização tem-se ainda a Confederação do Pacífico formada por Chile, Peru, Províncias Ocidentais tendo um alto grau de articulação econômica sendo feitas, sobretudo através do oceano pacífico e via ferroviária através das aberturas andinas. Travassos (1930) apontava a

identificação desse sistema geográfico como uma das regiões geopolíticas existentes no continente como uma zona de calma econômica. Malagrida (1946) aponta a vocação marítima sendo necessária também sua regionalização para seu fortalecimento.

At the current moment what I was presented as problem so much for Malagrida as for Travassos represents one of the more dynamic areas of the subcontinent through a new geopolitic, denominated system Pacific's Alliance and composed also by the coast west countries and more Mexico. For the geopolitic Spanish the union of these countries represents a conciliatory element that decreases the existing frontier problems that compose this region problems that resulted in war of the Pacific (1879 – 1881) which carried Bolivia's territorial confinement and its loss and exit for the ocean.

At the current moment the territorial disputes still are parts of this vestige in these countries where nowadays the Turkey got the enlargement of the territorial sea through Chile's international arbitration. Bolivia still craves its territorial exit for the ocean having as consequence the Chilean territory loss still in arbitration.

Malagrida (1946) still proposes the Colombian confederation composed by Venezuela, Colombia, Equator having as characteristic the population process what run through the rivers course, its problematic manages around of the indigenous matter and caudilhismo bringing serious consequences territorial. Could have as positive point in its consolidation the germinal historical process of the federated proposal, in other words, the first experience occurred between these countries with positive points as Malagrida (1946) for its implantation that was not modified.

In the contemporaneousness that countries group face problems related the territorial disputes and in particular for frontier problems, that occur with larger intensity, above all with Colombia how United States direct allied diverges ideologically of the Equator and Venezuela, where they carried some diplomatic confrontation. Therefore, the current picture weakens the approach of these countries.

Brazilian confederation being constituted by a great diversity landscaping is composed by an internal dualism studied by Travassos with reflexes in two geographical systems. Malagrida (1946) and it divides the country into four Paraná natural regions, Amazon, San Francisco and Central Massif. On the other side of the Spanish empire and Portuguese does not degrade in varias republics. Despite its great territorial area and of if it have kept cohesive the great diversity physiographic and communications lack implied in the territorial cohesion, problem pointed by Ratzel the great extensions that should be corrected by the circulation system. The lack of territorial integration in the geopolitic Spanish vision would open the possibility of a Brazil Amazon and Platinize pointing in the history this guideline with the Grain-Pará creation independence, where the approach and political connection was made with Portugal and not with Brazil. Moraes (2003) formulates important hints concerning about of this problematic, in front of the optic Back country, presents in this conception of the territorial conquest some fundamental elements as the integration, ignorance, space relative the constitution of this ideology.

Finally, the back country is an illustration of the imaginary of the territorial conquest, a concept that when classifying a location operates a symbolic appropriation of the place, dense of judgements valuable that point to its transformation. In this sense, the designation it accompanies always of a project (settler, civilizer, modernizer), which craves – in the limit – for overcoming of the country condition. It is a space the conquered, submitted being, incorporated to the national economy: An expansion area. For this characteristic, it is possible to establish parallels between paper performed by idea of back country in the Brazilian formation and the desert notion similar use in Argentina's History (DONGHI, 1992). at the same conceptual plan, but more distant of content in function of your democratic component (not present in the previous concepts), would be the border – just as analyzed by Turner – in the United States colonization (Oliveira, 2000).

It has the back country as a qualifying of places, a term of the colonial geography that reproduces the look appropriator of the empires in expansion. Actually, they are back countries, that qualify a stunted sparse forests, closed, forests, field. A concept anything frank, modernity diffusion vehicle in the space (Moraes, 2003, p.5-6).

What Malagrida (1946) observed it was always a constant related to territory connection, the great immensity that still persisted in the territorial structure, in other words, the lack of territorial cohesion as it observed Moraes (2003) that still persists in the field of the geographical ideologies then in the Brazilian geopolitic project.

Concerning about of the dualism how was marked, Travassos (1930) characterizes the acting forces as concentric in the amazon region along the system in view of the control of good part of the amazon navigability are inside the Brazilian territory, however, that should be attention object of the territorial politicses and that in the vision of this geopolitic could be fundamental in the silver geographical system capitation, but at the same time, the attention in function of a turning geopolitics in Argentina in his hegemony increase via Bolivia who could affect the amazon system, other point as already put it would be the north american proximity via Colombia and Venezuela. The preoccupations with Brazil amazon still reflect in the current days as in the defense's comprehension and national sovereignty as below,

In defense's National document Strategy (2008), formulated in the defense Department's scope, that supplies the basic guidelines for the Brazilian defense organization in the next decades, appears sharply this influence of the official geopolitic thought through the several references to Amazonia and, although more timidly, to the Center-west (specifically to the Basin Paraná-paraguay). Eventual problems for the Brazilian diplomacy are not remote of the horizon next, because our neighboring can realize as irreconcilable this Brazilian politics of larger vigilance of the amazon borders with the deepening of the regional cooperation through organisms as defense's South American Board and Unasul. (ALBUQUERQUE 2010, p.77).

According to Albuquerque (2010) the Brazilian defense in direction Amazonia represents vestiges of the territorial politicses based on militaries vision that do not result in the picture regional political that is inserted the Brazilian Amazônia, in other words, no matter how much there is a speech around an approach with the rest countries in which in the practices it demonstrates fiery action in this sense, musty is observed in the amazon territorial politicses in front of a conception that was observed by Malagrida as considering the region a part of the not yet conquered territory or interlinked with the other parts of the territory persisted still forming relativized the problem of the Brazilian territorial cohesion.

II. Conclusion

Ideas of Carlos de Badia Malagrida echoed with a lot of intensity in Brazil in view of a Spanish origin great south american State possible constitution that raises and awake the territorial disputes lived by Spain and Portugal, reflecting in the work constitution of Mário Travassos as answer having as name the Continental Projection in Brazil of (1930). Spain's Paper is evident in its proposed geopolitics having as projection platform and at the same time of recolonization in view of attach itself the old territorial cuttings established by the Spanish empire.

Besides your ideological content observe its authoritarian proposal in your regionalization project where recommends state suppression denominated by him artificial having as point of view the same idea about Brazil. The reality distortion and of the ideals of Malagrida are dissonant of the societies formation process of the Southern State American subcontinent appearing more as a retaking project of the former-colonies of Spain than the preoccupation with your invigoration of these state.

In the analyses Carlos Badia Malagrida managed to observe some breakpoints in the process of current formation geopolitics that we stress in the following sense that countries as Colombia, Argentina are important actors in the geopolitic game of the south American board although some remain with their protagonism as it is Bolivia's Case and Venezuela, in front of the too much dismembered areas, in other words, countries that stand detached many times of discreet form, however, with incisive territorial not many times identified politicses can highlight its turkey performance in the peaceful coast and in the amazon and Andean region.

Geographical factors are strategic despite have potentialities that not necessarily are natural elements of the territory that, however, if potentialization with these old territorial configurations that strengthen as a geopolitic important factor in the game of south American regional chess by the continent leadership.

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