If Party A controls the redistricting process it could do a “wasted vote” gerrymander by putting in each of the five districts 260,000 of its voters and 240,000 of Party B voters, thereby giving Party A the opportunity to win all five districts despite holding a statewide edge of only 52–48 percent.

If Party B controls the redistricting process it could do an “excess vote” gerrymander by putting 260,000 of its voters and 240,000 of Party A voters in four of the five districts and concentrating 340,000 Party A voters and only 160,000 Party B voters in the fifth district, thereby giving Party B the likelihood of winning four of five districts.

“Stacked Vote” Gerrymandering. In reality, recent gerrymandering in the United States has been primarily “stacked vote.” If Party A in the previous example controls the redistricting process, the trend has been for state legislatures to create three districts each with 300,000 of its voters and 200,000 of Party B’s voters and two districts both with 200,000 of its voters and 300,000 of Party A’s voters. That way, all five districts are safely in possession of one party, with a majority of three for Party A and two for Party B. When Party A members are especially partisan, they have been creating four “safe” districts each with 300,000 of its voters and 200,000 of Party B’s voters, while conceding the fifth district with 400,000 of Party B supporters and only 100,000 of Party A’s supporters.

“Stacked vote” gerrymandering has been especially attractive for creating districts inclined to elect ethnic minorities. Because the two largest ethnic groups in the United States (African Americans and most Hispanics other than Cubans) tend to vote Democratic—in some elections more than 90 percent of African Americans voted Democratic—creating a majority African American district virtually guarantees election of a Democrat. Republicans support a “stacked” Democratic district because they are better able to draw boundaries that are favorable to their candidates in the rest of the state.

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled gerrymandering illegal in 1985 but did not require dismantling of existing oddly shaped districts, and a 2001 ruling allowed North Carolina to add another oddy shaped district that ensured the election of an African American Democrat. Through gerrymandering, only about one-tenth of Congressional seats are competitive, making a shift of more than a few seats unlikely from one election to another in the United States except in unusual circumstances.

KEY ISSUE 3

Why Do States Cooperate with Each Other?

- Political and military cooperation
- Economic cooperation

Chapter 7 illustrated examples of threats to the survival of states from the trend toward local diversity. The principal challenge has been the desire of ethnicities for the right of self-determination as an expression of unique cultural identity. In a number of cases, especially in Eastern Europe, the inability to accommodate the diverse aspirations of ethnicities has led to the breakup of states into smaller ones.

The future of the world’s current collection of sovereign states is also threatened by the trend toward globalization. All but a handful of states have joined the United Nations, although it has limited authority. But states are willingly transferring authority to regional organizations, established primarily for economic cooperation.

Political and Military Cooperation

During the Cold War era (late 1940s until early 1990s) most states joined the United Nations, as well as regional organizations. These international and regional organizations were established primarily to prevent a third world war in the twentieth century and to protect countries from a foreign attack. With the end of the Cold War, some of these organizations have flourished and found new roles, whereas others have withered.

The United Nations

The most important international organization is the United Nations, created at the end of World War II by the victorious Allies. When established in 1945, the United Nations comprised 49 states, but membership grew to 192 in 2007, making it a truly global institution (Table 8–1).

The number of countries in the United Nations has increased rapidly on three occasions—1955, 1960, and the early 1990s. Sixteen countries joined in 1955, mostly European countries that had been liberated from Nazi Germany during World War II. Seventeen new members were added in 1960, all but one a former African colony of Britain or France. Twenty-six countries were added between 1990 and 1993, primarily from the breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. UN membership also increased in the 1990s because of the admission of several microstates.

The United Nations was not the world’s first attempt at international peacemaking. The UN replaced an earlier organization known as the League of Nations, which was established after World War I. The League was never an effective peacekeeping organization. The United States did not join, despite the fact that President Woodrow Wilson initiated the idea, because the U.S. Senate refused to ratify the membership treaty. By the 1930s, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the Soviet Union had all withdrawn, and the League could not stop aggression by these states against neighboring countries.

UN members can vote to establish a peacekeeping force and request states to contribute military forces. During the Cold War era, UN peacekeeping efforts were often stymied because any one of the five permanent members of the Security Council—China, France, Russia (formerly the Soviet Union), the United Kingdom, and the United States—could veto the operation. In the past, the United States and the Soviet Union often used the veto to prevent undesired UN intervention. The major exception came in 1950, when the UN voted to send troops to support South Korea, after
the Soviet Union's delegate walked out of a Security Council meeting. More recently, the opposition of China, France, and Russia prevented the United Kingdom and the United States from securing support from the United Nations for the 2003 attack on Iraq to overthrow Saddam Hussein.

The United Nations is playing an important role in trying to separate warring groups in a number of regions, especially in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and sub-Saharan Africa. Because it must rely on individual countries to supply troops, the UN often lacks enough of them to keep peace effectively. The UN tries to maintain strict neutrality in settling warring factions, but this has proved difficult in places such as Bosnia & Herzegovina, where most of the world sees one ethnicity (Bosnian Serbs) as a stronger aggressor and another (Bosnian Muslims) as a weaker victim. Despite its shortcomings, though, the United Nations represents a forum where, for the first time in history, virtually all states of the world can meet and vote on issues without resorting to war.

Regional Military Alliances

In addition to joining the United Nations, many states joined regional military alliances after World War II. The division of the world into military alliances resulted from the emergence of two states as superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union.

ERA OF TWO SUPERPOWERS. During the Cold War era, the United States and the Soviet Union were the world's two superpowers. Before then, the world typically contained more than two superpowers. For example, during the Napoleonic Wars in the early 1800s, Europe boasted eight major powers—Austria, France, Great Britain, Poland, Prussia, Russia, Spain, and Sweden.

Before the outbreak of World War I in the early twentieth century, eight great powers again existed. Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States replaced Poland, Prussia, Spain, and Sweden on the list. By the late 1940s most of the former great powers were beaten or battered by the two world wars, and only the United States and the Soviet Union remained as superpowers.

When a large number of states ranked as great powers of approximately equal strength, no single state could dominate. Instead, major powers joined together to form temporary alliances. A condition of roughly equal strength between opposing alliances is known as a balance of power.

Historically, the addition of one or two states to an alliance could tip the balance of power. The British in particular entered alliances to restore the balance of power and prevent any other state from becoming too strong. In contrast, the post–World War II balance of power was bipolar between the United States and the Soviet Union. Because the power of these two states was so much greater than all others, the world comprised two camps, each under the influence of one of the superpowers.

Other states lost the ability to tip the scales significantly in favor of one or the other superpower. They were relegated to a new role, that of ally or satellite. The two superpowers collected allies like works of art. The acquisition of one state not only added to the value of one superpower's collection but also prevented the other superpower from acquiring it.

An ally could cause trouble for a superpower. Other states could remain in an alliance, either as willing and effective partners in pursuing the objectives of the superpower or as balky and unreliable members with limited usefulness. When the United States attacked Libya by air in 1986, the planes took off from England. The most direct route was over France, but the French refused to give the U.S. aircraft permission to fly through their airspace. Rather than risk a confrontation with an ally, the U.S. planes flew a more circuitous route over the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, a route that added 1,200 kilometers (800 miles) to the total round-trip mission.

Both superpowers repeatedly demonstrated that they would use military force if necessary to prevent an ally from becoming too independent. The Soviet Union sent its armies into Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and Afghanistan in 1979 to install more sympathetic governments. Because these states were clearly within the orbit of the Soviet Union, the United States chose not to intervene militarily. Similarly, the United States sent troops to the Dominican Republic in 1965, Grenada in 1983, and Panama in 1989 to ensure that they would remain allies.

As very large states, both superpowers could quickly deploy armed forces in different regions of the world. To maintain strength in regions that were not contiguous to their own territory, the United States and the Soviet Union established military bases in other countries. From these bases, ground and air support gained proximity to local areas of conflict. Naval fleets patrolled the major bodies of water.

MILITARY COOPERATION IN EUROPE. After World War II, most European states joined one of two military alliances dominated by the superpowers—NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) or the Warsaw Pact (Figure 8–12, left). NATO was a military alliance among 16 democratic states, including the United States and Canada, plus 14 European states.

Twelve of the 14 European NATO members participated fully—Belgium, Denmark, West Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. France and Spain were members but did not contribute troops. NATO headquarters, originally in France, moved to Belgium when France reduced its involvement.

The Warsaw Pact was a military agreement among Communist Eastern European countries to defend each other in case of attack. Seven members joined the Warsaw Pact when it was founded in 1955—the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. Some of Hungary's leaders in 1956 asked for the help of Warsaw Pact troops to crush an uprising that threatened Communist control of the government. Warsaw Pact troops also invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968 to depose a government committed to reforms.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact were designed to maintain a bipolar balance of power in Europe. For NATO allies, the principal objective was to prevent the Soviet Union from overrunning Western Europe and other smaller countries. The Warsaw Pact provided the Soviet Union with a buffer of allied states between it and Germany to discourage a third German invasion of the Soviet Union in the twentieth century.
Photographs taken by reconnaissance aircraft and satellites have long been an important tool in guiding military operations during conflicts, such as for pinpointing targets for air strikes and deployment of opposition armies. Air photos have also occasionally played a critical role on the diplomatic front.

A major confrontation during the Cold War between the United States and Soviet Union came in 1962 when the Soviet Union secretly began to construct missile-launching sites in Cuba, less than 150 kilometers (90 miles) from U.S. territory. President Kennedy went on national television to demand that the missiles be removed, and he ordered a naval blockade to prevent additional Soviet material from reaching Cuba. At the United Nations, immediately after Soviet Ambassador Valerian Zorin denied that his country had placed missiles in Cuba, U.S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson dramatically revealed aerial photographs taken by the U.S. Department of Defense clearly showing them (see examples on page 277.). Faced with irrefutable evidence that the missiles existed, the Soviet Union ended the crisis by dismantling them.

As the United States moved toward war with Iraq in 2003, Secretary of State Colin Powell scheduled a speech at the United Nations. The speech was supposed to present irrefutable evidence to the world justifying military action against Iraq. Adding credibility to the presentation, Powell was known to be the senior U.S. diplomat most reluctant to go to war.

Recalling the Cuban missile crisis, Powell displayed a series of air photos designed to prove that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. Powell introduced the air photos with these words: "Let me say a word about satellite images before I show a couple. The photos that I am about to show you are sometimes hard for the average person to interpret, hard for me. The painstaking work of photo analysis takes experts with years and years of experience, pouring for hours and hours over light tables. But as I show you these images, I will try to capture and explain what they mean, what they indicate to our imagery specialists."

Powell first showed an image of fifteen munitions bunkers at Taji, Iraq (Figure 8–1.1). "We know that this one has housed chemical munitions," Powell stated. "How do I know that? How can I say that? Let me give you a closer look. Look at the image on the left (Figure 8–1.2). On the left is a close-up of one of the four chemical bunkers. The two arrows indicate the presence of sure signs that the bunkers are storing chemical munitions. The arrow at the top that says security points to a facility that is the signature item for this kind of bunker. Inside that facility are special guards and special equipment to monitor any leakage that might come out of the bunker. The truck you also see is a signature item. It's a decontamination vehicle in case something goes wrong."

Subsequent close-ups of the bunkers showed them being cleaned immediately before UN inspectors arrived. Powell also showed a ballistics missile facility being cleaned immediately before the arrival of UN inspectors.

Unlike Stevenson in 1962, Powell could not make a convincing case at the United Nations for the U.S. position through air photos. As a result, the United States went to war with Iraq without the support of the United Nations. A subsequent U.S. State Department analysis found many inaccuracies in the interpretation of air photos presented by Powell. For example, the "decontamination vehicle" in Figure 8–1.2 turned out to be a water truck. Two years later, Powell himself said that the 2003 speech had been a "blot" on his record.

---

**FIGURE 8–1.1** U.S. satellite image purporting to show munitions bunkers in Taji, Iraq.

**FIGURE 8–1.2** (Left) Close-up of alleged munitions bunker outlined in red near the bottom of Figure 8–1.1. (Right) Close-up of the two bunkers, outlined in red in the middle of Figure 8–1.1, allegedly sanitized.
In a Europe no longer dominated by military confrontation between two blocs, the Warsaw Pact and NATO became obsolete. The number of troops under NATO command was sharply reduced, and the Warsaw Pact was disbanded. Rather than disbanding, NATO expanded its membership to include most of the former Warsaw Pact countries, including Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland in 1997, and Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia in 2003. Membership in NATO offers Eastern European countries an important sense of security against any future Russian threat, no matter how remote that appears at the moment, as well as participation in a common united Europe (Figure 8–12, right).

The Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) had 55 members, including the United States, Canada, and Russia, as well as most European countries.

When founded in 1975, the Conference on Security and Cooperation was composed primarily of Western European countries and played only a limited role. With the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, the renamed OSCE expanded to include Warsaw Pact countries and became a more active forum for countries concerned with ending conflicts in Europe, especially in the Balkans and Caucasus. Although the OSCE does not directly command armed forces, it can call upon member states to supply troops if necessary.

**OTHER REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.** The Organization of American States (OAS) includes all 35 states in the Western Hemisphere. Cuba is a member but was suspended from most OAS activities in 1962. The organization’s headquarters, including the permanent council and general assembly, are located in Washington, D.C. The OAS promotes social, cultural, political, and economic links among member states.

A similar organization encompassing 53 countries in Africa is the African Union (AU), established in 2001. The AU replaced an earlier organization called the Organization of African Unity, founded in 1963 primarily to seek an end to colonialism and apartheid in Africa. The new organization has placed more emphasis on promoting economic integration in Africa.

The Commonwealth includes the United Kingdom and 53 other states that were once British colonies, including Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, India, Nigeria, and Pakistan. Most other members are African states or island countries in the Caribbean or Pacific. Commonwealth members seek economic and cultural cooperation.

**Economic Cooperation**

The era of a bipolar balance of power formally ended when the Soviet Union was disbanded in 1992. Instead, the world has returned to the pattern of more than two superpowers that predominated before World War II.

But the contemporary pattern of global power displays two key differences:

1. The most important elements of state power are increasingly economic rather than military; Japan and Germany have joined the ranks of superpowers on their economic success, whereas Russia has slipped in strength because of economic problems.

2. The leading superpower since the 1990s is not a single state, such as the United States or Russia, but an economic union of European states led by Germany.

**European Union**

With the decline in the military-oriented alliances, European states increasingly have turned to economic cooperation. Western Europe’s most important economic organization is the European Union (formerly known as the European Economic Community, the Common Market, and the European Community).

When it was established in 1958, the predecessor to the European Union included six countries—Belgium, France,
Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). The union was designed to heal Western Europe’s scars from World War II, which had ended only 13 years earlier, when Nazi Germany, in alliance with Italy, conquered the other four countries.

CHANGES IN GERMANY AND EASTERN EUROPE. Germany did not emerge as a nation-state until 1871, more recently than its neighbors. Prior to that time, the map of the central European area now called Germany was a patchwork of small states—more than 300 during the seventeenth century, for example. Under Frederick the Great (1740–1786), one of these states—Prussia—emerged as the most powerful.

In 1871, Prussia’s prime minister Otto von Bismarck was instrumental in forcing most of the remaining states in the area to join a Prussian-dominated German Empire (refer to Figure 8–13, upper left). Bismarck failed to consolidate all German speakers into the empire, as Austria, Switzerland, and Bohemia were excluded. The German Empire lasted less than 50 years.

Germany lost much of its territory after World War I (Figure 8–13, upper right). Although the boundaries of states in Southern and Eastern Europe were fixed to conform when possible to those of ethnicities, Germany’s new boundaries were arbitrary. Germany became a fragmented state, with East Prussia separated from the rest of the country by the Danzig Corridor, created to give Poland a port on the Baltic Sea. Nazi
takeovers of Austria, Poland, and portions of Czechoslovakia during the 1930s were justified by the Germans as attempts to reconstruct a true German nation-state.

After Germany was defeated in World War II, the victorious Allies carved the country, and its capital city of Berlin, into four zones. Each zone was controlled by one of the victors—the United States, France, the United Kingdom, and the former Soviet Union. When sharp political differences at the start of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the other three made reestablishment of a single Germany impossible, two new countries were created—East Germany (the German Democratic Republic) in the Soviet zone, and West Germany (the Federal Republic of Germany) in the other three zones (Figure 8–13, lower left). Two Germanys existed from 1949 until 1990. With the end of communism, the German Democratic Republic ceased to exist, and its territory became part of the German Federal Republic (Figure 8–13, lower right).

In 1949, during the Cold War, the seven Eastern European Communist states in the Warsaw Pact formed an organization for economic cooperation, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON). Cuba, Mongolia, and Vietnam were also members of the alliance, which was designed to promote trade and sharing of natural resources. East Germany was a Soviet ally and member of the Warsaw Pact and COMECON, and West Germany was a U.S. ally and member of NATO and the European Union. Like the Warsaw Pact, COMECON
disbanded in the early 1990s after the fall of communism in Eastern Europe (refer to Figure 8–12).

Membership in the European Union had been widened to include Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom in 1973; Greece in 1981; Portugal and Spain in 1986; and Austria, Finland, and Sweden in 1995. Joining in 2004 were eight former Communist Eastern European countries that had made the most progress in converting to market economies—the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Slovak Republic, and Slovenia. Also joining in 2004 were the island countries of Cyprus and Malta. Bulgaria and Romania were added in 2007. Thus, the European Union has expanded from six countries during the 1950s and 1960s to 12 countries during the 1980s and 27 countries during the first decade of the twenty-first century. Croatia and Turkey also hope to join, but the European Union has not set a timetable.
The main task of the European Union is to promote development within the member states through economic cooperation. At first the European Union played a limited role, providing subsidies to farmers and to depressed regions such as southern Italy. Most of the European Union’s budget still goes to these purposes. However, the European Union has taken on more importance in recent years, as member states seek greater economic and political cooperation.

A European Parliament is elected by the people in each of the member states simultaneously. It has removed most barriers to free trade: with a few exceptions, goods, services, capital, and people can move freely through Europe. Trucks can carry goods across borders without stopping, and a bank can open branches in any member country with supervision only by the bank’s home country. The introduction of the euro as the common currency in a dozen European countries has eliminated many differences in prices, interest rates, and other economic policies within the region. The effect of these actions has been to turn Europe into the world’s wealthiest market.

**KEY ISSUE 4**

**Why Has Terrorism Increased?**

- Terrorism by individuals and organizations
- State support for terrorism

Terrorism is the systematic use of violence by a group in order to intimidate a population or coerce a government into granting its demands. Terrorists attempt to achieve their objectives through organized acts such as bombing, kidnapping, hijacking, taking of hostages, and assassination that spread fear and anxiety among the population. Violence is considered necessary by terrorists to bring widespread publicity to goals and grievances that are not being addressed through peaceful means. Belief in the cause is so strong that terrorists do not hesitate to strike despite knowing they will probably die in the act.

The term terror (from the Latin “to frighten”) was first applied to the period of the French Revolution between March 1793 and July 1794 known as the Reign of Terror. In the name of protecting the principles of the French Revolution, the Committee of Public Safety, headed by Maximilien Robespierre, guillotined several thousand of its political opponents. In modern times, terrorism has been applied to actions by groups operating outside government rather than by official government agencies, although some governments provide military and financial support for terrorists.

**American Terrorists**

The United States suffered several terrorist attacks during the late twentieth century. A terrorist bomb destroyed Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, on December 21, 1988, killing all 259 aboard, plus 11 on the ground. A car bomb parked in the underground garage damaged New York’s World Trade Center on February 26, 1993, killing six and injuring about 1,000. A car bomb killed 168 people in the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995. A truck bomb blew up an apartment complex in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, on June 25, 1996, killing 19 U.S. soldiers who lived there and injuring more than 100 people. U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed on August 7, 1998, killing 190 and wounding nearly 5,000. The USS Cole was bombed while in the port of Aden, Yemen, on October 12, 2000, killing 17 U.S. service personnel.

With the exception of the Oklahoma City bombing, Americans generally paid little attention to the attacks and had only a vague notion of who had committed them. It took the attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001, for most Americans to feel threatened by terrorism.

Some of the terrorists during the 1990s were American citizens operating alone or with a handful of others. Theodore J. Kaczynski, known as the Unabomber, was convicted of killing three people and injuring 23 others by sending bombs through the mail during a 17-year period. His targets were mainly
academics in technological disciplines and executives in businesses whose actions he considered to be adversely affecting the environment.

Timothy J. McVeigh was convicted and executed for the Oklahoma City Federal Building bombing, and for assisting him Terry J. Nichols was convicted of conspiracy and involuntary manslaughter but not executed. McVeigh claimed his terrorist act was provoked by rage against the U.S. government for such actions as the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s 51-day siege of the Branch Davidian religious compound near Waco, Texas, culminating with an attack on April 19, 1993, that resulted in 80 deaths.

September 11, 2001, Attacks
The most dramatic terrorist attack against the United States came on September 11, 2001. The tallest buildings in the United States, the 110-story twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, were destroyed, and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., was damaged (Figure 8–14). The attacks resulted in nearly 3,000 fatalities:

- 93 (5 terrorists, 77 other passengers, and 11 crew members) on American Airlines flight 11, which crashed into World Trade Center Tower 1 (North Tower)
- 65 (5 terrorists, 51 other passengers, and 9 crew members) on United Airlines flight 175, which crashed into World Trade Center Tower 2 (South Tower)
- 2,605 on the ground at the World Trade Center
- 64 (5 terrorists, 53 other passengers, and 6 crew members) on American Airlines flight 77, which crashed into the Pentagon
- 125 on the ground at the Pentagon
- 44 (4 terrorists, 33 other passengers, and 7 crew members) on United Airlines flight 93 which crashed near Shanksville, Pennsylvania, after passengers fought with terrorists on board, preventing an attack on another Washington, D.C., target

Al-Qaeda
Responsible or implicated in most of the anti-U.S. terrorism during the 1990s, as well as the September 11, 2001, attack, was the al-Qaeda network, founded by Osama bin Laden. His father, Mohammed bin Laden, a native of Yemen, established a construction company in Saudi Arabia and became a billionaire through close connections to the royal family. Osama bin Laden, one of about 50 children fathered by Mohammed with several wives, used his several hundred million dollar inheritance to fund al-Qaeda.

Bin Laden moved to Afghanistan during the mid-1980s to support the fight against the Soviet army and the country’s Soviet-installed government. Calling the anti-Soviet fight a holy war or *jihad*, bin Laden recruited militant Muslims from Arab countries to join the cause. After the Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989, bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia, but he was expelled in 1991 for opposing the Saudi government’s decision permitting the United States to station troops there during the 1991 war against Iraq. Bin Laden moved to Sudan but was expelled in 1994 for instigating attacks against U.S. troops in Yemen and Somalia, so he returned to Afghanistan, where he lived as a “guest” of the Taliban-controlled government.

Bin Laden issued a declaration of war against the United States in 1996, because of U.S. support for Saudi Arabia and Israel. In a 1998 fatwa (“religious decree”), bin Laden argued that Muslims had a duty to wage a holy war against U.S. citizens because the United States was responsible for maintaining the Saud royal family as rulers of Saudi Arabia and a state of Israel dominated by Jews. Destruction of the Saudi monarchy and the Jewish state of Israel would liberate from their control Islam’s three holiest sites of Makkah (Mecca), Madinah, and Jerusalem.

Al-Qaeda (an Arabic word meaning “the foundation” or “the base”) was created around 1990 to unite *jihad* fighters in Afghanistan, as well as supporters of bin Laden elsewhere in the Middle East. Membership is estimated at around 20,000, dispersed in as many as 34 countries. Its size has been hard to estimate because the organization consists of a large

---

**FIGURE 8–14** Topographic map using laser technology of World Trade Center on September 19, 2001, 8 days after the attack. Colors represent elevation above sea level (in green) or below sea level (in red) of the destroyed buildings after the attack. Rubble was piled more than 60 feet where the twin towers once stood. The top of the image faces northeast. West St. runs across the foreground, and Liberty St. runs between the bottom center and the upper right. Tower 1 rubble is the square-shaped pile in the middle of the block facing West St. The remains of Tower 2 face Liberty St.
number of isolated autonomous cells, whose members have minimal contact with those in other cells or even others in the same cell.

Some al-Qaeda cell members have been responsible for reconnaissance activities, such as identifying targets and collecting maps, drawings, and statistics; some have provided lodging, cash, credit cards, cars, and other logistical support; and some have actually executed attacks. Reconnaissance specialists have reported to a military committee, which in turn has reported to a consultation council known as Majlis al-shura. Finance, media, and legal-religious policy committees have also reported to the Majlis, which reported to Osama bin Laden.

Most al-Qaeda cell members have lived in ordinary society, supporting themselves with jobs, burglary, and credit card fraud. They are examples of “sleepers,” so-called because they await their cell leader’s order to “awake” and perform a job for the network. The cell’s planners and attackers typically do not have direct contact with each other, whereas the support members encounter both planners and attackers but do not know the target or attack plan. If arrested, members of one cell are not in a position to identify members of other cells.

Al-Qaeda has been implicated in several bombings since 9/11. In Saudi Arabia, 35 died (including nine terrorists) in car bomb detonations at two apartment complexes in Riyadh on May 12, 2003, and 22 died in attacks on oil company offices in Khobar on May 29, 2004. In Istanbul, Turkey, truck bombs killed 29 (including two terrorists) at two synagogues on November 15, 2003, and 32 (including two terrorists) at the British consulate and British-owned HSBC Bank 5 days later. In London, England, 56 died (including four terrorists) when several subway trains and buses were bombed on July 7, 2005. In Sharm-al-Sheikh, Egypt, 88 died in bombings of resort hotels on July 23, 2005. In Amman, Jordan, 60 died in the bombing of three American-owned hotels on November 9, 2005.

Al-Qaeda is not a single unified organization. In addition to the original organization founded by Osama bin Laden responsible for the World Trade Center attack, al-Qaeda also encompasses local franchises concerned with country-specific issues, as well as imitators and emulators ideologically aligned with al-Qaeda but not financially tied to it. Jemaah Islamiyah is an example of an al-Qaeda franchise with local concerns, specifically to establish fundamentalist Islamic governments in Southeast Asia. Jemaah Islamiyah terrorist activities have been concentrated in the world’s most populous Muslim country Indonesia. A nightclub in the resort town of Kuta on the island of Bali was bombed on October 12, 2002, killing 202. Attacks on a downtown square in Kuta as well as a food court in Jimbaran, also on Bali, killed 23 (including three terrorists) on October 1, 2005. In the capital Jakarta, car bombs killed 12 at a Marriott hotel on August 5, 2003, and 9 or 11 at the Australian embassy on September 9, 2004.

Other terrorist groups have been loosely associated with al-Qaeda. In Madrid, Spain, a local terrorist group blew up several commuter trains on March 11, 2004, killing 192.
Mombasa, Kenya, a Somali terrorist group killed ten Kenyan dancers and three Israeli tourists at a resort on November 28, 2002, and fired two missiles at an Israeli airplane taking off from the Mombasa airport.

Al-Qaeda's use of religion to justify attacks has posed challenges to Muslims and non-Muslims alike. For many Muslims, the challenge has been to express disagreement with the policies of governments in the United States and Europe yet disavow the use of terrorism. For many Americans and Europeans, the challenge has been to distinguish between the peaceful but unfamiliar principles and practice of the world's 1.3 billion Muslims and the misuse and abuse of Islam by a handful of terrorists.

**State Support for Terrorism**

Several states in the Middle East have provided support for terrorism in recent years, at three increasing levels of involvement:

- Providing sanctuary for terrorists wanted by other countries
- Supplying weapons, money, and intelligence to terrorists
- Planning attacks using terrorists

The government of Libya was accused of sponsoring a 1986 bombing of a nightclub in Berlin, Germany, popular with U.S. military personnel then stationed there, killing three (including one U.S. soldier). U.S. relations with Libya had been poor since 1981 when U.S. aircraft shot down attacking Libyan warplanes while conducting exercises over waters that the United States considered international but that Libya considered inside its territory. In response to the Berlin bombing, U.S. bombers attacked the Libyan cities of Tripoli and Benghazi in a failed attempt to kill Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi.

Libyan agents were found to have planted bombs that killed 270 people on Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988, as well as 170 people on UTA Flight 772 over Niger in 1989. Following 8 years of UN economic sanctions, Col. Qaddafi turned over suspects in the Lockerbie bombing for a trial that was held in the Netherlands under Scottish law. One of the two was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment, and the other was acquitted. Col. Qaddafi agreed in 2003 to renounce terrorism and provide compensation for victims of Flight 103.

U.S. accusations of state-sponsored terrorism escalated after 9/11. The governments of first Afghanistan, then Iraq, and then Iran were accused of providing at least one of the three levels of state support for terrorists. As part of its war against terrorism, the U.S. government with the cooperation of some other countries attacked Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003 to depose those country's government leaders considered supporters of terrorism.

**Afghanistan**

The United States attacked Afghanistan in 2001 when its leaders, known as the Taliban, sheltered Osama bin Laden and other al-Qaeda terrorists. The Taliban (Arabic for "students of Muslim religious schools") had gained power in Afghanistan in 1995, temporarily suppressing a civil war that had lasted for more than 2 decades and imposing strict Islamic fundamentalist law on the population (see Chapter 6).

Afghanistan's civil war began when the King was overthrown by a military coup in 1973 and was replaced 5 years later in a bloody coup by a government sympathetic to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union sent 115,000 troops to Afghanistan beginning in 1979 after fundamentalist Muslims, known as mujahedeen, or "holy warriors," started a rebellion against the pro-Soviet government.

Although heavily outnumbered by Soviet troops and possessing much less sophisticated equipment, the mujahedeen offset the Soviet advantage by waging a guerrilla war in the country's rugged mountains, where they were more comfortable than the Soviet troops and where Soviet air superiority was ineffective. Unable to subdue the mujahedeen, the Soviet Union withdrew its troops in 1989, and the Soviet-installed government in Afghanistan collapsed in 1992. After several years of infighting among the factions that had defeated the Soviet Union, the Taliban gained control over most of the country.

Six years of Taliban rule came to an end in 2001 following the U.S. invasion. Destroying the Taliban was necessary in order for the United States to go after al-Qaeda leaders, including Osama bin Laden, who were living in Afghanistan as guests of the Taliban. Removal of the Taliban unleashed a new struggle for control of Afghanistan among the country's many ethnic groups (Figure 8–15). Although removed from power, the Taliban were able to regroup and resume an insurgency against the U.S.-backed Afghanistan government.

**Iraq**

U.S. claims of state-sponsored terrorism proved more controversial in Iraq than in Afghanistan. The United States led an attack against Iraq in 2003 in order to depose the country's longtime President Saddam Hussein. U.S. officials justified removing Hussein, because he had created biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction. These weapons could fall into the hands of terrorists, the U.S. government charged, because close links were said to exist between Iraq's government and al Qaeda. The United Kingdom and a few other countries joined U.S. forces, but most countries did not offer support.

U.S. confrontation with Iraq predated the war on terror. From the time he became president of Iraq in 1979, Hussein's behavior had raised concern around the world. War with neighbor Iran, begun in 1980, ended 8 years later in stalemate. A nuclear reactor near Baghdad, where nuclear weapons to attack Israel were allegedly being developed, was destroyed in 1981 by Israeli planes. Hussein ordered the use of poison gas in 1988 against Iraqi Kurds, killing 5,000. Iraq's 1990 invasion of neighboring Kuwait, which Hussein claimed was part of Iraq, was opposed by the international community. The 1991 U.S.-led Gulf War known as Operation Desert Storm drove Iraq out of Kuwait, although Hussein remained in power for another dozen years.

Desert Storm was supported by nearly every country in the United Nations, because the purpose was to end one country's unjustified invasion and attempted annexation of another. In contrast, few countries supported the U.S.-led attack in 2003, because they did not agree with the U.S. assessment that Iraq
still possessed weapons of mass destruction or intended to use them.

Inspectors sent by the United Nations had found the following evidence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq during the 1980s:

- A nuclear radiation weapon program, including 40 nuclear-research facilities and three uranium-enrichment programs
- A program for making weapons from the VX nerve agent
- A biological weapons program, including production of botulinum, anthrax, aflatoxin, and clostridium, and bombs to deliver toxic agents

However, UN experts concluded that Iraq had destroyed these weapons in 1991 after its Desert Storm defeat. U.S. officials believed instead that Iraq still had the weapons hidden, though they were never able to find them, and their judgment may have been based on faulty intelligence.

The U.S. assertion that Hussein had close links with al-Qaeda was also challenged by most other countries, as well as ultimately by U.S. intelligence agencies. Hussein’s Ba’ath Party, which ruled Iraq between 1968 and 2003, espoused different principles than the al-Qaeda terrorists. The guiding principle of the Ba’ath Party was Pan-Arab nationalism, which was belief that the several hundred million Arabs living in the vast territory between North Africa and Central Asia should be joined together into one powerful nation-state, with financial strength garnered by sharing the region’s extensive oil wealth. Whereas Al-Qaeda terrorists justified their attacks on the basis of their interpretation of Islam, Ba’ath Party leaders were not observant Muslims and did not derive Pan-Arab philosophy from religious principles.

Lacking evidence of weapons of mass destruction and ties to al-Qaeda, the United States argued instead that Iraq needed a “regime change.” Hussein’s quarter-century record of brutality justified replacing him with a democratically elected government, according to U.S. officials. The U.S. position drew little international support, because sovereign states are reluctant to invade another sovereign state just because they dislike its leader, no matter how odious.

Having invaded Iraq and removed Hussein from power, the United States expected an enthusiastic welcome from the Iraqi people. Instead, the United States became embroiled in a complex and violent struggle among religious sects and tribes (see Global Forces, Local Impacts box).

The principal ethnic group in the north, the Kurds, welcomed the United States because they gained more security and autonomy than they had under Hussein (see Chapter 7). But Sunni Muslims, the majority in the center, opposed the U.S.-led attack, because they feared loss of power and privilege given to them by Hussein, who was a Sunni. Shiite Muslims also opposed the U.S. presence. Although they had been treated poorly by Hussein and controlled Iraq’s
GLOBAL FORCES, LOCAL IMPACTS
Global, Local, and Other Scales in Iraq

The U.S.-led war in Iraq has encountered many of the tensions between globalization trends and realities of local diversity. The U.S. experience in Iraq has also demonstrated the importance of understanding conditions at scales that exist between the two extremes of global and local.

The global scale was the basis for the initial case made by the United States for going to war with Iraq. Iraq was said to possess weapons of mass destruction that could fall into the hands of terrorists and threaten the security of the entire planet. When weapons of mass destruction and links between Iraq and al Qaeda were not found, the United States turned instead to the national scale to justify the war. Iraq President Saddam Hussein was a brutal dictator who needed to be replaced with a democratically elected government.

Strong regional-scale divisions emerged in Iraq after the United States invaded Iraq and deposed Hussein. Iraq’s principal ethnic groups were split into regions, with Kurds in the north, Sunnis in the center, and Shiites in the south (see Figure 8–15). A quarter-century of Hussein’s dictatorial rule had suppressed long-standing tensions among these groups, but violence erupted among them after his removal.

At the urban scale violence in Iraq has been especially strong. The capital Baghdad, where one-fourth of the Iraqi people live, has some neighborhoods where virtually all residents are of one ethnicity, but most areas are mixed (Figure 8–2.1). In many of these historically mixed neighborhoods, the less numerous ethnicity has been forced to move away.

At the local scale, Iraq is divided into around 150 tribes (Figure 8–2.2). After Hussein was toppled, tribes stepped into the political vacuum, establishing control over their local territories.

And it gets even more complex. A tribe (‘ashira) is divided into several clans (fukhdhs), which in turn encompass several houses (beit), which in turn include several extended families (kham). Tribes are grouped into more than a dozen federations (qabila). Most Iraqis have stronger loyalty to a tribe or clan than to a national government.

![Figure 8–2.1 Ethnic groups in Baghdad. Baghdad contains a mix of Sunnis, Shiites, and other groups. Many neighborhoods were traditionally mixed, but in recent years the minority group has been forced to migrate.](image)

![Figure 8–2.2 Major tribes in Iraq. Iraq is home to around 150 distinct tribes. Some of the larger ones are shown on this map.](image)
post-Hussein government, Shiites shared a long-standing hostility toward the United States with their neighbors in Shiite-controlled Iran.

**Iran**

Hostility between the United States and Iran dates from 1979, when a revolution forced abdication of Iran’s pro-U.S. Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. Iran’s majority Shiite population demanded more democratic rule and opposed the Shah’s economic modernization program that generated social unrest. Supporters of exiled fundamentalist Shiite Muslim leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini proclaimed Iran an Islamic republic and rewrote the constitution to place final authority with the Ayatollah. Militant supporters of the Ayatollah seized the U.S. embassy on November 4, 1979, and held 62 Americans hostage until January 20, 1981.

Iran and Iraq fought a war between 1980 and 1988 over control of the Shatt al-Arab waterway, formed by the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers flowing into the Persian Gulf. Forced to cede control of the waterway to Iraq in 1975, Iran took advantage of Iran’s revolution to seize the waterway in 1980, but Iran was not defeated outright, so an 8-year war began that neither side was able to win. Because both Iran and Iraq were major oil producers, the war caused a sharp decline in international oil prices, reducing both gas prices for motorists and revenues for oil-producing countries. An estimated 1.5 million died in the war, until it ended when the two countries accepted a UN peace plan.

As the United States launched its war on terrorism, Iran was a less immediate target than Afghanistan and Iraq. However, the United States accused Iran of harboring al-Qaeda members and of trying to gain influence in Iraq, where like Iran the majority of the people were Shiites. More troubling to the international community was evidence that Iran was developing a nuclear weapons program. Prolonged negotiations were undertaken to dismantle Iran’s nuclear capabilities without resorting to yet another war in the Middle East.

**SUMMARY**

Two political trends dominate the early twenty-first century. First, after a half-century dominated by the Cold War between two superpowers—the United States and the former Soviet Union—the world has entered a period characterized by an unprecedented increase in the number of new states created to satisfy the desire of nationalities for self-determination as an expression of cultural distinctiveness. Turmoil has resulted because in many cases the boundaries of the new states do not precisely match the territories occupied by distinct nationalities.

At the same time, with the end of the Cold War, military alliances have become less important than patterns of global and regional economic cooperation and competition among states. Economic cooperation has increased among neighboring states in Western Europe and North America, and competition among these two blocs, as well as Japan, has increased.

Here is a review of issues raised at the beginning of the chapter:

1. **Where are states located?** A state is a political unit, with an organized government and sovereignty, whereas a nation is a group of people with a strong sense of cultural unity. Most of Earth’s surface is allocated to states, and only a handful of colonies and tracts of unorganized territory remain.

2. **Why do boundaries between states cause problems?** Boundaries between states, where possible, are drawn to coincide either with physical features, such as mountains, deserts, and bodies of water, or with such cultural characteristics as geometry, religion, and language. Boundaries affect the shape of countries and affect the ability of a country to live peacefully with its neighbors. Problems arise when the boundaries of states do not coincide with the boundaries of ethnicities.

3. **Why do states cooperate with each other?** Following World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union, as the world’s two superpowers, formed military alliances with other countries. With the end of the Cold War, nationalities now are cooperating with each other, especially in Western Europe, primarily to promote economic growth rather than to provide military protection.

4. **Why has terrorism increased?** Terrorism initiated by individuals, organizations, and states has increased, especially against the United States. Terrorists consider all U.S. citizens justified targets because all U.S. citizens are responsible for U.S. government policies and cultural practices.

**CASE STUDY REVISITED**

**Future of the Nation-State in Europe**

The importance of the nation-state has diminished in Western Europe in the twenty-first century, the world region most closely associated with development of the concept during the previous two centuries. Western Europeans carry European Union rather than national passports, even though they don’t need to show them when traveling within Western Europe.

More importantly, European nation-states have put aside their centuries-old rivalries to forge the world’s most powerful economic union. France’s franc, Germany’s mark, and Italy’s lira—powerful symbols of sovereign nation-states—have disappeared, replaced by a single currency, the euro. European leaders have bet that every country in the region will be stronger economically with national currencies replaced by the euro.

(Continued)
CASE STUDY REVISITED (Continued)

National identity may still matter to Europeans who are suffering economic hardship after introduction of the Euro. Dislike of the euro persists in parts of Europe where inefficient companies have lost business to more efficient competitors based in other countries, but boundaries where hundreds of thousands of soldiers once stood guard now have little more economic significance than boundaries between states inside the United States.

Cultural differences persist across borders. For example, highways in the Netherlands are more likely than those in neighboring Belgium to be flanked by well-manicured vegetation and paths reserved for bicycles. However, the most fundamental obstacle to Western European integration is the multiplicity of languages. Although English has rapidly become the principal language of business in the European Union, much of the European Union’s budget is spent translating documents into other languages. Businesses must figure out how to effectively advertise their products in several languages.

At the same time that residents of Western European countries are displaying increased tolerance for cultural values of their immediate neighbors, opposition has increased to the immigration of people from the south and east, especially those who have darker skin and adhere to Islam. Immigrants from poorer regions of Europe, Africa, and Asia fill low-paying jobs (such as cleaning streets and operating buses) that Western Europeans are not willing to perform. Nonetheless, many Western Europeans fear that large-scale immigration will transform their nation-states into multi-ethnic societies.

Underlying this fear of immigration is recognition that natural increase rates are higher in most African and Asian countries than in Western Europe as a result of higher crude birth rates. Many Western Europeans believe that Africans and Asians who immigrate to their countries will continue to maintain relatively high crude birth rates and consequently will constitute even higher percentages of the population in Western Europe in the future.

KEY TERMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balance of power</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boundary</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City-state</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonialism</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colony</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compact state</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elongated state</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal state</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragmented state</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frontier</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerrymandering</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperialism</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landlocked state</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Microstate</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perforated state</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prorupted state</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sovereignty</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unitary state</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY

1. In his book *1984*, George Orwell envisioned the division of the world into three large unified states, held together through technological controls. To what extent has Orwell’s vision of a global political arrangement been realized?

2. In the Winter 1992–93 issue of *Foreign Policy*, Gerald Helman and Steven Ratner identified countries that they called “failed nation-states,” including Cambodia, Liberia, Somalia, and Sudan, and others that they predicted would fail. Helman and Ratner argue that the governments of these countries were maintained in power during the Cold War era through massive military and economic aid from the United States or the Soviet Union. With the end of the Cold War, these failed nation-states have sunk into civil wars, fought among groups who share language, religion, and other cultural characteristics. What obligations do other countries have to restore order in failed nation-states?

3. Given the movement toward increased local government autonomy on the one hand and increased authority for international organizations on the other, what is the future of the nation-state? Have political and economic trends since the 1990s strengthened the concept of nation-state or weakened it?

4. The world has been divided into a collection of countries on the basis of the principle that ethnicities have the right of self-determination. National identity, however, derives from economic interests as well as from such cultural characteristics as language and religion. To what extent should a country’s ability to provide its citizens with food, jobs, economic security, and material wealth, rather than the principle of self-determination, become the basis for dividing the world into independent countries?

5. A century ago the British geographer Halford J. Mackinder identified a heartland in the interior of Eurasia (Europe and Asia) that was isolated by mountain ranges and the Arctic Ocean. Surrounding the heartland was a series of fringe areas, which the geographer Nicholas Spykman later called the rimland, oriented toward the oceans. Mackinder argued that whoever controlled the heartland would control Eurasia and hence the entire world. To what extent has Mackinder’s theory been validated during the twentieth century by the creation and then the dismantling of the Soviet Union?
FURTHER READINGS


Also consult the following journals: *American Journal of Political Science; American Political Science Review; Foreign Affairs; Foreign Policy; International Affairs; International Journal of Middle East Studies; Political Geography; Post-Soviet Geography*. 