Chapter 8
Political Geography

Key Issues
1. Where are states located?
2. Why do boundaries between states cause problems?
3. Why do states cooperate with each other?
4. Why has terrorism increased?

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With the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, the global political landscape changed fundamentally. Geographic concepts help us to understand this changing political organization of Earth's surface. We can also use geographic methods to examine the causes of political change. Boundary lines are not painted on Earth, but they might as well be, for these national divisions are very real. To many, national boundaries are more meaningful than natural features. In the post–Cold War era, the familiar division of the world into countries or states is crumbling. Between the mid-1940s and the late 1980s two superpowers — the United States and the Soviet Union — essentially "ruled" the world. But the United States is less dominant in the political landscape of the twenty-first century, and the Soviet Union no longer exists. Today globalization means more connections among states. Power is exercised through connections among states created primarily for economic cooperation. Despite (or perhaps because of) greater global political cooperation, local diversity has increased in political affairs, as individual cultural groups demand more control over the territory they inhabit.

Key Issue 1. Where Are States Located?
- **Problems of defining states**
- **Development of the state concept**

As recently as the 1940s, the world contained only about 50 countries, compared to 192 members of the United Nations as of 2009.

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Problems of Defining States
A state is an area organized into a political unit and ruled by an established government that has control over its internal and foreign affairs. The term country is a synonym for state. There is some disagreement about the actual number of sovereign states. Among places that test the definition of a state are Korea, China, and Western Sahara (Sahrawi Republic).

Korea: One State or Two?
A colony of Japan for many years, Korea was divided into two occupation zones by the United States and former Soviet Union after they defeated Japan in World War II. Both Korean governments are committed to reuniting the country into one sovereign state. Meanwhile, in 1992, North Korea and South Korea were admitted to the United Nations as separate countries.

China and Taiwan: One State or Two?
Most other governments in the world consider China and Taiwan as two separate and sovereign states. According to China's government officials, Taiwan is not a separate sovereign state but is a part of China. This confusing situation arose from a civil war. After losing, nationalist leaders in 1949 fled to Taiwan, 200 kilometers (120 miles) off the Chinese coast and proclaimed that they were still the legitimate rulers of the entire country of China. Taiwan's president announced in 1999 that Taiwan would also regard itself as a sovereign independent state.

The United States continued to regard the Nationalists as the official government of China until 1971, when U.S. policy finally changed and the United Nations voted to transfer China's seat from the Nationalists to the Communists.

Western Sahara (Sahrawi Republic)

The Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, also known as Western Sahara, is considered a sovereign state by most African countries. Morocco, however, claims Spain controlled the territory until withdrawing in 1976, whereupon an independent republic was declared by the Polisario Front and recognized by most African countries. Morocco controls most of the populated area, but the Polisario Front operates in the vast, sparsely populated deserts.

Polar Regions: Many Claims

Antarctica is the only large landmass on Earth's surface that is not part of a state. Several states claim portions of Antarctica, and some are conflicting. The United States, Russia, and a number of other states do not recognize the claims of any country to Antarctica. The Antarctic Treaty, signed in 1959, provides a legal framework for managing Antarctica. As for the Arctic, the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea permitted countries to submit claims inside the Arctic Circle, which is thought to be rich in energy resources, by 2009.

Varying Size of States

The land area occupied by the states of the world varies considerably. The largest state is Russia, which encompasses 11 percent of the world's entire land area. Other states with more than 5 million square kilometers (2 million square miles) include China, Canada, United States, Brazil, and Australia. At the other extreme are about two dozen **microstates**, which are states with very small land areas. The smallest microstate in the United Nations — Monaco — encompasses only 1.5 square kilometers (0.6 square miles). Many of these microstates are islands, which explains both their small size and sovereignty.

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Development of the State Concept

The concept of dividing the world into a collection of independent states is recent. Prior to the 1800s, Earth's surface was organized in other ways, such as city-states, empires, and tribes. Much of Earth's surface consisted of unorganized territory.

Ancient and Medieval States. The development of states can be traced to the ancient Middle East, in an area known as the Fertile Crescent. The modern movement to divide the world into states originated in Europe.

Ancient States. Situated at the crossroads of Europe, Asia, and Africa, the Fertile Crescent was a center for land and sea communications in ancient times. The first states to evolve in Mesopotamia were known as city-states. A **city-state** is a sovereign state that comprises a town and the surrounding countryside. Mesopotamia was organized into a succession of empires by the Sumerians, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians. Meanwhile, the state of Egypt emerged as a separate empire at the western end of the Fertile Crescent in a long, narrow region along the banks of the Nile River. Egypt's empire lasted from approximately 3000 B.C. until the fourth century B.C.

Early European States. Political unity in the ancient world reached its height with the establishment of the Roman Empire, which controlled most of Europe, North Africa, and Southwest Asia, from modern-day Spain to Iran and from Egypt to England.

The Roman Empire collapsed in the fifth century A.D. after a series of attacks by people living on

its frontiers, and because of internal disputes. The European portion of the Roman Empire was fragmented into a large number of estates. Beginning about the year 1100, a handful of powerful kings emerged as rulers over large numbers of estates. The consolidation formed the basis for the development of such modern Western European states as England, France, and Spain. Central Europe remained fragmented until the nineteenth century.

Colonies
A **colony** is a territory that is legally tied to a sovereign state rather than being completely independent.

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Colonialism. European states came to control much of the world through **colonialism**. European states established colonies for three basic reasons: to promote Christianity, to provide resources, and to indicate relative power. The three motives can be summarized as God, gold, and glory. The colonial era began in the 1400s. The European states eventually lost most of their Western Hemisphere colonies, then turned their attention to Africa and Asia. The European colonization of Africa and Asia is often called **imperialism**, which is control of territory already occupied and organized by an indigenous society. Colonialism, in contrast, is control of uninhabited or sparsely inhabited land.

The British assembled by far the largest colonial empire, with colonies on every continent. France had the second-largest overseas territory, primarily in West Africa and Southeast Asia.

France attempted to assimilate its colonies into French culture. The British created different government structures and policies for various territories of their empire. Most African and Asian colonies became independent after World War II.

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The Few Remaining Colonies. At one time, colonies were widespread over Earth's surface, but today only a handful remains.

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Most are islands in the Pacific Ocean or Caribbean Sea. The most populous remaining colony is Puerto Rico, which is a Commonwealth of the United States. Its 4 million residents are citizens of the United States. The world's least populated colony is Pitcairn Island settled in 1790 by British mutineers.

Key Issue 2. Where Are Boundaries Drawn between States?
- **Shapes of states**
- **Types of boundaries**
- **Boundaries inside states**

A state is separated from its neighbors by a **boundary**, an invisible line marking the extent of a state's territory. Boundaries interest geographers because the process of selecting their location is frequently difficult.

Shapes of States
The shape of a state affects the potential for communications and conflict with neighbors, can influence the ease or difficulty of internal administration, and can affect social unity.

Five Basic Shapes
Countries have one of five basic shapes: compact, prorupted, elongated, fragmented, and perforated.

Compact States: Efficient. In a **compact state**, the distance from the center to any boundary does not vary significantly. Compactness is a beneficial characteristic for most smaller states, because good communications can be more easily established to all regions.

Prorupted States: Access or Disruption. An otherwise compact state with a large projecting extension is a **prorupted state**. Proruptions are created for two principal reasons. First, a proruption can provide a state with access to a resource, such as water. Second, proruptions can separate two states that otherwise would share a boundary.

Elongated States: Potential Isolation. There are a handful of elongated states, or states with a long and narrow shape. Chile, Malawi, Italy, and Gambia are examples. A less extreme example of an elongated state is Italy. Elongated states may suffer from poor internal communications.

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Perforated States: South Africa. A state that completely surrounds another one is a **perforated state**. The one good example of a perforated state is South Africa, which completely surrounds the state of Lesotho.

Fragmented States: Problematic. A **fragmented state** includes several discontinuous pieces of territory. There are two kinds of fragmented states: those with areas separated by water, and those separated by an intervening state.

A difficult type of fragmentation occurs if the two pieces of territory are separated by another state. Picture the difficulty of communicating between Alaska and the lower 48 states if Canada were not a friendly neighbor. Perhaps the most intractable fragmentation results from a tiny strip of land in India called Tin Bigha, only 178 meters (about 600 feet) by 85 meters (about 300 feet). For most of the twentieth century, Panama was a fragmented state divided in two parts by the Canal, built in 1914 by the United States.

Landlocked States
Landlocked states lack a direct outlet to the sea; they are most common in Africa, where 14 out of 54 states have no direct ocean access. The prevalence of landlocked states in Africa is a remnant of the colonial era, when Britain and France controlled extensive regions.

Direct access to an ocean is critical to states because it facilitates international trade. To send and receive goods by sea, a landlocked state must arrange to use another country's seaport.

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Types of Boundaries
Boundaries are of two types: physical and cultural. Neither type of boundary is better or more "natural," and many boundaries are a combination of both types.

Physical Boundaries
Important physical features on Earth's surface can make good boundaries because they are easily seen, both on a map and on the ground. Three types of physical elements serve as boundaries between states: mountains, deserts, and water.

Desert Boundaries. Like mountains, deserts are hard to cross and sparsely inhabited. Desert

boundaries are common in Africa and Asia.

Mountain Boundaries. Mountains can be effective boundaries if they are difficult to cross because they are rather permanent and usually are sparsely inhabited. Mountains do not always provide for the amicable separation of neighbors. Argentina and Chile agreed to be divided by the crest of the Andes Mountains but could not decide on the precise location of the crest.

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Water Boundaries. Rivers, lakes, and oceans are the physical features most commonly used as boundaries. Water boundaries are especially common in East Africa. Water boundaries may seem to be set permanently, but the precise position of the water may change over time. Rivers, in particular, can slowly change their course. Ocean boundaries also cause problems because states generally claim that the boundary lies not at the coastline but out at sea. The reasons are for defense and for control of valuable fishing industries.

Cultural Boundaries

Two types of cultural boundaries are common: geometric and ethnic. Geometric boundaries are simply straight lines drawn on a map. Other boundaries coincide with differences in ethnicity, especially language and religion.

Geometric Boundaries. Part of the northern U.S. boundary with Canada is a straight line (more precisely, an arc) along 49° north latitude, established in 1846 by a treaty between the United States and Great Britain, which still controlled Canada. The United States and Canada share an additional geometric boundary between Alaska and the Yukon Territory along the north-south arc of 14° west longitude.

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The boundary between Chad and Libya is a straight line drawn across the desert in 1899 by the French and British. Subsequent actions by European countries created confusion over the boundary.

Religious Boundaries. Religious differences often coincide with boundaries between states, but in only a few cases has religion been used to select the actual boundary line. The most notable example was in South Asia, when the British partitioned India into two states on the basis of religion. Religion was also used to some extent to draw the boundary between two states on the island of Eire (Ireland).

Language Boundaries. Language is an important cultural characteristic for drawing boundaries, especially in Europe. In the nineteenth century, Italy and Germany emerged as states that unified the speakers of particular languages.

The movement to identify nationalities on the basis of language spread throughout Europe in the twentieth century. After World War I, the Versailles Peace Conference redrew the map of Europe. The geographer Isaiah Bowman played a major role in the decisions. Language was the most important criterion used to create new states and to adjust the boundaries of existing ones. The conference was particularly concerned with Eastern and Southern Europe, regions long troubled by political instability and conflict. The nation-states created at the Versailles conference lasted with minor adjustment through most of the twentieth century. However, during the 1990s, the map of Europe drawn at Versailles in 1919 collapsed.

Cyprus' "Green Line" Boundary

Cyprus, the third-largest island in the Mediterranean Sea, contains two nationalities: Greek and Turkish. When Cyprus gained independence from Britain in 1960, its constitution guaranteed the

Turkish minority a substantial share of elected offices and control over its own education, religion, and culture. But Cyprus has never peacefully integrated the Greek and Turkish nationalities. In 1974, several Greek Cypriot military officers who favored unification of Cyprus with Greece seized control of the government. Turkey invaded Cyprus to protect the Turkish Cypriot minority. The Turkish sector declared itself the independent Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 1983, but only Turkey recognizes it as a separate state. A wall was constructed and a buffer zone patrolled by the UN was delineated across the entire island, geographically isolating the two nationalities. The European Union agreed to accept the entire island of Cyprus as a member in 2004.

Frontiers

Historically, frontiers rather than boundaries separated states. A **frontier** is a zone where no state exercises complete political control. A frontier is a tangible geographic area, whereas a boundary is an infinitely thin, invisible, imaginary line.

A frontier area is either uninhabited or sparsely settled by a few isolated pioneers seeking to live outside organized society. Almost universally, frontiers between states have been replaced by boundaries. The only regions of the world that still have frontiers rather than boundaries are Antarctica and the Arabian Peninsula.

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Boundaries Inside States

Within countries, local government boundaries are sometimes drawn to separate different nationalities or ethnicities. They are also drawn sometimes to provide advantage to a political party.

Unitary and Federal States

In the face of increasing demands by ethnicities for more self-determination, states have restructured their governments to transfer some authority from the national government to local government units.

The governments of states are organized according to one of two approaches: the unitary system or the federal system. The **unitary state** places most power in the hands of central government officials, whereas the **federal state** allocates strong power to units of local government within the country.

In principle, the unitary government system works best in nation-states characterized by few internal cultural differences and a strong sense of national unity. Unitary states are especially common in Europe. In a federal state, such as the United States, local governments possess more authority to adopt their own laws. Multinational states may adopt a federal system of government to empower different nationalities, especially if they live in separate regions of the country.

The federal system is also more suitable for very large states because the national capital may be too remote to provide effective control over isolated regions. The size of the state is not always an accurate predictor of the form of government. Some multinational states have adopted unitary systems, so that the values of one nationality can be imposed on others.

Trend Toward Federal Government

In recent years there has been a strong global trend toward federal government.

France: Curbing a Unitary Government. A good example of a nation-state, France has a long tradition of unitary government in which a very strong national government dominates local government decisions. Their basic local government unit is the *département*. A second tier of

local government in France is the *commune*. The French government has granted additional legal powers to the departments and communes in recent years. In addition, 22 regional councils that previously held minimal authority have been converted into full-fledged local government units.

Poland: A New Federal Government. Poland switched from a unitary to a federal system after control of the national government was wrested from the Communists. Under the Communists' unitary system, local governments held no legal authority. In 1999, Poland adopted a three-tier system of local government with provinces, counties, and municipalities. The transition to a federal system of government proved difficult in Poland and other Eastern European countries. The first task for many newly elected councilors was to attend a training course in how to govern.

Electoral Geography
The boundaries separating legislative districts within the United States and other countries are redrawn periodically to ensure that each district has approximately the same population. Boundaries must be redrawn because migration inevitably results in some districts gaining population, whereas others are losing. The job of redrawing boundaries in most European countries is entrusted to independent commissions, but in most U.S. states, the job of redrawing boundaries is entrusted to the state legislature. The process of redrawing legislative boundaries for the purpose of benefiting the party in power is called **gerrymandering**. The term gerrymandering was named for Elbridge Gerry (1744–1814), governor of Massachusetts (1810–12) and vice president of the United States (1813–14).

Gerrymandering takes three forms. "Wasted vote" spreads opposition supporters across many districts but in the minority. "Excess vote" concentrates opposition supporters into a few districts. "Stacked vote" links distant areas of like-minded voters through oddly shaped boundaries. "Stacked vote" gerrymandering has been especially attractive to create districts inclined to elect ethnic minorities.

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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 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. 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) global and regional organizations were established primarily to prevent a third world war and to prevent countries from attack.

The United Nations
The most important global organization is the United Nations. When established in 1945, the United Nations comprised 49 states, but membership grew to 189 in 2006, making it a truly global institution. The number of countries in the United Nations has increased rapidly on three occasions: 1955, 1960, and the early 1990s. The United Nations replaced an earlier organization known as the League of Nations, established after World War I, which was never an effective peacekeeping organization.

UN members can vote to establish a peacekeeping force and request states to contribute military forces. The UN is playing an important role in trying to separate warring groups in a number of regions, however, any one of the five permanent members of the Security Council could veto the operation. Because it must rely on individual countries to supply troops, the United Nations often lacks enough troops to keep peace effectively. Despite its shortcomings, 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.

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. During the Napoleonic Wars in the early 1800s, Europe boasted eight major powers. Before the outbreak of World War I in the early twentieth century, eight great powers again existed. When a large number of states ranked as great powers were of approximately equal strength, major powers joined together to form temporary alliances. A condition of roughly equal strength between opposing alliances is known as a **balance of power**. In contrast, the post–World War II balance of power was bipolar between the United States and the Soviet Union.

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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. Both superpowers repeatedly demonstrated that they would use military force if necessary to prevent an ally from becoming too independent.

Military Cooperation in Europe. After World War II, most European states joined one of two military alliances dominated by the superpowers: the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or the Warsaw Pact. NATO and the Warsaw Pact were designed to maintain a bipolar balance of power in Europe. In a Europe no longer dominated by military confrontation between two blocs, the Warsaw Pact was disbanded, and the number of troops under NATO command was sharply reduced. NATO expanded its membership to include former Warsaw Pact countries.

Other Regional Organizations
- **The Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).** It has 56 members, including the United States, Canada, and Russia, as well as most European countries. Although the OSCE does not directly command armed forces, it can call upon member states to supply troops if necessary.
- **The Organization of American States (OAS).** All 35 states are in the western hemisphere. Cuba is a member but was suspended from most activities in 1962. The OAS promotes social, cultural, political, and economic links among member states.
- **The African Union (AU).** Established in 2002. The AU replaced an earlier organization called the Organization of African Unity, founded in 1963, primarily to seek the end of colonialism and apartheid in Africa.
- **The Commonwealth.** It includes the United Kingdom and 52 other states that were once British colonies. Commonwealth members seek economic and cultural cooperation.

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Economic Cooperation
The era of a bipolar balance of power formally ended when the Soviet Union was disbanded in 1992. The world has returned to the pattern of more than two superpowers. 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; 2. The leading superpower in the 1990s is not a single state but is an economic union of European states.

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). The European Union has expanded from six countries during the 1950s to 27 countries during the first decade of the twenty-first century. A European Parliament is elected by the people in each of member states simultaneously. Several states have begun negotiations or have been designated potential candidates to join.

In 1949, the seven Eastern European 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. Like the Warsaw Pact, COMECON disbanded in the early 1990s.

The European Union has taken on more importance in recent years, as member states seek greater economic and political cooperation. It has removed most barriers to free trade. The introduction of the euro as the common currency in 12 European Union 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 to Western Europe into the world's wealthiest market.

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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 consider violence necessary to bring widespread publicity to goals and grievances that are not being addressed through peaceful means.

Terrorism by Individuals and Organizations
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 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. Terrorism differs from assassinations and other acts of political violence because terrorist attacks are aimed at ordinary people rather than military targets or political leaders. Average individuals are unintended victims rather than principal targets in most conflicts, whereas a terrorist considers all citizens responsible for the actions being opposed, so therefore equally justified as victims. Distinguishing terrorism from other acts of political violence can be difficult.

Terrorism against Americans
The United States suffered several terrorist attacks during the late twentieth century. In 1988, a terrorist bomb destroyed a Pan Am flight over Lockerbie, Scotland; in 1993 a car bomb killed six and injured 1,000 in the underground garage at the World Trade Center in New York; in 1995, 168 people were killed in Oklahoma City by a car bomb in the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building; in 1996, a truck bomb at an apartment complex in Saudi Arabia killed 19 U.S. soldiers; in 1998, bombings at U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania killed 190 and wounded nearly 5,000; in 2000, the USS Cole was bombed in the port of Aden, Yemen, killing 17 Americans.

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. (261) Theodore J. Kaczynski, known as the Unabomber, was convicted of killing 3 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 bombing. 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.

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 (an Arabic word meaning "the base"). 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. (262) Bin Laden issued a declaration of war against the United States in 1996, because of U.S. support for Saudi Arabia and Israel.

Al-Qaeda is not a single unified organization, and the number involved is unknown; it 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, whose terrorist activities have been concentrated in the world's most populous Muslim country, Indonesia. (263) Other terrorist groups have been loosely associated with al-Qaeda. Al-Qaeda's use of religion to justify attacks has posed challenges to both Muslims and non-Muslims alike. For many Muslims, the challenge was to express disagreement with the policies of the U.S. and Europe, yet disavow the use of terrorism. For many Americans and Europeans, the challenge was to distinguish between the peaceful but unfamiliar principles and practices of the world's 1.3 billion Muslims, and the misuse and abuse of Islam by a handful of terrorists.

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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.

Libya
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 the United States considered international but 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 people on a flight over Lockerbie, Scotland in 1988, as well as a UTA flight over Niger in 1989. Following eight years of U.N. economic sanctions, Qaddafi turned over the suspects for a trial that was held in the Netherlands, under Scottish law. One of the two was acquitted while the other was sentenced to life imprisonment, but he was released in 2009 after he was diagnosed with terminal cancer. Libya renounced terrorism
in 2003 and has provided compensation for victims of Flight 103. Libya is no longer considered a state sponsor of terrorism.

Afghanistan
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 in cooperation with other countries, attacked Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003 to depose those countries' government leaders considered supporters of terrorism.

The United States attacked Afghanistan in 2001 when its leaders, known as Taliban, sheltered Osama bin Laden and other al-Qaeda terrorists. The Taliban (Pashto for "students") had gained power in Afghanistan in 1995, imposing strict Islamic fundamentalist law on the population.

A civil war began when the King was overthrown in a bloodless coup in 1973 by a leader who was murdered five years later in a bloody coup by military officers 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.

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 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 Taliban unleashed a new struggle for control of Afghanistan among the country's many ethnic groups. When U.S. attention shifted to Iraq and Iran, 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 attacked Iraq in 2003 to depose Saddam Hussein. U.S. officials' justification for removing Hussein was that he had created biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction. The U.S. confrontation with Iraq predated the war on terrorism. From the time he became president of Iraq in 1979, Hussein's behavior had raised concern around the world. 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 it failed to remove Hussein from power.

Desert Storm was supported by nearly every country in the United Nations. 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. Inspectors sent by the United Nations had found evidence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq during the 1980s. However, UN experts concluded that Iraq had destroyed those 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 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. Lacking evidence of weapons of mass destruction and ties to al-Qaeda, the United States argued instead that Iraq needed a "regime change." 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.

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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.

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 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.

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An estimated 1.5 million died in the war, until it ended when the two countries accepted a UN peace plan. When 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 the majority of people are 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.

Pakistan
The war on terror has spilled over from Pakistan's western neighbors, Afghanistan and Iran. Pakistan is a multiethnic state. Western Pakistan, along the border with Afghanistan, is a rugged, mountainous region inhabited by ethnic minorities where the Taliban have largely been in control.

Key Terms

Balance of power (p.257)	Gerrymandering (p.255)
Boundary (p.247)	Imperialism (p.245)
City-state (p.243)	Landlocked state (p.249)
Colonialism (p.244)	Microstate (p.242)
Colony (p.243)	Perforated state (p.248)
Compact state (p.247)	Prorupted state (p.247)
Elongated state (p.247)	Sovereignty (p.241)
Federal state (p.254)	State (p.241)
Fragmented state (p.248)	Unitary state (p.254)
Frontier (p.253)	

Test Prep Questions

1) Which of the following is NOT a political region that has a questionable status regarding statehood?
A) Korea
B) Japan
C) Taiwan
D) Western Sahara

2) The earliest dates developed in what region?
A) Mesopotamia
B) The Nile Valley
C) Europe
D) none of these

3) Which of the following was NOT a motivation for European Colonialism?
A) glory
B) God
C) goodness
D) gold

4) South Africa is a good example of what kind of a state, in terms of the five basic shapes?
A) prorupt
B) perforated
C) elongated
D) compact

5) Which of the following is NOT a form of gerrymandering?
A) excess vote
B) stacked vote
C) wasted vote
D) under vote

6) Which of the following countries is NOT a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council?
A) Germany
B) China
C) The United States
D) Russia

7) What does NATO stand for?
A) North American Trade Organization
B) North African Territory Organization
C) North Atlantic Treaty Organization
D) none of these

8) The Cold War era trade organization made up of Warsaw Pact members that disbanded in the 1990s was:
A) COMECON
B) UNEMART
C) COMEMART
D) UNECOM

9) What is the English translation of "al-Qaeda?"
A) "Holy War"
B) "The Base"
C) "Divine Wind"
D) "The Struggle"

10) Which of the following countries is NOT thought to be a state that has supported terrorism in recent years?
A) Libya
B) Afghanistan
C) Kuwait
D) Iran

Short Essay

1) Trace the development of the state concept from its beginnings, through the colonial era.

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2) What are the five basic shapes of states? Cite examples of each.

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3) Explain two ways that local government boundaries are drawn within countries, citing examples.

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