

KEY ISSUE 4

Why Do States Cooperate and Compete with Each Other?

- Cold War Competition and Alliances
- Terrorism by Individuals and Organizations
- State Support for Terrorism

Learning Outcome 8.4.1

Describe the principal alliances in Europe during the Cold War era.

States compete for many reasons, including control of territory, access to trade and resources, and influence over other states. To further their competitive goals, states may form alliances with other states. During the Cold War, after World War II, many states joined regional military alliances. The division of the world into military alliances resulted from the emergence of two states as superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union. With the end of the Cold War, the most important alliances are economic rather than military. With the lessening of the Cold War-era military confrontation, violence and wars are increasingly instigated by terrorist organizations not affiliated with particular states or alliances.

Cold War Competition and Alliances

During the Cold War era (the late 1940s until the early 1990s), global 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.

ERA OF TWO SUPERPOWERS

During the Cold War era, the United States and the Soviet Union were the world's two superpowers. 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 were in proximity to local areas of conflict. Naval fleets patrolled the major bodies of water.

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 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 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.

Before the Cold War, the world typically contained more than two superpowers. For example, before the outbreak of World War I in the early twentieth century, there were eight great powers: Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. 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**. 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 the power of all other states, 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 of either ally or satellite.

CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS. 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 John F. 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 preparations for them (see examples in Figure 8-42). Faced with irrefutable evidence that the missiles existed, the Soviet Union ended the crisis by dismantling them.

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 8-43, left). NATO was a military alliance among 16 democratic states, including the United States and Canada plus 14 European states. The Warsaw Pact was a military agreement among Communist Eastern European countries to defend each other in case of attack. Eight members joined the Warsaw Pact when it was founded in 1955. 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.

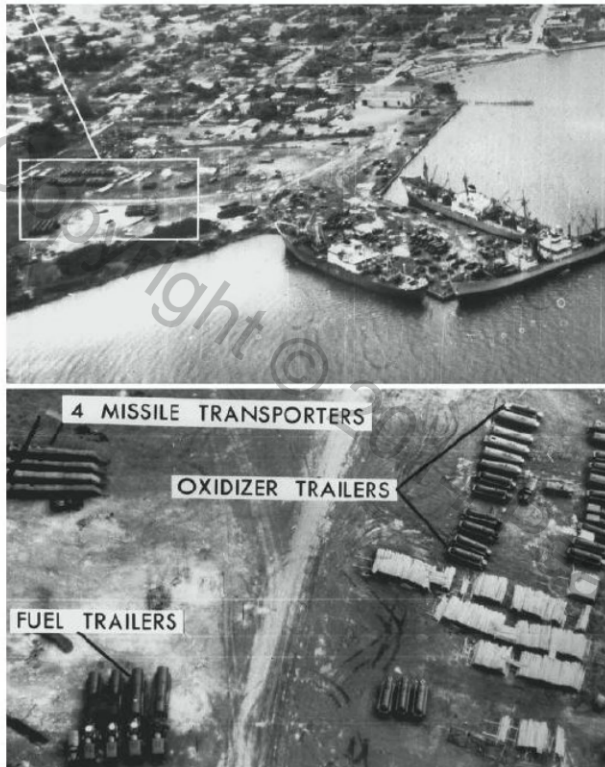


FIGURE 8-42 THE COLD WAR: 1962 CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

The U.S. Department of Defense took aerial photographs to show the Soviet buildup in Cuba. (top) Three Soviet ships with missile equipment are being unloaded at Mariel naval port in Cuba. (bottom) Within the outline box (enlarged below and rotated 90° clockwise) are Soviet missile transporters, fuel trailers, and oxidizer trailers (used to support the combustion of missile fuel).

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 West Germany 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.

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 most of the former Warsaw Pact countries. Membership in NATO offered Eastern European countries an important sense of security against any future Russian threat, no matter how remote that might appear, as well as participation in a common united Europe (Figure 8-43, right).

Pause and Reflect 8.4.1

How does the map of military alliances in Europe during the Cold War compare to the map of regime types (Figure 8-34)?



FIGURE 8-43 EUROPE MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ALLIANCES (left) During the Cold War. Western European countries joined the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), whereas Eastern European countries joined COMECON and the Warsaw Pact. (right) Post-Cold War. COMECON and the Warsaw Pact have been disbanded, whereas the European Union and NATO have accepted and plan to accept new members.

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ECONOMIC ALLIANCES IN EUROPE

Learning Outcome 8.4.2

Describe the principal economic alliances in Europe in the period since World War II.

During the Cold War, two economic alliances formed in Europe:

- **European Union (EU).** The EU (formerly known as the European Economic Community, the Common Market, and the European Community), formed in 1958 with six members—Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). The EU 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.
- **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON).** COMECON formed in 1949 with 10 members—the 8 Eastern European Communist states from the Warsaw Pact plus Cuba, Mongolia, and Vietnam. COMECON was designed to promote trade and sharing of natural resources.

With the end of the Cold War, economic cooperation throughout Europe has become increasingly important.

THE EU IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY. The EU expanded from its original 6 countries to 12 during the 1980s and 27 during the first decade of the twenty-first century. The most recent additions have been former members of COMECON, which disbanded in the 1990s, after the fall of communism. Future enlargements are likely: Croatia has begun negotiations to join, but the European Union has not yet set a timetable; Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia are candidates to join, but negotiations have not started; Iceland and Turkey are negotiating to become candidates; and Albania is considered a potential candidate.

The main task of the European Union is to promote development within the member states through economic and political cooperation:

- A European Parliament is elected by the people in each of the member states simultaneously.
- Subsidies are provided to farmers and to economically depressed regions.
- Most barriers to free trade have been removed; with a few exceptions, goods, services, capital, and people can move freely through Europe (Figure 8-44). For example, 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 effect of these actions has been to turn Europe into the world's wealthiest market.



▲ **FIGURE 8-44 TRAVEL IN EUROPE** Citizens of one EU state do not have to show passports to travel to other EU states.

Pause and Reflect 8.4.2

What might be the reaction of people in Canada, Mexico, and the United States if the three countries simultaneously elected a North American Parliament?

EUROZONE CRISIS. The most dramatic step taken toward integrating Europe's nation-states into a regional organization was the creation of the eurozone. A single bank, the European Central Bank, was given responsibility for setting interest rates and minimizing inflation throughout the eurozone. Most importantly, a common currency, the euro, was created for electronic transactions beginning in 1999 and in notes and coins beginning in 2002 (Figure 8-45). France's franc, Germany's mark, and Italy's lira—powerful symbols of sovereign nation-states—have disappeared, replaced by the single currency. Twenty-three countries use the euro, including 17 of the 27 EU members, plus 6 others.

European leaders bet that every country in the region would be stronger economically if it replaced its national currency with the euro. For the first few years that was the case, but the future of the euro has been called into question by the severe global recession that began in 2008. The economically weaker countries within the eurozone, such as Greece, Ireland, Italy, and Spain, have been forced to implement harsh and unpopular policies, such as drastically cutting services and raising taxes, whereas the economically strong countries, especially Germany, have been forced to subsidize the weaker states.



▲ **FIGURE 8-45 EURO** Euro paper money shows a map of Europe and a bridge on one side and architecture on the other side. Rather than actual structures, the bridges and architecture features are designed to represent a period in history; for example, they represent ancient times on the €5 note.

CULTURAL INTEGRATION IN EUROPE. Boundaries where hundreds of thousands of soldiers once stood guard now have little more economic significance in Europe than boundaries between states inside the United States. Crossing borders is a cultural rather than a political experience. 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.

The most noticeable element of cultural diversity within Europe is language. Although English has rapidly become the principal language of business in the EU, much of the EU's budget is spent translating documents into other languages. Businesses must figure out how to effectively advertise their products in several languages. Rather than national boundaries, the most fundamental obstacle to European integration is the multiplicity of languages.

At the same time that residents of European countries are displaying increased tolerance for the 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 Europeans are not willing to perform. Nonetheless, many Europeans fear that large-scale immigration will transform their nation-states into multiethnic societies.

Underlying this fear of immigration is recognition that natural increase rates are higher in most African and Asian countries than in Europe, as a result of higher crude birth rates. Many 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 Europe in the future.

ALLIANCES IN OTHER REGIONS

Economic cooperation has been an important factor in the creation of international organizations that now can be found far beyond Western Europe. Other prominent regional organizations include:

- **Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).** The OSCE's 56 members include the United States, Canada, and Russia, as well as most European countries. When founded in 1975, the Organization 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.
- **Organization of American States (OAS).** All 35 states in the Western Hemisphere are members of the OAS. 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.
- **African Union (AU).** Established in 2002, the AU encompasses 53 countries in Africa. 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.
- **Commonwealth.** The Commonwealth includes the United Kingdom and 52 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 (Figure 8-46).



▲ **FIGURE 8-46 THE COMMONWEALTH** Commonwealth countries hold games every four years, including 2014, in Glasgow, Scotland. One of the venues in Glasgow is Clyde Auditorium.

Terrorism by Individuals and Organizations

Learning Outcome 8.4.3

Explain the concept of 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. Distinctive characteristics of terrorists include:

- Trying to achieve their objectives through organized acts that spread fear and anxiety among the population, such as bombing, kidnapping, hijacking, taking of hostages, and assassination.
- Viewing violence as a means of bringing widespread publicity to goals and grievances that are not being addressed through peaceful means.
- Believing in a cause so strongly that they do not hesitate to attack 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 revolution, the Committee of Public Safety, headed by Maximilien Robespierre, guillotined several thousand of its political opponents. In modern times, the term *terrorism* has been applied to actions by groups operating outside government rather than to groups of official government agencies, although some governments provide military and financial support for terrorists.

Many political leaders have been assassinated, though this is not considered terrorism. For example:

- Four U.S. presidents—Lincoln (1865), Garfield (1881), McKinley (1901), and Kennedy (1963).
- Roman Emperor Julius Caesar (44 B.C.), vividly re-created for future generations through Shakespeare’s play.
- Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, by a Serb in Sarajevo (capital of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina), June 28, 1914, which led directly to the outbreak of World War I.

Terrorism differs from assassination and other acts of political violence in that attacks are aimed at ordinary people rather than at military targets or political leaders. Other types of military action can result in civilian deaths—bombs can go astray, targets can be misidentified, or an enemy’s military equipment can be hidden in civilian buildings—but average individuals are unintended victims rather than principal targets in most conflicts. A terrorist considers all citizens responsible for the actions he or she opposes, so they are therefore equally legitimate as victims.

TERRORISM AGAINST AMERICANS

The United States suffered several terrorist attacks during the late twentieth century:

- **December 21, 1988:** A terrorist bomb destroyed Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, killing all 259 aboard, plus 11 on the ground.
- **February 26, 1993:** A car bomb parked in the underground garage damaged New York’s World Trade Center, killing 6 and injuring about 1,000.
- **April 19, 1995:** A car bomb killed 168 people in the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City.
- **June 25, 1996:** A truck bomb blew up an apartment complex in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 U.S. soldiers who lived there and injuring more than 100 people.
- **August 7, 1998:** U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed, killing 190 and wounding nearly 5,000.
- **October 12, 2000:** The USS *Cole* was bombed while in the port of Aden, Yemen, killing 17 U.S. service personnel.

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 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. For assisting McVeigh, Terry I. Nichols was convicted of conspiracy and involuntary manslaughter but not executed. McVeigh claimed that 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 attacks against the United States came on September 11, 2001 (Figure 8-47). The tallest buildings in the United States, the 110-story twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, were destroyed (Figure 8-48), and the Pentagon, near Washington, D.C., was damaged. The attacks resulted in nearly 3,000 fatalities:

- 93 (77 passengers, 11 crew members, and 5 terrorists) on American Airlines Flight 11, which crashed into World Trade Center Tower 1 (North Tower).
- 65 (51 passengers, 9 crew members, and 5 terrorists) 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.

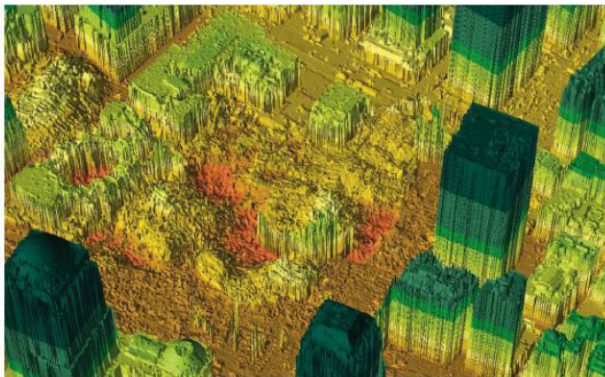


◀ **FIGURE 8-47 TERRORIST ATTACK ON THE WORLD TRADE CENTER**

On September 11, 2001, at 9:03 A.M., United Flight 175 approaches World Trade Center Tower 2 (left) and crashes into it (right). Tower 1 is already burning from the crash of American Flight 11 at 8:45 A.M.

- 64 (53 passengers, 6 crew members, and 5 terrorists) on American Airlines Flight 77, which crashed into the Pentagon.
- 125 on the ground at the Pentagon.
- 44 (33 passengers, 7 crew members, and 4 terrorists) 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.

Responsible or implicated in most of the anti-U.S. terrorism during the 1990s, as well as the September 11, 2001,



▲ **FIGURE 8-48 AFTERMATH OF WORLD TRADE CENTER ATTACK**

Laser technology was used to create a topographic map of the World Trade Center site on September 19, 2001, eight days after the attack. Colors represent elevation above sea level (in green) or below sea level (in red) of the destroyed buildings. Rubble was piled more than 60 feet high where the twin towers once stood. The top of the image faces northeast. West Street runs across the foreground, and Liberty Street 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 Street. The remains of Tower 2 face Liberty Street.

attacks, 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 foundation,” or “the base”) around 1990 to unite *opposition* fighters in Afghanistan, as well as supporters of bin Laden elsewhere in the Middle East.

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 have a duty to wage a holy war against U.S. citizens because the United States was responsible for maintaining the Saudi 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.

Pause and Reflect 8.4.3

How has travel in the United States been affected by the 9/11 attacks?

AL-QAEDA

Learning Outcome 8.4.4

Describe ways that states have sponsored terrorism.

Al-Qaeda has been implicated in several attacks since 9/11:

- **May 8, 2002:** 13 died in a car bomb detonated outside the Sheraton Hotel in Karachi, Pakistan.
- **May 12, 2003:** 35 died (including 9 terrorists) in car bomb detonations at two apartment complexes in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.
- **November 15, 2003:** Truck bombs killed 29 (including 2 terrorists) at two synagogues in Istanbul, Turkey.
- **November 20, 2003:** 32 (including 2 terrorists) were killed at the British consulate and British-owned HSBC Bank in Istanbul.
- **May 29, 2004:** 22 died in attacks on oil company offices in Khobar, Saudi Arabia.
- **July 7, 2005:** 56 died (including 4 terrorists) when several subway trains and buses were bombed in London, England.
- **July 23, 2005:** 88 died in bombings of resort hotels in Sharm-el-Sheikh, Egypt.
- **November 9, 2005:** 63 died in the bombing of three American-owned hotels in Amman, Jordan.
- **September 28, 2008:** 54 died in a truck bombing of a hotel in Islamabad, Pakistan.
- **December 25, 2009:** Al-Qaeda member Umar Farouk Abdulmatallab, a passenger on a flight from Amsterdam to Detroit, tried to detonate explosives sewn into his underwear. Passengers put out the flames from the failed detonation and restrained the operative until the plane landed. Abdulmatallab was sentenced to four consecutive life terms plus 50 years.

Al-Qaeda is not a single unified organization, and the number involved in al-Qaeda is unknown. Bin Laden was advised by a small leadership council, which has several committees that specialize in areas such as finance, military, media, and religious policy. 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 with establishing fundamentalist Islamic governments in Southeast Asia. Jemaah Islamiyah terrorist activities have been concentrated in the world's most populous Muslim country, Indonesia:

- **October 12, 2002:** A nightclub in the resort town of Kuta on the island of Bali was bombed, killing 202.
- **August 5, 2003:** Car bombs killed 12 at a Marriott hotel in the capital Jakarta.

- **September 9, 2004:** Car bombs killed 3 at the Australian embassy, also in Jakarta.
- **October 1, 2005:** Attacks on a downtown square in Kuta as well as a food court in Jimbaran, also on Bali, killed 26.
- **July 17, 2009:** Bombs killed 9 at the Marriott and Ritz-Carlton hotels in Jakarta.

Other terrorist groups have been loosely associated with al-Qaeda. For example:

- November 28, 2002: A Somali terrorist group killed 10 Kenyan dancers and 3 Israeli tourists at a resort in Mombasa, Kenya, and fired two missiles at an Israeli airplane taking off from the Mombasa airport.
- March 11, 2004: A local terrorist group blew up several commuter trains in Madrid, Spain, killing 192.

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 practices 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.

SANCTUARY FOR TERRORISTS

Afghanistan and probably Pakistan have provided sanctuary for al-Qaeda terrorists.

AFGHANISTAN. The United States attacked Afghanistan in 2001, when its leaders, known as the Taliban, sheltered bin Laden and other al-Qaeda terrorists. During the battle of Tora Bora in December 2001, the United States overran positions held by al-Qaeda, but bin Laden escaped (Figure 8-49).

The Taliban had gained power in Afghanistan in 1995 and had imposed strict Islamic fundamentalist law on the population. Afghanistan's Taliban leadership treated women especially harshly. Women were prohibited from attending school, working outside the home, seeking health care, or driving a car. They were permitted to leave home only if fully covered by clothing and escorted by a male relative.

The six years of Taliban rule temporarily suppressed a civil war that has raged in Afghanistan on and off since the 1970s. The civil war began in 1973, when the king was

▼ **FIGURE 8-49 AFGHANISTAN** A mujahadeen fighter kneels by the entrance to a cave used by al-Qaeda fighters in the Tora Bora mountains of eastern Afghanistan, December 18, 2001.



overthrown in a bloodless coup led by Mohammed Daoud Khan. Daoud was murdered five years later and replaced by a government led 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 *mujahdeen*, or “holy warriors,” started a rebellion against the pro-Soviet government.

Although heavily outnumbered by Soviet troops and possessing much less sophisticated equipment, the mujahdeen 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 mujahdeen, the Soviet Union withdrew its troops in 1989; 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 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. 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.

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Pause and Reflect 8.4.4

Suspected terrorists captured primarily in Afghanistan have been detained at a detention camp run by the United States at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Do you think that suspected terrorists should be tried in a U.S. military court, brought to the United States for civilian trials, or sent back to the country from which they were captured?

PAKISTAN. The war on terrorism spilled over from Pakistan’s western neighbor Afghanistan. Western Pakistan, along the border with Afghanistan, is a rugged, mountainous region inhabited by several ethnic minorities where the Taliban have been largely in control. U.S. intelligence and other experts thought that bin Laden was hiding out in the Taliban-controlled mountains of western Pakistan, but they were wrong. Navy SEALs killed bin Laden in a compound in the city of Abbottabad, only 120 kilometers (75 miles) from the capital.

The United States believed that Pakistan security had to be aware that bin Laden had been living in the compound for at least five years. The compound was heavily fortified, surrounded by high walls and barbed wire (Figure 8-50). Furthermore, the compound was located only 6 kilometers (4 miles) from the Pakistan Military Academy, the country’s principal institution for training military officers, equivalent to the U.S. Military Academy in West Point. For their part, Pakistani officials were upset that the United States attacked the compound without their knowledge.



▲ **FIGURE 8-50 OSAMA BIN LADEN'S COMPOUND, PAKISTAN** While in this compound, Osama bin Laden was killed by U.S. Navy SEALs.

SUPPLYING TERRORISTS

Learning Outcome 8.4.5

Describe alleged sponsorship of terrorism in Iraq and Iran.

Iraq and Iran have both been accused of providing material and financial support for terrorists. The extent of their involvement in terrorism is controversial, especially in the case of Iraq.

IRAQ. U.S. claims of state-sponsored terrorism proved more controversial with regard to Iraq than to Afghanistan. The United States led an attack against Iraq in 2003 in order to depose Saddam Hussein, the country's longtime president. U.S. officials' justification for removing Hussein was that 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 in the 2003 attack, 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, but it failed to remove Hussein from power. 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; most did not agree with the U.S. assessment that Iraq still possessed weapons of mass destruction or intended to use them.

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.

As the United States moved toward war with Iraq in 2003, Secretary of State Colin Powell scheduled a speech at the UN to present evidence to the world justifying military action against Iraq. Recalling the Cuban Missile Crisis (refer to Figure 8-42), Powell displayed a series of air photos designed to prove that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. However, the photos did not provide clear evidence (Figure 8-51).

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.

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 these various 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's majority Shiite population had 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 then 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 Iran in 1975, Iraq took advantage of Iran's revolution to seize the waterway in 1980, but Iran was not defeated outright, so an eight-year war began that neither side was able to win. An estimated 1.5 million died in the war, which ended when the two countries accepted a UN peace plan.

When the United States launched its war on terrorism after 9/11, Afghanistan was the immediate target, followed by Iraq. But after the election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad as president in 2005, relations between the United States and Iran deteriorated. The United States accused Iran of harboring al-Qaeda members and of trying to gain influence in Iraq, where, as in Iran, the majority of the people were Shiites. More troubling to the international community was Iran's aggressive development of a nuclear program. Iran claimed that its nuclear program was for civilian purposes, but other countries believed that it was intended to develop weapons. Prolonged negotiations were undertaken to dismantle Iran's nuclear capabilities without resorting to yet another war in the Middle East.

Pause and Reflect 8.4.5

What events have occurred in Iran since this book was published?

STATE TERRORIST ATTACKS: LIBYA

The government of Libya was accused of sponsoring a 1986 bombing of a nightclub in Berlin, Germany, that was 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



▲ **FIGURE 8-51 AIR PHOTOS ALLEGING IRAQ'S PREPARATIONS FOR CHEMICAL WARFARE** (left) U.S. satellite image purporting to show 15 munitions bunkers in Taji, Iraq. (center) Close-up of alleged munitions bunker outlined in red near the bottom of the left image. The truck labeled "decontamination vehicle" turned out to be a water truck. (right) Close-up of the two bunkers, outlined in red in the middle of the left image, allegedly sanitized.

exercises over waters in the Mediterranean Sea 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.

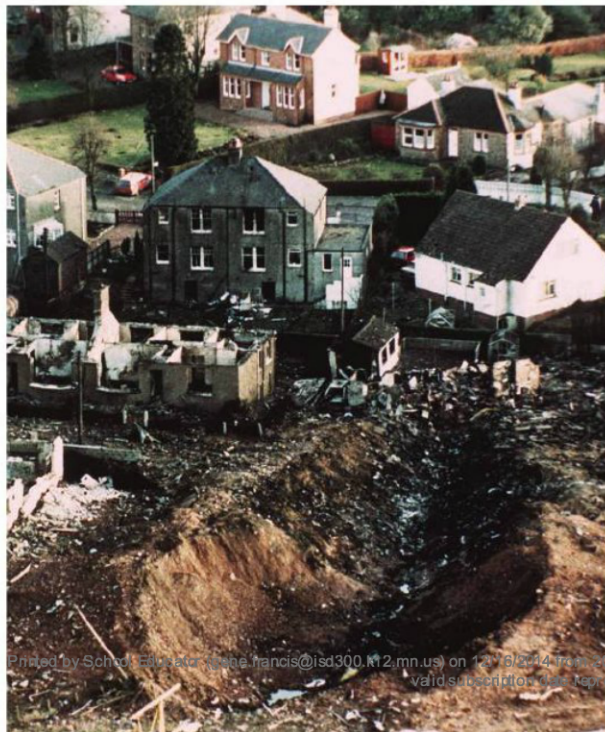
Libyan agents were found to have planted bombs on Pan Am Flight 103 that killed 270 people in Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988 (Figure 8-52), as well as 170 people on UTA Flight

772 over Niger in 1989. Following 8 years of UN economic sanctions, 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 acquitted; the other, Abdel Basset Ali al-Megrahi, was convicted and 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 Pan Am 103. UN sanctions have been lifted, and Libya is no longer considered a state sponsor of terrorism.

During Arab Spring, Qaddafi tried to crush protests with extreme violence, resulting in thousands of deaths and violations of human rights. To protect the protestors, the UN authorized member states to attack pro-Qaddafi forces. A coalition of 30 member states launched air and naval attacks that enabled the anti-Qaddafi forces to take the offensive and ultimately succeed. Qaddafi was captured and killed.

▼ **FIGURE 8-52 STATE-SPONSORED TERRORISM**

Libya authorized the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, which blew up over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988, killing all 259 aboard, plus 11 on the ground.



CHECK-IN: KEY ISSUE 4

Why Do States Cooperate and Compete With Each Other?

- ✓ During the Cold War, the world was divided into two alliances led by superpowers.
- ✓ With the end of the Cold War, economic alliances have become more important.
- ✓ Terrorism by individuals and organizations has included the 9/11 attacks on the United States.
- ✓ Some states have provided support for terrorism.