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Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy



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Explore the Past... Shape the Future

History and Current Issues for the Classroom

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**CHOICES
for the 21st Century
Education Program**

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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

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Introduction: September 11, 2001

September 11, 2001. At 8:46 on a beautiful morning in New York City, American Airlines Flight 11 slammed into the north tower of the World Trade Center. The events that followed shook people to the core. As they began to gather around televisions, people stared in disbelief as seventeen minutes later another plane flew into the south tower.

Within minutes, another airliner filled with passengers crashed into the Pentagon in Washington, DC, and another into the ground in Pennsylvania. There could be little doubt that the United States was under attack. All planes in flight were diverted to the nearest airports. U.S. fighter jets were ordered into the air. The White House was evacuated. Horror-stricken, the world watched as the Trade Center Towers crumbled to the ground. Nearly three thousand died.

In the midst of fear and death, tales of heroism, courage, and kindness abounded. Stories emerged that the passengers on the flight that crashed in Pennsylvania had heard about the attacks over their cell phones and fought back against the hijackers. In New York and Washington, scores of firefighters and police officers lost their lives while trying to save those trapped in collapsing buildings. People at the scenes of the attacks cared for one another. Thousands lined up to give blood.

People across the country found solace in the caring and bravery of their fellow citizens. People around the world expressed their sympathy for the events taking place in New York, Washington, and Pennsylvania. A day that showed humankind's capacity for evil also showed its finest qualities.

In the days that followed the attacks, many

struggled to understand what had happened. Not since the war of 1812 had the mainland of the United States been attacked. Never before had so many U.S. civilians been killed. And not since the Civil War had so many Americans been killed in a single day.

The terrorism did not end on September 11. In the weeks that followed, the U.S. Postal Service was used to deliver letters filled with anthrax spores to members of the media and government. The specter of the unknown and the invisible had crept into the lives of every one. The use of civilian airliners as flying bombs loaded with fuel was unprecedented. The use of biological weapons of mass destruction (WMD) made many wonder, what would be next? Who was responsible? What could we do to protect ourselves? Why was this happening to us?

Within hours of the attacks of September 11, news organizations reported that U.S. officials believed Saudi militant Osama bin Laden, suspected of masterminding the bombings of two U.S. embassies in Africa in 1998, was behind the airplane hijackings. Statements from Osama bin Laden gave reason for suspicion. Infuriated by the U.S. presence in Saudi



Schrank in *The Independent*, London, England. Reprinted with permission.

Arabia and U.S. support for Israel, bin Laden issued a statement in 1998 urging Muslims to fight and kill U.S. citizens and their allies throughout the world.

“...to kill and fight Americans and their allies, whether civilians or military, is an obligation for every Muslim who is able to do so in any country....”

—Osama bin Laden

Although the U.S. government clearly suspected bin Laden, President Bush rejected bin Laden’s attempt to make the attacks part of a religious war between Islam and the United States.

“The face of terror is not the true faith of Islam. That’s not what Islam is all about. Islam is peace. These terrorists don’t represent peace, they represent evil and war. When we think of Islam, we think of a faith that brings comfort to a billion people around the world. Billions of people find comfort and solace and peace. And that’s made brothers and sisters out of every race—out of every race.”

—President George W. Bush
September 17, 2001

Today more than seven years later, people in the United States must consider important questions in a context sharpened by the deaths



President George W. Bush speaks with firefighters at the site of the World Trade Center attacks.

White House Photo. Used with permission.

of thousands of U.S. civilians: What are the motivations for terrorism? Why was the United States attacked? Are we in a “global war on terror”? What is the best way to prevent terrorism?

In the following pages, you will have the opportunity to explore these questions and others as you consider the course the United States should take in response to terrorism. In Part I of the background reading, you will examine the historical origins and purposes of terrorism as well as its evolution over the years. Part II explores the content and context of bin Laden’s call to violence against the United States, including the politics of the contemporary Middle East. In Part III, you will be confronted with the same questions facing U.S. policymakers: What are the potential threats against the United States? What is the best way to respond? What must be done overseas? What should be done in the United States?

Part I: The Origins and Evolution of Terrorism

Today, the word terrorism inevitably conjures up images of the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and angry encounters in the Middle East fueled by Islamic extremism. But terrorism is neither new nor confined to the Middle East or Islamic extremism.

Throughout history, terrorists have come from many places with many motivations. States, groups seeking self-determination or the end of colonial rule, left and right wing ideologues—all have used terror to advance their goals. In almost all of these cases, groups have acted out of political motivations, not merely out of a desire for senseless acts of violence. While terror has often been a weapon of the less powerful against the state, states have also used it as a weapon to intimidate populations and to weaken and destroy political opponents.

Whether wielded by states or by individuals, terror has been a means to a political end. Examining the evolving means and methods of

terror and terrorists reveals a shifting political landscape that may help you understand the motivations behind these acts as well as develop strategies to counter terrorism.

Modern Terror

After World War II, terrorism spread as a political instrument of revolutionaries, those seeking independence from colonial powers, and in struggles of self-determination. For example, the states of Israel, Kenya, and Algeria owe their independence in part to the nationalist political groups that used terrorism against colonial powers. For many people today, the current conception of terrorism and terrorists was shaped by the hostage crisis at the Munich Olympics in 1972.

How did the Munich Olympics of 1972 affect the world's view of terrorism?

During the 1972 Olympic Games in Mu-

Historical Examples of Terrorism

The Reign of Terror: During the French Revolution, the revolutionary government under Robespierre harnessed its power to eradicate its enemies. From 1793 to 1794, thousands of people were arrested or executed, and Robespierre's rule became known as the Reign of Terror.

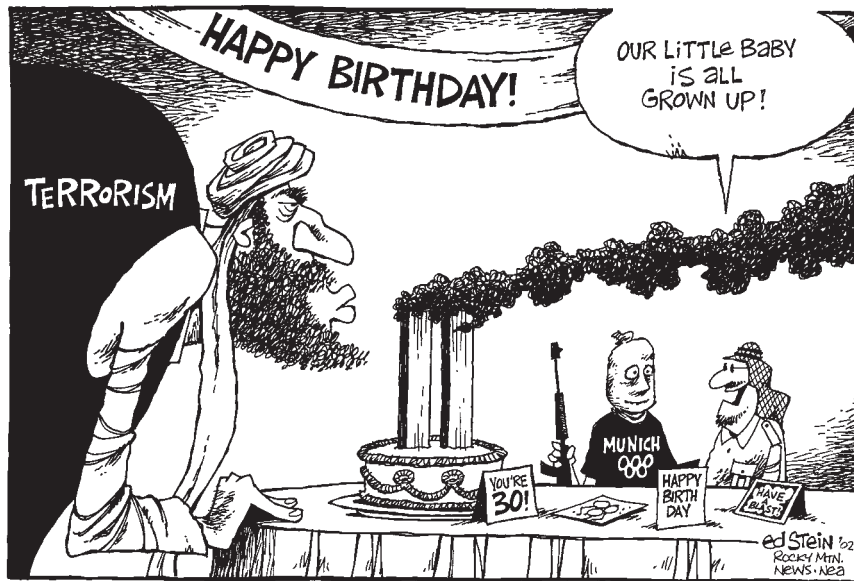
Assassination of the Tsar: In Russia, a group of revolutionaries known as *Narodnaya Volya* assassinated Tsar Alexander II in 1881. They felt that the tyranny of the tsars had to end and that violence was their only recourse. *Narodnaya Volya* tried to attack only those in power and avoid killing innocents.

Anarchist International: A worldwide movement of groups operating in secret cells, Anarchists murdered the president of Italy in 1894, the king of Italy in 1900, the prime ministers of Spain in 1897 and 1912, and the empress of Austria in 1898. Anarchists were also responsible for the 1886 bombing of Haymarket Square in Chicago. In 1901, Leon Czolgoz assassinated U.S. President William McKinley. Czolgoz, a Hungarian refugee, was influenced by the ideas of the Anarchists.

State-Sponsored Terror: On June 28, 1914, Gavrilo Princip assassinated the Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo, an event that led to the First World War. Princip was trained by the Black Hand, an organization supported by the military and government of Serbia.

Terror of the State: During the reign of Josef Stalin, the Soviet Union harnessed the apparatus of the state to strike terror into the hearts of its citizens. Dissent was repressed, millions were executed, and tens of millions were arrested and imprisoned. Some twenty million Soviets died.

Ed Stein. The Rocky Mountain News. Reprinted by permission of Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc.



nich, Germany, a Palestinian group known as Black September seized Israeli athletes inside the Olympic Village. The Palestinian group demanded the release of Palestinian prisoners held in Israel in return for the hostages they held in Munich. The Israeli government refused the terrorists' demands. German police allowed the terrorists out of the Olympic Village, but eleven Israelis, one German policeman and five of eight terrorists were killed in a failed German-led rescue attempt.

Advances in satellite technology meant that much of the world was able to watch on television as the drama unfolded. Germany's hopes for an uplifting Olympic competition devoid of politics were dashed. The public was shocked by images of the crisis and by the idea that the Israeli athletes, who were obviously not directly responsible for their government's policies, would be held accountable for those policies. The athletes were targeted simply because they were representatives of Israel—and, by extension, of Israel's policies.

The enduring image of the 1972 Olympic Games remains a terrorist in a ski mask, instead of an exhilarating athletic performance. Terrorists around the world absorbed the lessons of the power of that image as well. Terrorists began to understand that they could capture the world's attention if the right targets

were chosen—the wider the audience, the greater the impact of the terror. Terrorists also saw the power of striking at important symbols. In this case, terrorists struck at an event meant to symbolize the unity of humankind to show that sport could not transcend politics.

The events of Munich had a lasting impact. Terrorism became more prominent in the world's consciousness, in no small part because terrorists continued to choose targets for their symbolic value and

for maximum media coverage. Throughout the 1970s, terrorism experts concluded that when terrorists acted, they did not want a lot of people dead—but they did want a lot of people watching.

Terrorism Becomes More Deadly

Following the events in Munich, the international community debated the best response to terrorism and produced several agreements directed at specific types of terrorist activity, including aircraft sabotage and hijacking, attacks on diplomats, and hostage taking. Despite these efforts, state-sponsored terrorism, in which states provide anonymous assistance to terrorists, grew during the 1980s.

Why did state-sponsored terrorism increase during the 1980s?

In November 1979, a militant group of Iranian students seized fifty-two U.S. citizens as hostages at the United States embassy in Tehran. The students, claiming to be acting without their government's support, kept the world's attention focused on Tehran throughout the crisis. After more than a year in captivity, the U.S. government negotiated the release of the hostages.

The lessons of this event were not lost on the Iranian government, which had expressed

Examples of State-Sponsored Terrorism

Date	Event	Deaths	Terrorist Organization	State Sponsor
April 1983	Suicide car bomb outside the U.S. embassy in Beirut	69	Islamic Jihad	Iran
July 1987	Simultaneous car-bombing in Karchi, Pakistan	72 deaths More than 250 wounded		Afghan intelligence agents
November 1987	Bombing of Korean Airlines flight from Baghdad, Iraq to Seoul, South Korea	115		North Korean intelligence services
December 1988	Bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland	259 passengers, 11 on ground		Libya
August 1989	Bombing of French passenger jet over Chad	171	Islamic Jihad	Iran

an interest in eliminating the powerful influence of the United States in the Middle East. Other governments around the world also took note. These states realized that supporting terrorist groups provided an effective way for weaker states to strike at more powerful states. Terrorists also benefited from having states sponsor their activities. Terrorists could have access to false identification in the form of genuine passports. They could use diplomatic privileges to provide immunity and transport weapons and explosives. States could also provide advanced military training and pay terrorists well for their activities. More funding allowed terrorist organizations to recruit people who might not otherwise have been ideologically committed to a cause. And the availability of the state's more sophisticated weaponry meant that the lethality of terrorism increased sharply.

What are some of the ways the United States responded to state-sponsored terrorism?

State sponsorship of terrorism can include a range of activities including helping plan and carry out attacks, supplying weapons and training, and providing safe havens out of view of the international community. The U.S. Department of State keeps a list of states that it believes sponsor terrorism. Cuba, Iran, Sudan, and Syria make up the current list. The United States has applied both economic embargoes and sanctions against these states.

The United States has also used military retaliation against these states as a method of deterring terrorist action. The effectiveness of retaliation has not been high. For example, in 1986, the United States bombed Libya in retaliation for the bombing of a disco in Berlin, Germany, that was popular with U.S. soldiers. The disco bombing killed two and wounded two hundred. Instead of deterring further Libyan terrorist acts against the United States, the

U.S. air strike was followed by an increased number of Libyan-sponsored attacks against U.S. citizens. In addition, the number of all terrorist attacks against the United States actually increased following the bombing in Libya. Two years after the air strikes, Libyan-backed terrorists bombed Pan Am flight 103, killing 259 passengers and 11 people on the ground.

Furthermore, despite careful planning, the U.S. air strikes against Libya killed thirty-six civilians and wounded ninety-three. Critics

of the action noted that the United States had deprived itself of the moral high ground it claimed to hold above terrorists, subjecting itself to domestic and international criticism.

In 2006, the United States removed Libya from the list of states that sponsor terrorism. Libya agreed to pay damages for the bombing of flight 103 and has worked to rehabilitate its international image. The United States and Libya reestablished diplomatic relations in 2006.

Four Cases of Religiously-Inspired Terror

The First World Trade Center Bombing: On February 26, 1993, a van loaded with explosives and cyanide parked in the garage of the World Trade Center in New York City. It exploded, collapsing several floors of the parking garage and killing six people and injuring thousands. The terrorists had planned for the explosion to collapse one tower, forcing it to fall sideways onto the other tower. The plan, designed to kill thousands, failed because the force of the explosion was not great enough.

An Islamist terrorist group based in the United States carried out the attack. The group, followers of the Egyptian Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman, was angered by U.S. support for Israel and for those it considered enemies of Islam, including Egypt's President Mubarak. The group's supporters were also angered by the United States' secular culture, which they regarded as hostile to religion in general and particularly threatening to Islam. In 1996, Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman and eight others were convicted of planning the World Trade Center bombing and of plotting to blow up the United Nations, two tunnels under the Hudson River, and the FBI building in Manhattan.

The Trade Center was attacked because of its symbolic significance. In the eyes of the world, it represented U.S. power, technology, and that quintessential U.S. city, New York. Eight and a half years later, this symbolism would make the towers targets again.

Baruch Goldstein: On February 25, 1994, during Islam's holy month of Ramadan, Dr. Baruch Goldstein entered the Ibrahim Mosque, located in the town of Hebron on the West Bank. He fired 111 shots with his automatic assault-rifle into the congregation of 800 Palestinian Muslim worshippers. He killed 29 people and wounded 150 before being beaten to death.

A follower of the Jewish terrorist group Kach, Baruch Goldstein felt betrayed by his government's actions in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. He believed that Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was giving away what God had given Israel and that Israel was in grave danger from Palestinian Arabs.

The Hebron massacre had important religious symbolism. Goldstein acted during the Jewish festival of Purim, which celebrates the biblical story of Mordechai destroying the enemies of the Jews.

Goldstein's action repulsed most Israelis. However, a large segment of militant and orthodox Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza settlements saw Goldstein as a righteous man and a martyr. They made his grave site a shrine and voiced uncompromising religious fervor not only against Palestinian Arabs but also against the Israeli government. A few months later, a young orthodox Jewish student named Yigal Amir assassinated Prime Minister Rabin. He claimed he acted on God's orders.

Religiously-Motivated Terrorism

While state-sponsorship made terrorism increasingly deadly, another worrying trend in terrorism has emerged in the last decade. In 1980, the U.S. State Department's list of international terrorist groups included only one group with religious affiliation. By 2003, more than half of the international terrorist groups identified by the State Department had some religious affiliation or ideology.

Why is there concern about a rise of religiously motivated terrorism?

Even prior to the attacks of September 11, 2001, some terrorism experts attributed the increasing lethality of terrorism to attacks perpetrated by groups motivated by religious extremism (See "Four Cases of Religiously-Inspired Terror" on pages 6-7.) They also pointed with concern to efforts by these groups to acquire and use materials that could be made into nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons.

Aum Shinrikyo: Tokyo, Japan, March 20, 1995. Five members of Aum Shinrikyo, a group with roots in Japanese Buddhism, boarded trains at different ends of Tokyo's subway system. As they approached the city center, each of the men punctured a bag containing Sarin nerve gas and quickly left the train. In the next few minutes, people on the trains began choking and vomiting. Passengers stumbled out of the trains and collapsed on the platforms in convulsions. Eventually 12 people died and over 5,500 were injured, many with permanent injuries. This was the first example of the use of weapons of mass destruction (in this case chemical) by a terrorist group.

Members of Aum Shinrikyo believed that they were in a dehumanized society threatened by an Armageddon of nuclear weapons and nerve gas. They believed that only members of their organization, those with proper spiritual training, would survive. Some argue they conducted the nerve gas attack on the subway system to fulfill their own prophesy of Armageddon or to symbolize its results.

Christian Identity: On June 15, 1985, Richard Wayne Snell was sentenced to death for the separate murders of a pawn shop owner and a police officer in Arkansas in 1983 and 1984. He also bombed a natural gas pipeline, robbed a pawn shop, and had made plans to bomb the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Snell, who was executed by lethal injection on April 19, 1995, apologized for none of his crimes. According to him, they were part of a just revolution against the U.S. federal government.

Snell was a member of the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA), a militant right-wing group that seeks to overthrow the federal government and create a new state governed by Christian religious law. The CSA's beliefs are based on the Christian Identity movement, a system of religious beliefs that blends white supremacy with extreme political and religious conservatism. Its followers believe that the government is run by a Jewish-liberal conspiracy that is determined to deprive citizens of their freedoms and to institute a secular world government. They are often fierce defendants of citizens' right to own firearms, believing that gun control legislation is one of the government's most offensive means of depriving citizens of their freedom.

Timothy McVeigh, who bombed the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995, had ties to Christian Identity followers both in Michigan and in Oklahoma. The attack killed 168 and injured more than 800 people. McVeigh never expressed religious motivations for bombing the Murrah building, but he shared many of Christian Identity's pro-gun and anti-government convictions. He was heavily influenced by *The Turner Diaries*, a novel popular among Christian Identity followers, which describes in detail blowing up a federal building with a fertilizer-gasoline bomb similar to the one McVeigh used. In fact, McVeigh had a passage from the book with him when he was arrested.

What common factors help explain the motivations and methods of religious terrorists?

The World Gone Wrong: Most of the religious terrorist groups active in the last twenty years were motivated by the belief that something has gone terribly wrong with the world. These beliefs stem from social, political, cultural, and spiritual issues. For example, foreign military occupation of territory, corrupt secular governments, or the decline of traditional values within a society can all contribute to a sense of crisis. Furthermore, the process of globalization can magnify this sense of “a world gone wrong,” as people fear losing their identity to intruding foreign value systems.

Throughout history, cultures have been forced to confront the possibility of change. In many cases, religion has offered the means to cope with these circumstances, helping a changing society to determine goals for the future. Religion can offer physical or spiritual sanctuary against political repression. It has also functioned as a major instrument for social activism and political action. Religious terrorists also turn to religion to find motivation and justification for their own purposes. They perceive their actions as a defensive reaction to the moral and spiritual corruption of the world.

No Other Options: Many people, when confronted by the kinds of cultural or political crises mentioned above, turn to political campaigns or social movements to address their concerns or to right what they perceive as wrong. These efforts might succeed or fail. Nonetheless, they are undertaken with the understanding that things could change—public support could be gathered, new leaders elected, and policies changed. There are others who feel no hope that these traditional political methods will help them achieve their objectives. They feel powerless and humiliated about their inability to do anything about their frustration with the world. Such people have sometimes turned to terrorism and violence, believing that to be the only way change will occur.

Cosmic War Against the Enemy: When that sense of powerlessness is combined with some religious interpretations, the struggle takes on cosmic terms—a struggle between good and evil, or between God and the devil.

“America is struck by God Almighty in one of its vital organs. So that its greatest buildings are destroyed. Grace and gratitude to God. America has been filled with horror from north to south and from east to west.”

—Osama bin Laden, October 2001

Seeing social or political struggles in this way can lead some people to religiously-motivated terrorism. In these cases, the struggle is thought to be a defense of culture and identity in which the enemy appears to have the power to destroy the culture and community. The enemy’s victory would be absolutely intolerable, yet there seems to be no way to defeat the enemy with traditional means, such as conventional military campaigns or diplomacy. To the terrorist’s mind, the stakes are so high and the cause so virtuous that any means may be justified to achieve the ends.

Symbolism and Violence: Religious terrorists often choose their targets and the timing of their attacks for their symbolic value. This means that terrorists will choose to strike targets that they feel represent the things or ideas they are fighting against and convey a sense of the terrorists’ power.

Why did U.S. government officials grow increasingly concerned about terrorism?

As the violence caused by terrorism grew, U.S. government officials became increasingly alarmed during the 1990s. It seemed that terrorists did not only want a lot of people watching their acts of terrorism—they wanted a lot of people dead as well. Law enforcement officials in the United States and around the world noted with alarm cases of groups and individuals who had attempted to acquire the ingredients to make nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons.



Dale Summers in The Orlando Sentinel. Reprinted with permission.

“The acquisition, proliferation, threatened or actual use of weapons of mass destruction constitutes one of the gravest threats to the United States.”

—Louis Freeh, former Director of the FBI, May 1997

In this section of the reading, you have examined the historical origins and purposes

of terrorism as well as its evolution over the years. The next section explores the content and context of Osama bin Laden’s call to violence against the United States, including the politics of the contemporary Middle East. As you read, keep in mind that when you have finished the reading you will be asked to formulate your own response to terrorism.

Part II: Al Qaeda and the Middle East

After September 11, a leading suspect quickly emerged—Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden, a Saudi born multi-millionaire, had organized the attacks on the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in 1998. Other reports linked him and his organization, al Qaeda (loosely translated as “the base”), to the killing of U.S. troops in a battle in Somalia in 1993, the bombing and deaths of U.S. military personnel in Saudi Arabia in 1996, and the attack on the U.S.S. *Cole* by suicide bombers in 2000 that killed nineteen U.S. sailors.

Why has Osama bin Laden waged an ongoing terror campaign against the United States?

Over the last several years Osama bin Laden has made a number of public statements giving his justifications for his attacks against U.S. citizens. He expressed anger about the presence of U.S. troops in Arabia, the sacred lands of Islam. He saw their presence as a way for the United States to fight against and humiliate the peoples of Islam in the region. He objected to U.S. support of Israel and Israel’s

presence in the holy lands, as well as to the deaths of Muslims at the hands of Israel. He also expressed strong opposition to U.S. policy concerning sanctions on Iraq in the aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War. More recently, audio-tapes allegedly from bin Laden urged Muslims to fight against U.S. soldiers in Iraq and warned other countries not to support the war. Bin Laden believes that U.S. actions in the Middle East literally amount to a declaration of war by the United States on Allah (the Islamic name for God) and Muslims. Bin Laden presents his call to arms as a defense of Islam, a cosmic struggle against an enemy whom he believes hopes to destroy Islamic culture and religion.

“We call upon Muslim scholars, their faithful leaders, young believers, and soldiers to launch a raid on the American soldiers of Satan and their allies of the Devil.”

—Osama bin Laden

In February 1998, bin Laden announced the founding of the World Islamic Front for Jihad against the Jews and Crusaders. (The “Crusaders” is a reference to the Christian invasions of the holy lands in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, which bin Laden equates with U.S. policy.) At the time several other militant organizations from Egypt, Pakistan, and Bangladesh became part of al Qaeda. Experts warned that al Qaeda was a large collection of loosely connected secret cells or groups that were dispersed around the world. They noted that thousands had come to al Qaeda’s camps in Afghani-



“THIS IS MY LATEST EDICT CONDEMNING GODLESS WESTERN TECHNOLOGY... FAX IT TO THE NETWORKS AND POST IT ON THE INTERNET...”

Bill Schorr: United Media Services. Reprinted with permission.



Bas in Tachydromos. Athens, Greece. Reprinted with permission.

stan to learn the skills they would need to become terrorists.

Political Islam and the Middle East

Bin Laden's declaration and the attacks of September 11 have raised many questions for U.S. citizens. Some wondered whether there are justifications for terrorism within Islam. For others, the events seemed to confirm a perception of Islam as a violent and fanatical faith.

What role does Islam play?

Like all religions, Islam is subject to interpretation. Most interpretations of Islamic tradition note a history of tolerance and peace. (The word Islam is related to the Arabic word *salaam*, which means peace.) Islam is a religion that values family and tolerance. Throughout much of history, Muslims have lived peacefully with followers of other religions. For example, many Jews fled the persecutions found in Christian Europe for the relative freedom of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East. Islam permits the use of force in self-defense, but not the killing of innocents or civilians.

The term *jihad*, often associated with Islam and violence, is also open to interpretation. Scholars point out that the term, which literally means struggle or effort, has two meanings. For the founder of Islam, the Prophet Muhammad, the "great jihad" was the struggle against one's own moral shortcomings. The "little jihad" was the struggle against the enemies of Islam.

Different interpretations of Islam have led Muslims to different conclusions about the role of violence in their religion. For example, there are different interpretations of the Prophet Muhammad's words, "Let there be no two religions in Arabia." Many Muslims interpret this to mean that non-Muslims should not be allowed to remain in the holy lands of Arabia. Indeed, this non-Islamic presence in the form of U.S. troops is what bin Laden condemns. Most Muslims do not support violence against U.S. citizens, even though they might be unhappy with U.S. policies in the Middle East or the presence of U.S. troops in the holy lands of Islam.

Bin Laden's statement that the United States had declared war on Islam strikes most U.S. citizens as absurd. Within their own lives most citizens separate the political and religious spheres. The founding fathers believed that there should be no state-sponsored religion, and they included this concept in the Constitution. But for bin Laden and his followers, the religious and the political are one and the same. By definition, for bin Laden, political conflicts are religious and religious conflicts are political.

The blending of the political and religious spheres is not unique to al Qaeda. Its violent radical extremism is one part of the rise of political Islam in the Islamic world.

What is political Islam?

Political Islam—or Islamic fundamentalism, as it is often called—strives to establish as law one interpretation of the Islamic legal tradition, or Shari'a, as the foundation of government and attempts to rid society of non-Islamic influences. (The Shari'a is a wide body of literature that lays out legal prin-

ciples and norms but is not a legal code or single document.) Political Islam has fed off the frustration of Middle Eastern politics in the twentieth century. Earlier political movements, such as pan-Arab nationalism, have failed. Corruption, mismanagement, and reliance on foreign aid have undermined popular support in Arab governments. In the midst of these failures, political Islam has gained increasing support.

Islamist movements (that is, movements of political Islam) have benefited from larger economic and social forces as well. In the 1990s, many Middle Eastern countries adopted free-market economic principles advocated by the United States. The reforms called for breaking down trade barriers that had protected local industries, cutting government spending, and selling off state-run companies to private owners. While free-market policies have attracted increased foreign investment to the Middle East, they have also raised unemployment and reduced government assistance to the poor.

“There are only two powers now in the world. One is America, which is tyrannical and oppressive. The other is a warrior who has not yet been awakened from his slumber and that warrior is Islam.”

—Imam Mouaid al-Ubaidi,
Iraqi Muslim Cleric

In almost all Middle Eastern countries, Islam is officially recognized as the binding force of society. State-run television and radio stations broadcast thousands of hours of religious programming, and Islamic clergymen receive government salaries. The Islamist regimes of Iran and Sudan take a different approach. There the Islamic clergy actually control the government.

Islamist movements have proven especially strong in the poor neighborhoods of large cities. Many of their supporters are recent migrants from the countryside or the victims of economic reform. For them, Islamist movements are an answer to what they see as reckless change and economic inequity.

How do U.S. officials regard political Islam?

Political Islamist movements have concerned Washington since the Iranian Revolution of 1979. It is important to note that political Islam comes in many forms that do not necessarily advocate terrorism. Nevertheless, U.S. officials and many Middle Eastern leaders view political Islam’s more radical forms as a threat to stability. In Egypt, for example, Washington has stood behind Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak’s crackdown on Islamist movements. One of the intellectual founders of modern Islamist radicalism, the Egyptian dissident Sayyid Qutb argued that existing secular Arab regimes should all be overthrown as the first step in a jihad against the enemies of Islam. Some experts believe this is one of Osama bin Laden’s goals.

On the other hand, the United States supports the Islamist government in Saudi Arabia because it serves U.S. interests. Critics note that Saudi Arabia supports Islamist activities in many countries around the world and provides funding for mosques and cultural centers abroad. These centers, they say, may serve as recruiting grounds for terrorists. At the same time, Saudi Arabia does not allow these activities to take place in its own country.

The United States in the Middle East

During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union competed for influence in the economically and strategically-important Middle East. Today, the United States maintains an active role in the Middle East for three reasons. First, U.S. presidents since Jimmy Carter have expressed their determination to go to war to prevent hostile forces from gaining control of the Middle East’s oil resources. Second, the continuing U.S. military presence in Iraq puts the United States at the center of the balance of power in the Middle East. The United States began an effort to bring democracy to Iraq with the hope that it might spark reform and stability in a region critical to the U.S. economy and security. Third, the United States is enmeshed in efforts to settle the long conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Tom Toles. Universal Press Syndicate. Reprinted with permission.



What principles have governed U.S. policy in the Middle East?

For many years, U.S. policymakers concentrated on access to oil and the Arab-Israeli peace process and paid much less attention to promoting democracy and human rights in the Middle East. In other parts of the world, the United States often determines foreign aid, trade relations, and other aspects of foreign policy on the basis of political reform. Until recently, U.S. leaders have largely ignored how U.S. allies in the Middle East govern within their borders.

The Arab kingdoms of the Persian Gulf highlight this contradiction for U.S. policy. In Saudi Arabia, for example, women are not permitted to vote or even drive. Government and industry are dominated by the Saudi royal clan, which numbers in the tens of thousands. Critics accuse Saudi Arabia of being a breeding ground for terrorists.

The U.S. interest in preserving security alliances in the Middle East has put the United States in the position of supporting governments that radical movements see as their foes. In some cases, U.S. concern about extremist religious movements has led the United States

to support more secular regimes, even if they do not respect certain democratic principles.

For example, Egypt is one of the largest recipients of U.S. foreign aid, even though the country suffers from government corruption, a poor record on human rights, as well as a weak economy and poor living conditions for many of its citizens. While the Egyptian government does not tolerate much criticism in its media of its own leaders and activities, frustration finds an outlet in criticism of and anger toward the United States.

Why did President Bush call for expanding democracy in the Middle East?

President George W. Bush, in a speech in November 2003 on liberty and democracy in the Middle East, called on the United States to promote democracy actively in the Middle East. He also called on Middle Eastern nations to accept the ideal of freedom.

International response to the speech was mixed. Many people in the Middle East and elsewhere supported Bush's statements, and many others were disappointed or angered.

“The U.S. has hijacked the noble concept of ‘democracy’ which millions of people have fought for in the Arab world. It is now exploiting the slogan of democracy and human rights for its own known political interests that see nothing in the Middle East but oil pipelines and a secure Israel, without showing any real concern or respect for the region’s inhabitants, citizens, culture, civilization, and history.”

—Reporter Bateer Mohammad Ali Wardam in the Jordanian newspaper *ad-Dustour*

Whether democracy is universally valued or even universally possible remains unsettled. President Bush argued that all of the world aspires towards liberty. Others argue that democracy reflects some people's cultural values rather than universal human values.

Nevertheless, coming close on the heels of the elections in Iraq in January 2005, a million Lebanese protestors took to the streets to protest the Syrian presence in Lebanon, and Palestinians elected a new leader following the death of Yasir Arafat.

While democracy may be gaining a foothold, there may also be some pitfalls of a more democratic Middle East. For example, Palestinians elected the Hamas party to lead their parliament in early 2006. The United States identifies Hamas as a terrorist organization. Whether it is possible to resolve a crucial aspect of the Arab-Israeli conflict with Hamas in power remains to be seen.

What is the U.S. perspective on relations with Israel?

The Arab-Israeli peace process has commanded a large share of U.S. diplomatic energy in recent years. Since 1991, the United States has sponsored a series of peace talks. Breakthrough agreements have been signed between Israel and the Palestinians, as well as between Israel and Jordan, although progress has ground to a halt with the election of Hamas.

Since its creation, Israel has occupied a special position in U.S. foreign policy. U.S. leaders have stood by Israel for several reasons. First, Israel has won admiration in the United States as a model of democracy and Western values in the Middle East. Others view Israel as a valuable strategic ally in the region. For example, Presidents Richard Nixon and George H. W. Bush

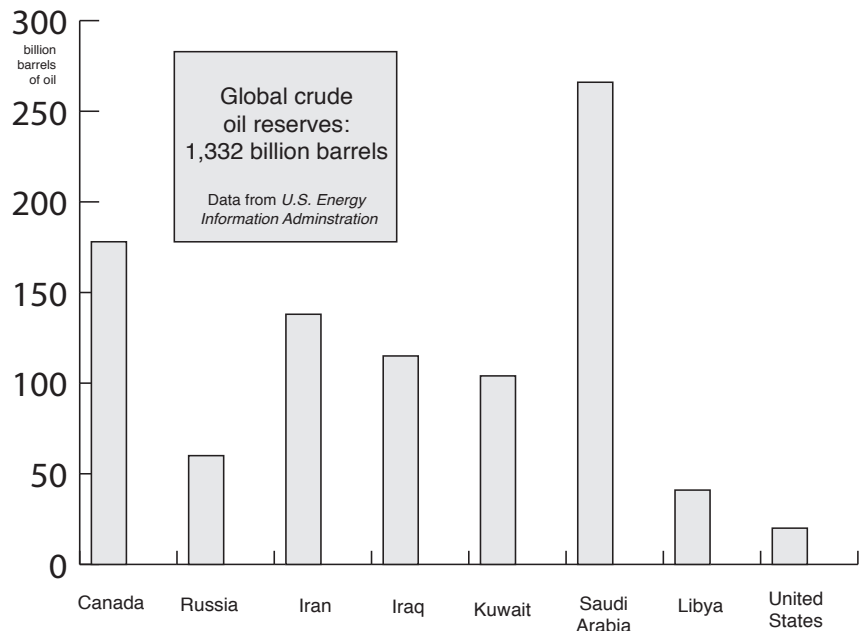
valued Israel for countering U.S. enemies in the Middle East, battle-testing U.S. weapons, and sharing intelligence information. Israel's development of nuclear weapons (which Israeli officials have never admitted) gave Israel added weight in U.S. policy.

With the end of the Cold War and the evolution of Israel's position in the Middle East, U.S. attachment to Israel has attracted fresh attention. Israel's treatment of the Palestinians and its attacks against Hezbollah in Lebanon have drawn more intense criticism. Nonetheless, U.S. support for Israel has not wavered even though the support is a source of resentment in the Arab world.

Why has Iraq been at the center of U.S. security concerns in the Middle East?

For nearly twenty years, U.S. policy toward Iraq has been headline news. In August 1990, the Iraqi military invaded Kuwait. In the days immediately following, the United States' top priority was to prevent Saddam Hussein's military from seizing the oil fields of northeastern Saudi Arabia. Iraq's occupation of Kuwait had given Saddam Hussein control of one-quarter of global oil reserves. Extending his reach two hundred miles further into

2008 World Oil Reserves



Saudi Arabia would have put nearly half of the world's oil in his grasp. Leading a UN military coalition of twenty-eight nations, the United States smashed Iraq's bid to seize Kuwait.

The 1991 war against Iraq elevated the region's importance from the U.S. perspective. It also convinced Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the smaller states of the Persian Gulf that a U.S. military presence was needed in the region to safeguard their own security. But the presence of U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf created tensions of its own and angered extremists like Osama bin Laden.

After the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the United States geared its policy in the Middle East toward containing Iraq and Iran, both of which the United States saw as threats to regional security. Fears of an Iraqi secret nuclear weapons program and concern about international terrorism sponsored by Iran and Iraq fueled anxiety in Washington after September 11.

What did President Bush warn the international community about Iraq?

In the summer of 2002, Washington turned the pressure up on Iraq. In a speech before the United Nations, President George W. Bush warned the international community of the dangers that Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and sponsorship of terrorism posed to the region and to the world. He stated that the United States would confront these dangers and asked the UN to join with the United States.

U.S. diplomats worked hard to build international support for the U.S. position within the UN as they had for the first Gulf War. In spite of intensive efforts, President Bush realized that he would not win UN approval for military action against Iraq. Ultimately, 49 of the 191 countries of the UN General Assembly expressed support for the 2003 war against Iraq, but the United States did not have enough support in the Security Council to get authorization for the use of force.

How did the U.S. public feel about a war against Iraq?

In March 2003, public opinion in the United States favored military action to remove Saddam Hussein from power. A clear majority also favored taking into account the views of allies before acting. Forty-five percent also believed that Saddam Hussein was personally involved in the September 11 terrorist attacks—an opinion not supported by any conclusive evidence. (In 2006, a Senate panel concluded that there was no link between Saddam Hussein and September 11.)

What have been the results of the war in Iraq?

In the spring of 2003, U.S.-led military forces raced through the Iraqi desert and defeated Saddam Hussein's military. During their advance, U.S. officials worried that the Iraqi army would use chemical weapons. This did not happen. The United States conducted an intensive search for weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in Iraq but found no conclusive evidence of WMD.

What was found were mass graves of thousands upon thousands of Iraqis—murdered by Saddam Hussein's government during his rule. How many Iraqis died at the hands of his regime remains to be tallied, but some believe the final count will approach 350,000.

Today, the new Iraqi government and the U.S. military face multiple challenges. Violence from local militias, insurgents, and terrorist groups continue to wrack the country. Iraq's economy has been struggling and many Iraqis are frustrated with the government's failure to improve the situation.

The United States plans to stay in Iraq until there is a stable government able to maintain security. How long the United States will remain in the country is uncertain, but many experts predict that it will be years, require additional troops, and cost hundreds of billions of dollars.

Controversy over Iraq: Preventive War and Unilateralism

The war in Iraq generates great controversy internationally and domestically. Although there are many points of disagreement (in particular over the failure to find any WMD or links to al Qaeda), two broad assertions made by the Bush administration about U.S. security policy have caused intense debate. The first debate is about the assertion of the right of the United States to use military force to act preventively against a security threat even if there is uncertainty about the time and place of an enemy's attack. The second debate involves a reassertion of the U.S. intention to act unilaterally if it believes it needs to.

Why is Iran a security concern for the United States?

While the United States works to keep events under control in Iraq, U.S. officials remain concerned about Iraq's neighbor Iran. The United States believes that Iran has a well-established program to develop nuclear weapons. The Iranian government has claimed that it has the right to develop nuclear materials for peaceful purposes. The dilemma for the international community is that it is difficult to distinguish between "good atoms" for peaceful purposes and "bad atoms" for military purposes.

Iran's conservative, hard-line president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's assertion that Israel should be "wiped off the map" has also heightened international anxiety about Iran's intentions.

Three other issues affect U.S. relations with Iran. The State Department believes Iran is the leading state sponsor of terrorism. Iran's support for anti-Israeli terrorist groups Hezbollah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad has contributed

significantly to violence in the region. Second, the United States believes that Iran's support of the Shi'a, the majority religious sect, in Iraq fuels sectarian violence there. Finally, human rights violations, including the torture and killing of political opponents of the regime, are a continuing cause for concern.

U.S. officials are divided on how best to deal with Iran. Some advocate a hard-line policy to bring about change, including military action. Others believe that a policy of diplomatic engagement combined with utilizing the United States' increased regional influence is a better course.

In this section of the reading, you have examined the content of bin Laden's call to violence against the United States, including the politics of the contemporary Middle East. In the next section, you will explore the same issues facing U.S. policymakers: what are the threats the United States faces and how should it respond? As you read, keep in mind that when you have finished the reading you will be asked to formulate your own response to terrorism.

Part III: Responding to Terrorism

In the weeks following the September 11 attacks, the United States identified Osama bin Laden's al Qaeda network as responsible for the violence. Al Qaeda was based in the country of Afghanistan with the support and approval of the extreme Islamist regime known as the Taliban. President Bush demanded that the Taliban hand over bin Laden and dismantle al Qaeda.

The Taliban government of Afghanistan refused to meet the conditions of the United States, although it claimed it would put bin Laden on trial if offered conclusive evidence of his guilt. On October 7, 2001, the United States initiated a military campaign that overthrew the Taliban government of Afghanistan and eliminated al Qaeda's base of operation in Afghanistan. Experts believe that many al Qaeda members as well as Osama bin Laden escaped into neighboring Pakistan. (See map on page 23.)

“Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism.”

—President George W. Bush,
September 20, 2001

For many in the United States, the threat of terrorism raises the question, “Why us?” No explanation will ever justify the murder of thousands in the attacks of September 11. But it is important to try to understand some of the reasons why terrorists, including Osama bin Laden and his organization, chose to target the United States.

Why is the United States a target?

As the most powerful nation in the world, the United States is also the most visible nation in the world. As you read in Part II, the U.S. military presence in the Middle East and support of Israel continues to fuel anger against the United States. There is sharp disagreement about why the United States is the target of extremists.

“Americans are asking, why do they hate us?...They hate our freedoms—our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.”

—President George W. Bush,
September 20, 2001

Not everyone accepts the idea that the United States was attacked because of its freedoms.

“The United States was not attacked because we are free. Bin Laden was not attacking the Bill of Rights. We were attacked...over here because the United States' military and political presence is massive over there [in the Middle East]. Bin Laden in his fatwah, his statement of declaration of war on the United States, said the infidels were standing on the sacred soil of Saudi Arabia. They want us out of the Middle East. They don't care whether we have a separation of church and state.”

—Patrick Buchanan, conservative
commentator, February 13, 2005

U.S. power is much more than just military and political might. The ability of U.S. companies and ideas to expand throughout the world has helped kindle resentment against the “Americanization” of cultures of different

nations. Some fear that the cultures and traditions of their countries will be overwhelmed by the values, popular culture, technologies, and life-styles of the United States. For example, the values conveyed by MTV or Hollywood are often regarded as harmful—an assault by an immoral U.S. society on traditional values. For many people, the rapidly changing global and political environment has led to shifting and uncertain cultural and economic landscapes.

In addition, because the United States has an interest in ensuring the stability of governments around the world sometimes the United States supports governments that the populace opposes or resents. In some cases, radical or extremist religious movements are able to harness this resentment against the United States.

The Threats from Terrorism

The increasing violence of terrorism and the attacks of September 11 have forced the United States to consider the range of potential threats it faces. Even before September 11, 2001 a government commission led by former Senators Gary Hart and Warren Rudman warned about the possibility of a terrorist attack against the United States.

“Americans will likely die on American soil, possibly in large numbers.”

—Hart-Rudman Commission on American Security in the 21st Century, 1999

How strong is al Qaeda today?

With the fall of the Taliban regime, al Qaeda lost its stronghold in Afghanistan. Although its base in Afghanistan is gone and many of its leaders killed or captured, messages from Osama bin Laden and the al Qaeda leadership continue to inspire the formation and actions of radical terrorist groups. Many experts believe that bin Laden is hiding in northwestern Pakistan, a region that borders Afghanistan.

Today, al Qaeda and other radical groups forge an international network of hundreds of cells belonging to different terrorist groups

and located on different continents. According to international intelligence reports, recruitment has increased since the September 11 attacks and the war in Iraq, particularly among women and youth. The continuing threat of terrorism has forced the United States to consider a range of potential acts of terror, including use of nuclear or biological weapons.

How might nuclear weapons be used?

While no one knows if any terrorist group has acquired nuclear weapons, all are aware that any nuclear explosion would dwarf the devastation of September 11.

“At various times from at least as early as 1992, Osama bin Laden and others, known and unknown, made efforts to obtain the components of nuclear weapons.”

—From the Justice Department Indictment for the 1998 Embassy Bombings

There are several ways that a terrorist organization might acquire a nuclear weapon. Terrorists might choose to steal one. In one example from 1977, a German terrorist group, the Baader-Meinhof gang, attacked a U.S. military base in Germany and engaged in a gun fight with U.S. soldiers. They were unsuccessful and retreated before they could steal a weapon.

Although nuclear weapons facilities are generally well-guarded, experts point out that weapons are more vulnerable to theft when they are being transported from place to place. Another period of vulnerability might occur if a state experiences a coup, collapses, or loses control of its military.

Terrorist organizations might also try to buy a nuclear weapon. There is concern that North Korea, a country desperate for cash, might sell a nuclear weapon.

Finally, some experts point out that if a terrorist organization obtained the necessary materials, it might be able to produce a nuclear device. Others are not so sure that terrorists would be able to produce a bomb. But even if

terrorists could not produce a nuclear explosion, there is concern that they could place radioactive materials around a conventional bomb. If this “dirty bomb” were to explode, it would shower poisonous radioactive materials over the surrounding area.

Most experts believe it is unlikely that terrorists would deliver a nuclear weapon using conventional military means—launching a missile or dropping a bomb from a plane. But experts do worry that a nuclear device could be smuggled into the United States, perhaps hidden in one of the approximately seventeen thousand cargo containers entering U.S. shipping ports daily.

In 2002, the U.S. government launched an electronic cargo security program in fifteen major ports worldwide capable of tracking containers shipped from Asia and Europe into the United States. Critics warn that despite these measures, the vulnerability of shipping containers remains significant.

Why are Russian nuclear weapons of such concern to the United States?

A bipartisan commission led by former Senator Howard Baker and former counsel to the president Lloyd Cutler reported to President Bush that the United States faced a serious threat from the theft or illegal sale of weapons of mass destruction from the former Soviet Union.

“The most urgent unmet national security threat to the United States today is the danger that weapons of mass destruction or weapons-usable materials in Russia could be stolen, sold to terrorists or hostile nation states, and used against American troops abroad or citizens at home.”

—Baker-Cutler Report, Department of Energy, January 2001

Since the end of the Cold War, Russian society has undergone a remarkable transformation. While it has become a more free and open society, it has also become more chaotic and criminalized. A highly professional and well-trained segment of the Russian military guards its approximately thirty thousand nuclear weapons and the nuclear materials that could make another seventy thousand. Nonetheless, reports of terrorist groups attempting to break into Russian nuclear storage sites have heightened anxieties. In the past decade groups and individuals have successfully stolen weapons materials, only to be caught when attempting to export them from Russia.

What other major terrorist acts have occurred since September 11?

Terrorist acts continue to plague populations worldwide, targeting civilians, transportation systems, schools, and govern-

Nunn-Lugar Threat Reduction Programs

Many experts believe that the best way to reduce the threat of stolen or illegally sold nuclear weapons is to go directly to the source. In addition to treaties intended to reduce the overall number of such weapons in the United States and Russia, the United States has sponsored Cooperative Threat Reduction programs throughout the former Soviet Union designed to help dismantle, dispose of, and safely store nuclear weapons materials. The programs, also known as Nunn-Lugar for the senators who initiated them, have deactivated more than six thousand nuclear warheads and destroyed hundreds of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), missile silos, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, bombers, and nuclear test tunnels since 1991. The programs have cost between \$400 and \$500 million per year. A 2001 bipartisan report called for significant increases in these funds—an additional \$30 billion over the next ten years. The U.S. Department of Energy also spends approximately \$600 million to help secure nuclear facilities and materials in Russia. In June 2002, the G-8, an international organization of eight top industrial powers, pledged to match the U.S. effort with an additional \$10 billion over the next ten years.

ments. Below are three examples.

Madrid, Spain: In March 2004, members of al Qaeda detonated ten explosive devices on several commuter trains during morning rush hour as they entered the downtown train station in Madrid, Spain. One hundred ninety-one people were killed and 1,460 were wounded. The event shook the Spanish population, who viewed the terrorist attacks as retaliation against Spanish troops' participation in the Iraq War. In the Spanish presidential election that took place four days after the bombing, the public ousted the previously-supported incumbent in favor of a new president who not only had a more liberal agenda, but who promised to withdraw the troops from Iraq.

Beslan, Russia: In September 2004, Chechen terrorists took twelve hundred people hostage in a school in Beslan, Russia. The rebels set off several bombs in the school gymnasium after negotiations deteriorated, and as children, adults, and rescue workers fled, many were shot in the back. Close to 350 people were killed, and 700 wounded; many of the victims were children. Many Russians regarded their government's response to the crisis as botched and suspicious.

President Vladimir Putin cited the need to fight terrorism and corruption and enacted major changes to Russia's political and justice systems. He reintroduced the death penalty, he greatly increased security forces and measures, and started personally appointing the regional governors instead of having them elected democratically.

London, England: In July 2005, suicide bombers set off four explosive devices during morning rush hour in three subway stations and aboard a double-decker bus in London, England. Fifty-six people were killed and hundreds were wounded as the G-8 summit, a meeting of major world leaders, convened in Scotland to address issues of poverty in Africa and problems of climate change. Officials believed the acts to be the work of four British Muslim men affiliated with or inspired by al Qaeda.

U.S. Policy Abroad

The September 11 attacks created new challenges and priorities for U.S. policy. Many people felt that the events represented the beginning of a "new world" that would redefine the nature and goals of international relations.

The Bush administration developed a strategy to address the threat of terrorism which it refers to as the "global war on terror."

“Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them. Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated.”

—President George W. Bush,
September 20, 2001

Not all accept the premise that the struggle against terrorism should be called a "global war on terror." They argue the phrase suggests a never-ending military struggle and that the phrase places too much emphasis on a military response.

“The wartime approach made sense for a while, but as time passes and the situation changes so must the strategy.”

—Sir Richard Dearlove, former head of
British Intelligence (MI6), September 2006

What is the relationship between Iraq and the war on terror?

Other aspects of U.S. foreign policy are also highly contested. For example, the war in Iraq is one of the most controversial topics in U.S. politics today. While most agree that an end to Saddam Hussein's brutal dictatorship was positive, many points of contention remain and play a central role in U.S. domestic politics. One point of contention is the relationship between Iraq and the war on terror.

The Bush administration saw events in Iraq as an essential part of a global war on terror. It contended that terrorists should be

The War in Iraq and Terrorism

The war in Iraq remains one of the most disputed topics in U.S. politics today. What role it plays in the U.S. response to terrorism is hotly debated. Below are a sample of viewpoints.

“America has a vital interest in preventing the emergence of Iraq as a Wild West for terrorists, similar to Afghanistan before 9/11. By leaving Iraq before there is a stable Iraqi governing authority we risk precisely this, and the potential consequence of allowing terrorists sanctuary in Iraq is another 9/11 or worse.”

—Senator John McCain (R-Arizona), April 11, 2007

“[T]he situation is precarious and urgent...in Afghanistan. And I believe this has to be our central focus, the central front, on our battle against terrorism. I think one of the biggest mistakes we’ve made strategically after 9/11 was to fail to finish the job...focus our attention.... We got distracted by Iraq.”

—Senator Barack Obama (D-Illinois), July 6, 2008

fought by the U.S. military on foreign soil rather than be allowed to attack civilians in the United States.

Some critics argue for an approach that identifies the threats to the United States from countries as separate from the threat posed by al Qaeda and groups that share its ideology. Other critics note that Iraq, which did not have an al Qaeda presence prior to the U.S.-led invasion, became an active area for al Qaeda and other terrorist operations. They argue that the ongoing military presence in Iraq helps terrorist groups recruit new members. In addition, others believe that the military’s commitment in Iraq has diverted attention from the pursuit of al Qaeda.

What might be the role of the military in future anti-terrorism campaigns?

The initial military campaign in Afghanistan was dramatic and swift. The United States unleashed some of its most powerful and advanced weaponry as well as small groups of ground forces in support of a campaign led by various Afghan warlords opposed to the Taliban regime.

Today, U.S. and NATO military forces remain in Afghanistan in an effort to quell continuing violence by Taliban and al Qaeda

forces while the country attempts to construct a government that can provide security.

Al Qaeda has lost much of its ability to launch terrorist operations, but continues to provide ideological leadership to other groups. This presents new challenges and questions about how effective military power can be in a fight against terrorism.

For example, other states are unlikely to harbor terrorist groups like al Qaeda, as the Taliban regime openly did in Afghanistan. This means that the U.S. struggle against terrorism may not be concentrated in a single country and victory may not be defined by easily-measurable standards, such as capturing a country’s capital or occupying territory. Advanced technology, weapons, and large forces may even be impossible to use against small groups of terrorists scattered around the globe.

What other measures have been taken against al Qaeda and terrorism?

The United States and its allies also have used economic weapons against terrorism. Targeting the money that supports terrorism can be an important way to diminish the capacity of terrorists to mount operations worldwide. The United States has blocked the use of banks



DoD photo by Sgt. Freddy G. Cantu, U.S. Marine Corps

U.S. Marines during a raid on a Taliban headquarters in Afghanistan on August 1, 2008.

and informal money networks that channel funding for terrorist operations. In 1998, President Bill Clinton ordered the U.S. Treasury to block all financial transactions between al Qaeda and U.S. companies and citizens.

Following September 11, President George W. Bush expanded the order to include charities suspected of channeling money to terrorist organizations. The United States has also pressured foreign banks, in particular those with dealings in the Middle East, to make sure that they do not facilitate money-laundering operations for terrorists. Terrorism experts note that al Qaeda can no longer use normal banks to wire money around the world and instead must rely on couriers to move cash.

What has been the role of the United Nations in addressing terrorism?

The United Nations quickly condemned the events of September 11, calling the attacks “a threat to international peace and security.”

In the weeks and months following the attacks, the General Assembly and the Security Council passed resolutions condemning terrorism and calling on all states to eliminate the means by which terrorists could operate within their borders. Over the years, the UN has helped craft international agreements to combat terrorism. Since 1963, the United Nations has adopted numerous anti-terrorism treaties in an effort to force terrorists out of hiding and bring them to justice.

Concern at the UN is high about nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons.

“...a single attack involving a nuclear or biological weapon could have killed millions. There is much that we can do to help prevent future terrorist acts carried out with weapons of mass destruction.”

—Kofi Annan, former UN Secretary General

In November 2004, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1540. The resolution is perhaps the most important recent international measure dealing with the spread of nuclear weapons. It calls on states to take specific steps to institute controls to prevent terrorists and others from acquiring nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. In it, all states also agree to strengthen and fully implement all international arms control agreements.

How have relations between the United States and other nations evolved since September 11?

The United States has rallied the diplomatic support of other democratic governments like the United Kingdom and France for support and for cooperation against terrorists. Cooperation has included intelligence sharing and coordinated police work.



“Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. You are either with us, or with the terrorists.”

—President George W. Bush,
September 20, 2001

September 11 also changed the relationships between the United States and states with which it has had significant policy and philosophical disagreements. In some cases, the United States has overlooked these concerns and cooperated in spite of disagreements. You will read about three examples of these kinds of states: Pakistan, Iran, and Russia.

Pakistan: After September 11, the U.S. government worked quickly to gain the cooperation of Pakistan—cooperation that was necessary to conduct military operations against neighboring Afghanistan. Pakistan’s former President Pervez Musharraf had seized power in a military coup in 1999. In 2001, the United States lifted economic sanctions im-

posed in 1998 against Pakistan for conducting tests of nuclear weapons. While Pakistan had previously supported the Taliban, the Pakistani government agreed to allow some U.S. troops to be based in Pakistan and supported the campaign against the Taliban government. U.S. foreign aid to support Pakistan’s military and security has averaged more than one billion dollars a year since 2001. The United States sees Pakistan and its new, democratically-elected government as a key ally, but there are some issues that complicate the relationship.

Many security experts believe that remnants of the Taliban government and al Qaeda have taken refuge in the Northwest Frontier Province and tribal areas in Pakistan and are behind the increased violence in Afghanistan. Some observers believe that elements of the Pakistan intelligence services still provide support to the Taliban. The United States has pressed Pakistan’s government to act against suspected al Qaeda and Taliban members. U.S. military forces have conducted strikes against

suspected Taliban and al Qaeda compounds in Pakistan.

In addition, information about Pakistan's role in spreading nuclear weapons has come to light since 9/11. Abdul Qadeer Khan, known as the father of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program and a national hero in Pakistan, was the ringleader of an international smuggling ring that sold nuclear weapons plans and technology to Iran, North Korea, and Libya during the 1980s and 1990s. The former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, George Tenet, said that Khan was "at least as dangerous as Osama bin Laden."

Iran: For years, the United States has labeled Iran as the world's leading state sponsor of terrorism. The United States has not had diplomatic relations with Iran since 1979. In spite of this, after 9/11 the United States tested the diplomatic waters with Iran. Iran's Islamist government had been at odds with its neighbor, the Taliban, and during the U.S.-led military offensive in Afghanistan, Iran turned over some people suspected to be linked with al Qaeda. This period of limited cooperation quickly came to an end. Since the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 the United States has worried that Iran is encouraging instability in Iraq in an effort to increase its own influence there. There is also concern that Iran is developing a nuclear arsenal. Despite ongoing discussions about Iran's nuclear program, tensions between the United States and Iran are high.

Russia: Since 1994, Russia has battled against rebels in the mostly Islamic Russian province of Chechnya. Russia described it as a war against international Islamist terrorists. Before September 11, 2001, the United States criticized Russia for excessive use of military force and for continuous violations of human rights. Since September 11, U.S. criticism of Russian

conduct in Chechnya has been muted. For its part, Russia has shared valuable intelligence information and provided military support to NATO forces in Afghanistan. In 2006, Russia and the United States launched the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism. The United States and Russia continue to cooperate on the issue of terrorism even amidst significant disagreements on other issues.

For example, Russia's former President Putin tightened control over the government and the media, leading to concerns that democracy in Russia may be under threat. Other unresolved issues include questions surrounding the proposed U.S. missile defense program, Russia's invasion of Georgia, and concerns about NATO expansion. U.S.-Russian negotiations on these issues will likely be affected by the two countries' relationship in the campaign against terrorism.

As the struggle against terrorism continues, the United States will likely continue to forge new alliances, some of convenience and some of shared principle. Balancing principles and security interests will remain a challenge for U.S. leaders and citizens.

In the United States

In many ways the United States faces a similar balancing act between security and



Jeff Koterba in *The Omaha World Herald*. Reprinted with permission.

principle at home. The domestic response to terrorist threats will have to include increased security vigilance while maintaining economic openness and civil liberties.

Why did President Bush create the Department of Homeland Security?

President Bush created the Department of Homeland Security to coordinate and direct the work of twenty-two formerly separate federal agencies. There are many issues that the department must consider as it shapes the domestic response to terrorism.

Civil Defense: During the Cold War, the United States devoted significant resources to protecting citizens in case of a nuclear war with the Soviet Union. The measures included building fall-out shelters stocked with food and water. Additionally, civilians, civil servants, and medical personnel practiced their response to a Soviet attack. In recent decades, this system of civil defense has fallen by the wayside. Following the terrorist attacks and the appearance of anthrax, there are calls to devote additional resources to preparing for a domestic response to an attack on the United States. This includes stockpiling vaccines and medications, as well as practicing responses to a chemical, biological, or nuclear attack.

Since the events of September 2001, attention to perceived security threats has dramatically increased. The federal response to Hurricane Katrina in 2005 raised alarms that the country remains seriously under-prepared for another attack.

“If terrorists strike again on American soil, it will be local emergency responders—police, firefighters, and emergency medical technicians—who will be on the front lines. Local emergency preparedness is now a matter of national security. In addition, of course, while the federal government...is not a first responder, its utterly inadequate response to the needs of both victims and first responders to Katrina calls for

dramatic changes in its preparation for, and response to, both natural and terrorist-caused emergencies.”

— former Senator Slade Gordon, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, October 26, 2005

In 2005, a national commission recommended to Congress that more funds were needed for enhanced emergency operations, communications, and hospital preparedness. The commission also recommended that funds be sent to sites around the United States that face the highest risk of terrorist attack.

Trade: The United States has long pursued a policy of economic openness and increasing trade. Trade as a percentage of the U.S. economy has increased over the last decade. International trade, both imports and exports, totaled more than \$2 trillion dollars in the past year. With increased trade comes increased traffic of goods and people over borders. Managing this flow, so critical to the U.S. economy, is an extremely complex job.

“The plain fact is that the movement of goods in the U.S. is now so efficient that port security has been sacrificed.”

—Senator Joseph Lieberman (D-Connecticut), December 6, 2001

Some experts believe that the greatest threat to the economy of the United States may not be terrorism itself, but rather how the government responds to terrorism. For example, after the attacks of September 11, the commercial aviation fleet was grounded for several days, all inbound ships were halted, and the border crossings were tightened dramatically. This shut off the transportation system that is central to the nation’s economy. While most feel that this response was necessary, the United States faces the challenge of developing and enhancing security in ways that allow the transportation system, and therefore trade, to continue to function.

Infrastructure: The U.S. economy depends on critical infrastructure that is mostly privately owned and poorly protected against a determined attacker. Transportation infrastructure, telecommunications equipment, and water and power supplies are critical to the daily functioning of the economy yet remain vulnerable to all but amateur attacks.

In addition, in the interest of efficiency, infrastructure is often concentrated in limited areas. For example, on both the west and east coasts, petroleum deliveries are concentrated in regional ports. An attack on one of these ports, similar to the one on the U.S.S. *Cole* in Yemen in 2000, could paralyze a regional economy for weeks. For the U.S. Coast Guard, charged with providing seaport security, the challenges of increased vigilance are straining the limits of their personnel and equipment.

Visitors and Immigration: Another difficult task facing the government is keeping track of visitors to the United States. More than 500 million people (330 million of these are non-citizens) cross into the United States each year.

Of the nineteen hijackers who commandeered the planes that crashed on September 11, all were foreign nationals. Sixteen entered the United States on legal visas. All but two kept a low profile and avoided suspicion. The FBI received information two weeks before September 11 connecting those two to the bombing of the U.S.S. *Cole*. A search for the men began.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was alerted, but the two men could not be found. Because the FBI was not aware of a specific threat, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) and other authorities were not notified. Government officials agree that improved communication and coordination between agencies is important in the struggle to prevent terrorism.

“We must work with advanced technology and do all we can to improve our systems, but we should not mislead ourselves into thinking

that technology alone can solve our problems.”

—James Ziglar, former INS commissioner,
October 17, 2001

In addition, officials concede the need to improve methods of keeping track of those who visit the United States and tracking down those who overstay or misuse the visa required for entry. Much of this involves increasing resources and personnel. It will also require investing in technology that enables different government agencies to share information more easily.

At the same time, many economists attribute the success of the U.S. economy to the openness of society and the influx of skills and labor from overseas. For example, recent immigrants from China and India started 30 percent of the high technology startups in Silicon Valley during the 1990s. Many see preserving the vitality that immigrants bring to the country as extremely important.

“If, in response to the events of September 11, we engage in excess and shut out what has made America great, then we will have given terrorists a far greater victory than they could have hoped to achieve.”

—James Ziglar, former INS commissioner,
October 11, 2001

Border Control: The challenge of border control is daunting yet critical. In addition to thousands of miles of border, there are more than three hundred and fifty official international points of entry (e.g., ports, airports) into the United States. There is sharp concern that the United States’ vast borders and numerous points of entry make it vulnerable to illegal economic immigration, drug smuggling, and to efforts by international terrorists to sneak in. In 2003, the new Department of Homeland Security assumed control of protecting U.S. borders. While working to safeguard the United States, the Department also hopes to ensure the smooth flow of legitimate traffic.

What efforts have been made to coordinate the sharing of information between agencies?

As part of its mandate, the Department of Homeland Security now coordinates and manages the work of the INS (now called the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services Department, or USCIS), the Customs Service, Border Patrol, and several other agencies associated with border control. All of the agencies involved in protecting the ports and borders of the United States agree that they need to improve the way they share information with each other. Most federal agencies believe that the government needs to upgrade its computer systems to allow instantaneous sharing of information. For example, with improved electronic information systems, a ship's passenger list received by the Coast Guard could be checked against the FBI's watch list of suspected terrorists.



Jeff Stahl in *The Cincinnati Post*. Reprinted with permission.

On October 26, 2001, Congress passed sweeping legislation known as the Patriot Act to combat terrorism. The Patriot Act's impact on the civil liberties of citizens and non-citizens in the U.S. is far-reaching.

Critics of federal policy on the right and left of the political spectrum argued that the federal administration was attempting to wield too much power with too little input from Congress and the courts.

Balancing Liberty and Security

While improvements to the sharing of information among federal agencies have been met with wide approval in the United States, newly-enacted laws and other proposals as well as government policies have raised concerns for some. Following the attacks of 2001, many expressed the belief that they would have to give up some personal freedoms to make the country safe from terrorist attacks. Others expressed concern that the government was trampling on the rule of law.

“September 11 has forced all but the most doctrinaire on the right and left to be open to a recalibration of the balance between security and liberty.”

—Senator Charles E. Schumer
(D-New York), January 3, 2002

“[T]he greatest issue implicated in the current debate is the separation of powers doctrine and how it will withstand the stresses of the post-9/11 era. I submit that the basic principles and national values should remain unchanged. The mutual checks and balances on executive, legislative and judicial authority in the United States should remain, even in the context of national security and counter-terrorism. Although Congress should actively be seeking to provide for the most effective policies and powers in these areas, it should not be expanding the executive's general authority at its own expense or that of the courts.”

—former Representative Bob Barr
(R-Georgia), September 22, 2004

In the years that have passed since September 11, debate has sharpened about the response to terrorism. For example, in 2006 the government disclosed that it monitors international communications of U.S. citizens without obtaining a warrant. It argued that in the age of the Internet requiring a warrant prevents the rapid pursuit of possible terrorists. The Bush administration also argued that the president has the constitutional authority to authorize warrantless surveillance. Critics respond that the Constitution requires the courts and Congress to have a role that balances the power of executive branch. Debates about surveillance, detention, and interroga-

tion have played out in the three branches of government and in the public.

Why did the Bush administration propose using military tribunals to try terrorists?

As the government began to capture suspected al Qaeda members in Afghanistan, questions emerged about the best way to try terrorists for their actions. Concern for protecting intelligence sources and methods led the Bush administration to propose trying certain suspected terrorists who were not U.S. citizens in military tribunals rather than in the U.S. criminal justice system. Some raised fears

The Patriot Act and Other Proposals: Balancing Constitutional Rights and Security

The Patriot Act

Increased Surveillance of Phones and E-mail: The Patriot Act suspends the need to find “probable cause” before a search warrant can be issued. When terrorism is suspected, the Attorney General can now authorize searches to be conducted in secret without notifying a suspect.

Attorney–Client Privilege: Communications between attorneys and their clients used to be private and confidential unless a judge found evidence of criminal plotting. Under the Patriot Act, the Attorney General may authorize surveillance of the attorney–client communications of any person suspected of any involvement in terrorism.

Detention of Foreign Nationals: Non-U.S. citizens may now be held by immigration officials for seven days without charges or detained indefinitely if they are seen as a threat to national security. Previously, non-citizens were given the same legal rights as citizens, including the right to be released if they were not charged within forty-eight hours.

Other Proposals

National ID Standards: In 2005, Congress passed a law unifying standards for states issuing drivers’ licenses and IDs. Linked databases between various government agencies will expand the screening of applicants. An ID that meets these standards must be presented in order to board an airplane or enter a federal government building. Many states have refused to implement the law for financial reasons as well as concerns about personal privacy rights. Some critics question the constitutionality of the law. The federal government has mandated implementation by 2011.

Profiling by Law Enforcement: Authorities concerned with preventing terrorism point out that they do not have the resources to question everyone in their investigations, so they must choose whom to question. To do so, they use a technique called profiling. For example, airline security might choose to screen someone closely who paid for a ticket with cash, purchased a one-way ticket, or who was not carrying any luggage. Profiling based on ethnicity or race is illegal. Nevertheless, some feel that since the September 11 hijackers were of Middle Eastern origin, it is only prudent for security officials to pay close attention to travelers who appear to be Middle Eastern. Critics believe that such a policy would subject millions of U.S. citizens to unfair scrutiny and harassment solely because of their appearance or the color of their skin.

about communities and courthouses becoming targets if terrorists' trials were held there. Others expressed a reluctance to give terrorists the platform for expressing their views that a public trial might provide.

Who is being held at Guantanamo?

The U.S. government began to detain suspected terrorists from Afghanistan and elsewhere on the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba in early 2002. The U.S. government argued that the detainees were ineligible for prisoner of war (POW) status under the Geneva Convention, an international treaty that protects POWs and civilians against inhumane treatment. The U.S. government called the detainees "enemy combatants" or "illegal combatants" not "prisoners." The government also argued that it could hold the detainees without formally charging them, and attempted to deny them access to lawyers and the legal process. In July 2008, the Supreme Court ruled that the detainees could challenge their detention in federal court.

The U.S. government affirms that the 255 detainees currently in Guantanamo were a threat to U.S. national security at the time of their detention and stresses that most of the detainees still pose a serious security threat. The military adds that once the Pentagon determines that the detainees do not pose a threat to the United States and do not possess any more intelligence information, they will be released.

Comparing Military Tribunals and U.S. Courts	
U.S. Court	Military Tribunal
Accused has access to evidence	Access to evidence may be restricted
Generally open to the public	May be closed to the public
Right to trial by jury of one's peers	Composed of military officers
A finding of guilt must be unanimous	Guilty decision need not be unanimous
Death penalty decision must be unanimous	Death penalty decision need not be unanimous
Right to appeal death penalty	Death penalty may be imposed immediately

More than five hundred detainees had been released as of September 2008. Lawyers for some of the detainees (who are, for the most part, the only non-military personnel allowed to enter Guantanamo Bay's detention center) have claimed that military records show that the majority of detainees did not commit hostile acts against the United States and were not members of al Qaeda.

Why did the Supreme Court reject military tribunals in 2006?

Critics on the left and right expressed concern about the potential for abuse of such a system of military tribunals. They argued that the federal branch of the government was attempting to bypass the Constitution's



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checks and balances. They asserted that in military tribunals there would be no presumption of innocence, no independent juries, no right to choose a lawyer, and no appeal to civilian judges for aliens suspected of communicating with terrorists. Some critics noted that other nations had expressed concern about extraditing suspected terrorists if their fundamental rights to a fair and public trial were not protected. In June 2006, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled 5-3 that the Bush administration had overstepped its authority. The court ruled that tribunals violate U.S. laws and the Geneva Conventions.

“The Court is correct to concentrate on one provision of the law of war that is applicable to our Nation’s armed conflict with al Qaeda in Afghanistan and, as a result, to the use of a military commission.... That provision is Common Article 3 of the four Geneva Conventions of 1949. ...[T]he provision is part of a treaty the United States has ratified and thus accepted as binding law. By Act of Congress, moreover, violations of Common Article 3 are considered ‘war crimes,’ punishable as federal offenses, when committed by or against United States nationals and military personnel.”

—Supreme Court Justice Anthony Kennedy, *Hamdan vs. Rumsfeld*, June 29, 2006

In response to the Supreme Court decision, the Bush administration asked Congress to pass legislation that would legalize military tribunals, reinterpret the Geneva Conventions, grant immunity to government officials who ordered or participated in the mistreatment of prisoners, and overturn the Supreme Court’s



"HELP! I AM BEING HELD CAPTIVE BY THE CONSTITUTION, THE COURTS AND THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS!"

Jim Borgman ©King Features Syndicate.

ruling. Congress passed the legislation in September 2006. In July 2008, the Supreme Court ruled that at least one part of the legislation was unconstitutional: prisoners at Guantanamo did have the right to challenge their detention in a federal court.

The first military tribunal was held in the summer of 2008. The tribunal convicted Salim Hamdan, Osama bin Laden’s former driver, of providing material support for terrorism. He received a five-and-a-half year sentence and was credited with the five years he has already served in prison. Even so, there is some doubt as to whether he will be released when he has served his sentence. The government has argued that it has the right to detain “enemy combatants” indefinitely.

What other issues has the treatment of detainees raised?

The U.S. government has stated that despite the fact that the detainees are not entitled to POW status they are being treated in a manner consistent with the principles of the Geneva Convention. It argues that its interrogation methods are legal and necessary to protect the United States.

Nevertheless, criticism of the treatment of detainees in Guantanamo Bay has grown considerably, particularly since 2004 when the U.S. media revealed photos of U.S. military

abuse of detainees in an Iraqi prison called Abu Ghraib. A military investigation in 2005 found that the interrogation methods used in Abu Ghraib were first used on detainees in Guantanamo Bay.

“The war against terrorism is a new kind of war.... This new paradigm renders obsolete Geneva’s strict limitations on questioning of enemy prisoners.”

—Attorney General Alberto Gonzalez,
January 25, 2002

The U.S. military has acknowledged that some prisoners at Guantanamo were mistreated and humiliated in an effort to gain information. In 2003, the FBI complained to the Defense Department about mistreatment of prisoners during interrogations at Guantanamo. A UN report, released on February 16, 2006, called for the immediate closure of the facility, arguing that the treatment of detainees in some cases amounted to torture and violated international law.

Three detainees committed suicide in their cells on June 10, 2006, and at least thirty detainees have attempted suicide since their arrival in Guantanamo.

What guidelines are in the U.S. Army’s interrogation manual?

In September 2006, the U.S. army released an updated version of its manual on interrogation that provides guidelines for the questioning of prisoners by U.S. military personnel. The manual now bans methods of questioning that were used in cases of abuse at Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo. Although these methods were not permitted before, the updated manual explicitly prohibits forcing a detainee to be naked or perform sexual acts; using beatings and other forms of causing pain, (such as electric shocks; withholding food, water, or medical care), and placing hoods over prisoners’ heads or duct tape on their eyes. The manual prohibits staging mock executions and using dogs against detainees. The technique known as waterboarding, in

which a prisoner is strapped to a board and made to feel as if he is drowning, is also no longer allowed.

The Central Intelligence Agency is not required to follow the restrictions in the new manual. President Bush argued that allowing the CIA to use aggressive questioning techniques is essential for security. Critics believe this is immoral and illegal. Many assert that information obtained through coercion is often unreliable.

“No good intelligence is going to come from abusive practices. I think history tells us that. I think the empirical evidence of the past five years tells us that...any piece of intelligence which was obtained under duress through the use of abusive techniques would be of questionable credibility...nothing good will come from them.”

—Lieutenant General John Timmons,
September 6, 2006

What is “extraordinary rendition”?

Extraordinary rendition refers to a secret CIA program that transports terrorism suspects to secret locations around the world. Recent European and UN reports state that the CIA in at least one hundred cases secretly transported detainees to countries known to torture prisoners including Egypt, Syria, Uzbekistan, and Algeria. The goal of the CIA was to gather information using methods that U.S. interrogators would not use themselves. In addition, the CIA has kept a series of secret prisons around the world to house suspected terrorists.

Many countries, including U.S. allies, have spoken out against the treatment of detainees and extraordinary rendition. Domestically, Republican and Democratic politicians alike have criticized practices in Guantanamo Bay and extraordinary rendition. Other government officials have also spoken out against these practices. They argue that the treatment of detainees violates fundamental U.S. principles and law, hurts the image of the United

States in the world, fuels anti-American feelings, and makes other nations reluctant to cooperate with the United States.

“We are Americans, and we hold ourselves to humane standards of treatment of people no matter how evil or terrible they may be. To do otherwise undermines our security, but it also undermines our greatness as a nation. We are not simply any other country. We stand for something more in the world—a moral mission, one of freedom and democracy and human rights at home and abroad. We are better than these terrorists, and we will win. The enemy we fight has no respect for human life or human rights. They don’t deserve our sympathy. But this isn’t about who they are. This is about who we are. These are the values that distinguish us from our enemies.”

—Senator John McCain (R-Arizona),
October 5, 2005



Shane T. McCoy, USN, Department of Defense.

A detainee at Guantanamo Bay is taken to his cell in 2002 by U.S. military police.

Addressing terrorism will be a long-term effort, requiring policy makers and citizens to examine carefully the allocation of the country’s resources as well its values and beliefs. The question of how the United States chooses to address the threat posed by terrorist groups in the years to come remains of great importance.

In the coming days, you will have an opportunity to consider a range of options for the U.S. response to terrorism. The issues are numerous and complex. Each of the four options that you will explore is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs. Each takes a different perspective on the U.S. role in the world and the most appropriate response to terrorism. You should think of the options as a tool designed to help you better understand the contrasting strategies from which U.S. citizens must craft future policy. You will also be asked to create your own option that reflects your own beliefs and opinions about where U.S. policy should be heading. You may borrow heavily from one option, or you may combine ideas from several options. Or you may take a new approach altogether.

Options in Brief

Option 1: Direct an Expanded Assault on Terrorism

The United States cannot tolerate acts of terrorism, those who perpetrate them, or those nations who harbor terrorists. As the sole remaining superpower, the United States has no choice but to take on the job of rooting out terrorism wherever it exists. It is the U.S. government's responsibility and duty to protect its people and make the world safe from terrorists. The war on terrorism is a worldwide struggle and the United States must move forward with a worldwide offensive to combat it until all who threaten peace and security are destroyed. Although it is helpful to have the cooperation of other nations, the United States must be prepared to fight terrorism—using whatever methods it takes and alone if necessary—wherever and whenever it threatens. Nothing less than U.S. freedom is at stake.

Option 2: Support UN Leadership to Fight Terrorism

Terrorism is a global, not a national, problem. Today U.S. security and the security of the rest of the civilized world depend upon the ability of countries to work together to address this universal threat. The United States must recognize the UN as the entity with the legitimacy to develop and maintain a long-term, truly international effort to control and eventually wipe out terrorism worldwide. The United States must play a leadership role in strengthening the effectiveness of the UN on security matters and offer our military, intelligence, and economic support to a UN-led effort to eradicate terrorist cells wherever they are found. The United States must stand with the world community against lawless terror.

Option 3: Defend the Homeland

The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001 brought a new message to U.S. citizens. The United States has been attacked in its homeland, and U.S. citizens feel a vulnerability not felt in more than sixty years. High-profile U.S. foreign policy programs have only bred resentment against the United States and created enemies intent on doing harm. The time has come to lower the U.S. foreign policy profile, get the United States out of the sights of terrorists, and build up U.S. national defenses. While civil liberties are important, the U.S. public must recognize that it is living in a new world. The government must be allowed to take new steps to protect U.S. security.

Option 4: Address the Underlying Causes of Terrorism

Terrorism is a crime against humanity and cannot be tolerated. But further military action will only perpetuate the cycle of violence. The United States must abandon any plans for further military action and join with others to address the deeper issues underlying terrorism. Terrorism feeds on the frustrations of some of the world's most disadvantaged peoples. The United States must join with the developed world and devote its attention and its resources to launching a targeted "Marshall Plan" that addresses the underlying causes of terrorism. The United States also must examine its own policies in many parts of the world to see that it is not inflaming long-standing local and regional conflicts, fueling discontent, and creating a breeding ground for anti-American sentiment.

Option 1: Direct an Expanded Assault on Terrorism

The United States cannot tolerate acts of terrorism, those who perpetrate them, or those nations who harbor terrorists. The United States cannot allow the disease of terrorism to plague the nation and the world. To protect U.S. security at home and U.S. interests abroad, the United States must draw a clear line. On one side are freedom, democracy, and the rule of law. On the other are the forces of lawlessness and terrorism.

As the sole remaining superpower, the United States has no choice but to take on the job of rooting out terrorism wherever it exists. It is the U.S. government's responsibility and duty to protect the U.S. public and make the world safe from terrorists. The attacks of September 11, 2001 required a swift and decisive military response. Having driven the Taliban out of power in Afghanistan and put al Qaeda on the run, the United States went on to remove Saddam Hussein from power. It should not let up. The war on terrorism is a worldwide struggle and the United States must move forward with a worldwide offensive to combat it until all who threaten peace and security are destroyed. As the United States saw in the war in Afghanistan, it is helpful to have the cooperation of other nations. Nevertheless, the United States must recognize—as it did in Iraq—that U.S. interests will not always be the same as those of its allies or the rest of the international community. The United States also must accept that the internal constraints of other countries will frequently limit their ability to collaborate on U.S. terms. The United States must be prepared to fight terrorism—using whatever methods it takes and alone if necessary—wherever and whenever it threatens. Nothing less than U.S. freedom is at stake.

What policies should the United States pursue?

- The United States should take the war on terrorism to any nation that harbors international terrorists.
- The United States should devote more of its resources to its military forces.
- The United States should increase its intelligence capacity.
- International agreements and treaties, like the Geneva Conventions, should not be allowed to hinder the U.S. pursuit of terrorists or intelligence information.
- The United States should encourage and work with any indigenous forces willing to fight a terrorist group and the government that supports it.

Option 1 is based on the following beliefs

- The United States should act in the name of peace and the rule of law, but when U.S. interests are threatened the United States must be willing to defend itself with military force—preventively if necessary. National security must be the top priority.
- The attacks of September 11 have demonstrated that the world is a dangerous place. There is no place to hide. The United States must concentrate its efforts on those issues that are of vital importance to U.S. interests.
- U.S. citizens must realize that their country's strength and influence present an irresistible target for hatemongers and terrorists. There is no hope for compromise with fanatics who despise U.S. values and the U.S. way of life. On the other hand, by standing up for U.S. values the world can become a safer and more humane place for everyone.

Arguments for

- Acting alone when necessary avoids the difficulties that arise from seeking cooperation with other nations that have different political interests and constraints.
- The only way to avert imminent threats to U.S. security is to act preventively.
- By engaging indigenous forces to fight terrorist groups and their government sponsors, as the country did in Afghanistan, the United States can save U.S. lives.
- Being free of the bureaucracy and political constraints of multinational decision making will allow the United States to respond more quickly where and when it needs to.

Arguments against

- As the U.S. expands the war on terrorism under its own leadership and on its own terms, anti-American sentiment in other countries will only increase, fueling further terrorism.
- It will require the help of many nations to break up the decentralized network of terrorist cells that currently exists around the world. If the United States acts without regard for international law, it will lose international support.
- A failure to abide by international laws like the Geneva Conventions will weaken the international respect for this important agreement and expose U.S. soldiers to abuse and mistreatment if they are captured.
- Getting involved with indigenous forces may be expedient at the outset but the risk is too great that, after the victory, the United States will be dragged into supporting and protecting groups that it really does not approve of or that it cannot trust.
- Al Qaeda is the central threat to U.S. security. The United States can't afford to waste its resources going after countries that don't pose an immediate threat to the United States.
- This response fails to address the underlying causes of terrorism, including a deep-seated resentment of the United States, and will instead only lead to a continuing cycle of violence and more deaths of innocent people.
- Military action overseas diverts resources needed for protection here at home.
- Using U.S. military might as a response to terrorism is bound to result in the deaths of innocent civilians. The country must respond to terrorism in ways that preserve U.S. national ethics and democratic traditions.

Option 2: Support UN Leadership to Fight Terrorism

Terrorism is a global, not a national, problem. When the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were attacked on September 11, 2001, the nations of the world came together in recognition that these attacks were more than attacks on the United States—they were crimes against humanity. Today U.S. security and the security of the rest of the civilized world depend upon the ability of countries to work together to address this universal threat.

In the weeks following the September 11 attacks, the United States worked swiftly to build a coalition of nations prepared to employ a range of diplomatic, financial, intelligence, and military resources to identify, find, and stop the perpetrators of the attacks. Since then, the United States has made several significant, largely unilateral, security decisions—most notably the U.S.-led war with Iraq. This has been a mistake. The time has come to recognize the UN as the entity with the legitimacy to develop and maintain a long-term, truly international effort to control and eventually wipe out terrorism worldwide. The United States must back away from unilateral action and play a leadership role in strengthening the effectiveness of the UN on security matters. The United States should offer its military, intelligence, and economic support to a UN-led effort to eradicate terrorist cells wherever they are found. Together, the United States and the UN must hold those who have perpetrated terrorist acts accountable by bringing them to justice before the International Criminal Court. The United States must also support UN efforts to eradicate biological and chemical weapons worldwide and to strengthen nuclear arms control. The United States must stand with the nations of the world against lawless terror and contribute its strength to the international community to address and ultimately eliminate the threat of terrorism.

What policies should the United States pursue?

- The United States should lead efforts to strengthen the hand of the UN on security matters. This would include strictly observing all international treaties and law.

- The United States should debate any response to future terrorist acts against the United States before the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council and abide by the Council's decisions.

- The United States should become a member of the International Criminal Court and prosecute international terrorists there.

- The United States should carefully follow all existing treaties (including the Geneva Conventions) and should work with the UN to strengthen the conventions limiting nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons.

Option 2 is based on the following beliefs

- Ours is an interdependent and interconnected world. The security of countries around the world is threatened by international terrorism. In today's increasingly complex world, the United States has no choice but to accommodate the interests of a broad and disparate group of nations.

- A long-term effort to control and eventually wipe out terrorism will require the full participation of the international community. If the United States demonstrates its commitment to multilateral decision-making and

to abiding by the international treaties that govern countries' behaviors, the world will be a safer place.

- A unilateral U.S. foreign policy only fuels the spread of anti-American sentiment around the world and makes the United States less secure. If U.S. citizens are to regain a sense of security in today's troubled world, the United States must share decision-making and leadership with the community of nations affected by terrorism—including Islamic nations—to address the threat of terrorism.

Arguments for

- Cooperating as a partner with other nations through the UN will create a truly international response to terrorism, one that reflects the interests and needs of all of the international community, and denies hiding places to terrorists anywhere.
- International cooperation brings together the financial, diplomatic, and intelligence tools necessary to address international terrorism.
- The UN is only as strong as its member states. In order to make the UN effective as an international organization it must have the full support of the United States.
- The members of the international community will not continue to collaborate unless the decision-making takes all perspectives and interests into account. This will only happen if leadership is shared.
- Relations with traditional U.S. allies were severely strained when the United States initiated the war with Iraq without UN approval. The United States cannot afford to isolate itself further from the international community.

Arguments against

- When U.S. interests are threatened—here or abroad—the United States has a right to do what is necessary to defend itself, with or without the support of other nations and international organizations.
- Any international coalition will be ineffective without strong U.S. leadership. For that leadership to be effective, the United States must not be constrained by others in either the nature or the timing of its response.
- The UN already has conventions prohibiting terrorism and biological weapons and has been unable to enforce them. Why will the UN be any more effective now?
- The UN is too slow, too weak, and too indecisive to make any real difference. Giving the institution more power is at best a long-term proposition. It won't do anything for the terrorist threat today.
- While an international effort may be necessary to correctly identify the perpetrators of terrorism and bring them to justice, terrorism will not end until we address its root causes.
- Accommodating other nations' interests in a UN campaign against international terrorism will lead the United States to compromise its national values and force it to support positions abroad with which the U.S. public does not agree.
- If the United States pledges to join with the UN in an all-out campaign against international terrorism, it may be forced to spend its own resources on international initiatives that the U.S. people may not fully approve of at the expense of defending the country at home.

Option 3: Defend the Homeland

The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001 brought a new message to U.S. citizens. The United States has been attacked in its homeland, and U.S. citizens feel a vulnerability not felt in more than sixty years. In the wake of the attacks the stakes rose still higher as a new threat—biological terrorism—reached into the workplace and even into U.S. homes. Still more chilling is the prospect that terrorists could use nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons and that they could strike at any time.

Since the late 1940s, the United States has spent hundreds of billions of dollars a year defending U.S. allies in Western Europe and East Asia. The United States has distributed tens of billions more in foreign aid to countries throughout the developing world. And what does the United States have to show for its efforts? High-profile U.S. foreign policy programs have only bred resentment against the United States and created enemies who are intent on doing harm. Our recent military involvement overseas—most notably in Iraq—makes this situation even worse. The United States would be foolhardy to expand its international efforts into a wider assault on terrorism. The time has come to lower the U.S. foreign policy profile, get the United States out of the sights of terrorists, and build up U.S. national defenses. With the funds saved as a result of sharply reduced U.S. international involvement, the United States can devote significant national resources to the protection of the U.S. homeland. Finally, while civil liberties are important, the U.S. public must recognize that it is living in a new world. The government must be allowed to take new steps to protect U.S. security.

What policies should the United States pursue?

- The United States should scale back its foreign involvement by cutting foreign aid programs and reducing its military presence abroad—especially in the Middle East.

- The United States should build up its intelligence capacity with a focus on understanding the threats that face the United States at home.

- The United States should launch a coordinated national effort to develop defenses against the new threats that face the U.S. public—biological, chemical, or nuclear attacks.

- The United States should establish a national identity card, tighten immigration laws, closely watch high-risk ethnic groups, and allow broader monitoring of communications in order to keep tabs on potential terrorists.

Option 3 is based on the following beliefs

- A nation's first responsibility is to defend its citizens from harm. The establishment of a Department of Homeland Security was an important first step in addressing U.S. vulnerability at home, but it is only a beginning.

- Meddling in the affairs of other nations and peoples inevitably creates resentment against the United States.

- The United States must look out for its own interests first. Focusing on other countries' problems is a waste of precious resources at a time when those resources are needed at home.

Arguments for

- The United States is in a world where a small handful of angry individuals can wreak havoc with a small amount of weapons-grade biological or chemical material or a “dirty bomb” in a suitcase. Being prepared for such attacks will save U.S. lives.
- By limiting any response only to those who directly threaten the United States, the country will avoid needlessly drawing the wrath of a wider circle of terrorist organizations.
- Taking sides in the battles of other nations (such as Israel’s struggles with Hezbollah) only increases U.S. vulnerability. The less the United States is involved in the affairs of other nations, the more secure it will be.
- Resources saved from international involvement can be redirected to promote enhanced security at home.

Arguments against

- Terrorism is globalized. It will be impossible to get a full picture of the terrorist threats facing the country if the United States does not bring its intelligence resources together with those of the rest of the world. That integration of intelligence capacity will not happen if the United States withdraws from the international community.
- Withdrawing from the international community will not protect the United States from possible attack. As long as there are haves and have-nots in the world, the United States will remain a target for terrorism. There is nowhere to hide.
- As evidenced by the September 11 attacks, the United States cannot defend itself against all possible means that terrorists have at their disposal. The only practical and moral choice is to address the root causes of international terrorism.
- A determination to address U.S. vulnerability to international terrorism solely with civil defense measures at home will inevitably lead to compromising the civil liberties on which the nation was founded. At that point, what is the United States protecting?
- The threats to U.S. security are not only at home. The United States must be prepared to act preventively in other regions of the world to stop attacks before they happen.
- The terrorist threat is everywhere. It is better to fight terrorism on foreign soil than to have it come again to U.S. shores.
- If the United States is going to ensure the continuing flow of oil from the Middle East, it must maintain its military presence in the region. The United States cannot assume that the international community will do this.

Option 4: Address the Underlying Causes of Terrorism

Terrorism is a crime against humanity and cannot be tolerated. But further military action will only perpetuate the cycle of violence, dragging the United States into a war of strike and counterstrike that could last for generations. The United States will not solve the problem of terrorism simply by punishing terrorists. To focus the response to terrorism only on those who perpetrate terrorist acts is to treat the symptom rather than the disease.

The U.S. public must recognize that terrorism aimed at the country grows out of a deep resentment of the United States—particularly in the Islamic world. Clearly the United States must devote resources to improving security at home. But if the United States is going to end the cycle of violence in which it is caught, it must accept responsibility for providing the largest share of the financial aid needed for reconstruction in post-war Afghanistan and Iraq. In addition, the United States must abandon any plans for further military action elsewhere. Finally, the United States must join with all civilized nations around the world to address the deeper issues underlying terrorism. Terrorism feeds on the frustrations of some of the world’s most disadvantaged peoples. The United States must join with the developed world and devote its attention and its resources to launching a targeted “Marshall Plan” that addresses the underlying causes of terrorism—poverty, injustice, political powerlessness, hatred, and lack of human rights, including education and health care. The United States also must examine its policies in many parts of the world to see that it is not inflaming long-standing local and regional conflicts, fueling discontent, and creating a breeding ground for anti-American sentiment.

What policies should the United States pursue?

- The United States should provide more resources in support of the UN’s reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan. It should end its military operation in Iraq, turn control of the reconstruction effort over to the Iraqis, and provide whatever aid is necessary to ensure a successful transition to self-rule and a peacetime economy in Iraq.

- The United States should refocus its funding priorities to improve the quality of life of disadvantaged populations around the world.

- The United States should work for just resolutions to long-term political conflicts (such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict) that provide breeding grounds for terrorism.

- The United States should end its support of regimes that do not support human rights and democratic principles, and affirm its commitment to the Geneva Conventions and international law.

Option 4 is based on the following beliefs

- Building a more equitable and cooperative world will not be easy. In the end, the U.S. public must recognize that its fate is bound together with the fate of all of humanity. The United States must be prepared to meet the global challenges of the future together with other nations.

- Only by addressing the underlying causes of terrorism, including those conditions

that have fed a deep-seated resentment of the West, will the United States be able to reduce the threat of terrorism.

- Addressing poverty and despair among the world’s least fortunate is the right thing to do. If the United States is going to present itself as a model for others, it must reconcile its actions abroad with its stated principles.

Arguments for

- If the United States does not address the underlying causes of terrorism—including poverty, injustice, powerlessness, hatred, and in some cases U.S. policy—it risks feeding anti-American rage and creating new recruits to terrorist networks.
- Taking a leadership role in addressing the humanitarian needs of populations in failing states will reduce animosity toward the United States. This is not only a humanitarian issue; it has become a security issue as well.
- In order to be a credible force in addressing terrorism, the United States must demonstrate that it understands the causes of terrorism and is committed to taking action to address them.
- By addressing the underlying causes of terrorism, the United States will be able to avoid putting U.S. civil liberties at risk from repressive homeland security measures.

Arguments against

- Addressing the underlying causes of terrorism will take time. Meanwhile, the United States remains vulnerable to more terrorist attacks. Homeland security can only do so much. The United States has to act now to stop these terrorist attacks at their source.
- Neither the United States nor the international community has the resources to address all of the underlying causes of terrorism.
- The United States cannot afford to re-direct so much of its budget to development efforts overseas at a time when those resources are needed to build up our defenses at home.
- If the United States focuses its efforts on long-term solutions, it will be allowing terrorists to commit horrible crimes without immediate consequences. This will invite additional attacks both at home and abroad.
- Terrorists are angry people who hate the United States and the West for ideological and political reasons. The origins of terrorism have little to do with perceived economic and social injustice.
- There will always be hatred. There will always be violence. No amount of foreign aid will change this. The United States has no real control over anything but its own security.

Supplementary Documents

Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders World Islamic Front Statement 23 February 1998

(On February 23, 1998, Osama bin Laden issued a call for attacks on all Americans and announced the creation of the International Islamic Front for Jihad Against the Jews and Crusaders. The original Arabic version of this statement can be found online at <<http://www.library.cornell.edu/colldev/mideast/fatw2.htm>>.)

Shaykh Usamah Bin-Muhammad Bin-Ladin

Ayman al-Zawahiri, amir of the Jihad Group in Egypt

Abu-Yasir Rifa'i Ahmad Taha, Egyptian Islamic Group

Shaykh Mir Hamzah, secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan

Fazlur Rahman, amir of the Jihad Movement in Bangladesh

Praise be to Allah, who revealed the Book, controls the clouds, defeats factionalism, and says in His Book: “But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and slay the pagans wherever ye find them, seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratum (of war);” and peace be upon our Prophet, Muhammad Bin-’Abdallah, who said: “I have been sent with the sword between my hands to ensure that no one but Allah is worshipped, Allah who put my livelihood under the shadow of my spear and who inflicts humiliation and scorn on those who disobey my orders.”

The Arabian Peninsula has never—since Allah made it flat, created its desert, and encircled it with seas—been stormed by any forces like the crusader armies spreading in it like locusts, eating its riches and wiping out its plantations. All this is happening at a time in which nations are attacking Muslims like people fighting over a plate of food. In the light of the grave situation and the lack of support,

we and you are obliged to discuss current events, and we should all agree on how to settle the matter.

No one argues today about three facts that are known to everyone; we will list them, in order to remind everyone:

First, for over seven years the United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places, the Arabian Peninsula, plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people, terrorizing its neighbors, and turning its bases in the Peninsula into a spearhead through which to fight the neighboring Muslim peoples.

If some people have in the past argued about the fact of the occupation, all the people of the Peninsula have now acknowledged it. The best proof of this is the Americans’ continuing aggression against the Iraqi people using the Peninsula as a staging post, even though all its rulers are against their territories being used to that end, but they are helpless.

Second, despite the great devastation inflicted on the Iraqi people by the crusader-Zionist alliance, and despite the huge number of those killed, which has exceeded 1 million...despite all this, the Americans are once again trying to repeat the horrific massacres, as though they are not content with the protracted blockade imposed after the ferocious war or the fragmentation and devastation.

So here they come to annihilate what is left of this people and to humiliate their Muslim neighbors.

Third, if the Americans’ aims behind these wars are religious and economic, the aim is also to serve the Jews’ petty state and divert attention from its occupation of Jerusalem and murder of Muslims there. The best proof of this is their eagerness to destroy Iraq, the strongest neighboring Arab state, and their endeavor to fragment all the states of the region such as Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Sudan into paper statelets and through their disunion and weakness to guarantee Israel’s survival

and the continuation of the brutal crusade occupation of the Peninsula.

All these crimes and sins committed by the Americans are a clear declaration of war on Allah, his messenger, and Muslims. And ulema have throughout Islamic history unanimously agreed that the jihad is an individual duty if the enemy destroys the Muslim countries. This was revealed by Imam Bin-Qadamah in “Al- Mughni,” Imam al-Kisa’i in “Al-Bada’i,” al-Qurtubi in his interpretation, and the shaykh of al-Islam in his books, where he said: “As for the fighting to repulse [an enemy], it is aimed at defending sanctity and religion, and it is a duty as agreed [by the ulema]. Nothing is more sacred than belief except repulsing an enemy who is attacking religion and life.”

On that basis, and in compliance with Allah’s order, we issue the following fatwa to all Muslims:

The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies—civilians and military—is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy mosque [Mecca] from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim. This is in accordance with the words of Almighty Allah, “and fight the pagans all together as they fight you all together,” and “fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in Allah.”

This is in addition to the words of Almighty Allah: “And why should ye not fight in the cause of Allah and of those who, being weak, are ill-treated (and oppressed)?—women and children, whose cry is: ‘Our Lord, rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from thee one who will help!’”

We—with Allah’s help—call on every Muslim who believes in Allah and wishes to be rewarded to comply with Allah’s order to kill the Americans and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it. We also

call on Muslim ulema, leaders, youths, and soldiers to launch the raid on Satan’s U.S. troops and the devil’s supporters allying with them, and to displace those who are behind them so that they may learn a lesson.

Almighty Allah said: “O ye who believe, give your response to Allah and His Apostle, when He calleth you to that which will give you life. And know that Allah cometh between a man and his heart, and that it is He to whom ye shall all be gathered.”

Almighty Allah also says: “O ye who believe, what is the matter with you, that when ye are asked to go forth in the cause of Allah, ye cling so heavily to the earth! Do ye prefer the life of this world to the hereafter? But little is the comfort of this life, as compared with the hereafter. Unless ye go forth, He will punish you with a grievous penalty, and put others in your place; but Him ye would not harm in the least. For Allah hath power over all things.”

Almighty Allah also says: “So lose no heart, nor fall into despair. For ye must gain mastery if ye are true in faith.”

Overview: National Security Strategy of the United States

(The full national security strategy can be found online at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf>.)

The great struggles of the twentieth century between liberty and totalitarianism ended with a decisive victory for the forces of freedom—and a single sustainable model for national success: freedom, democracy, and free enterprise. In the twenty-first century, only nations that share a commitment to protecting basic human rights and guaranteeing political and economic freedom will be able to unleash the potential of their people and assure their future prosperity. People everywhere want to be able to speak freely; choose who will govern them; worship as they please; educate their children—male and female; own property; and enjoy the benefits of their labor. These values of freedom are right and true for every

person, in every society—and the duty of protecting these values against their enemies is the common calling of freedom-loving people across the globe and across the ages.

Today, the United States enjoys a position of unparalleled military strength and great economic and political influence. In keeping with our heritage and principles, we do not use our strength to press for unilateral advantage. We seek instead to create a balance of power that favors human freedom: conditions in which all nations and all societies can choose for themselves the rewards and challenges of political and economic liberty. In a world that is safe, people will be able to make their own lives better. We will defend the peace by fighting terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. We will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent.

Defending our Nation against its enemies is the first and fundamental commitment of the Federal Government. Today, that task has changed dramatically. Enemies in the past needed great armies and great industrial capabilities to endanger America. Now, shadowy networks of individuals can bring great chaos and suffering to our shores for less than it costs to purchase a single tank. Terrorists are organized to penetrate open societies and to turn the power of modern technologies against us.

To defeat this threat we must make use of every tool in our arsenal—military power, better homeland defenses, law enforcement, intelligence, and vigorous efforts to cut off terrorist financing. The war against terrorists of global reach is a global enterprise of uncertain duration. America will help nations that need our assistance in combating terror. And America will hold to account nations that are compromised by terror, including those who harbor terrorists—because the allies of terror are the enemies of civilization. The United States and countries cooperating with us must not allow the terrorists to develop new home bases. Together, we will seek to deny them sanctuary at every turn.

The gravest danger our Nation faces lies at the crossroads of radicalism and technology. Our enemies have openly declared that they are seeking weapons of mass destruction, and evidence indicates that they are doing so with determination. The United States will not allow these efforts to succeed. We will build defenses against ballistic missiles and other means of delivery. We will cooperate with other nations to deny, contain, and curtail our enemies' efforts to acquire dangerous technologies. And, as a matter of common sense and self-defense, America will act against such emerging threats before they are fully formed. We cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best. So we must be prepared to defeat our enemies' plans, using the best intelligence and proceeding with deliberation. History will judge harshly those who saw this coming danger but failed to act. In the new world we have entered, the only path to peace and security is the path of action.

As we defend the peace, we will also take advantage of an historic opportunity to preserve the peace. Today, the international community has the best chance since the rise of the nation-state in the seventeenth century to build a world where great powers compete in peace instead of continually prepare for war. Today, the world's great powers find ourselves on the same side—united by common dangers of terrorist violence and chaos. The United States will build on these common interests to promote global security. We are also increasingly united by common values. Russia is in the midst of a hopeful transition, reaching for its democratic future and a partner in the war on terror. Chinese leaders are discovering that economic freedom is the only source of national wealth. In time, they will find that social and political freedom is the only source of national greatness. America will encourage the advancement of democracy and economic openness in both nations, because these are the best foundations for domestic stability and international order. We will strongly resist aggression from other great powers—even as we welcome their peaceful pursuit of prosperity, trade, and cultural advancement.

Finally, the United States will use this moment of opportunity to extend the benefits of freedom across the globe. We will actively work to bring the hope of democracy, development, free markets, and free trade to every corner of the world. The events of September 11, 2001, taught us that weak states, like Afghanistan, can pose as great a danger to our national interests as strong states. Poverty does not make poor people into terrorists and murderers. Yet poverty, weak institutions, and corruption can make weak states vulnerable to terrorist networks and drug cartels within their borders.

The United States will stand beside any nation determined to build a better future by seeking the rewards of liberty for its people. Free trade and free markets have proven their ability to lift whole societies out of poverty—so the United States will work with individual nations, entire regions, and the entire global trading community to build a world that trades in freedom and therefore grows in prosperity. The United States will deliver greater development assistance through the New Millennium Challenge Account to nations that govern justly, invest in their people, and encourage economic freedom. We will also continue to lead the world in efforts to reduce the terrible toll of HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases.

In building a balance of power that favors freedom, the United States is guided by the conviction that all nations have important responsibilities. Nations that enjoy freedom must actively fight terror. Nations that depend on international stability must help prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction. Nations that seek international aid must govern themselves wisely, so that aid is well spent. For freedom to thrive, accountability must be expected and required.

We are also guided by the conviction that no nation can build a safer, better world alone. Alliances and multilateral institutions can multiply the strength of freedom-loving nations. The United States is committed to lasting institutions like the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the Organization of American States, and NATO as well as other

long-standing alliances. Coalitions of the willing can augment these permanent institutions. In all cases, international obligations are to be taken seriously. They are not to be undertaken symbolically to rally support for an ideal without furthering its attainment.

Freedom is the non-negotiable demand of human dignity; the birthright of every person—in every civilization. Throughout history, freedom has been threatened by war and terror; it has been challenged by the clashing wills of powerful states and the evil designs of tyrants; and it has been tested by widespread poverty and disease. Today, humanity holds in its hands the opportunity to further freedom's triumph over all these foes. The United States welcomes our responsibility to lead in this great mission.

George W. Bush
THE WHITE HOUSE,
September 17, 2002

UN Resolution 1373

(This resolution was adopted by the Security Council at its 4385th meeting, on September 28, 2001. Additional information about the UN response to terrorism can be found at <<http://www.un.org/terrorism/>>)

The Security Council,
Reaffirming

its resolutions 1269 (1999) of 19 October 1999 and 1368 (2001) of 12 September 2001,

Reaffirming also

its unequivocal condemnation of the terrorist attacks which took place in New York, Washington, D.C. and Pennsylvania on 11 September 2001, and expressing its determination to prevent all such acts,

Reaffirming further

that such acts, like any act of international terrorism, constitute a threat to international peace and security,

Reaffirming

the inherent right of individual or collec-

tive self-defence as recognized by the Charter of the United Nations as reiterated in resolution 1368 (2001),

Reaffirming

the need to combat by all means, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts,

Deeply concerned

by the increase, in various regions of the world, of acts of terrorism motivated by intolerance or extremism,

Calling

on States to work together urgently to prevent and suppress terrorist acts, including through increased cooperation and full implementation of the relevant international conventions relating to terrorism,

Recognizing

the need for States to complement international cooperation by taking additional measures to prevent and suppress, in their territories through all lawful means, the financing and preparation of any acts of terrorism,

Reaffirming

the principle established by the General Assembly in its declaration of October 1970 (resolution 2625 (XXV)) and reiterated by the Security Council in its resolution 1189 (1998) of 13 August 1998, namely that every State has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in terrorist acts in another State or acquiescing in organized activities within its territory directed towards the commission of such acts,

Acting

under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Decides that all States shall:

(a) Prevent and suppress the financing of terrorist acts;

(b) Criminalize the wilful provision or collection, by any means, directly or indirectly, of funds by their nationals or in their territories with the intention that the funds should be

used, or in the knowledge that they are to be used, in order to carry out terrorist acts;

(c) Freeze without delay funds and other financial assets or economic resources of persons who commit, or attempt to commit, terrorist acts or participate in or facilitate the commission of terrorist acts; of entities owned or controlled directly or indirectly by such persons; and of persons and entities acting on behalf of, or at the direction of such persons and entities, including funds derived or generated from property owned or controlled directly or indirectly by such persons and associated persons and entities;

(d) Prohibit their nationals or any persons and entities within their territories from making any funds, financial assets or economic resources or financial or other related services available, directly or indirectly, for the benefit of persons who commit or attempt to commit or facilitate or participate in the commission of terrorist acts, of entities owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by such persons and of persons and entities acting on behalf of or at the direction of such persons;

2. Decides also that all States shall:

(a) Refrain from providing any form of support, active or passive, to entities or persons involved in terrorist acts, including by suppressing recruitment of members of terrorist groups and eliminating the supply of weapons to terrorists;

(b) Take the necessary steps to prevent the commission of terrorist acts, including by provision of early warning to other States by exchange of information;

(c) Deny safe haven to those who finance, plan, support, or commit terrorist acts, or provide safe havens;

(d) Prevent those who finance, plan, facilitate or commit terrorist acts from using their respective territories for those purposes against other States or their citizens;

(e) Ensure that any person who participates in the financing, planning, preparation or perpetration of terrorist acts or in supporting terrorist acts is brought to justice and

ensure that, in addition to any other measures against them, such terrorist acts are established as serious criminal offences in domestic laws and regulations and that the punishment duly reflects the seriousness of such terrorist acts;

(f) Afford one another the greatest measure of assistance in connection with criminal investigations or criminal proceedings relating to the financing or support of terrorist acts, including assistance in obtaining evidence in their possession necessary for the proceedings;

(g) Prevent the movement of terrorists or terrorist groups by effective border controls and controls on issuance of identity papers and travel documents, and through measures for preventing counterfeiting, forgery or fraudulent use of identity papers and travel documents;

3. Calls upon all States to:

(a) Find ways of intensifying and accelerating the exchange of operational information, especially regarding actions or movements of terrorist persons or networks; forged or falsified travel documents; traffic in arms, explosives or sensitive materials; use of communications technologies by terrorist groups; and the threat posed by the possession of weapons of mass destruction by terrorist groups;

(b) Exchange information in accordance with international and domestic law and cooperate on administrative and judicial matters to prevent the commission of terrorist acts;

(c) Cooperate, particularly through bilateral and multilateral arrangements and agreements, to prevent and suppress terrorist attacks and take action against perpetrators of such acts;

(d) Become parties as soon as possible to the relevant international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism, including the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism of 9 December 1999;

(e) Increase cooperation and fully implement the relevant international conventions

and protocols relating to terrorism and Security Council resolutions 1269 (1999) and 1368 (2001);

(f) Take appropriate measures in conformity with the relevant provisions of national and international law, including international standards of human rights, before granting refugee status, for the purpose of ensuring that the asylum-seeker has not planned, facilitated or participated in the commission of terrorist acts;

(g) Ensure, in conformity with international law, that refugee status is not abused by the perpetrators, organizers or facilitators of terrorist acts, and that claims of political motivation are not recognized as grounds for refusing requests for the extradition of alleged terrorists;

4. Notes with concern the close connection between international terrorism and transnational organized crime, illicit drugs, money-laundering, illegal arms-trafficking, and illegal movement of nuclear, chemical, biological and other potentially deadly materials, and in this regard emphasizes the need to enhance coordination of efforts on national, subregional, regional and international levels in order to strengthen a global response to this serious challenge and threat to international security;

5. Declares that acts, methods, and practices of terrorism are contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and that knowingly financing, planning and inciting terrorist acts are also contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations;

6. Decides to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of its provisional rules of procedure, a Committee of the Security Council, consisting of all the members of the Council, to monitor implementation of this resolution, with the assistance of appropriate expertise, and calls upon all States to report to the Committee, no later than 90 days from the date of adoption of this resolution and thereafter according to a timetable to be proposed by the Committee, on the steps they have taken to implement this resolution;

7. Directs the Committee to delineate its

tasks, submit a work programme within 30 days of the adoption of this resolution, and to consider the support it requires, in consultation with the Secretary-General;

8. Expresses its determination to take all necessary steps in order to ensure the full implementation of this resolution, in accordance with its responsibilities under the Charter;

9. Decides to remain seized of this matter.

Supplementary Resources

Books

Ajami, Fouad. *The Dream Palace of the Arabs: A Generation's Odyssey* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998). 344 pages.

Bergen, Peter L. *Holy War, Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden* (New York: Free Press, 2001). 283 pages.

Cleveland, William L. *A History of the Modern Middle East, 2d ed.* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000). 585 pages.

Hoffman, Bruce. *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998). 288 pages.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000). 316 pages.

Wright, Lawrence. *The Looming Tower: Al Qaeda and the Road to 9/11* (New York: Knopf, 2006). 480 pages.

World Wide Web

U.S. Department of State (<http://www.state.gov/coalition/>) Information on official U.S. policy on terrorism.

U.S. Department of Homeland Security (<http://www.dhs.gov/dhspublic/>) Information on threat levels and the functions of the Department.

Questions and Answers about Terrorism (<http://www.cfr.org/issue/135/>) A website from the Council on Foreign Relations that provides clear information about terrorism.

Maps of the Middle East (http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east.html) The Perry-Casteñada Map Collection at the University of Texas.

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Choices Education Program
Watson Institute for International Studies
Box 1948, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912

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Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy

Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy addresses the issues arising from the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Students are drawn into consideration of the changing nature of terrorism, motivations of terrorists, and the implications for U.S. domestic and international policy.

Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

THE CHOICES PROGRAM

Choices for the 21st Century Education Program
WATSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
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Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy



THE CHOICES PROGRAM

Explore the Past... Shape the Future

History and Current Issues for the Classroom

WATSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
BROWN UNIVERSITY WWW.CHOICES.EDU

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for the 21st Century
Education Program**

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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University.

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THE CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY EDUCATION PROGRAM is a program of the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University. Choices was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgement on policy issues.



The Watson Institute for International Studies was established at Brown University in 1986 to serve as a forum for students, faculty, visiting scholars, and policy practitioners who are committed to analyzing contemporary global problems and developing initiatives to address them.

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The Choices Approach to Current Issues

Choices curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using a student-centered approach, Choices units develop critical thinking and an understanding of the significance of history in our lives today—essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Teachers say the collaboration and interaction in Choices units are highly motivating for students. Studies consistently demonstrate that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material. Cooperative learning invites students to take pride in their own contributions and in the group product, enhancing students' confidence as learners. Research demonstrates that students using the Choices approach learn the factual information presented as well as or better than those using a lecture-discussion format. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Choices units on current issues include student readings, a framework of policy options, suggested lesson plans, and resources for structuring cooperative learning, role plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives on an issue
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- identify and weigh the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- engage in informed discussion
- develop and articulate original viewpoints on an issue
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, deliberative discourse, persuasive writing, and informed civic participation. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies.

The Organization of a Choices Unit

Introducing the Background: Each Choices curriculum resource provides historical background to the issue and student-centered lesson plans that engage students in exploration of critical issues raised. This historical foundation prepares students to analyze a range of perspectives and then to deliberate about possible approaches to contentious policy issues.

Exploring Policy Alternatives: At the core of each Choices unit is a framework of three or four divergent policy options that challenges students to consider multiple perspectives. Students understand and analyze the options through a role play activity. The setting of the role play varies depending upon the topic. It may be a Congressional hearing, a meeting of the National Security Council, or an election campaign forum. In groups, students explore their assigned option and plan short presentations making the best case they can for it. Each

group, in turn, is challenged with questions from their classmates. The ensuing dialogue demands analysis and evaluation of conflicting values, interests, and priorities.

Encouraging Deliberation: After analyzing the options presented, students enter into deliberative dialogue, listening to one another as they explore the merits and trade-offs of the alternatives presented, explore shared concerns, and begin to articulate their own views. For further information on deliberation go to <www.choices.edu/deliberation>.

Exercising Citizenship: Armed with fresh insights from the deliberation with classmates, students articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values and goals. Students' views can be expressed in letters to Congress or the White House, editorials for the school or community newspaper, persuasive speeches, or visual presentations.

Note To Teachers

On the morning of September 11, 2001, the world watched in horror as an unthinkable drama unfolded. Terrorist attacks had been successfully launched against the United States on U.S. soil. The initial questions of who would execute such an attack and why were soon followed by other questions: How should the United States respond to the terrorists? Are there more attacks planned, and what will be their nature? Are we in a war against terrorism? Seven years after the attacks, debates about how the United States should respond to the threat of terrorism remain of central importance.

Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy invites students to join in the debate and the decision making on this difficult issue. To prepare for this debate, the unit provides extensive reading. Part I of the reading traces the history and evolution of terrorism, showing how tactics and objectives have changed. Part II looks specifically at al Qaeda and the events of September 11. The role of political Islam is examined, as is U.S. policy in the Middle East. Finally, Part III looks at responding to terrorism, with consideration of why the United States is a target, what the possible threats are, and what issues complicate the response.

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan: The Teacher Resource Book accompanying *Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy* contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. The lesson for Day One asks students to develop a working definition of terrorism through the use of case studies. It moves on to a discussion of Part I of the reading. Day Two offers students the opportunity to examine differing perspectives on the issues raised by September 11 using political cartoons from the United States and around the

world. The third and fourth days of the lesson plan feature a simulation in which students assume the role of advocates for the four options. The lesson plan concludes with students developing their own options and applying their views to hypothetical crises. You may also find the “Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan” useful.

• **Alternative Study Guides:** Each section of reading is accompanied by two study guides. The standard study guide helps students harvest the information from the readings in preparation for analysis and synthesis in class. The advanced study guide requires the student to tackle analysis and synthesis prior to class activities.

• **Vocabulary and Concepts:** The reading addresses subjects that are complex and challenging. You may want to review with students “Key Terms” found in the Teacher Resource Book (TRB) on page TRB-43 before they begin their assignment. An “Issues Toolbox” included on page TRB-44 provides information on key concepts.

• **Primary Source Documents:** Materials are included on pages 42-48 of the student text that can be used to supplement various lessons.

• **Additional Resources:** Electronic resources including free videos of scholars, an online ballot, and lessons are available at <www.choices.edu/terrorismmaterials>. Choices often posts new lessons online in response to international events.

The lesson plans offered here are provided as a guide. Many teachers choose to devote additional time to certain activities. We hope that these suggestions help you tailor the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating This Unit into Your Curriculum

Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy offers many connections to the social studies curriculum. Whether the course is U.S. history, world history, government, or a survey of contemporary affairs, use of *Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy* opens the door to the exploration of a variety of complementary issues. Below are a few ideas about topics for further consideration.

Is Islam in conflict with the West? A few scholars, most notably Samuel Huntington, have suggested that the civilizations of the West and the Islamic world are locked in fundamental conflict. Political leaders on both sides of the cultural divide have fanned the flames of tensions. At the same time, moderate voices have stepped up their efforts to promote reconciliation and mutual understanding.

When is the use of force justified? Which interests and values should be defended by military means? What lessons should we learn from our alliances in World War II, the Vietnam War, the Persian Gulf War, the war in the Balkans, and the 2003 war in Iraq?

Where is the world headed in the next century? Will democratic ideals spread throughout the world or will countries turn to dictators in times of trouble? Will war become obsolete, or will the proliferation of sophisticated weapons increase conflict? Will increasing interdependence undercut the importance of the nation-state and lead to world government or will nations become more protective of their sovereignty? Will the way we think about the world fundamentally change or will our outlook remain basically the same? How will our role in the world be different in this century?

What are the most important civic values in the United States? The belief in freedom, the rule of law, and democracy? Pragmatism? Visionary idealism and belief in equal rights? Self-reliance and competitiveness? Attachment to individualism and the free market?

What should be the U.S. relationship with the international community? Will the power of the UN, the World Trade Organization, and other international bodies grow as the world continues to shrink? Should the United States refrain from taking action abroad without the support of other countries?

How does the world work? Do international affairs revolve around a contest between good and evil, in which our foreign policy decisions should be seen as moral choices? Do we live in a world of relentless competition, in which we cannot afford to fall behind other leading powers? Is the world essentially interdependent, in that we will all sink or swim together?

Is world peace attainable? Will the expansion of international trade and the advancement of communication technologies reduce the risk of war? Will the nations of the developing world in the twenty-first century repeat the carnage suffered by the developed world in the twentieth century?

Are Western values universal? Do people around the world want the same freedoms and democratic system that the United States has? Will our free-market economic system and consumer-oriented society eventually prevail throughout the globe? Which cultures present the strongest opposition to the values of the West?

Reading Strategies and Suggestions

This curriculum covers a wide range of issues over a long period of time. Your students may find the readings complex. It might also be difficult for them to synthesize such a large amount of information. The following are suggestions to help your students better understand the readings.

Pre-reading strategies: Help students to prepare for the reading.

1. You might create a Know/Want to Know/Learned (K-W-L) worksheet for students to record what they already know about terrorism and what they want to know. As they read they can fill out the “learned” section of the worksheet. Alternatively, brainstorm their current knowledge and then create visual maps in which students link the concepts and ideas they have about the topic.

2. Use the questions in the text to introduce students to the topic. Ask them to scan the reading for major headings, images, and questions and so they can gain familiarity with the structure and organization of the text.

3. Preview the vocabulary and key concepts listed in the back of the TRB with students.

4. Since studies show that most students are visual learners, use a visual introduction, such as photographs or a short film clip to orient your students.

5. Be sure that students understand the purpose for their reading the text. Will you have a debate later, and they need to know the information to formulate arguments? Will students write letters to Congress? Will they create a class podcast?

Split up readings into smaller chunks:

Assign students readings over a longer period of time or divide readings among groups of students.

Graphic organizers: You may also wish to use graphic organizers to help your students better understand the information that they are given. These organizers are located on TRB-8, TRB-17, and on TRB-30. Students can complete them in class in groups or as part of their homework, or you can use them as reading checks or quizzes.

Defining Terrorism

Objectives:

Students will: Examine the evolution of terrorism.

Explore a framework for analyzing political violence and terrorism.

Apply this framework with their classmates to historical and contemporary case studies.

Develop a working definition of terrorism.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the Introduction and Part I in the student text (pages 1-9) and completed “Study Guide—Part I” in the Teacher Resource Book (TRB 5-6) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part I” (TRB-7).

Scholars Online:

These short videos offer an excellent introduction or follow up to this activity, providing students with different interpretations of the “Revolutionaries or Terrorists” question. Students might find it useful to watch the videos after reading the introduction to the lesson and before evaluating the case studies. It is also useful to compare different scholars’ views about what makes a terrorist. These free videos are available at http://www.choices.edu/resources/scholars_terrorism_lesson.php.

Handouts:

“Revolutionaries or Terrorists?” (TRB 9-12)

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage—Distribute “Revolutionaries or Terrorists?” to students and ask them to read the material up to the case studies. Call on students to identify the points of disagreement that emerged in the United Nations’ debates on terrorism. What arguments were made against condemning terrorism? List the items on the chalkboard. Ask students to speculate about what the Cuban representative to the UN might have been referring to.

2. Exploring Legal and Ethical Judgments

—Ask students to identify the standards the international community has established for when force may be used. Have students review their standards. Have them list several examples of political violence, citing either examples from wars or terrorist acts. Explore these examples in terms of the decisions to use violence and how violence was employed. Are there examples of unjustifiable decisions to use force? Are there examples when the decision to use force was justifiable, but the kind of force used was not?

3. Case Studies—Form groups of three to five students each and ask the students to consider the case studies in “Revolutionaries or Terrorists?” Emphasize that the intent is for students to explore the debate over legitimate and illegitimate uses of force and the distinction between terrorists and freedom fighters. Assign a student from each group to record the group’s conclusions.

4. Sharing Conclusions—After the groups have completed the worksheet, invite group spokespersons to share their conclusions. Which cases did they label as terrorism? Were there cases that were particularly difficult to decide? Why? Challenge students to come up with a working definition of terrorism based on specific criteria.

Extra Challenge:

Can the actions of states be considered terrorism? Ask students to write a short essay that explores this question and gives specific examples that support their answers.

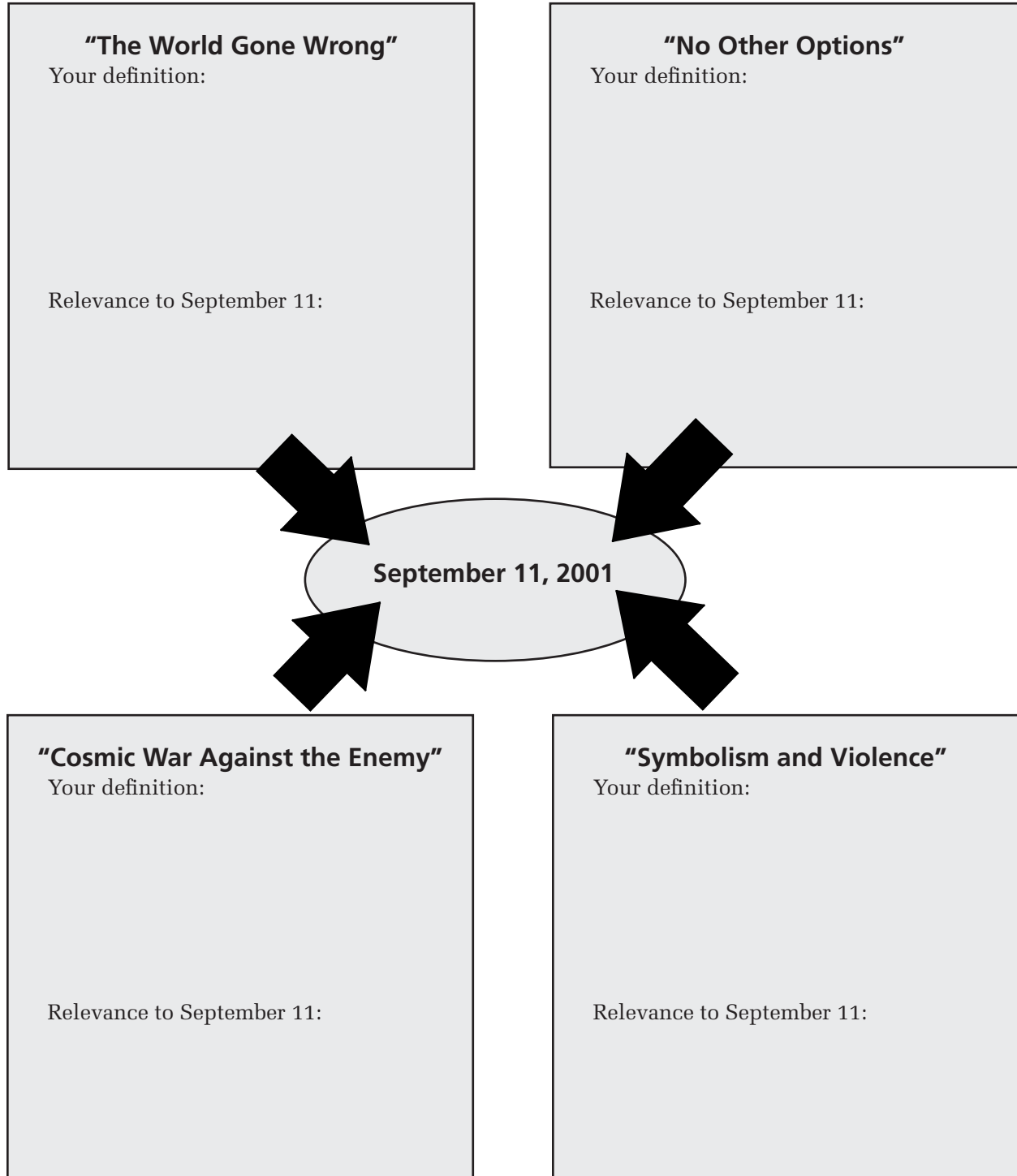
Homework:

Students should read Part II of the reading in the student text (pages 10-16) and complete “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 14-15) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-16).

The Evolution of Terrorism

Instructions: Use your reading to help you fill in the boxes. Briefly explain each of these ideas in your own words. Then show how the idea could be used to help explain the attacks of September 11, 2001.

Motivations and Methods of Modern Religious Terrorists



Revolutionaries or Terrorists?

Throughout history, the world has known political violence and war. For centuries, political and religious thinkers from many traditions have wrestled with two key questions: When is the use of force acceptable? What principles govern how force may be used? These two questions are central to something known as “just war” theory.

The concepts of just war theory may be useful in considering terrorism. In past debates about terrorism, some have suggested that one person’s terrorist is another’s freedom fighter. Are these terms merely labels that have to do with whether one agrees or disagrees with the cause? Or is the distinction based on more concrete and objective grounds?

Today, just war theory underlies much of accepted international law concerning the use of force by states. International law is explicit about when states may use force. For example, states may use force in self-defense against an armed attack. International law also addresses how force may be used. For example, force may not be used against non-combatants. Despite these laws and norms, there are those who oppose the use of violence under any circumstances. For example, this commitment to non-violence led Mohandas Gandhi to build a movement of national liberation in India organized around the practice of non-violent resistance.

Over the years, the international community has been working to define better the rules of war. The Geneva Conventions established in the aftermath of World War II introduced new internationally accepted regulations on the conduct of war between states. These rules protect non-combatants, govern the treatment of prisoners of war, prohibit hostage-taking, and respect diplomatic immunity.

In addition, the concept of proportionality—long a part of just war theory—has gained new importance as the weapons of war have become increasingly destructive. Proportionality argues that it is wrong to use more force than is necessary to achieve success.

After World War II, the use of violence in struggles for self-determination and national liberation fueled a new aspect of the debate on legitimate use of force—the differences between freedom fighters and terrorists. For example, newly independent nations in Africa, Asia, and the Soviet bloc argued that any who fought against the colonial powers or the dominance of the West should be considered freedom fighters, while their opponents often labeled them terrorists.

Following the violence at the 1972 Munich Olympics, UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim called on the General Assembly to discuss measures to prevent terrorism. Waldheim’s suggestion provoked furious debate over the nature of terrorism and the role of armed struggle in national liberation.

“...All liberation movements are described as terrorists by those who have reduced them to slavery. ...[The term] terrorist [can] hardly be held to persons who were denied the most elementary human rights, dignity, freedom and independence, and whose countries objected to foreign occupation.”

—UN Ambassador from Mauritania
Moulaye el-Hassan

Critics countered that this argument was misleading because it failed to consider the issue in its entirety. What mattered was not only the justness of the cause (something that would always be subject to debate) but the legitimacy of the methods used. The ends, they argued, could not be used to justify the means.

By the late 1970s, significant portions of the international community (though not the United States) had decided to extend the protection of the Geneva Conventions to include groups participating in armed struggle against colonial domination, alien occupation, or racist regimes; and to those exercising their right of self-determination. The significance of this

change is that it seemed to extend legitimacy to the use of force by groups other than states.

The events of September 11 and the subsequent war on terrorism have led us to consider important questions concerning the use of force. When is force justified? What is a terrorist? How does a terrorist differ from a freedom-fighter? Who decides?

Instructions

In this activity, you will examine a series of case studies. Using the standards of the international community, you are to decide if the case represents terrorism or some other form of political violence. For each case you should answer the following questions:

- 1) Does your group believe that the decision to use force was acceptable and justifiable?
- 2) Was the way in which the force was used acceptable?
- 3) What is your view of the response of the state to the use of force?

Be prepared to explain the reasons for your position. If your group can not come to an agreement on your position, you should be prepared to offer different opinions and provide justification for each.

State Terror?

During the UN debates on terrorism, some argued that the methods of violence used by states can be morally reprehensible and a form of terrorism.

“...the methods of combat used by national liberation movements could not be declared illegal while the policy of terrorism unleashed against certain peoples [by the armed forces of established states] was declared legitimate.”

—Cuban Representative to the UN

Case Studies: Revolutionaries or Terrorists?

Northern Ireland: Northern Ireland has been the scene of political violence for many years. The region is currently a province of the United Kingdom, while the rest of the island of Ireland is a republic that gained its independence from Britain in 1921. Several unofficial military organizations, including the Irish Republican Army (IRA), have fought for British withdrawal from Northern Ireland, often through violent means. British security forces, as well as other Irish Loyalist “paramilitaries” intent on remaining under British rule, have fought back. Between 1969 and 2002, 3,341 people were killed and more than 47,000 injured. Many of the victims were innocent civilians caught in acts of violence perpetrated by the different factions. In January 1972, in an incident known as Bloody Sunday, British paratroopers fired on protestors, killing fourteen and injuring another thirteen; this event only managed to intensify the struggle. However, in April 1998, a peace accord that became known as the Good Friday Agreement led many to hope for a peaceful resolution of the political differences. Despite this settlement, violence continued to plague the region. In August 1998, an IRA splinter group claimed responsibility for bombing a shopping center in the town of Omagh which killed 29 and wounded hundreds. In 2006, an independent government commission announced that the IRA had committed itself to following a political path and had instructed its members not to use force.

- 1) Does your group believe that the IRA’s decision to use force was acceptable and justifiable? Are they terrorists or revolutionaries?
- 2) Was the way force was used acceptable?
- 3) What is your view of the response of the state to the IRA’s use of force?

Chechnya: In 1994, Chechen armed separatists launched a military-style campaign designed to drive Russia out of Chechnya, part of the Russian Federation. The Chechens claimed to be fighting for freedom from an oppressive regime that prevented them from practicing their religion—Islam—and that offered no hope for the future. In response, the Russian military has used its weapons against civilians, killing more than ten thousand and displacing half a million from their homes. A peace treaty was reached in 1997, but fighting resumed between Russian troops and Chechens in the fall of 1999. Russian President Putin defended Russian military action in Chechnya, claiming that Chechnya was being used as a springboard for international terrorism against Russia; the Russian government claimed that foreign Islamic terrorists were fighting alongside the Chechens. Furthermore, the Russian government blamed the Chechen rebels for a series of September 1999 bombings of Moscow apartment buildings that killed several hundred Russians. These incidents provoked a strong military response from Moscow, including airstrikes against several Chechen towns and the capital of Grozny. In October 2002 more than forty Chechen militants took eight hundred theater-goers hostage in Moscow. In the government's rescue attempt 129 hostages and all the hostage-takers were killed. The school hostage crisis in Beslan, Russia in September 2004 resulted in the deaths of close to 350 people.

- 1) Does your group believe that the Chechens' decision to use force was acceptable and justifiable? Are they terrorists or revolutionaries?
- 2) Was the way in which the force was used acceptable?
- 3) What is your view of the response of Russia to the Chechens' use of force?

Chiapas: In the remote southern state of Chiapas, Mexico, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation began an armed rebellion against the Mexican government on January 1, 1994. The Zapatistas claimed to be fighting against poverty and injustice and for the rights of indigenous peoples. Led by a man referred to as Sub-Commander Marcos, hundreds of peasant soldiers, their faces covered by black ski masks or red bandanas, operated in the countryside. Although most Zapatistas carried weapons dating back to World War II, they occupied several key towns and attacked a regional military base. More than one hundred people were killed in the uprising, including government soldiers, peasants, and government employees. The Zapatistas blew up telephone and electrical towers and detonated car bombs in Mexico City, injuring several people. The Mexican military responded with force, and international human rights groups accused the military of torturing villagers to get information about the rebels. Since 1995, the Zapatistas have been committed to negotiating with the Mexican government. Nonetheless, talks between the government and the Zapatistas have often stalled. The conflict has pitted village against village, often spilling over into bloodshed. In 1997, for example, pro-government forces massacred forty-five villagers for their support of the Zapatistas. At the same time, the Zapatistas rely on the Internet and cellular telephones to maintain a sophisticated communications network. Their website attracts thousands of visitors.

- 1) Does your group believe that the Zapatistas' decision to use force was acceptable and justifiable? Are they terrorists or revolutionaries?
- 2) Was the way in which the force was used acceptable?
- 3) What is your view of the response of the Mexican government to the Zapatistas' use of force?

South Africa: When the South African government codified into law its system of apartheid in 1948, the African National Congress, a political movement begun in the early twentieth century, launched a national campaign of non-violent resistance to the government's official system of racial segregation. But after years of political struggle, the ANC had made no progress against the increasingly oppressive apartheid regime. In the early 1960s, the ANC decided that it would use violence to fight the white government, which denied black South Africans their most basic human rights, including access to education, the right to vote, and the right to live and travel where they wanted. Following the 1960 massacre of sixty-nine black Africans by South African forces at a peaceful demonstration in Sharpeville, the ANC embarked on a campaign of sabotage against the country's infrastructure and armed resistance against the South African government. The South African government continued to crack down on black South Africans as racially-motivated violence plagued the country. In 1976, government forces killed more than six hundred people in an uprising at the Soweto township.

- 1) Does your group believe that the ANC's decision to use force was acceptable and justifiable? Were they terrorists or revolutionaries?
- 2) Was the way in which the force was used acceptable?
- 3) What is your view of the response of the state to the ANC's use of force?

The Earth Liberation Front: In the early 1990s, a group of radical environmentalists in England formed the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) to combat ecological destruction. Now active in North America as well, the loosely-connected group seeks to protect habitats for endangered animals, to eliminate animal testing for medical and beauty industry purposes, and to reduce our dependence on oil. Like mainstream environmental organizations, the ELF works to end the exploitation of the natural environment and halt construction of new housing developments. Feeling that other environmental groups have had little effect, the ELF uses militant tactics to get its message across. In August 2003, the group claimed to have set fire to twenty Hummers, a large type of SUV, in a California dealership. The group has also claimed responsibility for releasing hundreds of animals in captivity, burning down resort buildings and ski lifts in Vail, Colorado, and sabotaging a genetic engineering lab at the University of Minnesota. Although the group has been careful never to harm humans in its attacks, it has caused more than \$200 million in damage since 1997. The FBI continues to investigate the incidents.

- 1) Does your group believe that the ELF's decision to use force is acceptable and justifiable? Are they terrorists or revolutionaries?
- 2) Is the way in which the force is used acceptable?
- 3) What is your view of the response of the state to the ELF's use of force?

Interpreting Political Cartoons in the National and International Press

Objectives:

Students will: Interpret political cartoons and place them in context.

Identify the values and viewpoint of the cartoonist.

Required Reading:

Before the lesson, students should read “Part II: Al Qaeda and the Middle East” in the student text (pages 10-16) and complete “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 14-15) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-16).

Handouts:

“Political Cartoons in the National and International Press” (TRB 18-25)

In the Classroom:

1. Getting Started—Distribute “Political Cartoons in the National and International Press” to the class. Divide the class into groups

of three or four each. Working in groups, have the students discuss each cartoon and answer the questions provided. Emphasize that students should draw on Part I and Part II of the reading to answer the discussion questions. (Space has been provided for questions 1-3. Question 4 will need to be answered on a separate sheet of paper.)

2. Drawing Connections—Select several cartoons from the collection. Discuss how the nationality of the cartoonist is reflected in the point of view of the cartoon. Are there other cartoons in the collection addressing the same issue? How do the messages differ? How are they the same?

Homework:

Students should read “Part III: Responding to Terrorism” and “Options in Brief” in the student text (pages 17-33) and complete “Study Guide—Part III” (TRB 27-28) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part III” (TRB-29).

The United States and the Middle East

Instructions: These boxes represent four major challenges in the Middle East. Use this organizer to consider the importance of these issues to the United States as well the type of U.S. involvement (diplomatic efforts, trade, military action, etc.) In what way are these issues connected to each other?

Regional Security

Why is this important to the United States?

U.S. involvement:

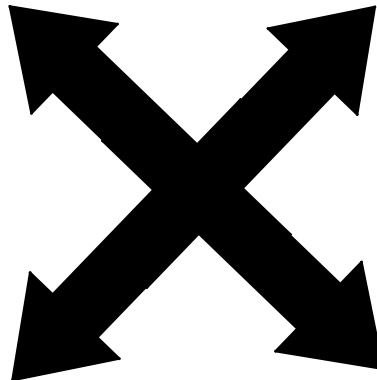
What other boxes does box this relate to? Explain.

Arab-Israeli Conflict

Why is this important to the United States?

U.S. involvement:

What other boxes does box this relate to? Explain.



Islamist Movements

Why is this important to the United States?

U.S. involvement:

What other boxes does box this relate to? Explain.

Oil

Why is this important to the United States?

U.S. involvement:

What other boxes does box this relate to? Explain.

Political Cartoons in the National and International Press

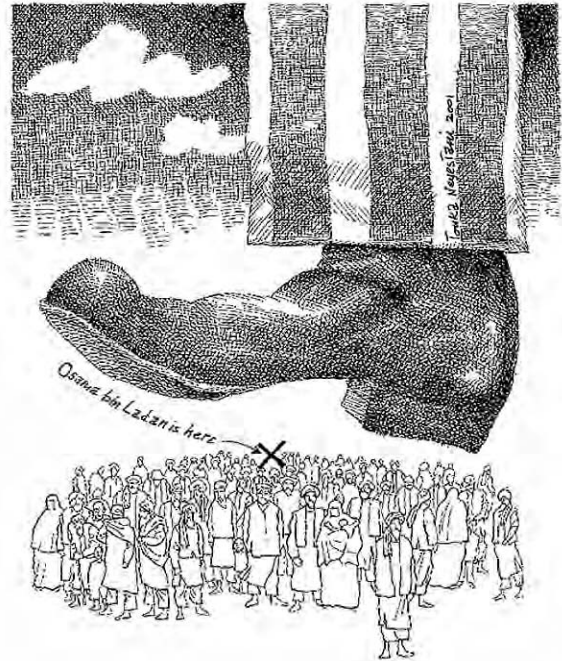
The strong feelings raised by politics and international issues are the fodder of political cartoonists around the world. Cartoons not only reflect the events of the times, but they often offer an interpretation or express a strong opinion about these events as well. The cartoons in this collection address issues raised by the September 11 attacks and the current war on terrorism. They come not only from the U.S. press but also from sources around the world.

Answer questions 1-3 in the space near each cartoon. Question 4 should be answered on a separate sheet of paper.

1. Who or what is depicted in the cartoon?
2. Does the cartoon have a particular point of view? What is it?
3. Where did this cartoon appear? Is the country of origin important to understanding the message?
4. Choose one cartoon in the collection. Are there others addressing the same issue? How do the messages differ? How are they the same?



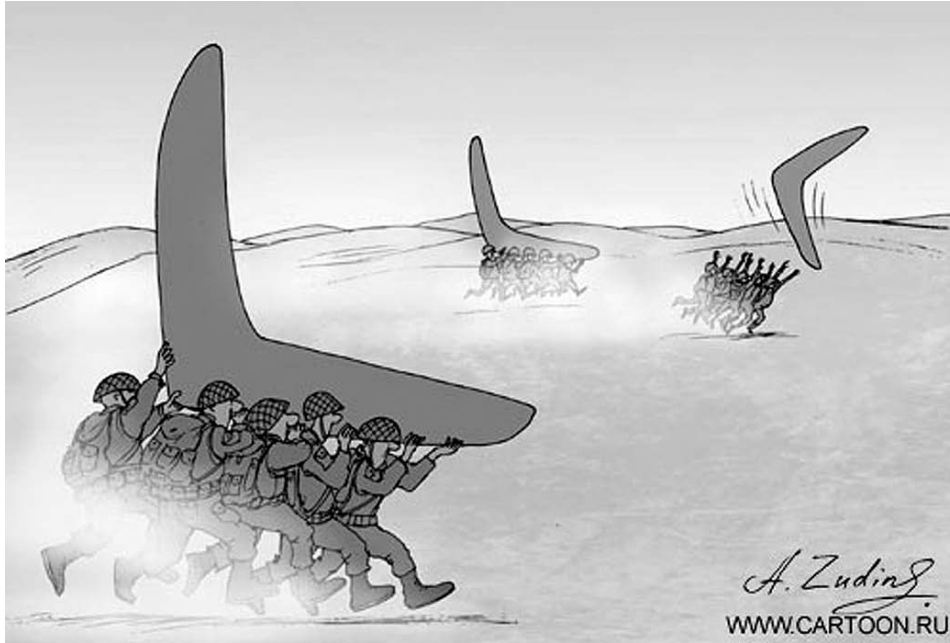
- 1.
- 2.
- 3.



- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Name: _____

Alexander Zudin—Obshaya Gazette, St. Petersburg, Russia.



- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

David Horsey—The Seattle Post-Intelligence.



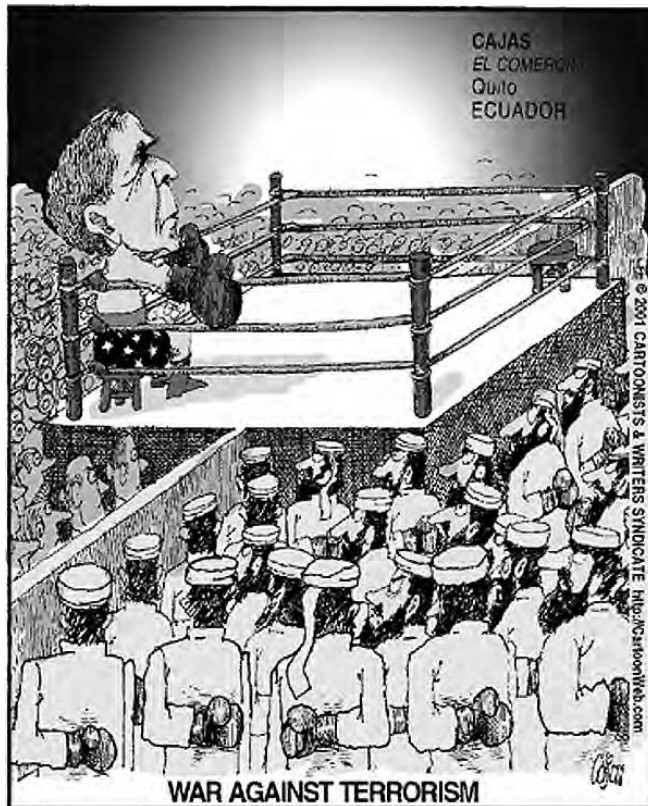
- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Zapiro in Sunday Times, South Africa CWS/Cartoonists International. Used with permission.



- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Cajas—El Comercio, Quito, Ecuador.



- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Name: _____



- 1.
- 2.
- 3.



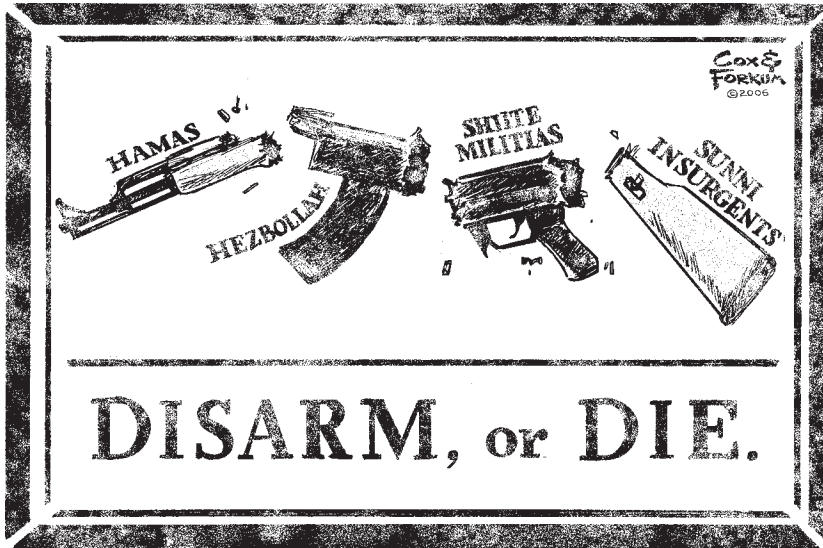
Nick Anderson, 2002—The Washington Post Writers Group. Reprinted with permission.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.



Shahid—Chowk, Karachi, Pakistan.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.



Courtesy of Cox and Forkum, United States.

THE MESSAGE WE SHOULD BE SENDING

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

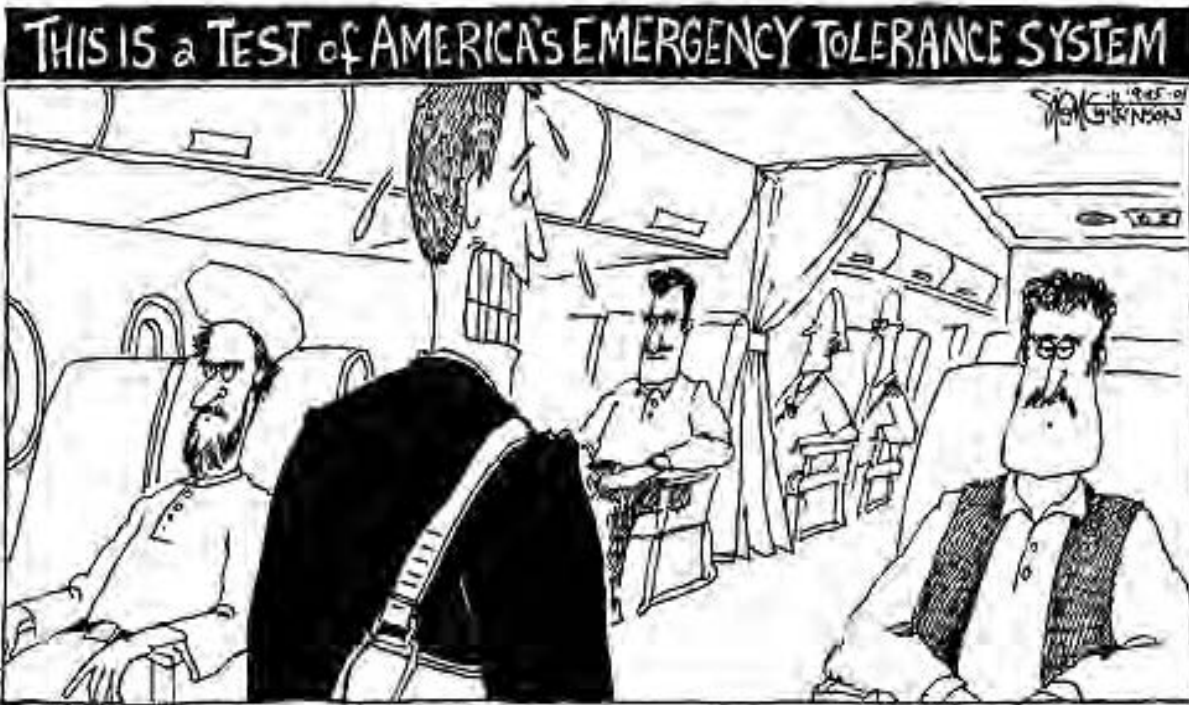
Name: _____

Mike Thompson—The State Journal-Register, Springfield, Illinois.

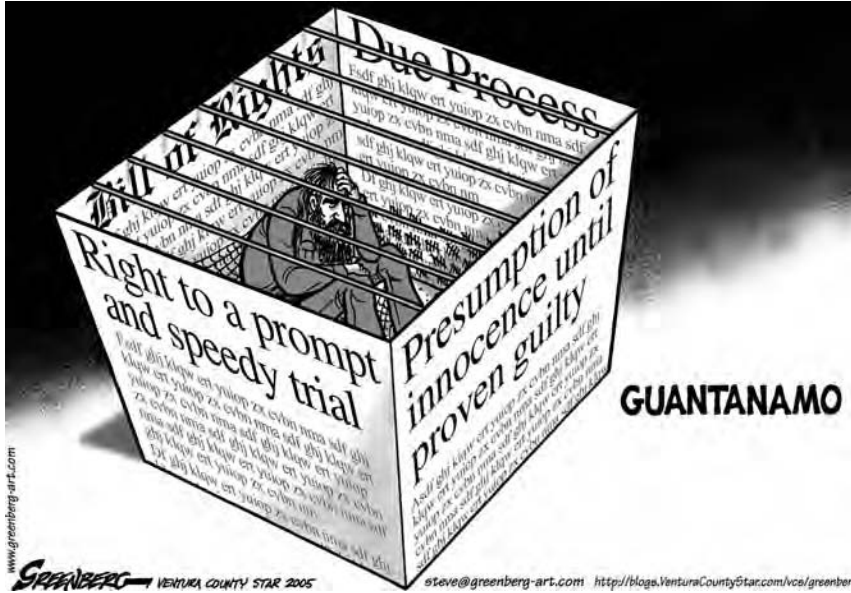


- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Signe Wilkinson—The Philadelphia Daily News.



- 1.
- 2.
- 3.



Steve Greenberg—Ventura County Star, United States.
www.greenberg-art.com

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.



Clay Bennett—The Christian Science Monitor, United States.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Name: _____

Courtesy of Cox and Forkum, United States.



- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Rex Babin—The Sacramento Bee, United States.



- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Role Playing the Four Options: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze the issues that frame the current debate on U.S. policy on terrorism.

Understand the perspectives of other countries.

Identify the underlying values of the options.

Integrate the arguments and beliefs of the options and the reading into a persuasive, coherent presentation.

Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Handouts:

“Presenting Your Option” (TRB-31): option groups

“Expressing Key Values” (TRB-32): option groups

“Input from UN Members” (TRB-33): UN countries group

“UN Members—Issues of Concern” (TRB 34-35): UN countries group

“U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee” (TRB-36): committee members

In the Classroom:

1. Planning for Group Work—In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Three. During the class period of Day Three, students will be preparing for the Day Four simulation. Remind them to incorporate the reading into the development of their presentations and questions.

2a. Option Groups—Form four groups of four students each. Assign an option to each group. Distribute “Presenting Your Option” and “Expressing Key Values” to the four option groups. Inform students that each option group will be called upon in Day Four to present the case for its assigned option to members of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Explain that option groups should follow

the instructions in “Presenting Your Option.” Note that the option groups should begin by assigning each member a role. You may also want to give the “foreign policy advisors” a copy of “UN Members—Issues of Concern” (TRB 34-35).

2b. UN Countries—Assign one or two students to be representative(s) from each UN member described in “UN Members—Issues of Concern.” Distribute “Input from UN Members” and “UN Members—Issues of Concern.” Inform students that, following the options presentations on Day Four, they will be asked to present their nations’ concerns to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

2c. Committee Members—The remainder of the class will serve as members of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Distribute “U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee” to each committee member. While the option groups and UN Members are preparing their presentations, committee members should develop cross-examination questions for Day Four. (See “U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee.”) Remind committee members that they are expected to turn in their questions at the end of the simulation.

Suggestions:

In smaller classes, other teachers or administrators may be invited to serve as members of the Senate committee. In larger classes, assign larger groups for each UN nation.

Extra Challenge:

Ask the option groups to design a poster or a political cartoon illustrating the best case for their options. Ask the UN members to design posters illustrating their perspectives.

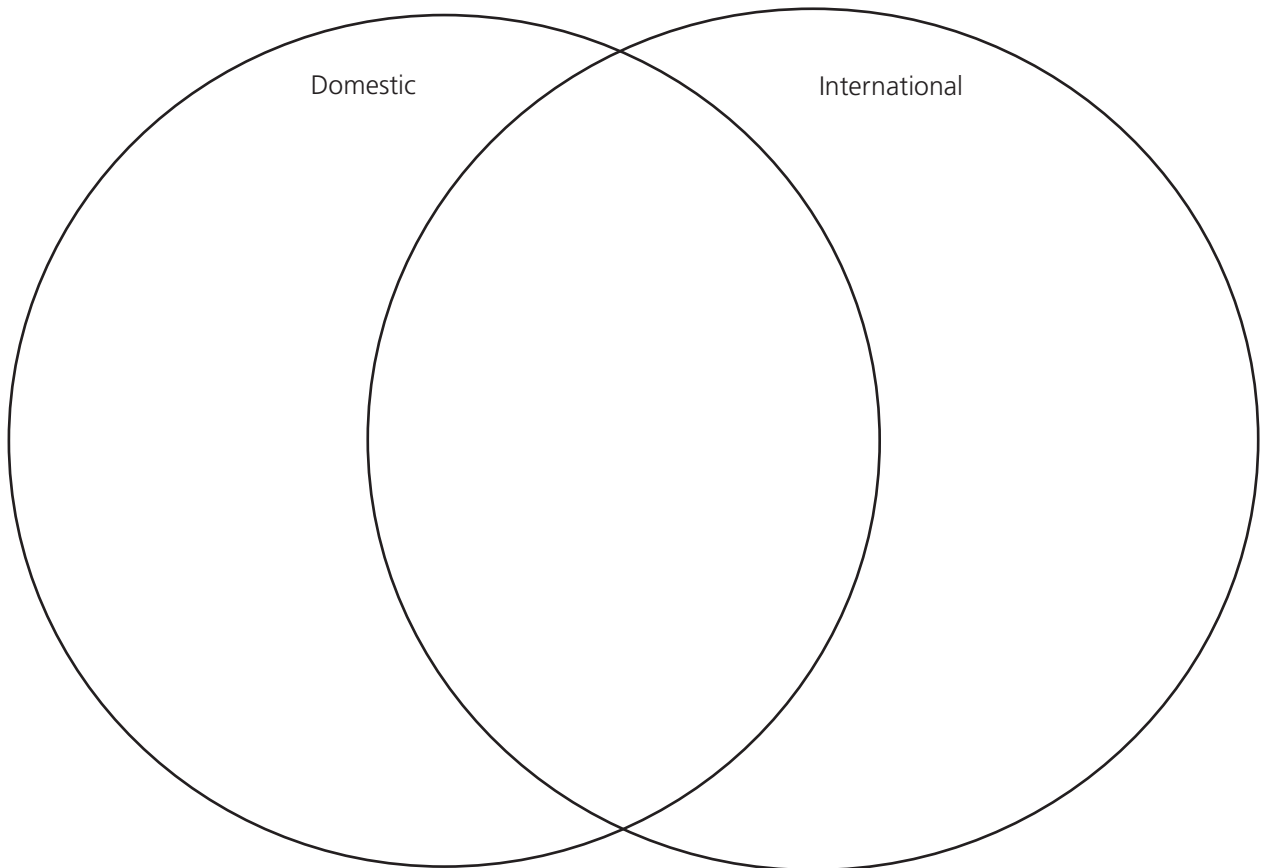
Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Responding to Terrorism

Instructions: Use your reading to fill in the charts below. The chart is designed to help you consider which issues related to terrorism are domestic (limited to the United States), which are international, and which ones overlap both areas. List as many of the challenges posed by terrorism that you can find in Part III of your reading in the box. Then write each issue in the appropriate part of the overlapping circles. If the challenge applies only to the United States, place the issue in the domestic section of the circle. If it is solely an international challenge, place it in the international section. If the challenge applies to both, place it in the overlapping segments of the circles.

List the Challenges Posed by Terrorism



Presenting Your Option

Preparing Your Presentation

Your Assignment: Your group has been called upon to appear before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Your assignment is to persuade the committee members that your assigned option should be the basis for U.S. policy on terrorism. You will be judged on how well you present your option.

Organizing Your Group: Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below is a brief explanation of the responsibilities for each role. Before preparing your sections of the presentation, work together to address the questions on the “Expressing Key Values” sheet.

1. Group Organizer: Your job is to organize your group’s three- to five-minute presentation of its option to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In organizing your presentation, you will receive help from the other members of your group. Read your option and review the reading to build a strong case for your option. The “Expressing Key Values” worksheet will help you and your group to organize your thoughts. Keep in mind that, although you are expected to take the lead in organizing your group, your group will be expected to make the presentation together.

2. Legal Advisor: Your job is to explain why your group’s option best addresses the legal issues at stake in dealing with terrorism. Carefully read your option and then review the reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group. The “Expressing Key Values” worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

3. Foreign Policy Advisor: Your job is to explain why your group’s option best ad-

resses the foreign policy challenges presented by international terrorism. Carefully read your option and then review the reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group. The “Expressing Key Values” worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

4. Domestic Policy Advisor: Your job is to explain why your group’s option best addresses the domestic policy challenges presented by international terrorism. Carefully read your option and then review the reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group. The “Expressing Key Values” worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

5. Historian: What lessons can be drawn from history to support your group’s position? Carefully read your option and then review the reading with this question in mind. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group. The “Expressing Key Values” worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

Making Your Case

After your preparations are completed, your group will deliver a three- to five-minute presentation to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The “Expressing Key Values” worksheet and other notes may be used, but speakers should speak clearly and convincingly. During the presentations of other options, you should try to identify their weak points. After all of the groups have presented their options, members of the Senate committee will ask you cross-examination questions. Any member of your group may respond during the cross-examination period.

Expressing Key Values

Values play a key role when defining the broad parameters of public policy. What do we believe about ourselves? What matters most to us? When strongly held values come into conflict, which is most important?

The term “values” is not easy to define. Most often, we think of values in connection with our personal lives. Our attitudes toward our families, friends, and communities are a reflection of our personal values. Values play a critical role in our civic life as well. In the United States, the country’s political system and foreign policy have been shaped by a wide range of values. Since the nation’s beginnings a commitment to freedom, democracy, and individual liberty have been a cornerstone of U.S. national identity. At the same time, the high value many U.S. citizens place on justice, equality, and respect for the rights of others rings loudly throughout U.S. history.

For most of the country’s existence, the impulse to spread U.S. values beyond its borders

was outweighed by the desire to remain independent of foreign entanglements. But since World War II, the United States has played a larger role in world affairs than any other nation. At times, U.S. leaders have emphasized the values of human rights and cooperation. On other occasions, the values of stability and security have been stressed.

Some values fit together well. Others are in conflict. U.S. citizens are constantly being forced to choose among competing values in our ongoing debate about foreign policy. Each of the four options revolves around a distinct set of values. The opening paragraphs of your assigned option offer a description of a policy direction grounded in distinct values. Your job is to identify and explain the most important values underlying your option. These values should be clearly expressed by every member of your group. This worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

1. What are the two most important values underlying your option?

a.

b.

2. According to the values of your option, what should be the role of the United States in the world?

3. How do the values of your option guide your option’s policy on terrorism?

UN Members—Issues of Concern

Russia:

For years Russia has battled with Islamic separatists in Chechnya—a region in the southern part of your country. Your government has called these separatists “terrorists.” Russia holds them responsible for the school hostage siege in Beslan that killed nearly 350 innocent civilians, and for other terrorist attacks. You have also accused foreign terrorists of campaigning in Chechnya and leading an invasion into Dagestan, also in southern Russia. For years the United States criticized the Russian army’s use of force in Chechnya. Since September 11, this criticism has been muted. Russia provided the United States with valuable intelligence information as well as military support in Afghanistan. But Russia opposed the war in Iraq. Other important issues loom in your relationship with the United States, including NATO expansion into the Baltic states, important negotiations regarding the control of nuclear weapons, and the U.S. plan for national missile defense. In addition, in recent years, Russia has become one of the world’s important exporters of oil—a development that is beginning to provide your country with sorely-needed economic growth.

Indonesia:

Your country, which consists of nearly fourteen thousand islands, has suffered many years of economic mismanagement and military rule, but remains religiously moderate. Your country spans three thousand miles across the Pacific Ocean and is home to the largest Muslim population in the world. In October 2002, a group known as Jemaah Islamiah (JI) bombed a nightclub in Bali, a popular tourist resort, killing nearly two hundred people. JI has ties to al Qaeda. Since the Bali blast and another bombing at a Marriott Hotel in Jakarta in August 2003, Indonesia has pledged to hunt down and bring terrorists to trial. The difficulty now is in finding the balance between security and democratic freedoms. A panel of Indonesian judges acquitted

Ji’s alleged leader of plotting terrorist attacks, citing fears of retaliation. Most Indonesians believe that the United States has exaggerated the terrorist threat.

India:

Your country has the second largest population in the world and is the world’s largest democracy. While you support the U.S. war against terrorism, new U.S. ties with Pakistan concern you. Your country is locked in a long-term dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir, where Islamic militants have launched attacks for years. In addition, your country believes that Pakistani-based terrorists have been behind a number of deadly bombs in Mumbai and New Dehli in recent months. Current U.S. assistance to Pakistan seems hypocritical to you in light of the war on terrorism. Before September 11, it seemed that U.S.-Indian relations were improving. Now you are not sure. The United States has agreed to sell India advanced defensive military equipment to balance its growing ties with Pakistan. India supports a multilateral effort to restore peace and prosperity in Iraq.

Jordan:

Jordan is considered a pro-Western country in the Middle East. You have a free-trade agreement with the United States. Your country sits in a volatile location, bordering Israel, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Syria. Many of your citizens do not support the U.S. military campaign or U.S. policies in the Middle East. In 1994, you signed an important peace treaty with Israel, though you support the Palestinian people. King Abdullah considered sending troops to help the United States battle Osama bin Laden. The Jordanian Parliament has called for the complete removal of U.S. troops from Iraq so that Iraq can govern itself. Unemployment in Jordan is 13 percent and your economy has been dependent on Iraqi oil and business connections. Your country is only now beginning to recover from the economic

Name: _____

impact of the Gulf War against Iraq in 1991. In November 2005, a terrorist bombing at three hotels in Amman, Jordan killed more than sixty people.

Germany:

As a member of NATO, your government has been a strong supporter of the United States, though two-thirds of the people of your country opposed the military campaign in Afghanistan and hundreds of thousands turned out for protests against the war in Iraq. Germany's opposition to the war severely

strained its relationship with the United States. As a member of NATO and a partner in the reconstruction of Afghanistan, you felt the reconstruction of Iraq should be led by the UN. Germany has cooperated fully with the United States in hunting down terrorists associated with al Qaeda and other Islamic extremists, though you disagree on how to try the suspects. One in five Germans believes the U.S. government had a role in the September 11 attacks.

U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearing on U.S. Policy on Terrorism

Your Role

As a member of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, you consider issues relating to U.S. foreign policy. These hearings will introduce you to four distinct approaches that the United States could take to address international terrorism.

Your Assignment

While the four option groups are organizing their presentations, you should prepare two questions regarding each of the options. Your teacher will collect these questions at the end of Day Four.

Your questions should be challenging and critical. For example, a good question for Option 1 might be:

If the United States is not willing to share leadership with other countries in the war on terrorism, will we lose the cooperation of nations whose help we need?

On Day Four, the four option groups and the UN nations group will present their positions. After their presentations are completed, your teacher will call on you and your fellow committee members to ask questions. The “Evaluation Form” you will receive is designed for you to record your impressions of the option groups. Part I should be filled out in class after the option groups and the UN members have made their presentations. Part II should be completed as homework. After this activity is concluded, you may be called upon to explain your evaluation of the option groups.

Role Playing the Four Options: Debate and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will: Articulate the leading values that frame the debate on U.S. policy.

Identify the perspectives of other nations.

Explore, debate, and evaluate multiple perspectives on U.S. policy.

Sharpen rhetorical skills through debate and discussion.

Cooperate with classmates in staging a persuasive presentation.

Handouts:

“Evaluation Form” (TRB-38) for the committee members

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage—Organize the room so that the four option groups face a row of desks reserved for the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the UN members group. Distribute “Evaluation Form” to the committee members. Instruct members of the committee to fill out the first part of their “Evaluation Form” during the course of the period. The second part of the worksheet should be completed as homework.

2. Managing the Simulation—Explain that the simulation will begin with three- to five-minute presentations by each of the option groups, followed by the presentations from the UN members. Encourage the group members to speak clearly and convincingly.

3. Guiding Discussion—Following the presentations, invite members of the U.S.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee to ask cross-examination questions. Make sure that each committee member has an opportunity to ask at least one question. The questions should be evenly distributed among all four option groups. If time permits, encourage members of the option groups to challenge the positions of the other groups and invite comments from representatives of the UN members. During cross-examination, allow any option group member to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit cross-examination following the presentation of each option.)

Homework:

Students should read each of the four options in the student text (pages 34-41), then moving beyond these options they should fill out “Focusing Your Thoughts” (TRB-40) and complete “Your Option Five” (TRB-41).

Note:

The consideration of alternative views is not finished when the options role play is over. The options presented are framed in stark terms in order to clarify differences. After the role play, students should articulate their own views on the issue and create their own options for U.S. policy. These views will be more sophisticated and nuanced if students have had an opportunity to challenge one another to think more critically about the merits and trade-offs of alternative views. See Guidelines for Deliberation <www.choices.edu/deliberation> for suggestions on deliberation.

Evaluation Form

Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate

Briefly summarize each option.

Option 1:
Option 2:
Option 3:
Option 4:

What was the most persuasive argument presented in favor of this option?

Option 1

Option 2

Option 3

Option 4

What was the most persuasive argument presented against this option?

Option 1

Option 2

Option 3

Option 4

Which option group presented its option most effectively? Explain your answer.

Which UN member presented its nation's position most effectively? Explain your answer.

Joining the Debate on U.S. Policy

Objectives:

Students will: Articulate coherent recommendations for U.S. policy on terrorism based on personally-held values and historical understanding.

Apply their policy recommendations to hypothetical crises.

Identify the leading values and trade-offs in the current policy debate.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the four options in the student text (pages 34-41) and completed “Focusing Your Thoughts” (TRB-40) and “Your Option Five” (TRB-41).

Handouts:

“Coping with Crisis” (TRB-42)

In the Classroom:

1. Analyzing Beliefs—Call on members of the Senate committee to share their evaluations of the option groups. Which arguments were most convincing? Which beliefs were most appealing? What were the main concerns addressed by each of the options? By the UN members?

2. Comparing Viewpoints—Students should have completed “Your Option Five” prior to class. Invite them to share their policy recommendations with the class. Encourage them to clarify the connection between their values and their policy recommendations. What values resonate most strongly among the students? Ask them to identify the beliefs in “Focusing Your Thoughts” that they most strongly support. What are the potential trade-offs of their options? Ask students to compare the recommendations of class members with

current U.S. policy. How would their policy recommendations change U.S. policy regarding terrorism?

3. Applying Student Options—Distribute “Coping with Crisis” to each student. Lead the class in reading the first hypothetical crisis. Call on students who presented their Option Five to respond to the scenario from the perspective of their options. Invite others to assess the responses. Are they consistent with the principles that the students articulated earlier? What are the potential threats and opportunities posed by the crisis? How would U.S. leaders, past and present, respond to the crisis? Encourage other students to challenge the views of their classmates. Review the two remaining hypothetical crises, inviting participation from the entire class.

Suggestions:

Allow students to work in pairs or small groups before sharing their responses to the hypothetical crises. Students will discuss each crisis in their small group but respond to each individually, as they will draw from their own option to do so. After students have responded to each crisis, bring the class together to share responses.

Extra Challenge:

As homework, instruct students to write a letter to a member of Congress or the president on their ideas for U.S. policy concerning international terrorism. The first part of the letter should summarize the ideas expressed in the first three questions of “Your Option Five.” In the second part, students should offer their recommendations for U.S. policy toward pressing issues in the struggle against terrorism.

Focusing Your Thoughts

Instructions: You have had an opportunity to consider four options for U.S. policy toward terrorism. Now it is your turn to look at each of the options from your own perspective. Try each one on for size. Think about how the options address your concerns and hopes. You will find that each has its own risks and trade-offs, advantages and disadvantages. After you complete this worksheet, you will be asked to develop your own option for U.S. policy toward terrorism.

Ranking the Options

Which of the options below do you prefer? Rank the options from “1” to “4,” with “1” being your first choice.

- ___ Option 1: Direct an Expanded Assault on Terrorism
- ___ Option 2: Support UN Leadership to Fight Terrorism
- ___ Option 3: Defend the Homeland
- ___ Option 4: Address the Underlying Causes of Terrorism

Beliefs

Rate each of the statements below according to your personal beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support 2 = Support 3 = Oppose 4 = Strongly Oppose

- ___ As part of a world community, the United States must cooperate with other nations to address international problems.
- ___ Meddling in the local affairs of other countries is counter-productive and dangerous.
- ___ Promoting U.S. values abroad is a necessary part of building a more peaceful world.
- ___ The United States must formulate long-term foreign policy goals that govern its short-term decisions.
- ___ U.S. values of freedom, democracy, and open markets will inevitably make the United States a target of hostility from people opposed to the U.S. way of life.
- ___ Political disputes and cultural differences should not prevent the United States from cooperating with other countries to achieve U.S. foreign policy goals.
- ___ The United States must be willing to anticipate further problems and act preemptively to keep the world safe for the United States and its allies.
- ___ As one of the world’s wealthiest countries, the United States has a responsibility to address the poverty and despair of the world’s less fortunate.
- ___ Terrorism threatens freedom, democracy, and the rule of law.
- ___ The U.S. response to terrorism must not diminish its commitment to the rule of law.

Creating Your Own Option

Your next assignment is to create an option that reflects your own beliefs and opinions. You may borrow heavily from one option, or you may combine ideas from two or three options. Or you may take a new approach altogether. There are, of course, no perfect solutions. And there is no right or wrong answer. Rather, you should strive to craft an option that is logical and persuasive. Be careful of contradictions. For example, the United States cannot devote most of its resources to addressing domestic problems while also funding a major military build-up to fight terrorism overseas.

Coping with Crisis

Instructions: Terrorism is known for its unpredictability and violence. In this exercise, you are asked to decide how the United States should respond to three hypothetical crises. Consider how the United States should respond both domestically and internationally to the problem. You should use your answers to the “Your Option Five” worksheet as a guide in developing your recommendations.

Crisis #1 — U.S. Oil Ports and Saudi Arabia Hit In an apparently coordinated attack, two explosions at ports on the East and West Coasts of the United States have crippled significant portions of the nation’s oil distribution system. The al Qaeda network has taken credit for the attack. A bomb in an oil tanker moored at the port of Long Beach, California detonated, starting a fire that is still raging and has spread throughout the port. (Long Beach provides California with 25 percent of its oil.) A similar explosion has occurred at Port Everglades, Florida, where nearly four billion gallons of gasoline are stored in tanks above ground. There have been simultaneous attacks on oil production facilities in Saudi Arabia and Russia. The price of oil has doubled. The economic health of the U.S. and the world is threatened. Anti-American demonstrations have started in Saudi Arabia and Egypt. World leaders fear increasing political and economic instability.

How should the United States respond?

Crisis #2 — Smallpox is Detected An outbreak of smallpox has been detected in New York City. Medical doctors have been on heightened alert since the detection of anthrax in the postal system in the fall of 2001. They were able quickly to alert other hospitals and

the Center for Disease Control. While only six people have been diagnosed with the disease, experts are concerned that it will spread rapidly through the population. The six have been quarantined in the hospital, but doctors caution that further outbreaks are likely. Experts warn that a crash vaccination program using the available doses in the United States (there are enough for the entire country) and limiting contact between people is the only way to contain this highly lethal and contagious disease. But vaccinations are not without risk, as the side effects can sometimes be life-threatening. Several nations throughout the world have called for closing their borders to U.S. citizens. Other countries have warned their citizens not to travel to the United States. While the disease was eliminated decades ago, intelligence experts point out that a long list of countries possess biological weapons, including the United States, Russia, Israel, Iran, China, North Korea, and Taiwan.

How should the United States respond?

Crisis #3 — U.S. Embassy Occupied—Nuclear Weapons Threat The United States embassy in Paris has been taken over by a group of heavily-armed men. They have shot and killed several French policemen and U.S. Marines. They are currently holding the ambassador and thirty staff members hostage. They are demanding that the United States withdraw its forces from Iraq. Most chillingly, they warn that they have stolen three nuclear devices and have hidden them in large cities in the United States, Europe, and Asia. Any police or military effort to free the hostages at the embassy will result in the detonation of these weapons.

How should the United States respond?

Key Terms

Introduction and Part I

weapons of mass destruction
 state
 means and ends
 state-sponsored terrorism
 diplomatic privileges

Part II

culture
 use of force
 economy
 oil resources
 coalition
 preemption
 unilateralism
 trade
 foreign policy
 intelligence information
 democracy
 human rights
 engagement
 foreign aid
 trade relations
 political reform
 regional security
 sanctions

Part III

weaponization
 economic landscape
 money laundering
 sovereignty
 NATO
 civil defense
 strategic alliance
 infrastructure
 checks and balances
 unilateralism
 multilateralism

Terrorism Issues Toolbox

Cold War:

The Cold War dominated foreign policy for the United States and Russia between the late 1940s and the late 1980s. Following the defeat of Hitler in 1945, Soviet-U.S. relations began to deteriorate. The United States adopted a policy of containing the spread of Soviet communism around the world, which led, among other things, to U.S. involvement in Vietnam. During this period, both the Soviet Union and the United States devoted vast resources to their militaries but never engaged in direct military action against each other. Because both the Soviet Union and the United States had nuclear weapons and were in competition around the world, nearly every foreign policy decision was intricately examined for its potential impact on U.S.-Soviet relations. The end of the Cold War in the late 1980s forced policymakers to try to define a new guiding purpose for their foreign policy. The struggle against terrorism may provide that new focus.

Globalization:

The term globalization is used to describe today's changing international environment. The end of the Cold War and the rapid growth of new technologies in computing, communication, and transportation have created the conditions for a highly dynamic and more open world economy. With these technological advances, the cost of doing business around the world has dropped significantly. At the same time, the conclusion of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the formation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1993 encouraged increased trade between nations. These conditions created not only economic opportunity but also economic, cultural, and social dislocation. While the WTO has set standards for international trade that create economic opportunities, activists have begun to demand that the WTO also deal with the issues of dislocation. Globalization has come to be seen as a positive force by some and a destructive force by others.

The United Nations:

The creation of the United Nations began in the midst of a world war. The United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China agreed to create a new international organization in October 1943—only a few months after the tide had turned in the war against Germany and Japan. The four Allies that met in 1943, along with France, were largely responsible for the development of the UN's structure. In June 1945, they were among the fifty-five nations that signed the UN Charter in San Francisco. The United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, and China became permanent members of the UN's Security Council, the new organization's executive body. The Security Council was given primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. Each of the five permanent members of the Security Council held the right to veto UN decisions. The veto system was conceived as a safety valve that would allow the great powers to disagree without threatening the UN's existence. The framers of the UN hoped that the permanent members of the Security Council would share a common interest in maintaining global peace and spelled out procedures for resolving conflict in the UN Charter.

Chapters VI and VII of the UN Charter spell out procedures for resolving conflict. Chapter VI outlines the role of the UN in the peaceful settlement of disputes, while chapter VII describes the means for enforcing UN efforts to stop conflict and aggression. Under Chapter VII, the Security Council has the authority to call upon UN members to cut their economic, transportation, communication, and diplomatic ties with an aggressive government. More significantly, Chapter VII empowers the Security Council to take military action “to maintain or restore international peace and security” and calls for UN members to make forces available to carry out the Security Council's decisions.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

This section of the Teacher Resource Book offers suggestions for teachers as they adapt Choices curricula on current issues to their classrooms. They are drawn from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms and from educational research on student-centered instruction.

Managing the Choices Simulation

A central activity of every Choices unit is the role play simulation in which students advocate different options and question each other. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts momentum. The best strategy for managing the role play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Fostering Group Deliberation

The consideration of alternative views is not finished when the options role play is over. The options presented are framed in stark terms in order to clarify differences. In the end, students should be expected to articulate their own views on the issue. These views will be more sophisticated and nuanced if students have had an opportunity to challenge one another to think more critically about the merits and trade-offs of alternative views. See *Guidelines for Deliberation* <www.choices.edu/deliberation> for suggestions on deliberation.

Adjusting for Students of Differing Abilities

Teachers of students at all levels—from middle school to AP—have used Choices materials successfully. Many teachers make adjustments to the materials for their students. Here are some suggestions:

- Go over vocabulary and concepts with visual tools such as concept maps and word pictures.
- Require students to answer guiding questions in text as checks for understanding.
- Shorten reading assignments; cut and paste sections.
- Combine reading with political cartoon analysis, map analysis, or movie-watching.
- Read some sections of the readings out loud.
- Ask students to create graphic organizers for sections of the reading, or fill in ones you have partially completed.
- Supplement with different types of readings, such as from literature or text books.
- Ask student groups to create a bumper sticker, PowerPoint presentation, or collage representing their option.
- Do only some activities and readings from the unit rather than all of them.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another option is to combine two small classes.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Students and teachers both know that group grades can be motivating for students, while at the same time they can create controversy. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It is also important to give individual grades for groupwork assignments in order to recognize an individual's contribution to the group. The "Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations" on the following page is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an effective way to encourage them to think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Evaluating Students' Original Options: One important outcome of a Choices current

issues unit are the original options developed and articulated by each student after the role play. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints.

The students' options should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the student provide reasons for his/her viewpoint along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the student identify the risks involved? Did the student present his/her option in a convincing manner?

Testing: Research shows that students using the Choices approach learn the factual information presented as well as or better than from lecture-discussion format. Students using Choices curricula demonstrate a greater ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. A variety of types of testing questions and assessment devices can require students to demonstrate critical thinking and historical understanding.

For Further Reading

Daniels, Harvey, and Marilyn Bizar. *Teaching the Best Practice Way: Methods That Matter, K-12*. Portland, Maine: Stenhouse Publishers, 2005.

Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

Group assignment: _____

Group members: _____

Group Assessment	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Needs Improvement</i>	<i>Unsatisfactory</i>
1. The group made good use of its preparation time	5	4	3	2	1
2. The presentation reflected analysis of the issues under consideration	5	4	3	2	1
3. The presentation was coherent and persuasive	5	4	3	2	1
4. The group incorporated relevant sections of the reading into its presentation	5	4	3	2	1
5. The group's presenters spoke clearly, maintained eye contact, and made an effort to hold the attention of their audience	5	4	3	2	1
6. The presentation incorporated contributions from all the members of the group	5	4	3	2	1
 Individual Assessment					
1. The student cooperated with other group members	5	4	3	2	1
2. The student was well-prepared to meet his or her responsibilities	5	4	3	2	1
3. The student made a significant contribution to the group's presentation	5	4	3	2	1

Alternative Three Day Lesson Plan

Day 1:

See Day Two of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan. (Students should have read the Introduction and Part II of the reading and completed “Study Guide—Part II” before beginning the unit.)

Day 2:

Assign each student one of the four options, and allow a few minutes for students to familiarize themselves with the mindsets of the options. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned options. How do the options differ in their assumptions about the U.S. role in the world? How would U.S. policy regarding terrorism change if their assigned options were adopted? Moving beyond the options, ask students to imagine they have been called on to advise the president on U.S. strategy regarding terrorism. What concerns would be at the top of their agenda? Which values should guide the direction of U.S. foreign policy?

Homework: Students should complete “Focusing Your Thoughts” and “Your Option Five.”

Day 3:

See Day Five of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

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Colonialism in Africa ■ Weimar Germany ■ China
U.S. Constitutional Convention ■ New England Slavery
War of 1812 ■ Spanish American War
League of Nations ■ FDR and Isolationism
Hiroshima ■ Origins of the Cold War
Cuban Missile Crisis ■ Vietnam War

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Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy

Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy addresses the issues arising from the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Students are drawn into consideration of the changing nature of terrorism, motivations of terrorists, and the implications for U.S. domestic and international policy.

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