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# Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy



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## The Choices Program

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The Choices Program is a program of the Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs and the School of Professional 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.

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# *Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy*

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**ENGIN AKARLI**

Joukowsky Family Distinguished Professor of Modern Middle Eastern History Emeritus, Brown University

**PETER ANDREAS**

Professor of Political Science and International Studies  
Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs  
Brown University

**THOMAS BIERSTEKER**

Professor of Political Science  
Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies

**JAMES G. BLIGHT**

CIGI Chair in Foreign Policy Development  
Balsillie School of International Affairs  
and Department of History  
University of Waterloo

**NETA CRAWFORD**

Professor of Political Science  
Boston University

**MARK GARRISON**

Former Director  
Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs  
Brown University

**ABBOTT GLEASON**

Barnaby Conrad & Mary Critchfield Keeney Professor of History, Emeritus, Brown University

**P. TERRENCE HOPMANN**

Professor of International Relations  
Johns Hopkins University

**JANET LANG**

Research Professor  
Balsillie School of International Affairs  
and Department of History  
University of Waterloo

**JO-ANNE HART**

Adjunct Professor  
Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs  
Brown University  
Professor, Lesley University

**LINDA B. MILLER**

Professor of Political Science, Emerita, Wellesley College  
Former Adjunct Professor of Internal Studies  
Brown University

**NINA TANNENWALD**

Director, International Relations Program  
Senior Lecturer, Department of Political Science  
Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs,  
Brown University

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## The Choices Program

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Director

Susan Graseck

International Education Intern

Mackenzie Abernethy

Office Assistant

Tracy Andrews-Maziarz

Curriculum Development Director

Andy Blackadar

International Education Intern

Camisia Glasgow

Communications & Marketing

Jillian McGuire Turbitt

Professional Development Director

Mimi Stephens

International Education Intern

Lindsay Turchan

Manager of the Digital Media Group

Tanya Waldburger

Curriculum Writer

Susannah Bechtel

Administrative Manager

Kathleen Magiera

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The World Trade Center, New York. September 11, 2001, immediately after the al Qaeda terrorist attack. In the days that followed, people struggled to understand what had happened. The mainland of the United States had not been attacked since the War of 1812. Not since the Civil War had so many people in the United States been killed in a single day. More than three thousand people died, making September 11 the most devastating terrorist attack in history.



## 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. Within minutes, another airliner filled with passengers crashed into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. and another into the ground in Pennsylvania. There was little doubt that the United States was under attack. Nearly three thousand people died.

September 11 was a vital moment for U.S. policy. The U.S. government changed its foreign policy, leading wars in Afghanistan and Iraq that it claimed were necessary to fight terrorism. Changes also took place at home. September 11 created a climate of fear and uncertainty. The U.S. government passed laws and developed programs that it argued protected security but that critics argued violated the Constitution.

Although September 11, 2001 marked a pivotal moment for many people, terrorism did not begin or end that day. Terrorism has a long history in the modern era, and the rise of the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq (ISIS) reminds us that terrorism persists throughout the world. Understanding and responding to terrorism requires governments and citizens to grapple with major questions about policy, security, liberty, religious and racial understanding, human rights, and many other complex issues.

The likelihood of a U.S. citizen dying at the hands of a terrorist is 1 in 3.5 million. In actuality, Americans are far more likely to die in a car accident or to be the victims of a homicide. At the same time, terrorism continues to take a major toll on people in many other countries. The brutality of terrorism, as well as the fear and uncertainty it creates, makes it an issue that demands the attention of people around the world.

September 11 and other high-profile attacks by Muslim terrorists have also led some people in the United States to express anti-Muslim viewpoints, engage in racial profiling, commit hate crimes against Muslims, and oppose immigration from Muslim-majority countries. Fed by the claims of terrorists who say they act in the name of their religion, fear and anti-Muslim sentiment have grown. Some politicians in the United States have called for the United States to close its borders to Muslims. Others have spoken out against this approach, calling instead for tolerance for people of all backgrounds and a more nuanced understanding of the threat of terrorism. The threat of terrorism has raised critical questions about liberty, tolerance, and security.

***“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

In the following pages, you will consider the course the United States should take in response to terrorism. In Part I of the reading, you will examine the historical origins and evolution of terrorism as well as its purposes. Part II explores the threat that terrorism poses today and considers both international and homegrown threats. In Part III, you will be confronted with the same questions facing U.S. policy makers: What is the best way to respond to terrorism? How great is the threat? What should 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 on fire or attacks by Muslim extremists in the Middle East. But, terrorism is neither new nor confined to the Middle East or Muslim extremists.

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

### **What is terrorism?**

Experts struggle to agree on a definition of terrorism. The U.S. State Department defines terrorism as politically motivated violence directed at civilians and perpetrated by nonstate groups.

Some argue that this definition of terrorism is too narrow. They claim that definitions of terrorism should include violence that governments perpetrate against civilians. For example, many argue that state violence during the French Revolution was a form of terrorism. From 1793 to 1794, during what became known as “The Reign of Terror,” the revolutionary government harnessed its power to eradicate its enemies and arrested or executed thousands of people. Similarly, some experts claim that the Soviet Union under Josef Stalin used terrorism to strike fear into the hearts of its citizens. During Stalin’s reign, dissent was repressed, millions were executed, and tens of millions were arrested and impris-

### **Part I Definitions**

**State**—A state is an entity that has a defined territory and a permanent population under the control of its own government. A state controls its territory and its nationals. States can enter into international agreements, join international organizations, and pursue and be subject to legal remedies.

**Nonstate Actors**—Historically, international politics has focused on national governments. In recent decades, groups and individuals have played a greater role in international relations. These groups and individuals (such as businesses, charities, individuals, or even terrorist organizations), are called nonstate actors.

oned. Some twenty million Soviets died. This period of Soviet history has been referred to as “The Great Terror.”

Others argue that the definition of terrorism should not be limited to acts against civilian targets. Instead, they claim that violence against political leaders and targets can be a form of terrorism. For example, some argue that the violence of Anarchist International in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries should be classified as terrorism. 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, the empress of Austria in 1898, and U.S. President William McKinley in 1901.

Nearly all experts agree that terror has always been used as a violent 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.

## Terror Becomes More Visible

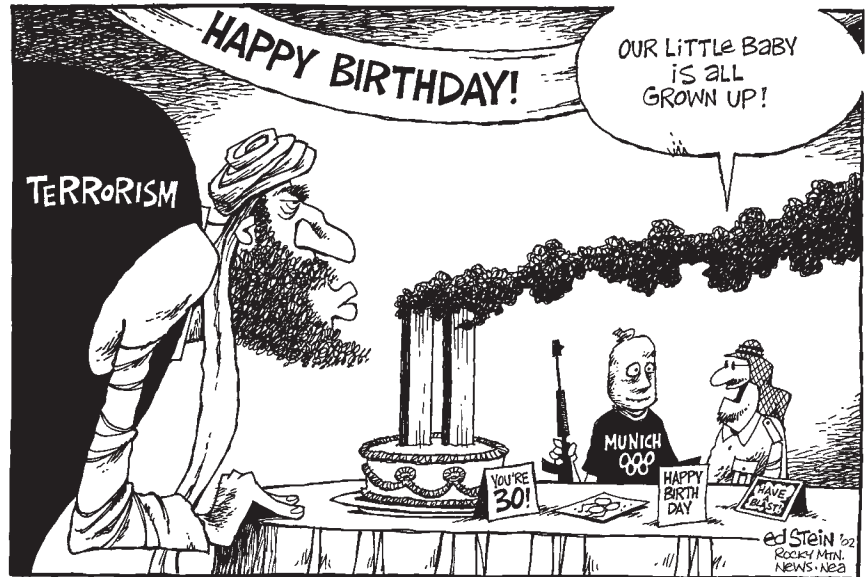
After World War II, terrorism spread as a political instrument of revolutionaries seeking independence from colonial powers, and those struggling for self-determination. For example, the states of Israel, Kenya, and Algeria owe their independence in part to nationalist political groups that used terrorism against colonial powers.

It is important to note that groups that use terror tactics do not necessarily have international aims. Groups may have strictly national goals, such a change in government in their home country or ending an occupation. Others may have both national and international aims. For many people today, the current conception of international 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 Munich, Germany, a 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 to leave 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. Terrorists began to understand that they could capture the world's attention if they chose the right targets—the wider the audience, the greater the impact of their actions.



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

***“In our assessment, and in light of the result, we have made one of the best achievements in Palestinian commando action.... The Olympiad arouses the people’s interest and attention more than anything else in the world. The choice of the Olympics, from the purely propagandistic view-point, was 100 percent successful. It was like painting the name of Palestine on a mountain that can be seen from the four corners of the earth.”***

—Black September, September 13, 1972

The events of Munich made a lasting impact. Terrorism became more prominent in the world's consciousness. Throughout the 1970s, terrorism experts concluded that when terrorists acted, they did not necessarily 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 addressing specific types of terrorist activity, including aircraft sabotage and hijacking, attacks on diplomats, and hostage taking. Despite these efforts, state-sponsored terrorism,



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A memorial to the Israeli athletes killed by terrorists at the 1972 Munich Olympics. In German and Hebrew, the memorial lists their names and reads, “The team of the state of Israel lived in this building during the 20th Olympic Summer Games from 21 August to 5 September 1972. On September 5, they died a violent death. Honor their memory.”

in which states provide 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 claimed to be acting without their government’s support, but many people questioned whether this was truly the case. The world’s attention remained focused on Tehran throughout the crisis. Night after night, television broadcasts devoted programs to the day’s developments. After more than a year in captivity, the U.S. government negotiated the release of the hostages.

Whether the Iranian government actually supported the students or not, weaker states realized that supporting terrorist groups

provided an effective way 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. Also, the availability of the state’s more sophisticated weaponry sharply increased the lethality of terrorism.

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

State sponsorship of terrorism can include a range of activities that include helping to



plan and carry out attacks, supplying weapons and training, and providing safe havens out of view of the international community.

The United States has taken a range of measures against states it believes sponsor terror. It has applied economic punishments, such as embargoes and sanctions. It has also taken military action to deter terrorism. The effectiveness of military action has been low. For example, in 1986, the United States led airstrikes in Libya in response to the bombing of a disco in Berlin, Germany by Libyan agents. The disco was popular with U.S. soldiers, and the bombing had killed two and wounded two hundred. Instead of deterring further Libyan terrorist acts, the U.S. bombing of Libya was followed by an increased number of Libyan-sponsored attacks against U.S. citizens. Two years after the airstrikes, Libyan-backed terrorists bombed Pan Am flight 103, which was traveling from Germany to the United States, killing 259 passengers and eleven people on the ground when it crashed in Scotland.

Furthermore, despite careful planning, the U.S. airstrikes against Libya killed thirty-six civilians and wounded ninety-three. Critics of the action noted that killing civilians lost the United States the moral high ground it claimed to hold above terrorists.

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

While state sponsorship made terrorism increasingly deadly, another worrying trend in terrorism began to emerge in the 1980s. In 1980, the U.S. State Department's list of international terrorist groups included only one group with a religious affiliation. By 2016, more than half of the fifty-eight international terrorist groups identified by the State Department had some religious affiliation or ideology.

Even prior to the attacks of September 11, 2001, some terrorism experts attributed the increasing lethality of terrorism to attacks by groups motivated by religious extremism.

Most of the religious terrorist groups active in the last twenty-five years were motivated

by the belief that something had 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. These groups believe violence is authorized by God and necessary to advance their cause. In the terrorist's mind, the stakes are so high and the cause so virtuous that any means may be justified to achieve the ends.

### ***What are some examples of religiously motivated terrorism?***

The following are four examples of major terrorist attacks by religiously motivated groups.

#### **The First World Trade Center Bombing:**

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

An extremist Muslim 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 then-president, Hosni 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 American city: New York. Eight-and-a-half years later, this same symbolism made the towers targets again.

**Baruch Goldstein:** On February 25, 1994, during Islam's holy month of Ramadan, Dr. Baruch Goldstein entered the Ibrahimi 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 twenty-nine people and wounded 150 before being killed.

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.

Some 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 against Palestinian Arabs and 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.

**Aum Shinrikyo:** On 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



Dale Summers in *The Orlando Sentinel*. Reprinted with permission.

minutes, people on the trains began choking and vomiting. Passengers stumbled out of the trains and collapsed on the platforms in convulsions. Eventually, twelve people died and over 5,500 were injured. 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 that 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 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 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, refused to apologize for his crimes. According to him, they were part of a just revolution against the U.S. government.

Snell belonged to 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 defenders 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 the day Snell was executed, 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 attack, 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 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.

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

As the violence caused by terrorism grew, U.S. government officials became deeply concerned during the 1990s. It seemed that terrorists did not only want a lot of people watching their acts of terrorism—they now 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.

***“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 threats of terrorism. As you read, keep in mind that when you have finished the reading you will be asked to formulate your own U.S. policy on terrorism.



## Part II: The Threat of Terrorism

The U.S. government recognizes al Qaeda, ISIS, and the terrorist groups and individuals they have inspired as a threat to U.S. national security. Law enforcement officials are also concerned about the rising number of violent anti-government extremists within the United States.

One of the primary aims of terror attacks is to create a climate of fear and uncertainty. This uncertainty raises important questions. How great is the threat of terrorism in the United States and around the world? In what ways has terrorism increasingly become a global concern? How has homegrown terrorism in the United States become a growing problem? With many foreign and domestic issues facing the United States, it is important for policy makers and U.S. citizens to understand the actual threat that terrorism poses to the United States today.

### *Why is the United States a target?*

For many in the United States, the threat of terrorism raises the question, “Why us?”



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

### Part II Definitions

**Islamophobia**—Islamophobia refers to unsubstantiated hatred, fear, and discrimination directed at Muslims or people perceived to be Muslim.

**Network**—Networks link together individuals or groups that share information, ideas, and resources. Networks help people organize ideas, mobilize support for particular causes, and connect economic and military systems. Technology allows networks to form across the globe—spanning political, economic, religious, and cultural boundaries.

No explanation will ever justify the murder of innocent people. But, it is important to try to understand some of the reasons why terrorists might choose to target the United States.

The United States is one of the most powerful and most visible nations in the world. U.S. military involvement in the Middle East and U.S. support of Israel continues to fuel anger against the United States in that region. In

addition, the United States sometimes supports dictatorships and governments guilty of human rights abuses in order to promote U.S. political, economic, or security interests. In some cases, extremist religious and political movements are able to harness resentment of U.S. policies to recruit members.

Within the United States, rapidly changing economic and political environments, fear of government intrusion, and racist ideologies have led to anxiety about the future and the rise of extremist militant groups.

Bill Schorr. United Media Services. Reprinted with permission.

### ***How is terrorism a global problem?***

While the threat of terrorism remains a concern for people around the world, there are certain regions that have seen a far greater share of terror attacks in recent years. Terrorism is a bigger threat to people in countries outside of the United States. In particular, countries in the Middle East, East and West Africa, and South Asia have been plagued by many more terror attacks than countries in other regions. In many cases, this terrorism is increasing. For example, in Pakistan there were nineteen suicide attacks in 2015, compared to only two in 2003. In 2014, 1,757 Pakistani civilians were killed in terror attacks, compared to 140 in 2003. More than twenty thousand civilians in Pakistan have died in terrorist attacks since 2003.

Despite the terrorist activities of the past decade, many countries have also successfully thwarted terror plots. Many countries, including the United States, have allocated many more resources to addressing this threat, and the work of their intelligence, security, and law enforcement agencies has helped prevent numerous terror attacks. For example, in 2006, joint efforts of British, U.S., and Pakistani intelligence sources foiled a plot to detonate liquid explosives on as many as ten flights from London to North America. The British police had been monitoring the suspected terrorists for months and arrested the men in their homes before they could carry out the attacks. Today, airline passengers are restricted in the amount of liquid they can bring aboard planes because of this plot.

Other attacks have been stopped as they were unfolding. For example, in December 2001 the passengers and crew of an American Airlines flight from Paris to Miami managed to prevent a British man from setting off a bomb in his shoe. Similarly, in December 2009, passengers overpowered a man trying to detonate a bomb in his underwear on a flight from Amsterdam to Detroit.

### **Al Qaeda**

In the weeks following the September 11 attacks, the United States identified Osama bin Laden's al Qaeda network as responsible for the violence. The attacks and bin Laden's public statements about his motivations increased public concern about terrorism and Muslim extremists.

September 11 was not the first time bin Laden and al Qaeda organized attacks against the United States. Al Qaeda claimed responsibility for the attacks on the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in 1998. Other reports linked bin Laden and al Qaeda to the killing of U.S. troops in Somalia in 1993, the bombing and deaths of U.S. military personnel in Saudi Arabia in 1996, and the attack on the USS *Cole* in a Yemeni harbor by suicide bombers in 2000 that killed nineteen U.S. sailors.

### ***Why did al Qaeda wage a terror campaign against the United States?***

Osama bin Laden, a Saudi born multi-millionaire, formed the al Qaeda terrorist organization in the late 1980s. Al Qaeda (loosely translated as "the base") is made up of extremist militants who aim to rid Muslim-majority countries of U.S. influence and replace those governments with a caliphate (a medieval term for an Islamic state) that follows an extreme and intolerant interpretation of Sunni Islam. (Sunnis are the largest sect of Islam.)

In the 1990s and 2000s, Osama bin Laden made a number of public statements giving his justifications for attacks against U.S. citizens. He expressed anger about U.S. involvement in the Middle East, particularly U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia, the sacred lands of Islam. He also objected to U.S. policy towards Iraq and U.S. support of Israel. Bin Laden and his followers believed that U.S. actions in the Middle East amounted to a declaration of war by the United States on God and Muslims.

**“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, February 22, 1997

### ***How did al Qaeda’s terrorist acts contribute to increased fears about Islam?***

Osama bin Laden used his beliefs about Islam to explain his motivations for attacking the United States. Similarly, many other terrorist organizations have used an extremist interpretation of Islam to defend of their actions.

For many around the world, this has raised concerns about Islam. Some have wondered whether there are justifications for terrorism and violence within Islam. In contrast, many Muslims in the United States and around the world worry that their religion would be wrongly associated with the beliefs of extremists. Some experts warn that increasing suspicion of Islam that creates a hostile environment for Muslims helps extremists achieve one of their primary goals: inciting fear and division that leads to conflict around the world.

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.) Throughout much of history, Muslims have lived peacefully with followers of other religions. For example, in the late fifteenth century, many Jews fled persecution in Christian Europe and found the Muslim Ottoman Empire to be more

tolerant. Islam permits the use of force in self-defense, but not the killing of civilians.

Since September 11, 2001, numerous important Islamic clerics from many branches of Islam and different countries have strongly condemned bin Laden and other extremists’ acts of violence. In a poll of people in thirty-five predominantly Muslim countries in 2008, more than 90 percent condemned bin Laden’s terrorist acts.

Since September 11, there has also been a rise in anti-Muslim sentiment in the United States, or Islamophobia, which has led to a rise in hate crimes and violent acts against U.S. Muslims.

### ***How strong is al Qaeda today?***

On May 1, 2011 U.S. special forces attacked a compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan and killed Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden had eluded U.S. forces for years.

Today, al Qaeda continues to plan attacks, but experts argue that al Qaeda’s ability to inspire other radical terrorist groups and individuals is its greatest strength. Al Qaeda has changed from a structured and bureaucratic organization into an ideological movement made up of a network of loosely linked groups and individuals throughout the world. Over the years, several other militant organizations from places like Yemen, Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, and Bangladesh have joined al Qaeda. Many other terrorist organizations have made connections with this network.

### ***What are ISIS and Boko Haram?***

Although bin Laden’s death weakened al Qaeda’s core leadership, terror attacks by al

## **What is *jihad*?**

Osama bin Laden often described his campaign against the United States as a form of *jihad*. This term, often associated with Islam and violence, is open to interpretation. Scholars point out that *jihad*, 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. Nevertheless, in recent years, the idea of *jihad* and the term *jihadist* have been commonly used to describe Muslim terrorists and extremists.

Qaeda affiliates and by individuals and groups inspired by the organization continue to pose a significant threat. For example, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) is an offshoot of al Qaeda. ISIS uses terrorist tactics to target Shi'i Muslims and members of other religious groups in Syria and Iraq. ISIS has also inspired terrorist attacks in the United States and Europe.

Another one of these groups, Boko Haram, is an organization that many suggest had affiliations with al Qaeda before pledging allegiance to ISIS in 2015. Boko Haram has perpetrated countless terror attacks in West Africa, mostly in northern Nigeria. As of November 2015, it was the world's deadliest terror group. In 2014 alone, Boko Haram killed 6,664 people in attacks.

## International Terrorism

Globalization and advances in communication and technology have both increased and transformed the threat from terrorism in recent decades. Transportation moves an ever-increasing number of people across borders, the internet has led to an explosion in global communication, and technological advances have made weapons more deadly. Terrorist organizations now use social media to spread their ideas and recruit new members. Would-be terrorists can travel relatively easily to attend terrorist training camps.

***“In today’s globalizing world, terrorists can reach their targets more easily, their targets are exposed in more places, and news and ideas that inflame people to resort to terrorism spread more widely and rapidly than in the past.”***

—Paul R. Pillar, CIA official, 2001

### ***How do terrorist groups use social media?***

Extremist groups today frequently use social media and the internet to recruit new members and spread fear. Posting propaganda online is a powerful strategy because it allows terrorist groups to spread their messages

around the world in a matter of minutes. For example, one study estimated that by 2015, 27,000 people from eighty-six countries had gone to Syria or Iraq to join ISIS. ISIS fighters managed to recruit many of these people by establishing connections with them via social media.

Even for those who never travel to Syria or Iraq to join ISIS, ISIS materials posted online may provide inspiration for “lone-wolf” attackers (those who carry out attacks without training or orders) or for fighters living abroad carrying out ISIS-directed terror attacks.

Equally importantly, ISIS has also used technology to spread fear. It was not until ISIS posted execution videos of hostages online in June 2014 that the mainstream U.S. media began to focus a great deal of coverage on the terrorist group.

ISIS is not the only terrorist group that disseminates its message using social media and other online tools; right-wing groups in the United States also recruit members and spread their ideas in this way.

### ***In which countries is terrorism a growing problem?***

In recent years, the United States has placed particular emphasis on the growing terrorist threat in five countries: Pakistan, Somalia, Yemen, Nigeria, and Syria. All five are countries without strong central governments where terrorists could easily hide, recruit new members, or plan future attacks.

**Pakistan:** Pakistan has been an important ally of the United States in the war against al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. At the same time, Pakistan is plagued by violence from terrorist groups. The leadership of both al Qaeda and the Afghan Taliban live in Pakistan. Numerous local militant groups also contribute to violence and insecurity there.

The relationship between Pakistan's government and local terrorist groups is complex. Pakistan has supported some of these terrorist groups in order to further its regional interests. Despite these connections, Pakistan is not able



to control the groups within its borders. As the Pakistani government has taken a stronger stance against militants in recent years, security forces and political leaders are finding themselves the targets of terrorist violence. In December 2003, Pakistan's president at the time, Pervez Musharraf, survived two assassination attempts by militants. Benazir Bhutto, Pakistan's former prime minister, was assassinated in 2008 for her strong anti-militant stance. As terror attacks in Pakistan have increased, the popularity of these groups among the general public has plummeted. Many Pakistanis see extremists as a serious threat to the country.

Pakistan has been a particular concern for the United States due to the close connection between the terrorist groups in Pakistan and the violence in Afghanistan. In addition, U.S. officials are concerned about the terrorist training camps that continue to operate within Pakistan's tribal areas, a region over which the Pakistani government has little control. Another worry is that Pakistan's nuclear weapons may fall into the hands of extremists. The United States has provided Pakistan with more than \$100 million to help secure its nuclear weapons and materials.

**Somalia:** Somalia is one of the poorest and most insecure countries in the world, lacking an effective central government since 1991. Until 2012, a transitional government that relied on the support of African Union peacekeepers and donations from wealthy nations ruled the country. Today, Somalia is a federation with a weak central government that faces major questions about its future.

Somalia concerns U.S. counterterrorism

officials largely because of the actions of al Shabaab, an extremist group of Muslim militants affiliated with al Qaeda that controls much of southern Somalia. The group's aims are primarily national—it hopes to overthrow Somalia's central government. But, its ties to al Qaeda and its successful recruitment of dozens of Somali-Americans and U.S. Muslims to fight in Somalia concern U.S. officials. Beginning with al Shabaab's July 2010 bombings in Uganda, the organization broadened its aims to include international targets.

**Yemen:** Yemen, the poorest country in the Middle East, is also a region of concern. In 2009, leaders from al Qaeda affiliates in Saudi Arabia and Yemen merged their organizations to form Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) in Yemen. The group seeks political control and has been involved in a number of international terror attacks. For example, in October 2010, AQAP was accused of sending bombs in packages addressed to two synagogues in Chicago. (The bombs were intercepted en route in Britain and Dubai.) The group has also claimed responsibility for



UN Photo/Stuart Price. Photo #482280.

A malnourished Somali infant receives treatment at a hospital in Mogadishu, Somalia in August 2011. That year, Somalia experienced a severe drought and famine that claimed the lives of tens of thousands of Somalis and pushed millions more to the brink of starvation. International aid was limited by al Shabaab's control over regions of the country. Al Shabaab blocked Somalis from fleeing the country and has imprisoned many attempting to leave al Shabaab territory.

Ammar Abd Rabbo. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0).



Yemen's Counterterrorism Unit runs a training exercise in January 2010.

a number of attacks on tourists and embassies in Yemen. U.S. leaders have identified AQAP as the most active al Qaeda affiliate outside of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Yemen has undergone political unrest and change since 2011. After Yemeni's took to the streets to protest the president's regime, an interim government formed in 2012. Even still, many people in Yemen continue to face poverty, ethnic tensions and government corruption. In October 2014, a rebel group from the North called the Houthis took control of several Yemeni towns, provoking people in the rest of Yemen to call for independence. In 2015, both the Houthis and the Yemeni president claimed that they were the legitimate rulers of the country. An anti-Houthi coalition of countries have built up forces near the Yemeni border. The United States has assisted these countries by providing intelligence and logistical support.

In addition to AQAP, a branch of ISIS has formed in Yemen and carried out multiple attacks. As Yemen continues to face political and economic uncertainty, many experts believe that its problem with terrorism will continue to grow.

**Nigeria:** Nigeria is home to people of a variety of religious and ethnic backgrounds,

including many Christians and Muslims. The country is divided economically. The northern part of Nigeria, where the majority of the population is Muslim, is very poor. The southern part of the country, home to both Christians and Muslims, is wealthier due to its oil supplies. Government corruption and poverty plague Nigeria.

Active since 2002 and becoming even more so in recent years, the group Boko Haram has claimed responsibility for a number of attacks in Nigeria and in neighboring countries.

Although it has received less media attention, Boko Haram concerns the United States and other countries throughout the world. The United States and others have provided Nigeria with technical and intelligence assistance in the fight against Boko Haram.

**Syria:** The United States has had Syria on its list of state sponsors of terrorism for decades, accusing Syria of supporting Hezbollah and Hamas, groups designated as terrorist organizations by the U.S. government. Since the start of Syria's deadly civil war in 2011, more than 250,000 Syrians have been killed. Around four million people have fled the country since 2011, and another seven million people are displaced within Syria. The danger of the ongoing violence becoming a regional war and a breeding ground for terrorists has made Syria a top concern for leaders in the region and around the world.

The Syrian Civil War has been particularly complex and brutal. The forces opposing the Syrian government are not united and often end up fighting each other, and they include groups that employ terrorist tactics. In 2014, ISIS took control of a large portion of northern Iraq and eastern Syria and threatened to conquer more territory. The United States has used airstrikes against ISIS in both Syria and

Iraq. At least seven of the terrorists who killed 130 people in Paris in November 2015 are believed to have visited Syria. In addition, ISIS took responsibility for the Paris attacks in retaliation for French airstrikes in Syria. ISIS also claimed responsibility for downing a Russian airliner killing all 224 people on board in October 2015. ISIS has also inspired lone-wolf attackers to carry out attacks on their own.



Mourners in Oslo attend a candlelight vigil following the two terror attacks in Norway in July 2011.

Nrkbeta (CC BY-SA 2.0).

### ***How great is the risk of a nuclear terror attack?***

One of the greatest concerns of some experts is the threat of nuclear terrorism. While no one knows if any terrorist group has acquired nuclear weapons, all are aware that nuclear explosion would dwarf the devastation of September 11. Al Qaeda has made no secret of its attempts to acquire nuclear materials, but some experts argue that the group has exaggerated its ability to obtain and use a nuclear device in order to spread fear.

***“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. For example, in 1977, a German terrorist group called the Baader-Meinhof gang attacked a U.S. military base in Germany but were unsuccessful and retreated before they could steal a weapon. Nuclear weapons facilities are generally well-guarded, but 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. In the past two decades, groups and individuals have successfully stolen weapons materials in Russia, only to be caught when attempting to export them.

Terrorist organizations might also try to buy a nuclear weapon. There is concern that North Korea, a country desperate for money, might sell a nuclear weapon. But many experts argue that the political consequences for such a move would be so great that it is unlikely any country would attempt it.

Finally, some authorities point out that if a terrorist organization obtained the necessary materials, it might be able to produce a nuclear device. Others are less sure that terrorists could 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.

### ***What other major terrorist acts have occurred since September 11?***

While the threat of a nuclear terrorist attack may be small, other types of terrorist acts continue to plague populations worldwide, targeting civilians, transportation systems, schools, and governments. Below are examples



of major terrorist attacks that have occurred since September 11.

**Madrid, Spain:** In March 2004, a group of individuals inspired by al Qaeda detonated ten explosives on commuter trains during morning rush hour at a downtown train station in Madrid, Spain. One hundred ninety-one people were killed and more than 1,800 were wounded. The event shook the Spanish population, who viewed the terrorist attacks as retaliation against Spanish participation in the 2003 Iraq War. In the presidential election four days after the bombing, the public ousted the previously supported incumbent in favor of a new president who had a more liberal agenda and promised to withdraw Spanish troops from Iraq.

**Beslan, Russia:** Chechen separatists took 1,200 people hostage in September 2004 in a school in Beslan, Russia. They set off several bombs in the school gymnasium after negotiations deteriorated. As children, adults, and rescue workers fled, the terrorists shot many of them. Close to 350 people were killed and 700 wounded, many of them children. Citing the need to fight terrorism and corruption, Russian President Vladimir Putin enacted major changes to Russia's political and justice systems. Many Russians regarded their government's response to the crisis as botched and suspicious.

**London, England:** In July 2005, suicide bombers set off four explosives during morning rush hour in three subway stations and aboard a double-decker bus in London. 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.

**Mumbai, India:** Over the course of three days in November 2008, a series of coordinated attacks swept through Mumbai, the largest city in India. Gunmen targeted a train station, a hospital, hotels, and other buildings with machine guns and grenades, claiming the lives of over 160 people. Lashkar-e-Taiba, an extremist Muslim militant group based in Pakistan, carried out the attacks. The group formed to fight against India's control over the disputed territory of Kashmir. The dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir has a long history, and animosity between these two countries is ongoing. The United States has labeled Lashkar-e-Taiba a terrorist organization. The attacks have aggravated relations between the two countries; India has accused Pakistan's government of involvement in the attacks.

**Oslo, Norway:** On July 22, 2011, a car bomb exploded at a government office in Oslo, killing eight people and wounding many. Two hours later, a gunman dressed as a police of-



A mural with the hashtag "Bring Back Our Girls" painted in response to the kidnapping more than 275 Nigerian girls by the terrorist group Boko Haram.

Tim Green (CC BY 2.0).

ficer opened fire at a political summer camp for youth on the Norwegian island of Utøya, killing sixty-nine people. It was the deadliest attack by a single gunman in history.

Norwegian police quickly charged Anders Brevik, a thirty-two-year-old right-wing extremist, for the attacks. Brevik later admitted his guilt. On the day of the attack, Brevik released a 1,500-page manifesto detailing the motivations behind his actions. The manifesto revealed Brevik's hatred of Muslims and his belief that multiculturalist policies were causing a Muslim takeover of Europe. Brevik cited a variety of writings as influences on his political philosophy, including those of right-wing extremists from the United States.

**Chibok, Nigeria:** More than 275 female students were kidnapped from a secondary school in Chibok, Nigeria on the night of April 14, 2014. In the days following the kidnapping, as parents searched in a nearby forest, people criticized the Nigerian military and government for their failure to rescue the students. Some suggested that the Nigerian government had been warned about the attack but failed to act. In late April, many Nigerians began using social media and public demonstrations to voice their disapproval over the government's response. Social media users around the world attempted to draw attention to the abduction by adopting the slogan "Bring Back Our Girls."

Boko Haram claimed responsibility for the attack. The United States and other countries sent forces to aid in the search, and the Nigerian government unsuccessfully negotiated with Boko Haram for the students' release. Since the April 2014 kidnapping, some of the students have escaped, but the majority of the girls remain captives of Boko Haram as of March, 2016.

**Garissa, Kenya:** On April 2, 2015, gunmen took more than 700 hostages, killing 148 people and injuring about eighty on the campus of Garissa University in Garissa, Kenya. The shooters were killed later that day. Al Shabaab, the Somalia-based al Qaeda affiliate, carried out the shooting. It was not the group's

first terrorist attack in Kenya. For example, in 2013, al Shabaab killed more than sixty people at Westgate Mall in Nairobi. Nine months after the attack, in January 2016, classes at Garissa University resumed, but many former students transferred to other universities.

**Paris, France:** Two extremist Muslim gunmen, who were French citizens, stormed the headquarters of the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo on January 7, 2015, killing twelve and wounding eleven. They targeted the publication because it featured satirical and critical depictions of people and themes related to Islam. Following the attack, people around the world took to social media to support the victims of the attacks and to debate free speech.

Later in 2015, on November 13, gunmen and bombers killed 130 people and wounded 368 others in a string of coordinated attacks throughout Paris. Targets of the attack included restaurants, a soccer stadium, and the Bataclan theater, where the terrorists killed eighty-nine people attending a concert. ISIS claimed responsibility for the attacks, and a manhunt for the surviving terrorists involved in the plot began. Seven of the ten terrorists were Belgian or French citizens. Three remain unidentified, but may have entered France with Syrian refugees, heightening fears in Europe and the United States about the possibility of terrorists hiding among the millions of refugees fleeing Syria's civil war. Following the attacks, people in France and around the world rallied in support for the people of Paris and all those affected by the Paris attacks.

## Homegrown Terrorism

Since September 11, new developments have heightened concerns about terrorism perpetrated by U.S. citizens and residents. Just as extremism has inspired individuals in other parts of the world, it has proved compelling to a small number of people in the United States as well.

*“We worry about the potential domestic-based, home-grown terrorist threat that may be lurking*

*in our own society—the independent actor or ‘lone wolf.’ Those who did not train at a terrorist camp or join the ranks of a terrorist organization overseas, but who are inspired at home by a group’s social media, literature or extremist ideology.”*

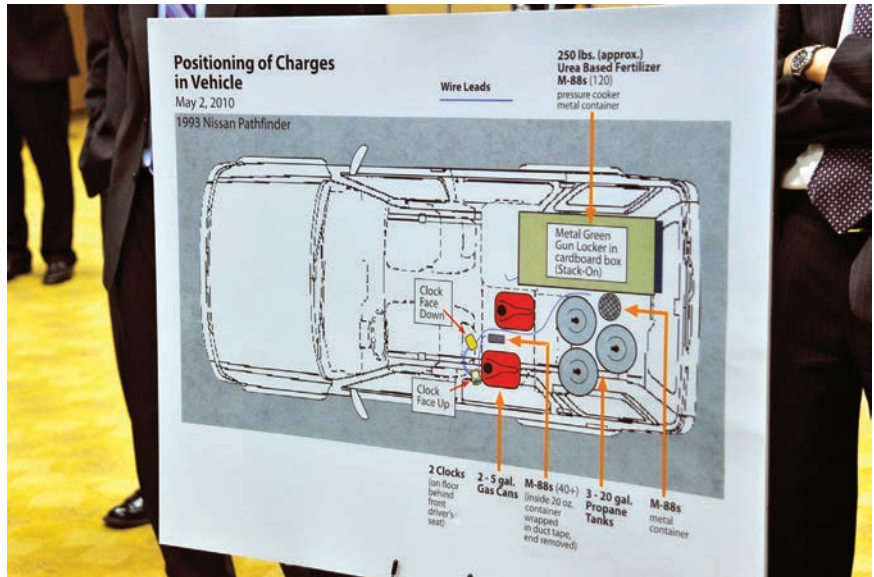
—Jeh Johnson, Secretary of Homeland Security, October 1, 2014

### Why is domestic terrorism a concern in the U.S.?

In recent years, U.S. citizens and residents have been involved in terrorist plots and attacks both at home and abroad. Some of these individuals worked independently, while others had connections to terror groups. By 2016, hundreds of U.S. citizens and residents had traveled overseas to study at terrorist training camps or to participate in the campaigns of foreign terror groups, such as ISIS, al Shabaab, and the Taliban. In 2008, a Somali-American became the first known U.S. suicide bomber when he blew up a truck and killed about twenty people in northern Somalia.

Although the number of U.S. citizens involved in extremist Muslim terrorism has been small, observers warn that the trend is increasing. Because many of these individuals have no prior involvement with radical groups, law enforcement officials have found it more difficult to identify potential threats.

Experts stress that radicalism in the U.S. Muslim community is very small. The vast majority of U.S. Muslims are opposed to extremist militant groups. In 2011, a national survey found that 86 percent of U.S. Muslims say that violence committed against civilians in the name of Islam is unjustified. Another study found that U.S. Muslims had provided information to help foil 40 percent of the U.S.-based terrorist plots eventually prevented by U.S. law enforcement officials.



A diagram showing the explosives inside the vehicle found near Times Square in May 2010.

While extremist Muslim domestic terrorism has received a great deal of attention in recent years, experts warn that right-wing violence is also on the rise in the United States. The number of antigovernment patriot and militia groups in the United States has spiked in recent years, jumping from 149 in 2008 to more than 900 in 2016. This rise has coincided with a sharp increase in the number of right-wing domestic terror plots, including plans to attack police officers, judicial officers, healthcare clinics, and Latino and Muslim immigrants.

Following the ISIS-inspired attacks in Paris in November 2015 and the terrorist attack in San Bernardino, California the following month, some people in the United States lashed out against Muslims. For example, some political figures strongly opposed granting Syrian Muslim refugees asylum in the United States. Others note that it is crucial to differentiate between those who hold extremist beliefs and the majority of Muslims who do not share or condone these beliefs. In fact, some experts warn that creating a hostile or alienating environment for U.S. Muslims will only help Muslim terrorists achieve one of their primary goals: inciting fear in the American populace.



**“When politicians insult Muslims, whether abroad or our fellow-citizens, when a mosque is vandalized or a kid is called names, that doesn’t make us safer. That’s not telling it like it is. It’s just wrong. It diminishes us in the eyes of the world. It makes it harder to achieve our goals. It betrays who we are as a country.”**

—President Barack Obama in his State of the Union Address, January 12, 2016

### **How have U.S. citizens and residents been involved in domestic terrorist plots?**

The following are examples of some of the most notorious U.S. citizens and residents involved in terrorist acts on U.S. soil.

**Faisal Shahzad:** In May 2010, Faisal Shahzad, a Pakistani American who lived in Connecticut, parked a car full of explosives on a busy street near Times Square in New York. The explosive devices failed to detonate and were defused after street vendors reported smoke coming out of the vehicle. Law enforcement officials arrested Shahzad at J.F.K. Airport in New York as he tried to flee the country. Shahzad pled guilty to the attempted attack and admitted to training in bomb-making with the Taliban in Pakistan. He was sentenced to life in prison.

**“I am part of the answer of the U.S. terrorizing Muslim nations and Muslim people, and on behalf of that, I’m revenging the attacks.”**

—Faisal Shahzad, 2010

**Kevin Harpham:** Having ties to white supremacist groups, Kevin Harpham was convicted of planting a bomb at a Martin Luther King Jr. Day parade in Spokane, Washington on January 17, 2011. The bomb, which contained shrapnel dipped in rat poison and was hidden in a backpack, was spotted and defused. Authorities reported that the device was very sophisticated and capable of causing multiple casualties. Harpham has ties to the

National Alliance, a neo-Nazi organization, and frequently posted on white supremacist websites. He pleaded guilty to the charges brought against him.

**Dzhokhar and Tamerlan Tsarnaev:** Two bombs exploded near the finish line of the Boston Marathon on April 15, 2013. Three people died, and more than 260 others suffered injuries. Following the bombings, the terrorists killed a police officer and engaged in an armed conflict with other officers. One of the attackers, Tamerlan Tsarnaev, died in this standoff. Law enforcement began a search for the other attacker, his brother, Dzhokhar Tsarnaev. They arrested him later that day. Dzhokhar, a Chechen who grew up in the United States, claimed that he and his brother were self-radicalized. They relied upon online materials produced by al Qaeda to inform their views. Dzhokhar claimed that the attack in Boston was retribution for the U.S. wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. The brothers were not affiliated with a specific terrorist organization. On April 8, 2015, Tsarnaev was convicted of thirty different crimes related to terrorism, and the court sentenced him to death.

**Dylann Roof:** On June 17, 2015, after attending more than an hour of a Bible study group at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina, Dylann Roof shot nine people to death and injured one other. All of his victims were African Americans. The police arrested Roof the next morning. He was a white supremacist, wrote a manifesto detailing his hatred for people of other races, and posed in photos online with white supremacist symbols. Much of the media coverage of the attack did not label the shooting as an act of terrorism, but many others point out that because he was acting on his extremist Christian and white-supremacist beliefs, his acts were clearly terrorist in nature.

**Robert Dear:** On November 27, 2015, Robert Dear entered a Planned Parenthood clinic in Colorado Springs, Colorado. He shot and killed three people and wounded nine more. Dear had praised the Army of God, a Christian terrorist group opposed to abortion that has claimed responsibility for several bombings

and killings. Colorado Governor John Hickenlooper called the shooting an act of terrorism. Anti-abortion terrorists murdered eleven people since 1990 and have perpetrated other acts of violence, including arson and bombings.

**Syed Rizwan Farook and Tashfeen Malik:**

On December 2, 2015, fourteen people were killed and twenty-two people were injured in a terrorist attack while attending a holiday gathering of the San Bernardino public health department in California. Two shooters carried out the attacks. One of the shooters, Syed Rizwan Farook was a U.S. born citizen of Pakistani descent who worked at the health department. His wife, the other shooter, Tashfeen Malik, was a Pakistani residing legally in the United States. Following the shooting, Farook and Malik left the scene but were later killed in a shootout with law enforcement. Like the Tsarnaev brothers, Farook and Malik were not members of a terrorist organization, but rather had come to form extremist Muslim beliefs from their online consumption of terrorist materials. Charges have also been

brought against Enrique Marquez, the couple's neighbor, for his involvement in supporting them.

The San Bernardino shooting was the deadliest terrorist attack in the United States since September 11, 2001. Taking place just weeks after the attacks in Paris, the San Bernardino shooting incited fear and unrest among people in the United States and increased Islamophobia.

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You have just read about how the threat from terrorism has evolved in recent years. You have also explored the threats that people in the United States and around the world face from terrorism today. In the next section you will examine the ways in which the United States has responded to terrorism since September 11. As you read, consider the ways in which U.S. policy has addressed the threats you read about here.

## Part III: Responding to Terrorism

The September 11 attacks, the attacks that have followed, and the rise of terrorist groups, such as ISIS, have created new challenges and priorities for U.S. policy. The U.S. government has had to rethink the ways in which it provides both international and domestic security.

This has led to an intense debate in the United States about the balance between liberty and security. Many believe that people need to give up some personal freedoms in order to protect the country from terrorist attacks. Others express concern that the government is trampling on the rule of law. In some cases, U.S. responses to terrorism have resulted in harsh criticism of the U.S. government, both at home and abroad.

### U.S. Policies Abroad

The United States has pursued a number of policies abroad in response to terrorism. Some of these policies focus on economics and diplomacy, while others are military in nature. For instance, one of the U.S. government's first responses to terrorism in the aftermath of September 11 was military force. The Bush administration contended that the U.S. military should fight terrorists on foreign soil rather than allow them to attack civilians in the United States.

**“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

### Part III Definitions

**“Global War on Terror”**—After September 11, 2001, President George W. Bush (2001-2009) developed a strategy to address the threat of terrorism, which many referred to as the “global war on terror.” The term created controversy. Critics argued that the term “war” was too broad and that nonmilitary responses to terrorism were essential. They argued that “terror” was a tactic and that it was better to identify a specific adversary that could be defeated. Some also noted that a war on terror would never end; history had shown that terror has always existed.

In 2001, the United States went to war in Afghanistan, and in 2003, it went to war in Iraq. The Bush administration considered these wars part of a “global war on terror.” Many people and foreign governments, including traditional allies of the United States, criticized the U.S. government for these wars.

Since the events of September 11, 2001, the public's attention to security threats has dramatically increased. Nevertheless, significant terrorist attacks have continued to take place throughout the world.

### **Why did the United States go to war in Afghanistan?**

Al Qaeda, the group behind the September 11 attacks, was based in Afghanistan at the time and had the support and approval of Afghanistan's extreme Islamic government known as the Taliban. President Bush demanded that the Taliban hand over bin Laden and dismantle al Qaeda. The Taliban government refused to meet the conditions of the United States, although it claimed that it would put bin Laden on trial if offered conclusive evidence of his guilt.

On October 7, 2001, the United States began a military campaign in Afghanistan

against the Taliban and al Qaeda. The operation overthrew the Taliban government and eliminated al Qaeda's base in Afghanistan, but many al Qaeda members, including bin Laden, escaped into neighboring Pakistan.

Since the 2001 invasion, U.S. and NATO military forces have remained in Afghanistan in an effort to quell violence by Taliban insurgents while the country attempts to construct a government that can provide security and stability for its people. With the support of the United Nations, Afghanistan created a new constitution in 2004 and has held legislative and presidential elections.

As a result of the war, life for Afghan citizens is difficult. Continued poverty, a lack of infrastructure, and civilian casualties at the hands of the Taliban and NATO forces have tested the patience of many. The United Nations reported that civilian casualties in 2015 were greater than any previous year during the war—3,545 civilians were killed and 7,547 were injured.

The war has also been costly for the United States. In economic terms, the war has cost the United States over \$700 billion from 2001-2014. Human costs are also high—as of the end of 2015, over twenty-two hundred U.S. soldiers have died and more than twenty thousand wounded.

The war in Afghanistan was not the only major foreign policy change after September 11. The government also adopted a new security strategy that would set the stage for a U.S. intervention in Iraq.

### ***Why did the United States invade Iraq in 2003?***

As U.S. forces entered Afghanistan in late 2001, the Bush administration also began to plan an invasion of Iraq. In January 2002, four months after the attacks of September 11,



President Bush identified Iraq as a member of an “axis of evil” that threatened the United States. Bush warned that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and supported terrorism. U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell argued before the UN Security Council that the United States had evidence of Iraqi links to al Qaeda.

### ***What happened after the invasion of Iraq?***

In the spring of 2003, a U.S.-led military coalition invaded Iraq and toppled Saddam Hussein’s government. The United States began an intensive search for WMD in Iraq, but did not find any conclusive evidence of WMD or direct links to al Qaeda. The arguments the Bush administration used to justify war turned out to be unsubstantiated.

By the summer of 2003, opposition to coalition forces had grown into an insurgency (military resistance movement) made up of local and foreign groups fighting against the U.S. presence in Iraq. These groups also fought



each other, vying for power, and often committed terrorist acts against civilians.

The war has taken a devastating toll on Iraqi society. Estimates from various independent groups have ranged from one hundred thousand deaths to over one million. Almost one in five Iraqis—over five million people—fled their homes after the invasion, often due to violence, unemployment, and insecurity.

The costs of the war for the United States have also been high—as have the social effects that cannot be easily quantified. The United States has spent at least \$700 billion in Iraq. Nearly 4,500 U.S. soldiers died in the Iraq War and over 32,000 were wounded. The injuries to soldiers are not only physical. Some experts estimate that 25 percent of soldiers who returned from the war suffer from psychological issues, including post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, and substance abuse.

### ***How has the Iraq War affected perceptions of the United States?***

The conflict was generally unpopular around the world, and friction between the United States and other countries because of the Iraq War hindered international cooperation on other issues, including terrorism. The Iraq War contributed to a rise in anti-American sentiment throughout the Middle East and the world, and the presence of U.S. troops in Iraq became a powerful recruiting tool for terrorist groups seeking to harm the United States. The emergence of the terrorist group ISIS is also deeply troubling for people living in the region and policy makers around the world.

### ***How does ISIS threaten Iraq and its neighbors?***

The insurgency that sprung up in Iraq after the

2003 invasion included extremist groups that saw the fight against U.S. forces in Iraq as part of a broader struggle against U.S. control of the Middle East. One of these was al Qaeda in Iraq (or AQI), which developed after the U.S. invasion. (There was no al Qaeda presence in the country before the U.S. invasion). While it pledged allegiance to Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda in 2004, bin Laden did not control AQI. The group used violence against both U.S. forces and Iraqi civilians in an attempt to stoke civil unrest and drive the United States out of Iraq. AQI's violent tactics so angered Iraqis that some Iraqi insurgent groups formed a partnership with U.S. forces to fight AQI. Bin Laden cut off ties between al Qaeda and AQI, fearing that AQI's brutal attacks on local Muslims would reduce public support for al Qaeda's broader fight against the United States.

After U.S. forces withdrew from Iraq, AQI grew in strength. In 2012, AQI adopted a new name, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), also called ISIL. ISIS aims to establish a caliphate (a medieval term for Islamic state) across Iraq and Syria and follows an extreme and intolerant interpretation of Islam. ISIS has used violence and fear to expand its control over new territory.



Iraqi women carry water home. Between 2003 and 2011, U.S. troops and tanks were a constant presence in the lives of Iraqis.

Jeffrey Wolfe, U.S. Army.

In 2014, the U.S.-trained Iraqi army failed to stop ISIS's advances into territory in northern Iraq and eastern Syria, and U.S. President Barack Obama ordered airstrikes against the group along with U.S. military support for the Iraqi army. President Obama, who had sharply criticized the U.S. war in Iraq, found himself drawn into another military conflict in the same country. Some argue that the violence and terror that has emerged in Iraq since the 2003 U.S. invasion and after the withdrawal of U.S. forces is worse than it was during Saddam Hussein's rule.

**“Now, it will take time to eradicate a cancer like ISIL.... This counterterrorism campaign will be waged through a steady, relentless effort to take out ISIL wherever they exist, using our air power and our support for partners' forces on the ground.”**

—President Obama, September 10, 2014

### **What other programs has the United States used to fight terrorism?**

The United States also uses its military to address terrorism in other, more covert ways. Many of these programs are controversial, and some are so secretive that the U.S. government refuses to admit that they exist. Some of these programs and practices are discussed below.

**Extraordinary Rendition and Secret Prisons:** After September 11, the U.S. government initiated programs to arrest terrorist suspects around the world and interrogate them for information about bin Laden, al Qaeda, and future terror attacks. The United States used a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) practice known as extraordinary rendition to transport suspected terrorists to secret locations around the world. European and UN reports state that in at least one hundred cases the CIA secretly transported detainees to countries known to torture prisoners, including Egypt, Syria, Uzbekistan, and Algeria. The CIA aimed to gather information using methods that U.S. interrogators would not use themselves. In addition,

the CIA kept a series of secret prisons around the world to house suspected terrorists. President Obama demanded the closure of these “black site” CIA prisons, but the United States has not ended its practice of extraordinary rendition. Extraordinary rendition violates international law, and many criticize the United States for this practice.

**Guantánamo Bay:** The U.S. government also built a high-security prison for terrorism suspects at its naval base in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. It began detaining suspected terrorists there in 2002.

The United States has come under heavy international criticism for its treatment of detainees at Guantánamo. 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 from inhumane treatment. Instead, it called the detainees “enemy combatants” or “illegal combatants.” The government argued that it could hold the detainees without formally charging them and attempted to deny them access to lawyers and the legal process. But, in July 2008, the Supreme Court ruled that detainees could challenge their detention in federal court.

Lawyers for some of the detainees claim that military records show that the majority of detainees did not commit hostile acts against the United States and are not terrorists. At the same time, in a minority of cases, detainees released from Guantánamo have joined terrorist groups abroad. For example, one former detainee from Kuwait who was released into Kuwait's custody committed a suicide attack in Iraq.

**Torture:** The U.S. practice of “enhanced interrogation” of suspected terrorists after September 11, 2001 created an international outcry. Enhanced interrogation methods included waterboarding, which creates the sensation of drowning, and other methods that were extremely physically and psychologically damaging for detainees. Critics argue that some enhanced interrogation methods are actually torture, which is prohibited by both



Lt. Col. Leslie Pratt, U.S. Air Force.

An MQ-1 Predator unmanned drone in 2008. This drone can fire missiles at targets on the ground.

U.S. and international law.

In December 2014, a U.S. Senate committee released a report that revealed that these practices were far more brutal and less effective than the CIA had previously acknowledged. The report describes practices that include beatings, threatening to harm detainees' families, and forcing detainees to stay awake for over a week straight. One detainee died of hypothermia while in custody. The report concludes that the methods were not effective in gathering intelligence or gaining cooperation from detainees.

**Drones:** The United States' use of drones to launch missiles against terrorist targets is also controversial. Drone is a term for what the U.S. military calls an Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV). UAVs are not flown by pilots; instead they are directed by human controllers elsewhere. They are equipped with powerful cameras that the controller uses to see a target. Drones carry missiles that are fired at individuals on the ground. The CIA has used drones to target terrorist groups and individuals in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Yemen, Syria,

and Somalia. Analysts estimate that since 2004, drone attacks have killed between 2,494 and 3,994 militants and civilians in Pakistan. Estimates of casualties are highly disputed.

The number of drone attacks increased dramatically under President Obama. These attacks are controversial for a number of reasons, including the fact that they often kill civilians. In January 2015, U.S. drone strikes on an al Qaeda compound in Pakistan accidentally killed two hostages, one of whom was an American aid worker. In addition, because the program is secret, the method for determining who or what is a legitimate target is unknown. Critics argue that any U.S. government program designed to kill people should be subjected to more public scrutiny. They also warn that the attacks may push more people to join militant groups against the United States.

**Targeted Assassinations:** The drone program is linked to the rise in targeted assassinations by the U.S. government. In many recent cases—including the killing of Osama bin Laden in Pakistan—the United States has assassinated terrorist leaders instead of captur-



ing and trying them. Critics argue that targeted killings are illegal under U.S. law. In response, U.S. officials claim that the individuals on the target list are military enemies and imminent threats to U.S. security.

In April 2010, President Obama authorized the killing of the Muslim cleric Anwar al-Awlaki. Al-Awlaki was a U.S. citizen living in Yemen who was accused of recruiting for al Qaeda and advocating violent terrorist acts against the United States. He broadcasted his sermons online and attracted a large international audience. Al-Awlaki never carried out an attack, but he inspired others to commit terrorism, including the 2013 shooting by Major Nidal Hasan in Fort Hood, Texas that killed thirteen people. Both Faisal Shahzad, the Times Square bomber, and Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, the man who tried to detonate a bomb in his underwear on an airplane in 2009, were followers of al-Awlaki. The cleric also had ties to three of the September 11 hijackers. A U.S. drone strike killed al-Awlaki on September 30, 2011. The Obama administration argued that his killing was a lawful act of war. Critics of the killing argued that, as a U.S. citizen, he was entitled to Constitutional rights that guaranteed free speech and the due process of law.

The United States shows no sign of stopping its drone program, and officials continue to try to persuade the U.S. public and international audiences that civilians do not come in harm's way during drone attacks.

***“[W]e have limited the use of drones so they target only those who pose a continuing, imminent threat to the United States where capture is not feasible, and there is a near certainty of no civilian casualties.”***

—President Obama's address to the UN General Assembly, September 24, 2013

### ***What other measures have been taken against terrorism?***

The United States and its allies also use economic weapons against terrorism. Targeting the money that supports terrorism can help to

diminish the capacity of terrorists to mount operations worldwide.

The United States has blocked the use of banks and informal money networks that channel funding for terrorist operations. For instance, 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. Thanks to these measures and others, experts note that many terrorists must now rely on couriers to move cash.

World leaders have also implemented policies to limit the economic resources of ISIS. According to the U.S. Department of the Treasury, as of 2015, ISIS makes more than \$500 million a year from oil. In response, combining military and economic strategy, the United States and other countries have used airstrikes to target ISIS-controlled oil fields in an attempt to weaken the group economically.

In addition to these economic policies, the United States has increased its funding for education, health, and other services in countries where terrorism is a growing problem. U.S. leaders have also begun to explore diplomatic solutions with certain terrorist groups. For example, the U.S. government has worked to negotiate with the Taliban in Afghanistan to end the conflict there.

***“We...know that military power alone is not going to solve the problems in Afghanistan and Pakistan.”***

—President Obama, June 2009

***How has terrorism complicated relations between the United States and other countries?***

The United States has rallied the diplomatic support of its traditional allies, like the United Kingdom and France, for assistance against terrorists. Cooperation has included intelligence sharing and coordinated police work.

At the same time, the United States has also relied on states with which it has had significant policy and philosophical disagreements to combat terrorism. In some cases, the United States has overlooked these concerns and cooperated in spite of disagreements. For example, the United States has worked with Egypt, Russia, Uzbekistan, and Algeria, to name a few.

U.S. relations with Pakistan demonstrate the challenges that this kind of foreign policy poses. An important ally in the U.S. war in Afghanistan, Pakistan had previously supported the Taliban. After September 11, the Pakistani government agreed to allow some U.S. troops to be based in Pakistan. In return, the United States lifted economic sanctions imposed in 1998 against Pakistan for conducting tests of nuclear weapons.

But the problems caused by terrorists that reside within Pakistan's border continue to complicate the U.S.-Pakistan relationship. The killing of Osama bin Laden highlighted tensions in this relationship. Bin Laden's compound was one mile away from a Pakistani military academy in Abbottabad, a city less than forty miles from Pakistan's capital. Many U.S. politicians questioned how bin Laden was able to live there undetected. Some argue that this suggests that he was, in fact, aided by Pakistan's intelligence agency. At the same time, many Pakistanis were angry about the U.S. raid, arguing that it violated their country's sovereignty. Although the U.S. government had been in contact with Pakistani officials, it did not get permission for U.S. forces to enter the country. For their part, Pakistan's government believes that the United States has no intention of treating them as an equal partner in fighting the Taliban and al Qa-

eda who have killed and wounded thousands of Pakistani citizens.

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.

## **Domestic Security**

In many ways, the United States faces a similar balancing act between security and principle at home. The domestic response to terrorist threats challenges policy makers to both increase security while maintaining economic openness and civil liberties.

### ***What is the Department of Homeland Security?***

In 2002, President Bush created the Department of Homeland Security to coordinate and direct the work of twenty-two formerly separate federal agencies. The department considers many issues as it shapes the domestic response to terrorism.

**Emergency Management:** During the Cold War, the United States devoted significant resources to protecting citizens from a nuclear attack. The measures included building fallout shelters stocked with food and water. Civilians, civil servants, and medical personnel practiced their response to a Soviet attack.

Since September 11, there have been efforts to devote additional resources to prepare domestically for an attack on U.S. soil. This includes stockpiling vaccines and medications as well as practicing responses to a chemical, biological, or nuclear attack.

In 2005, following the devastation caused by Hurricane Katrina, a national commission recommended 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.

**“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

**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 three trillion dollars in 2015. With increased trade comes increased traffic of goods and people across borders. Managing this flow, so critical to the U.S. economy, is an extremely complex job.

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 government grounded the commercial aviation fleet for several days, halted all inbound ships, and dramatically tightened border security. This shut off the transportation system that is central to the country’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 and the economy, 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 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 a port, similar

to the attack on the USS *Cole* in Yemen in 2000, could paralyze a regional economy for weeks. For the U.S. Coast Guard, which provides seaport security, the challenges of increased vigilance have required increased investment in equipment and personnel.

**Visitors and Immigration:** The government also faces the difficult task of keeping track of visitors to the United States. Nearly seventy-five million people visited the United States in 2014 alone.



Greg Bishop (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0).

A cargo ship at a port in Los Angeles, California. Shipping on the sea accounts for billions of dollars each year for the U.S. economy.





Jonathan McIntosh (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0).

In 2006, in response to concerns about terrorism, the U.S. government began building a fence along sections of the U.S.-Mexico border in order to help control the flow of people in and out of the country. The fence has been heavily criticized for symbolizing the United States' increasingly closed stance toward immigration from Mexico.

Of the nineteen hijackers from September 11, all were foreign nationals. Sixteen entered the United States on legal visas, and all but two kept a low profile and avoided suspicion. The FBI received information two weeks before the attack connecting those two to the bombing of the USS *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 an important way to keep track of people who visit the United States and track down those who overstay or misuse the visa required for entry.

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

***“We can never say it often or loudly enough: Immigrants and refugees revitalize and renew America.... Many of the Fortune 500 companies in this country were founded by immigrants or their children. Many of the tech startups in Silicon Valley have at least one immigrant founder.”***

—President Obama,  
December 15, 2015

**Refugees:** Following the terrorist attacks in Paris and San Bernardino, California in 2015, some expressed concern about

admitting Syrian refugees into the United States. The Syrian Civil War has created four million refugees. While the majority of them have fled to neighboring countries—1.5 million reside in Turkey—the U.S. government's plan to admit ten thousand refugees from Syria in 2016 attracted both criticism and support. Opponents see these refugees as a security threat and a way for ISIS to enter the United States, while supporters contend that refugees are thoroughly screened before admission and that the United States should welcome those fleeing violence and oppression. Thirty-one state governors announced that they would not allow Syrian refugees to settle in their state. Some politicians proposed giving priority to refugees who are Christian. Many others argued against excluding refugees for religious, racial, or ethnic reasons. The debate over refugees in the United States is another example of the powerful role that the fear of extremist Muslim terrorism plays in shaping opinion in the United States.

**Border Control:** The challenge of border control is daunting but critical. In addition to thousands of miles of border, there are more than 350 official international points of entry



(such as ports or airports) into the United States. Some worry that the United States' vast borders and numerous points of entry make it vulnerable to illegal economic immigration, drug smuggling, and infiltration efforts by international terrorists. For example, some politicians have called for even greater militarization of U.S. borders, particularly the U.S.-Mexico border. In 2003, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) assumed control of protecting U.S. borders. While working to safeguard the United States, the DHS also works to ensure a smooth flow of legal traffic.

## Balancing Rights and Security

Some policies, such as improvements to information sharing among federal agencies, have been met with wide approval in the United States. Other government policies have raised major concerns. While some people believe that civil liberties must be sacrificed in order to maintain the security of citizens, others think that personal freedoms and security can coexist. They argue that in order to protect its people, the United States must remain committed to civil liberties and rights.

**“Americans understand that we need to give due weight to both privacy and national security. But right now, Americans aren’t getting even the most basic information about what’s going on with the NSA’s surveillance programs, and whether or not their privacy is being violated.”**

—Senator Al Franken, (D-Minnesota),  
 March 29, 2014



### *How did September 11 affect the balance between liberty and security in the United States?*

On October 26, 2001, Congress passed sweeping legislation known as the Patriot Act designed to increase U.S. security by making it easier for the government to identify and prosecute terrorists. But it also had far-reaching impacts on the civil liberties of citizens and noncitizens in the United States.

The Patriot Act allowed secret searches of property (including phone records and email) without a warrant during terrorism investigations. It also expanded the government’s ability to wiretap personal phones. Additionally, the act granted district court judges the power to order “roving wiretaps” of suspected terrorists. While the government previously needed a specific warrant for each phone line they tapped, the roving wiretap provision allowed investigators to follow a target and tap any phone line, cell phone, or email account that they thought the target might use.

Critics, including the American Civil Liberties Union and the Electronic Privacy Information Center, declared that these measures invaded innocent people’s privacy. They also argued that they violated the Fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which prohibits



David Dexter. Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic License.

A protest sticker against the “roving wiretap” provision of the Patriot Act implies that any phone could be tapped without the user’s consent.

unreasonable searches and seizures without a judicial warrant and probable cause.

**“[The Patriot Act] diminishes personal privacy by removing checks on government power.... Specifically by making it easier for the government to initiate surveillance and wiretapping on U.S. citizens.”**

—American Civil Liberties Union report, February 2003

The Patriot Act also allowed the government to more easily detain and deport noncitizens suspected of terrorism. Immigration officials could hold noncitizens for seven days without charges, or detain them indefinitely, if they were seen as a national security threat. Previously, noncitizens were given the

same legal rights as citizens, including the right to be released if they were not charged within forty-eight hours.

Following September 11, the government detained at least 1,200 mostly Muslim men who they suspected of terrorist activities. They arrested some for suspicious activities, but many others were detained simply because they were Muslim or from a Muslim-majority country.

Critics argued that the government’s crackdown on Muslims amounted to racial profiling. Profiling is a technique used by law enforcement and security officials to limit the number of people they need to question. While profiling based on ethnicity or race is illegal, some felt that because the September 11 hijackers were of Middle Eastern descent, security officials needed to pay close attention to travelers who appeared Middle Eastern. Critics, on the other hand, argue that this outlook subjects millions of people in the United States to unfair scrutiny and harassment solely because of their appearance, skin color, or religion.

Most of the provisions in the Patriot Act were set to expire in 2005, but Congress reauthorized a slightly revised version that extended the act for four more years. In 2010, President Obama signed a bill that kept three provisions of the act until 2014, including roving wiretaps and granting the government access to an individual’s business, medical, and banking records during a terrorism investigation.

***What did Edward Snowden reveal about U.S. surveillance practices?***

These remaining provisions of the Patriot Act attracted much debate. Criticism intensified with former CIA employee Edward Snowden’s 2013 publication of classified government documents. The documents outlined the National Security Agency’s (NSA) data collection programs that gathered phone records and text messages of hundreds of millions of U.S. citizens. Publicly revealing information that had previously been secret, Snowden’s actions inspired heated debates about sur-

veillance, privacy, security, and government transparency.

Parts of the Patriot Act officially expired on June 1, 2015 in response to a lack of Congressional support and criticism about its legality and morality. The next day, Congress passed a new act, the USA Freedom Act. It allowed for the continuation of two provisions of the Patriot Act—roving wiretaps and tracking lone wolf terrorists—but prescribed new limits on the collection of phone data by U.S. intelligence agencies.

### ***What is the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act?***

The creation of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), another government response to terrorism, has also caused controversy. Congress passed the act in 1978 and amended it in 2008. It established a protocol that the government could use to obtain authorization to conduct electronic surveillance and searches of people that the government suspected of espionage or terrorism against the United States. The act also formed a new court called the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (FISC). This court decides whether to grant the government permission to conduct the surveillance and searches that it requests. The FISC has eleven members appointed by the Chief Justice of the United States, and it meets secretly because the information being presented is classified.

Critics of both the FISA and the FISC have a number of concerns. Some criticize the court's practice of appointing judges, rather than having them elected and approved by Congress. In addition, many point out that the court approves the majority of the government's requests. According to the Electronic Privacy Information Center, from 1979-2013, the U.S. government presented 35,333 surveillance orders to the FISC. The court denied only twelve of these requests, leaving some worried about the FISC's secretive decision-making processes, FISA's constitutionality, and infringements on people's right to privacy.

### ***What issues has the treatment of detainees raised?***

U.S. policies towards suspected terrorists have also raised concerns about the tradeoffs between rights and security. Many people in the United States and internationally express concern about the ways in which the U.S. has openly violated international law in its struggle against terrorism.

The U.S. government has faced a great deal of international and domestic criticism for its treatment of detainees at secret prisons around the world. In 2004, the U.S. media revealed photos of U.S. military abuse of detainees in an Iraqi prison, Abu Ghraib. A military investigation in 2005 found that the interrogation methods used in Abu Ghraib were first used on detainees in Guantánamo Bay. A UN report released in February 2006 called for Guantánamo Bay's immediate closure, arguing that the treatment of detainees in some cases amounted to torture.

***“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

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 explicitly bans the abusive and humiliating methods of questioning used at Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo (although these methods were not permitted before).

Although some U.S. officials claimed that the information they gained from prisoners at Guantánamo helped prevent future terrorist attacks, most people assert that coerced information is 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

### ***Why did the U.S. government 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.

In June 2006, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the tribunals violated U.S. laws and the Geneva Conventions. In response, Congress passed legislation to overturn the Supreme Court’s decision and legalize military tribunals in September 2006. The first military tribunal was held in the summer of 2008. While several cases have been tried, U.S. courts have ruled that the tribunals can only try cases related to international war crimes. There have been more than two hundred



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

Shane T. McCoy, USN, Department of Defense.

successful prosecutions of individuals for terrorism-related charges in U.S. civilian courts since September 11.

### ***Why did these policies change?***

Many countries, including U.S. allies, spoke out against the treatment of detainees. Domestically, Republican and Democratic politicians alike criticized practices at Guantánamo Bay and elsewhere. They argued that the treatment of detainees violated fundamental U.S. principles and law, hurt the image of the U.S. in the world, fueled anti-American feelings, and made other countries 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

President Obama promised to overhaul the system that deals with suspected terrorists. When he took office in 2009, many of the most highly criticized U.S. policies had already been scaled back. Obama expanded on these changes. For example, in 2009 he formally banned interrogation tactics such as waterboarding as torture, set a one-year deadline to close the prison in Guantánamo, and put a ban on military tribunals.

Despite these efforts, extraordinary rendition continues and Guantánamo prison remains open, housing ninety-three detainees as of January 2016. The U.S. Congress has blocked Obama from transferring prisoners to U.S. locations and from trying suspected terrorists in civilian courts in the United States.

***“For many years, it's been clear that the detention facility at Guantánamo Bay does not advance our national security, it undermines it. It's counterproductive to our fight against terrorists, because they use it as propaganda.”***

—President Obama,  
February 23, 2016

A majority of people in the United States oppose bringing suspected terrorists to U.S. soil. Some political leaders argue that detainees should continue to be tried in military tribunals. In a civilian court, judges can exclude crucial evidence because the information was gained through coercive measures. Some fear that this could lead to reduced charges or acquittals of terrorists.

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.

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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. The options are 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 beliefs and opinions about where U.S. policy should be heading. You may borrow heavily from one option, combine ideas from several options, or design a new approach altogether.

## Options in Brief

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### Option 1: Lead an Assault on Terrorism

The United States cannot tolerate acts of terrorism, those who perpetrate them, or countries that harbor terrorists. To protect U.S. security at home and U.S. interests abroad, the United States must be willing to use whatever means are necessary, including military force, drone attacks, targeted killings, surveillance, and coercive interrogation to gain information about terrorist plots. It is the U.S. government's duty to protect the U.S. public 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 against it until all who threaten peace and security are destroyed.

### Option 2: Collaborate to Fight Terrorism

Terrorism is a global problem. When al Qaeda attacked the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in 2001, countries around the world united and recognized that this was more than an attack on the United States—it was a crime against humanity. Other countries have also suffered terribly from terrorist attacks. Today, everyone's security depends upon the ability of countries to work together to address this threat. The long-term effort necessary to wipe out terrorism worldwide requires cooperation with other countries and respect for the rule of law. The United States must back away from unilateral action and help strengthen the effectiveness of the international community on security matters. The United States should offer its military, intelligence, economic, and diplomatic support to international efforts to eradicate terrorism wherever it is found.

### Option 3: Defend the Homeland

Since 2001, high-profile U.S. foreign policy programs have only bred resentment against the United States and inspired more terrorists who are intent on doing harm. It is time to change the focus of U.S. efforts against terrorism from overseas to the United States. By spending less abroad, the United States can devote more to the protection of the homeland. The time has come to lower the U.S. foreign policy profile, build up U.S. national defenses, and deal with the threat of homegrown terrorism. 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 whatever steps are necessary to protect U.S. security.

### Option 4: Address the Root Causes of Terrorism

If the United States is going to end the cycle of violence, it must accept that long-standing U.S. policies towards the Middle East have contributed to the rise of violent extremism. To focus only on those who perpetrate terrorist acts is to treat the symptom rather than the disease. The United States should support the people of the Middle East in their quest for democracy. It must join with the world's wealthier countries and devote more attention and resources to aid programs that address the underlying causes of terrorism—poverty, injustice, political powerlessness, hatred, and lack of human rights. The United States also must examine its policies around the world to see that they are not inflaming long-standing local and regional conflicts, fueling discontent, or creating a breeding ground for violent anti-American sentiment.

## Option 1: Lead an Assault on Terrorism

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The United States cannot tolerate acts of terrorism, those who perpetrate them, or countries that harbor terrorists. The United States must not allow the disease of terrorism to plague the country and the world. To protect U.S. security at home and U.S. interests abroad, the United States must be willing to use whatever means are necessary—including military force, drone attacks, targeted killings, surveillance, and coercive interrogation to gain information about terrorist plots. As the world’s lone 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. The United States drove the Taliban out of power in Afghanistan, put al Qaeda on the run, and killed Osama bin Laden. But, there are still dangerous terrorist groups operating abroad, so the United States must not let up. The war on terrorism is a worldwide struggle, and the United States must move forward with a worldwide offensive against it until all who threaten peace and security are destroyed. It is helpful to have the cooperation of other countries. Nevertheless, the United States must recognize 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 must be prepared to fight terrorism—doing whatever it takes and acting alone if necessary—wherever and whenever it threatens.

### Option 1 is based on the following beliefs

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- Terrorism is the most serious security threat to the United States. The United States is justified in using any means necessary, including military force, against any country that harbors international terrorists.

- Intelligence gathering through widespread electronic surveillance of internet, computers, and cell phones is an essential component of preserving our security.

- International agreements and treaties should be disregarded if they hinder the U.S. pursuit of terrorists or the collection of intelligence information through coercive interrogation.

- The United States must be willing to use all measures, including targeted killings and assassinations of terrorists, to increase security and fight terrorism.

### What policies should we pursue?

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- The attacks of September 11 demonstrated that the world is a dangerous place. The United States must take extraordinary measures, including the use of military force to fight terrorism.

- The United States should increase its use of drones and special operations soldiers to target and kill terrorists around the world.

- The United States should profile people from the Middle East or of Muslim backgrounds, entering or inside the United States, in order to prevent domestic terrorist attacks.

- The U.S. government should increase its surveillance. U.S. citizens must accept that widespread digital surveillance is necessary for their security.

## Arguments for

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- Acting alone when necessary avoids the difficulties that arise from seeking cooperation with other countries that have different political interests and constraints.
- The only way to avert imminent threats to U.S. security is by fighting terrorists wherever they may be in the world.
- Our use of military force in Afghanistan eliminated a regime hostile to the United States and reduced the threat of terrorism.
- Our intelligence operations and drone program have killed thousands of terrorists since September 11 and foiled numerous terrorist plots.

## Arguments against

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- The U.S.-led “war on terrorism” has increased anti-American sentiment, served as a recruiting tool for extremist groups, and even led to homegrown terrorist plots.
- It will require the help of many countries 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 and expose captured U.S. soldiers to abuses and mistreatment.
- Targeted killings of suspected terrorists are a clear violation of U.S. law and generate further anger at the United States. Likewise, coercive interrogation techniques, which are also illegal, do not produce reliable information.
- Ethnic and religious profiling is counterproductive. It increases anger, resentment, and may even create more terrorists than it stops.
- Allowing the government to increase its surveillance of U.S. citizens with laws like the Patriot Act and the USA Freedom Act threatens the most basic rights protected by the Constitution.
- This response fails to address the underlying causes of terrorism, including a deep-seated resentment of the United States, and will only lead to a continuing cycle of violence.
- Military action overseas diverts resources needed for protection here at home.



## Option 2: Collaborate to Fight Terrorism

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**T**errorism is a global problem. When al Qaeda attacked the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, countries around the world united and recognized that this was more than an attack on the United States—it was a crime against humanity. Other countries have also suffered terribly from terrorist attacks. Today, everyone’s security depends upon the ability of countries to work together to address this threat. The United States must stand with the international community to eliminate the threat of terrorism.

In the weeks after September 11, the United States built a coalition of countries prepared to employ a range of diplomatic, financial, intelligence, and military resources to find and stop the perpetrators of the attacks. But in the name of the “global war on terror,” the United States ignored the international community when it invaded Iraq and disregarded international law when it tortured prisoners at Guantánamo and elsewhere. These were mistakes. The long-term effort to wipe out terrorism worldwide requires cooperation with other countries and respect for the rule of law. The United States must back away from unilateral action and help strengthen the effectiveness of the international community. The United States should offer its military and intelligence support, but equally importantly, the United States should also offer economic support to international efforts to eradicate terrorism wherever it is found. Together, the United States and the international community must hold those who have perpetrated terrorist acts accountable by bringing them to justice before the International Criminal Court.

### Option 2 is based on the following beliefs

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- Terrorism continues to threaten countries around the world. Any long-term effort to eliminate terrorism that hopes to succeed will require the full participation of the international community—including the United States.
- Law is the binding force of civilization. Ignoring international law and the U.S. Constitution in the pursuit of terrorists threatens the most basic rights of people in the United States and around the world.
- Sharing decision making with the community of countries affected by terrorism and respecting international law reduces anti-American sentiment around the world.
- The strength of the United States is its diversity and tolerance of people of all faiths and nationalities. If we succumb to suspicion and mistrust of Muslims and people from Muslim-majority countries, the terrorists will have won an important battle.

### What policies should we pursue?

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- The United States should strengthen its alliances with all countries affected by terrorism. The United States should only use military force when acting as part of a coalition of countries, and it should use economic policy to strengthen the international community’s efforts against terrorism. The United States should abide by all international treaties and agreements.
- The United States should not conduct any digital surveillance that threatens the Constitutional rights of U.S. citizens.
- The United States should become a member of the International Criminal Court and help prosecute international terrorists there.
- The United States should end its drone program and the targeted killing of suspected terrorists. These actions violate international and U.S. law.

## Arguments for

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- Cooperating with other countries will create a truly international response to terrorism—one that reflects the interests and needs of all countries, denies hiding places to terrorists everywhere, and effectively addresses the decentralized nature of terrorism today.

- History shows that the United States can be an effective leader of international coalitions.

- The principle of “checks and balances” on branches of government is a core principle of the United States. Agencies wishing to conduct surveillance on U.S. citizens must subject themselves to these checks on their power.

- When the United States initiated the war with Iraq without UN approval and ignored international law by torturing prisoners, it severely strained relations with long-term allies. The United States cannot afford to isolate itself again from the international community.

## Arguments against

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- When U.S. interests are threatened—at home or abroad—the United States has a right to do whatever is necessary to defend itself, with or without the support of other countries and international organizations.

- The United States must not be constrained by other countries or international laws when the security of U.S. citizens is threatened.

- Terrorists use digital communication technologies to plan and carry out attacks. We must have the ability to conduct whatever surveillance is necessary to intercept these communications and prevent attacks.

- 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 countries’ interests in a 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 may not agree.

- An international campaign against terrorism will force U.S. citizens to pay for programs at the expense of defending the country at home.

- This response focuses U.S. energies abroad at a time when domestic concerns, including homegrown terrorism, are becoming increasingly worrisome.

## Option 3: Defend the Homeland

The attacks on September 11, 2001 delivered a harsh, new message to the people of the United States. On that day, people realized just how vulnerable they were. The prospect that terrorists could strike at any time continues to be a haunting possibility. Since 2001, high-profile U.S. foreign policy programs have only bred resentment against the United States and inspired more terrorists who are intent on doing harm. It is time to change the focus of U.S. efforts against terrorism from overseas to the United States.

Since the late 1940s, the United States has spent hundreds of billions of dollars a year overseas to protect U.S. security. These efforts did not stop terrorist attacks. We have dedicated time and resources to working with other countries and spent more than a trillion dollars in Iraq and Afghanistan—money that would have been better spent here. It's time to start investing in security at home and implementing only cost-effective programs abroad, such as targeted killings, when necessary. By spending less abroad, the United States can devote more to the protection of the homeland. The United States should strengthen protection of vital infrastructure and reinvigorate civil defense programs. Border security should be enhanced with investments in technology, personnel, and careful screening of people from Muslim-majority countries. The time has come to lower the U.S. foreign policy profile, build up U.S. national defenses, and deal with the newly emerging threat of homegrown terrorism. Finally, although 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 whatever steps are necessary to protect U.S. security.

### Option 3 is based on the following beliefs

- A country's first responsibility is to defend its citizens from harm. Protecting the security of a majority of citizens may mean infringing on the rights of immigrants and citizens of Middle Eastern descent.
- Increased surveillance of digital communication is necessary and will not erode the rights or privacy of law-abiding citizens.
- The costs of a "global war on terror" are not sustainable. Other methods of fighting terrorism are far more efficient and effective.
- An aggressive U.S. foreign policy creates hatred and resentment of the United States. This is a waste of precious resources at a time when those resources are needed at home. The United States must look out for its own interests first.

### What policies should we pursue?

- The United States should reduce its military presence abroad—especially in Afghanistan and the Middle East—and instead rely on the more cost-effective drone programs and special operations groups to kill terrorists overseas.
- The United States should increase its intelligence gathering capacity with a focus on dealing with the threats that face the United States at home.
- The United States should launch a national effort to protect vital infrastructure and develop domestic defenses against terrorism.
- The United States should strengthen the USA Freedom Act, tighten immigration laws, closely watch people of Middle Eastern descent, restrict access to guns, and allow broader monitoring of communications in order to keep tabs on potential terrorists. The United States should not be bound by international laws that hinder the protection of the homeland.

## Arguments for

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- In today's world, a handful of angry individuals can cause havoc on U.S. soil 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.
- Increasing intelligence-gathering capability will improve the United States' ability to prevent domestic terrorist attacks.
- Taking sides in international conflicts (such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict) only increases U.S. vulnerability. The less the United States is involved in the affairs of other countries, the more secure it will be.
- Resources saved by reducing international involvement can be redirected to enhance security at home.

## Arguments against

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- The threats to U.S. security are not only at home. The United States must be prepared to act in other regions of the world to stop attacks before they happen.
- The terrorist threat is everywhere and affects people throughout the world. It is better to fight terrorism on foreign soil than to have it come again to U.S. shores.
- Terrorism is a global problem. It will be impossible to cope with the terrorist threats facing the country if the United States does not share intelligence resources with the rest of the world.
- Reducing its overseas profile will not protect the United States from possible attacks. 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.
- Profiling people from Muslim-majority countries is not only illegal, it will be ineffective and incomplete. Government sponsored Islamophobia will lead to increased domestic tensions and violence. The threat from right-wing terrorists is just as great as that from extremist Muslim terrorists.
- Fighting terrorism by compromising the civil liberties on which the country was founded raises an important question: what exactly is the United States protecting if it is not upholding the Constitution?
- 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 Root Causes of Terrorism

**T**errorism is a crime against humanity and cannot be tolerated. But military action only perpetuates 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 or going to war. To focus only on those who perpetrate terrorist acts is to treat the symptom rather than the disease. Above all, if we surrender our rights and liberties in the name of fighting terrorism, we will have changed the country we were defending for the worse.

The U.S. public must recognize that terrorism aimed at their country grows out of a deep resentment of the United States—particularly in Muslim-majority countries. 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, it must accept that long-standing U.S. policies towards Muslim-majority countries have contributed to the rise of violent extremism. At the top of the list is U.S. support and aid to undemocratic leaders who have suppressed their peoples, often brutally. This must end. Instead, the United States should support the people of the Middle East in their quest for democracy. The United States must join with the world's wealthier countries and devote more attention and resources to aid programs that address the underlying causes of terrorism: poverty, injustice, political powerlessness, hatred, and lack of human rights, including education and health care. The United States must also examine its policies around the world to make sure that they do not inflame long-standing local and regional conflicts, condone torture, fuel discontent, or create a breeding ground for violent anti-American sentiment.

### Option 4 is based on the following beliefs

- Addressing the underlying causes of terrorism, including those conditions that have fed a deep-seated resentment of the United States, will reduce the threat of terrorism.
- The democratic movements in the Middle East that began in 2010 show that people there embrace freedom and reject extremist interpretations of Islam. Terrorism and violence are on the decline—democracy and hope are on the rise. This is a moment of opportunity to change attitudes towards the United States.
- Profiling and accepting warrantless surveillance will lead to government abuses and harm U.S. security in the long run.
- 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.

### What policies should the United States pursue?

- The United States should end its support of governments that do not embrace human rights and democratic principles, affirm its commitment to upholding international law, and respect the hopes and concerns of people around the world.
- The United States should stand against torture, end its military operations in Afghanistan, and end its drone programs and targeted killing policies.
- The United States should carefully protect the rights of all its residents, including those from Muslim-majority countries
- The United States should work for just resolutions to long-term political conflicts (such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict) that serve as recruiting tools for terrorist groups.

## Arguments for

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- If the United States does not address the underlying causes of terrorism—including poverty, injustice, political 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 people who are suffering will reduce animosity toward the United States. This is not only a humanitarian issue; it has become a security issue as well.

- Ending U.S. policies that help create militants and terrorists, including U.S. support for authoritarian and tyrannical governments, is a logical way to reduce the number of people who want to harm the United States.

- 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

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- 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 decisively to stop these terrorist attacks at their source.

- Neither the United States nor the international community has the resources to address all of the 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 defenses and counter Islamophobia at home.

- Focusing efforts on long-term solutions allows terrorists to commit horrible crimes without immediate consequences. This will invite additional attacks both on U.S. soil and abroad.

- Terrorists are angry people who hate the United States for ideological and political reasons. The origins of terrorism have little to do with economic and social injustice.

- We know that aggressive government programs that use force or surveillance can be effective. We have no idea if providing aid or supporting democracy can stop terrorism.

- Several undemocratic leaders are valuable allies in the United States' fight against terrorism, providing intelligence information and access to military bases. Severing relationships with them would jeopardize U.S. security.

## Supplementary Resources

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### Books

Cleveland, William. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2012.

Roger Douglas. *Law, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Terrorism*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2014.

Hoffman, Bruce. *Inside Terrorism*. Rev. and expanded ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

Kurzman, Charles. *The Missing Martyrs: Why There Are So Few Muslim Terrorists*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Stern, Jessica, and J. M Berger. *ISIS: The State of Terror*. First edition. New York: Ecco Press, 2015.

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

### Online Resources

Global Terrorism Database, University of Maryland <<http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>> Extensive data and research about terrorist attacks.

Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State <<http://www.state.gov/s/ct/>> Information on official U.S. policy on terrorism.

Portraits of Grief <<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/us/sept-11-reckoning/portraits-of-grief.html>> An interactive site by The New York Times based on interviews with friends and families of September 11 victims.

StoryCorps <<http://www.911memorial.org/StoryCorps>> A compilation of audio interviews of people who were directly affected by the September 11 attacks.

U.S. Department of Homeland Security <<http://www.dhs.gov/>> Information on the functions of the department.





# Prepare Students for College, Career, and Civic Life

Choices' inquiry-based approach to real-world issues promotes the skills required by the C3 Framework.



## Critical Thinking

Guided by compelling questions, students examine historical context, analyze case studies, consider contrasting policy options, and explore the underlying values and interests that drive different perspectives.



## Textual Analysis

Students examine primary and secondary sources and evaluate evidence to understand multiple perspectives on complex international issues.



## Creativity and Innovation

Students form original ideas and express them creatively through writing, drawing, and role play.



## Communication

Students construct, present, and critique arguments using written, oral, and digital communication.



## Collaboration

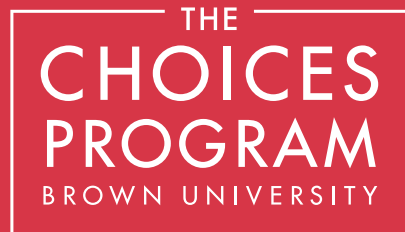
Students engage in deliberative discussions, build on each other's ideas, formulate persuasive arguments, and express their own views.

## Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy

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*Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy* addresses the issues arising from the threat of terrorism. 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 Program at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.



*Explore the Past...Shape the Future*  
History and Current Issues for the Classroom

# Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy

## Teacher Resource Book

TEACHER RESOURCE BOOK

TEACHER RESOURCE BOOK

TEACHER RESOURCE BOOK

TEACHER RESOURCE BOOK



THE  
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**PROGRAM**  
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## The Choices Program

[www.choices.edu](http://www.choices.edu)

The Choices Program is a program of the Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs and the School of Professional 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 Choices 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.

Focusing on three main areas—development, security, and governance—the Watson Institute is a community of scholars whose policy-relevant research aims to help us understand and address the world's great challenges. Its mission is to promote a just and peaceful world through research, teaching, and public engagement.





*Responding to Terrorism:  
Challenges for Democracy*  
**Teacher Resource Book**

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**ENGIN AKARLI**

Joukowsky Family Distinguished Professor of Modern Middle Eastern History Emeritus, Brown University

**PETER ANDREAS**

Professor of Political Science and International Studies  
Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs  
Brown University

**THOMAS BIERSTEKER**

Professor of Political Science  
Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies

**JAMES G. BLIGHT**

CIGI Chair in Foreign Policy Development  
Balsillie School of International Affairs  
and Department of History  
University of Waterloo

**NETA CRAWFORD**

Professor of Political Science  
Boston University

**MARK GARRISON**

Former Director  
Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs  
Brown University

**ABBOTT GLEASON**

Barnaby Conrad & Mary Critchfield Keeney Professor of History, Emeritus, Brown University

**P. TERRENCE HOPMANN**

Professor of International Relations  
Johns Hopkins University

**JANET LANG**

Research Professor  
Balsillie School of International Affairs  
and Department of History  
University of Waterloo

**JO-ANNE HART**

Adjunct Professor  
Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs  
Brown University  
Professor, Lesley University

**LINDA B. MILLER**

Professor of Political Science, Emerita, Wellesley College  
Former Adjunct Professor of Internal Studies  
Brown University

**NINA TANNENWALD**

Director, International Relations Program  
Senior Lecturer, Department of Political Science  
Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs,  
Brown University

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## The Choices Program

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Director

Susan Graseck

International Education Intern

Mackenzie Abernethy

Office Assistant

Tracy Andrews-Maziarz

Curriculum Development Director

Andy Blackadar

International Education Intern

Camisia Glasgow

Communications & Marketing

Jillian McGuire Turbitt

Professional Development Director

Mimi Stephens

International Education Intern

Lindsay Turchan

Manager of the Digital Media Group

Tanya Waldburger

Curriculum Writer

Susannah Bechtel

Administrative Manager

Kathleen Magiera

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## Note to Teachers

September 11, 2001 marked a pivotal moment for many people in the United States. It was also a vital moment for U.S. policy. The U.S. government changed its foreign policy, leading wars in Afghanistan and Iraq that it claimed were necessary to fight terrorism. Changes also took place at home. September 11 created a climate of fear and uncertainty. The U.S. government passed laws and developed programs that it argued were necessary to protect security but that critics suggested violated the Constitution. Today, concerns about terrorism continue and raise important questions about how to respond.

*Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy* presents students with many of the same questions that U.S. policy makers will face in the decades to come. This curriculum, and all Choices units, includes student readings and suggested lesson plans, an Options Role Play, and activities that help students synthesize and apply new knowledge.

Talking about terrorism requires sensitivity. We encourage teachers to consider carefully the dynamics of their classrooms as they prepare to teach these materials.

**Readings and Lessons:** *Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy* invites students to join in the debate and the decision making on this difficult issue. Part I of the reading traces the history and evolution of terrorism, showing how tactics and objectives have changed. Part II looks at the threat terrorism poses today both in the United States and around the world. Part III explores the U.S. response to terrorism and the issues that complicate the response.

This Teacher Resource Book (TRB) for *Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy* contains lessons that correspond to each section of reading in the student text.

The lessons are provided as a guide. While lessons are usually designed to be completed within a single class period, many teachers choose to devote multiple class periods to

certain lessons and adapt them to the needs of their students.

**The Options Role Play:** Students examine four distinct options for U.S. policy against terrorism. By exploring this spectrum of alternatives, students gain a deeper understanding of the values underlying specific policy recommendations. The role play helps students clarify their thoughts and, after deliberating with their classmates, articulate their own views on what policies the United States should adopt.

**Synthesis:** After the role play, students enter into deliberative dialogue in which they analyze together the merits and trade-offs of the alternatives presented; explore shared concerns as well as conflicting values, interests, and priorities; and develop their own views. Armed with fresh insights from the role play and the deliberation, students articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values and goals.

### Included Resources

- **Study Guides and Graphic Organizers:** Each section of reading has two distinct study guides and a graphic organizer. The standard study guide helps students gather information in preparation for analysis and synthesis in class. It also lists key terms that students will encounter in the reading. The advanced study guide requires that students analyze and synthesize material prior to class activities. Graphic organizers can help students better understand the information that they read.

- **Videos:** Choices produces short videos featuring leading experts—professors, policy makers, journalists, activists, and artists—answering questions that complement the readings and lessons. Read our tips for using Choices videos at <<http://www.choices.edu/resources/scholarsHowTo.php>>

- **Online Supplemental Materials:** More resources and materials associated with the suggested activities are available at <<http://www.choices.edu/terrorismmaterials>>.



## Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

Here are suggestions about how to adapt Choices curricula to your classroom. They are drawn from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices successfully in their classrooms and from educational research on student-centered instruction.

### 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:

- Do only some lessons and readings rather than all of them.
- Shorten reading assignments; cut and paste sections.
- Use the questions in the text to introduce students to the topic. Ask them to scan the reading for major headings, images, and questions so they can gain familiarity with the structure and organization of the text.
- Read some sections of the readings out loud.
- Preview the vocabulary and key concepts listed on each study guide and in the back of the TRB with students. The study guides ask students to identify key terms from the reading. Establish a system to help students find definitions for these key terms and others they do not know.
- Use the issues toolbox in the back of the TRB to introduce overarching themes and crucial ideas in the reading.
- Go over vocabulary and concepts with visual tools such as concept maps.
- Be sure that students understand the purpose of reading the text. For example, if they are going to do a role play, explain that the readings will help them to gather the information needed to formulate arguments.
- 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.
- Brainstorm current knowledge and then create web diagrams in which students link the ideas they have about the topic.
- Ask students to create their own graphic organizers for sections of the reading or fill in ones you have partially completed.
- Supplement with different types of readings, such as literature, newspaper articles, or textbooks.
- Use Choices videos or other visual introductions to orient your students.
- Combine reading with political cartoon analysis, map analysis, or movie-watching.

### Managing the Options Role Play

A central activity of every Choices unit is the role-play simulation in which students advocate different options and question each other’s views. 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 forty-five to fifty 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 Options Role Play 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.

## Adjusting the Options Role Play for Large and Small Classes

Choices curricula are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of a newspaper reporter or a member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the Options Role Play. With larger 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. Teachers can also combine two small classes.

## Assessing Student Achievement

Numerous tools for assessment, including rubrics specifically designed for the Options Role Play, student self-evaluations, and tips from teachers who have used Choices materials in their classrooms are available at <http://choices.edu/teachers-corner/>.

**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 group-work assignments in order to recognize an individual's contribution to the group.

**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 it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers 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 views.

The students' options should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the student provide reasons for his or her recommendation 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 or 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 views. 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 assessments can help students to demonstrate critical thinking and historical understanding.

## Integrating This Unit into Your Curriculum

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*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 the West and Muslim-majority countries are locked in fundamental conflict. Political leaders on both sides of the cultural divide have fanned the flames of tension. At the same time, moderate voices have disputed this theory and stepped up their efforts to promote reconciliation, mutual understanding, and alternative explanations for historical conflicts.

**When is the use of force justified?** Which interests and values should be defended by military means? What lessons should the United States learn from its experiences in World War II, the Vietnam War, the Persian Gulf War, and the recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan?

**Where is the world headed in the next century?** Will democratic ideals spread throughout the world? 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 the U.S. 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 foreign policy decisions should be seen as moral choices? Do we live in a world of relentless competition, in which the United States cannot afford to fall behind other leading powers? Is the world essentially interdependent, in that we will all sink or swim together?

**Are U.S. values universal?** Do people around the world want the same freedoms and democratic system that the United States has? Will the U.S. free-market economic system and consumer-oriented society eventually prevail throughout the globe? What do other countries and societies value?









# The Origins and Evolution of Terrorism

*Directions:* Use information from your reading to fill in the boxes below.

## Munich Olympics Attack (1979)

What happened?

What motivated the attack?

What were the legacies of the attack?

## Iranian Hostage Crisis (1979)

What happened?

What motivated the attack?

What were the legacies of the attack?

## First World Trade Center Bombing (1993)

What happened?

What motivated the attack?

What were the legacies of the attack?

## Types of Terrorism

List a few of the different types of terrorism.

## Ibrahimi Mosque Shooting (1994)

What happened?

What motivated the attack?

## Aum Shinrikyo (1995)

What happened?

What motivated the attack?

## Murrah Federal Building Bombing (1995)

What happened?

What motivated the attack?

## Oral History and September 11

---

### Objectives:

**Students will:** Explore the human dimension of the September 11 attacks by conducting an interview.

Consider the benefits and limitations of using oral history to learn about the past.

Assess their own views on September 11.

**Note:** This lesson is designed to be completed over the course of two class periods—one day to prepare for the interviews and one day for students to share what they learned from their interviews and debrief as a class. Encourage students to film or record their interviews if possible.

**Teaching about terrorism will require special sensitivity.** Some students could have family members or friends who have been affected by terrorism. Misunderstandings about religion, including the relationship between Islam and terrorism, should be planned for. We encourage teachers to consider carefully the dynamics of their classrooms as they prepare to teach these materials. Discussions can take unexpected turns. Students may unwittingly offend each other. Teachers need to be aware of these possibilities and act to make their classrooms a safe place for learning. While we cannot offer a formula for dealing with all situations, being prepared will go a long way to helping students explore this difficult and important topic.

### Required Reading:

Students should have read the Introduction and Part I in the student text and completed “Study Guide—Introduction and Part I” (TRB 6-7) or “Advanced Study Guide—Introduction and Part I” (TRB-8).

### Handouts:

“Remembering September 11” (TRB-12)

“Considering Oral Histories” (TRB-13), one for each group

### Part 1: Interview Preparation

**1. Considering Oral History**—Begin class with a brief discussion of oral history. What is oral history? Why is it important? What can we learn about a moment in history by asking questions of people who lived through it?

Ask students what they know about the attacks of September 11, 2001. What happened? Why are the attacks significant? How did people around the world react to the attacks? What might students learn from people who remember the attacks? For example, what different information could students learn about September 11 from: a firefighter who worked at Ground Zero in the days and weeks after the attacks? The husband of a person who lost their life in the attacks? An airline security official who was working at the time of the attacks? A security advisor to President George W. Bush? A teacher in the Middle East who watched the attacks on TV? A police officer in Scranton, PA?

**2. Preparing for an Interview**—Tell students that they will be interviewing someone they know about September 11. Distribute “Remembering September 11” and tell students to read the instructions and questions. Give students a few minutes to think about whom they would like to interview. Encourage them to think about the kind of information they could learn from the experiences and views of the person they are interviewing. Ask students to brainstorm three additional questions they want to ask. Students should write these questions on the handout.

### Homework:

Students should conduct their interview and complete “Remembering September 11.”



Name: \_\_\_\_\_

**Part I: Oral History and September 11****Part 2: Interview Debrief**

**1. Forming Small Groups**—Divide the class into groups of three or four and distribute “Considering Oral Histories.” Instruct students to share with their group what they learned from their interview and what their interviewee’s experiences and memories of September 11 were. Each group should record their answers to the questions on the handout. Encourage students that filmed or recorded their interviews to share a few minutes of the recordings with their group.

**2. Sharing Conclusions**—Gather the class together and call on students to discuss their group’s interviews. Did the interview subjects share any common memories, experiences, or attitudes? How did people’s experiences and views differ? Did students learn anything new about September 11 from conducting these interviews? In the years following the attacks, September 11 was a highly emotional topic for people across the country. Do students think this is still true today? Do students think that the fear of terrorism that emerged in the United States after September 11 shaped public opinion and policy making at the time (for example, the decision to embark on wars in Iraq and Afghanistan)? If so, how? If not, why not? Does that fear still exist today?

Do students think that conducting interviews about individuals’ experiences is a valuable way to learn about history? What are the benefits of oral history? What are its limitations?

**3. Reassessing Student Views**—Ask students to reflect on their own views about September 11. How have their attitudes toward the attacks changed over time? Have students’ opinions and perspectives on September 11 changed since hearing about someone else’s personal experience?

**Extra Challenge:**

Ask students what other stories would be important to hear to gain a fuller understanding of September 11. Tell students that there are many written accounts and audio interviews available online in which people share their memories of and reflections on September 11. For example, StoryCorps provides a compilation of audio interviews of people who were directly affected by the attacks: <<http://www.911memorial.org/StoryCorps>>. “Portraits of Grief” by *The New York Times* is based on interviews with friends and families of victims: <<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/us/portraits-of-grief.html>>.

Have students explore accounts of September 11 and write a short essay on how two of those stories changed students’ understanding of the event.

**Homework:**

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

## Remembering September 11

---

*Instructions:* In addition to the thousands of individuals who lost their lives on September 11, 2001, countless people from the United States and around the world were deeply affected by the attacks. Their experiences are a part of the history of September 11. To gain a deeper understanding of September 11, you will be asked to interview someone who vividly remembers this event. The subject of your interview could be an older sibling, a relative, or a family friend.

Since September 11 is a painful and emotional memory for many people, sensitivity and respect on your part are essential. Try not to interrupt as people tell their stories. You may find it helpful to make an audio or video recording of your interview. In the course of the interview, you should seek answers to the questions below. Be prepared to discuss the results of your interview in class.

1. Name of interviewee:
2. What were you doing on September 11, 2001? How did you find out about the attacks?
3. What was your immediate reaction to the attacks? What memories are most vivid?
4. What do you remember about the response of people in the United States? The international community? The U.S. government?
5. Do you consider September 11 to be a pivotal event in your life? In the history of the United States? In world history? Did September 11 change things? (For example, your personal life? Your views of the United States and the world?)
6. What did you think about terrorism before the attacks? Did the attacks change your view on terrorism? If so, how? Do you feel the same way today?
7. Do you think that September 11 offers any lessons for people in the United States?

*Additional Questions:*

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.



## Study Guide—Part II

---

*Vocabulary:* Be sure that you understand these key terms from Part II of your reading. Circle terms that you do not know.

Islamophobia  
network  
human rights abuses  
intelligence  
ideological movement

affiliates  
*jihad*  
social media  
transitional government  
corruption

nuclear weapons  
militia groups  
white supremacist

*Questions:*

1. In speeches and public statements, what were bin Laden's complaints against the United States?

a.

b.

c.

2. Give three reasons why many religious scholars say it is incorrect to identify the religion of Islam as violent and intolerant.

a.

b.

c.

3. Where are ISIS and Boko Haram based?

4. How do terrorist groups use social media and the internet?



Name: \_\_\_\_\_

5. Fill in the chart below:

	How does terrorism affect this country?	How does terrorism in this country affect other places?
Pakistan		
Somalia		
Yemen		
Nigeria		
Syria		

6. What is homegrown terrorism? Give two examples to illustrate your answer.

7. How might terrorist groups acquire a nuclear weapon?

8. The number of antigovernment and patriot militia groups in the United States has jumped from \_\_\_\_\_ in 2008 to more than \_\_\_\_\_ in 2016.

## Advanced Study Guide—Part II

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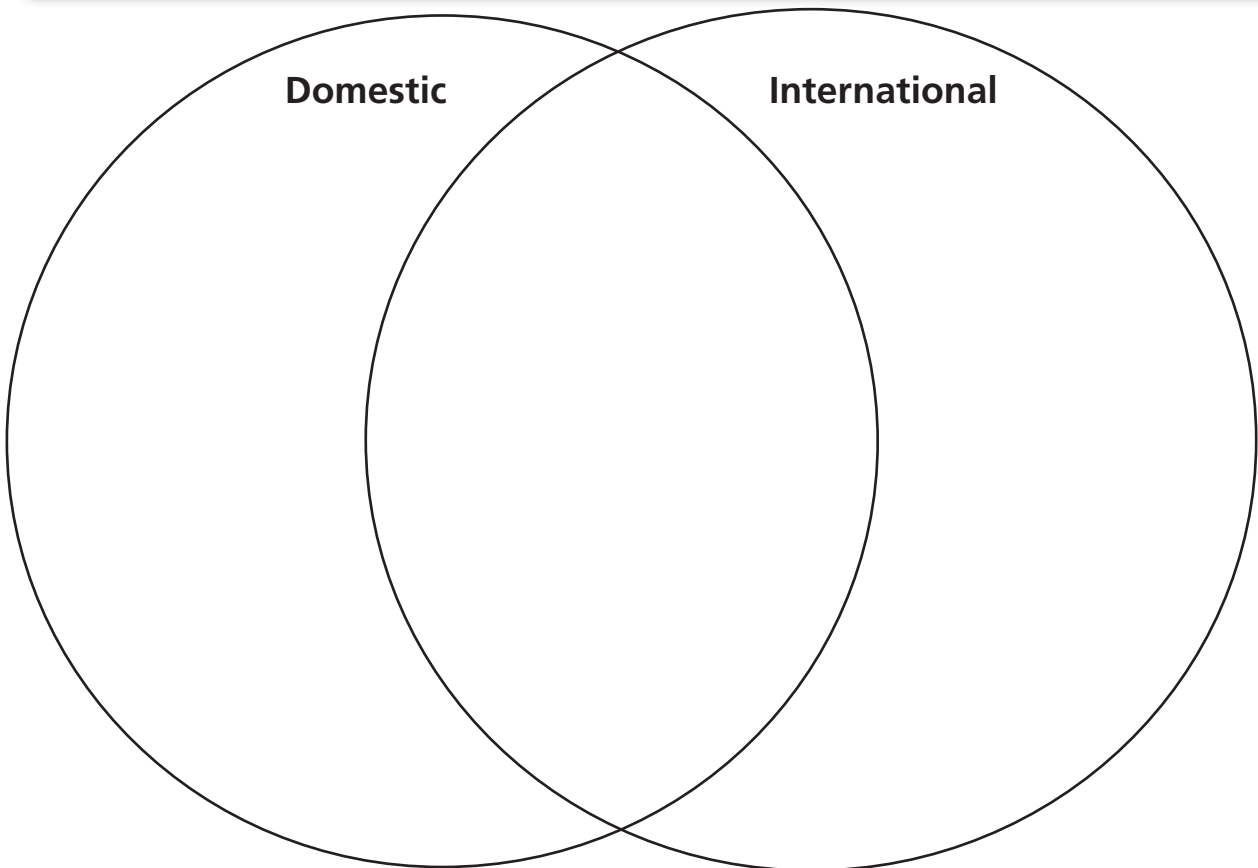
1. How has the threat from extremist Muslim terrorists changed since September 11?
2. What is Islamophobia? What are the political, economic, and social consequences of Islamophobia in the United States?
3. U.S. officials are particularly concerned about the terrorist threats from Pakistan, Somalia, Yemen, Syria, and Nigeria. Choose two of these countries and explain why this is.
  - a.
  - b.
4. What domestic threats from terrorism does the United States face?

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

## Threats from Terrorism

*Instructions:* Use information from 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 are both domestic and international. List as many of the threats from terrorism that you can find in Part II of your reading in the box. Then write each issue in the appropriate part of the overlapping circles. If the threat applies only to the United States, place the issue in the domestic section of the circle. If it is solely an international threat, place it in the international section. If the challenge applies to both, place it in the overlapping segments of the circles.

**List the major threats from terrorism today:**



## 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 Part II in the student text and completed “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 14-15) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-16).

### Videos:

Short, free videos that you may find useful in this lesson are available at [http://www.choices.edu/resources/scholars\\_terrorism\\_lesson.php](http://www.choices.edu/resources/scholars_terrorism_lesson.php).

### Handouts:

“Terrorists or Freedom Fighters?” (TRB-19)

“Case Studies” (TRB 20-24), one or two for each group

### In the Classroom:

**1. Setting the Stage**—Distribute “Terrorists or Freedom Fighters?” to students and ask them to read it. Why do students think experts disagree about how to define terrorism? In what ways does one’s perspective, experiences, or values affect one’s understanding of terrorism? For example, why have certain groups been labeled freedom fighters by some and terrorists by others? How might the way groups use force affect how observers describe them? For example, can students think of examples when the decision to use force was justifiable, but the kind of force used was not?

**2. Defining Terrorism**—Form groups of three to five students and have groups come up with a working definition of terrorism. Do students agree with the U.S. State Department’s definition, or do they think it needs to be adjusted? Does it matter what the target of the terror act is? For example, is it terrorism if a military base is attacked? What about a government building? Does it matter who the perpetrator of the violence is? For example, can the actions of states be considered terrorism?

**3. Case Studies**—Give each group one or two of the “Case Studies.” Emphasize that the intent is for students to try to make a distinction between terrorists and freedom fighters.

Before students begin working on the case studies, you may wish to show them the following videos from Choices:

“What do you think the phrase ‘One man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter’ means?” answered by Thomas Nichols of the U.S. Naval War College, Michael Bhatia and James Green of Brown University; and “Can terrorists have legitimate demands?” by Thomas Nichols.

Assign a student from each group to record the group’s conclusions. When groups finish, they should return to their definitions of terrorism and make adjustments if necessary.

**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? Did groups need to make changes to their definitions of terrorism? Why or why not?

### Homework:

Students should read Part III of the reading in the student text and complete “Study Guide—Part III” (TRB 25-26) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part III” (TRB-27).



Name: \_\_\_\_\_

## Terrorists or Freedom Fighters?

The definition of “terrorism” is open to debate. The U.S. State Department defines terrorism as politically motivated violence directed at civilians and perpetrated by nonstate groups. Some argue that this definition should be broadened to include state actions. They assert that states can sponsor terrorism and perform terrorist acts. For example, they may use force to instill fear in their citizens. Others argue that violence directed against political targets, such as assassinations or attacks on government buildings, are also terrorism.

One question is central to debates about the definition of terrorism—can the use of force ever be considered legitimate (legal) or justified? States have traditionally claimed a monopoly on the legal right to use force or violence. For example, according to international law, states may use force in self-defense against armed attacks. Others oppose the use of violence in all cases. For example, Mohandas Gandhi led a movement of national liberation in India organized around the practice of nonviolent resistance.

After World War II, the use of violence in struggles for self-determination and national liberation fueled a new aspect of debates about the use of force—the differences between freedom fighters and terrorists. Newly independent nations argued that the use of force to oppose colonial powers or Western domination was legitimate and that the individuals involved were freedom fighters. Yet their opponents labeled them as terrorists.

**“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.”**

—Moulaye el-Hassan, 1986, UN  
 Ambassador from Mauritania

Critics countered that this argument was misleading, because it failed to consider the issue in its entirety. They argued that the ends could not be used to justify the means.

In the late 1970s, the UN extended the protections of the Geneva Conventions to groups fighting against colonial domination, occupation, or racist regimes, as well as to those exercising their right to self-determination. This change seemed to extend legitimacy to groups other than states to use force.

Even though international law deems force legitimate, long-held international standards that limit how much force can be used also exist. For example, a legal principle known as “proportionality” holds that it is wrong to use more force than is necessary to achieve success.

The events of September 11 and the U.S. response to terrorism have led many 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?

With your group members, come up with a definition of terrorism, and write it below.

### Terrorism Definition:



## Case Study: The Earth Liberation Front

---

*Instructions:* Read your assigned case study with your group and answer the questions that follow. When you finish, look back over the definition of terrorism you wrote. Do you think this definition is still accurate? Make any changes you think are necessary.

In the early 1990s, a group of radical environmentalists in England formed the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) to combat environmental destruction. Now active in North America as well, the loosely connected group seeks to protect habitats for endangered animals, eliminate animal testing for the medical and beauty industry, and reduce oil dependency.

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 communicate its message. In August 2003, the group claimed responsibility for setting fire to twenty Hummer SUVs at a California dealership. The group has also claimed responsibility for releasing hundreds of animals from 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. Are the members of the ELF described above terrorists or revolutionaries? Why?

2. Was the way that force was used acceptable? Why or why not?

3. What is your view of the response of the state to the ELF's use of force?







## Case Study: South Africa

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*Instructions:* Read your assigned case study with your group and answer the questions that follow. When you finish, look back over the definition of terrorism you wrote. Do you think this definition is still accurate? Make any changes you think are necessary.

In 1948, the South African government codified into law its system of racial segregation known as apartheid. The African National Congress (ANC), a political movement started in the early twentieth century, launched a national campaign of nonviolent resistance against apartheid. But, after years of political struggle, the ANC had made little progress against the increasingly oppressive apartheid regime.

In the early 1960s, the ANC decided to 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 the township of Sharpeville, the ANC embarked on a campaign of sabotage against the country's infrastructure and armed resistance against the South African government. Racially motivated violence plagued the country as the South African government cracked down on black South Africans. In 1976, government forces killed more than six hundred people in an uprising at the Soweto township. While the ANC mainly targeted political, economic, and military targets, the group also harmed civilians. For example, a car bomb detonated by the ANC in 1983 killed nineteen and wounded more than two hundred, many of them civilians.

1. Are members of the ANC described above terrorists or revolutionaries? Why?

2. Was the way that force was used acceptable? Why or why not?

3. What is your view of the response of the state to the ANC's use of force?

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

## Study Guide—Part III

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*Vocabulary:* Be sure that you understand these key terms from Part III of your reading. Circle terms that you do not know.

Global War on Terror	targeted assassinations	sovereignty
personal freedoms	imminent threats	economic openness
insurgency	economic weapons	civil liberties
international law	intelligence sharing	infrastructure

*Questions:*

1. Why did the United States go to war in:
  - a. Afghanistan?
  
  
  
  
  - b. Iraq?

2. Fill in the chart below:

	What is this program?	Why is it controversial?
Extraordinary Rendition and Secret Prisons		
Drone Attacks		
Targeted Assassinations		

3. Give an example of each of the following:

- a. Economic policy to fight terrorism
  
  
  
  
- b. Diplomatic policy to fight terrorism

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

4. What is the department of Homeland Security, and what is its main purpose?

5. What was the Patriot Act, and what did it allow the government to do?

6. What did Edward Snowden reveal about government surveillance?

7. What reasons has the United States given for trying suspected terrorists in military tribunals rather than in the criminal court system?

8. Why did many U.S. politicians speak out against the U.S. treatment of detainees?

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

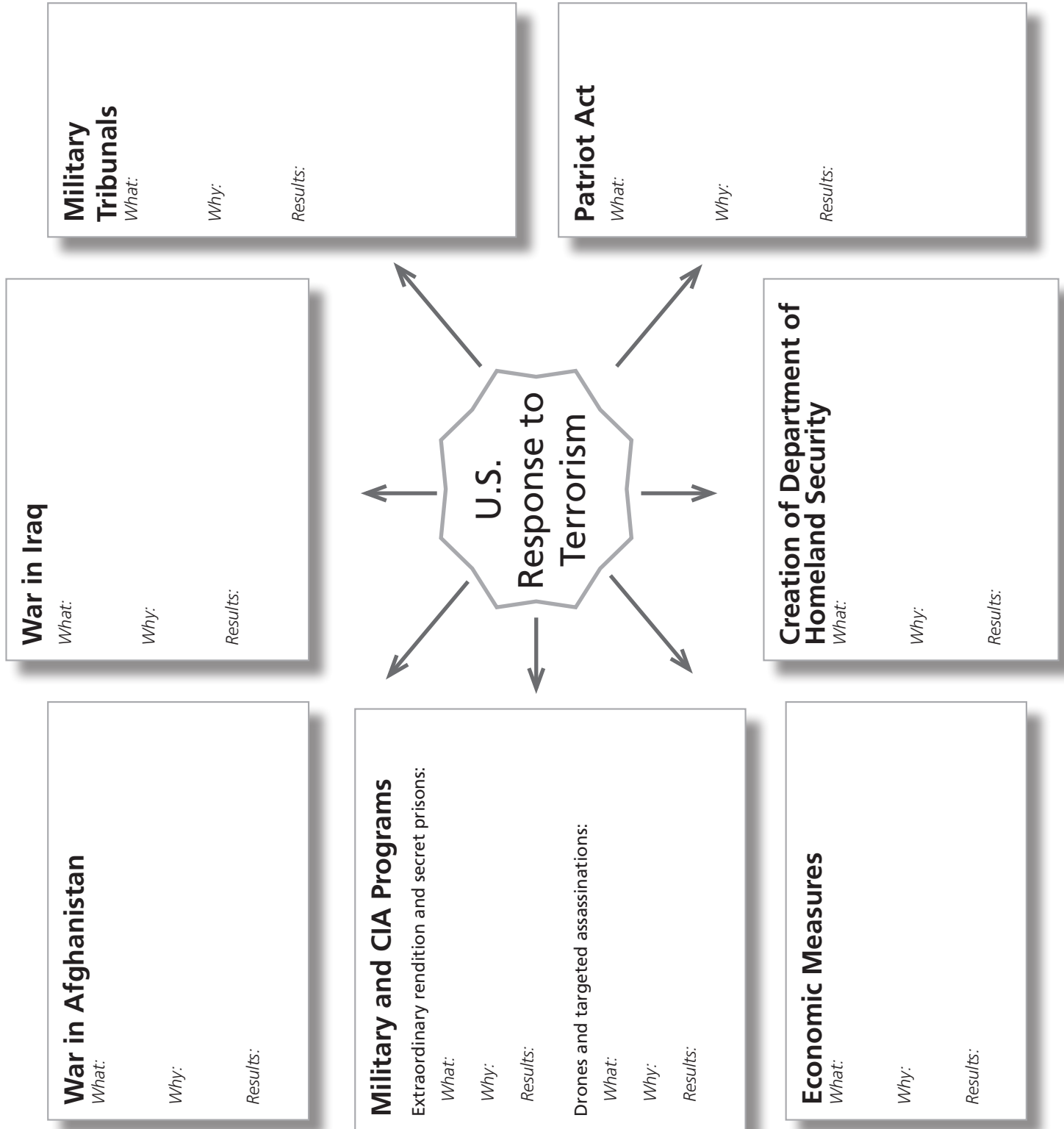
## Advanced Study Guide—Part III

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1. Why have certain U.S. programs to fight terrorism been controversial?
2. What is ISIS? How and why did ISIS form?
3. What are the domestic policy issues that the United States faces in the struggle against terrorism?
4. How did President Obama change the U.S. approach to terrorism? In what ways has this approach remained the same?
5. In your opinion, what U.S. policies are most effective in fighting terrorism?

# Responding to Terrorism

*Instructions:* Use your reading to help you fill in the boxes below. For each policy, explain **what** it is, **why** it was carried out, and what the **results** have been.





## Interpreting Political Cartoons

---

### Objectives:

**Students will:** Interpret political cartoons about terrorism.

Identify the message and point of view of the cartoons.

### Required Reading:

Before the lesson, students should read Part III in the student text and complete “Study Guide—Part III” (TRB 25-26) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part III” (TRB-27).

### Handouts:

“Political Cartoons” (TRB 30-34)

(A slideshow of the cartoons is available at <[www.choices.edu/terrorismmaterials](http://www.choices.edu/terrorismmaterials)>.)

“Political Cartoon Techniques” (Optional) (TRB-35)

### In the Classroom:

**1. Getting Started**—Distribute “Political Cartoons” to the class. Divide the class into groups of three or four each. Working in groups, have students discuss each cartoon and answer the questions provided. Emphasize that students should draw on information from 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.) As an alternative, you may wish to break up the cartoons among the groups and have students report back to the class on their assigned cartoons.

**Optional:** You may also wish to challenge your students to complete a more in-depth analysis of the cartoons. Before distributing the cartoons to students, distribute “Political Cartoon Techniques” and review the techniques as a class. In addition to answering the four questions that accompany the cartoons, ask students to identify at least two techniques that each cartoonist used and explain what ideas are conveyed through each technique.

**Note:** It could be helpful to analyze one cartoon together as a class before sending students off in their groups.

**2. Drawing Connections**—Select several cartoons from the collection. Discuss how the points of view of the cartoonists are reflected in the cartoons. Were the students surprised by the variety of perspectives?

### Extra Challenge:

Have the students draw cartoons to illustrate their own views on the U.S. response to terrorism.

### Homework:

Students should read the “Options in Brief” in the student text.

## Political Cartoons

*Introduction:* The strong feelings raised by politics and international issues inspire political cartoonists around the world. Cartoons not only reflect the events of the times, but they also offer interpretations and express strong opinions about these events as well. The cartoons in this collection address issues raised by terrorism.

*Instructions:* Answer questions 1-3 in the space near each cartoon. You should answer question 4 on a separate sheet of paper.

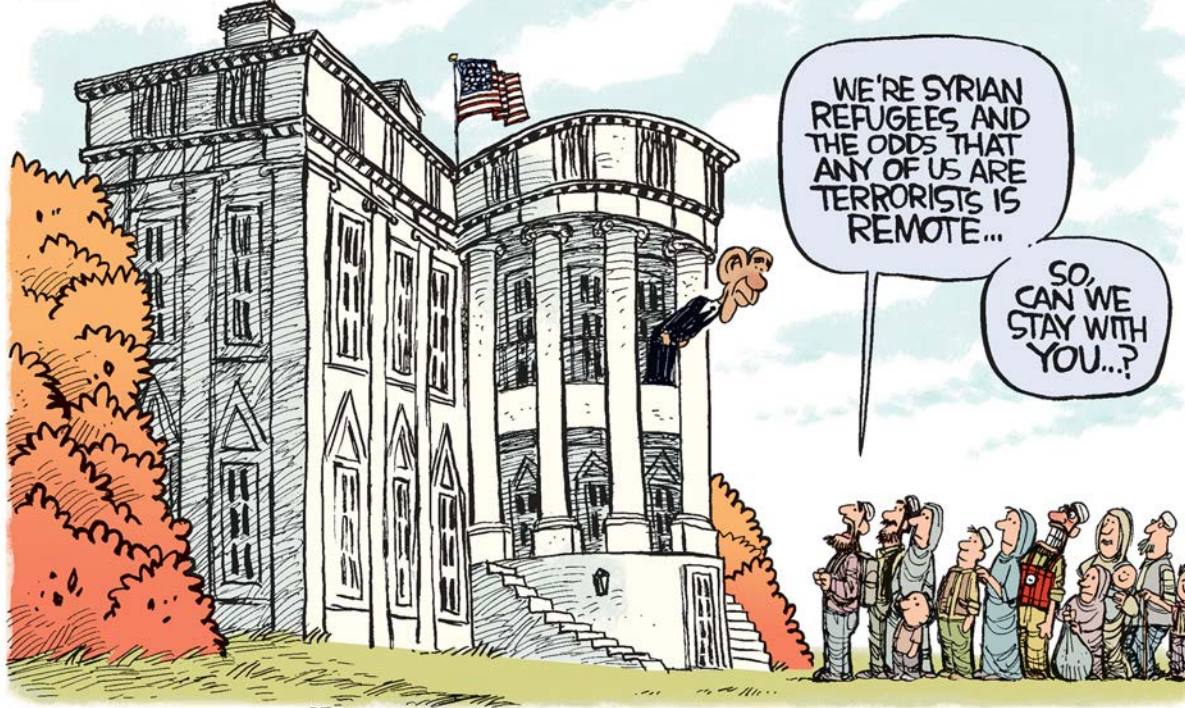
1. Who or what is depicted in the cartoon?
2. Does the cartoon have a message? What is it?
3. What alternative opinions about the issue discussed in the cartoon might someone have?
4. Choose one cartoon in the collection. Are there others addressing the same issue? How do the messages differ? How are they the same?



- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

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caglecartoons.com



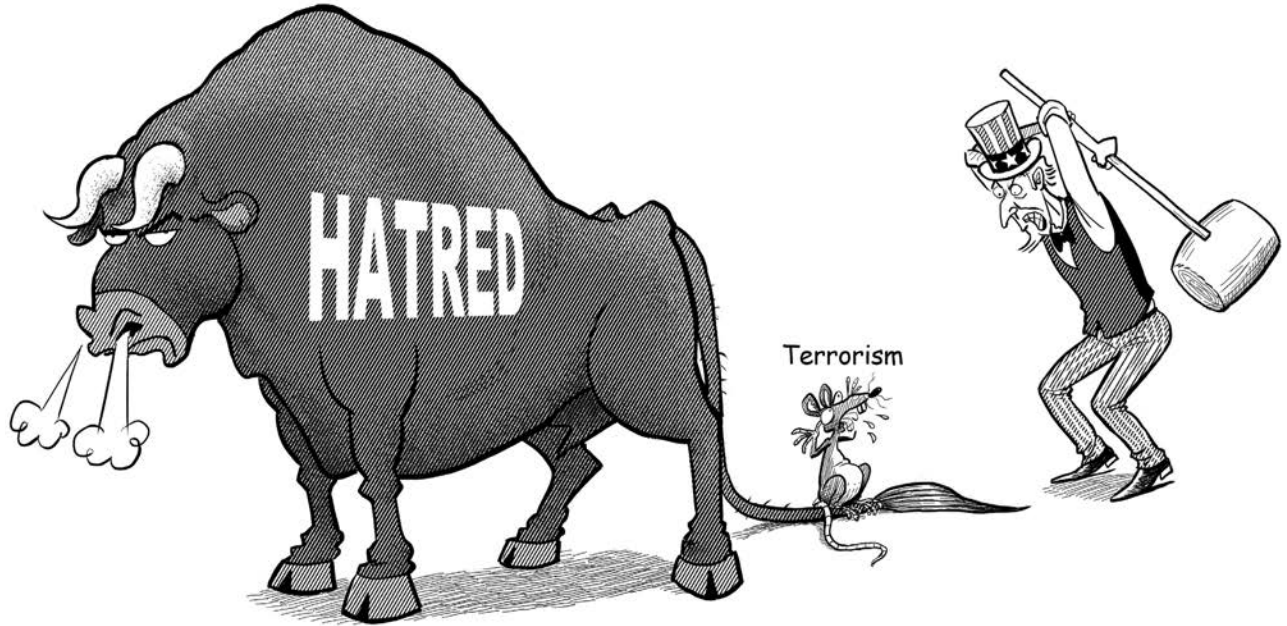
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Mike Thompson—The State Journal-Register, Springfield, Illinois



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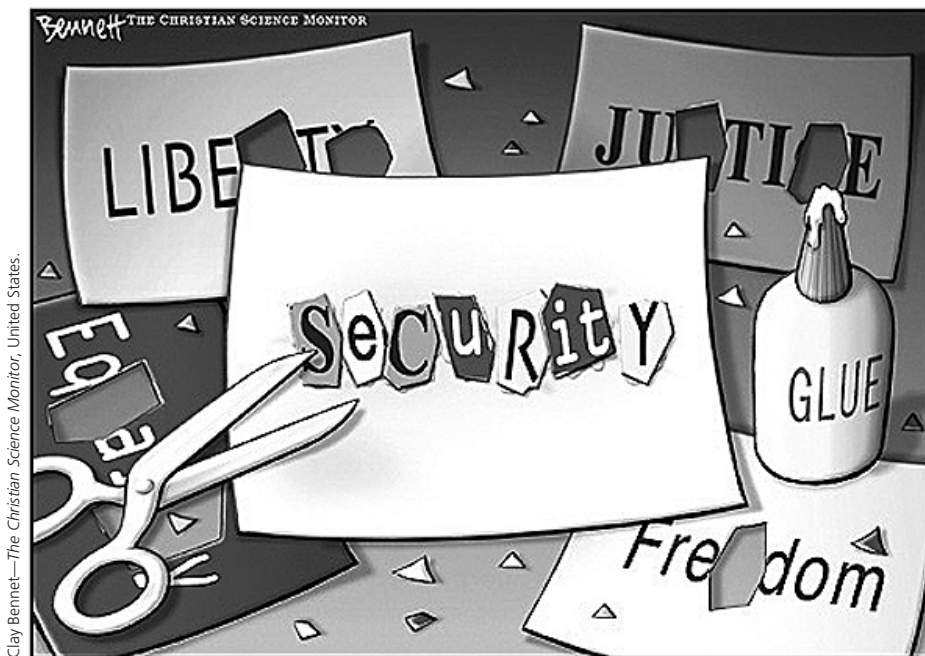
"... WHY BOTHER... THEY SEEM PERFECTLY WILLING TO KILL EACH OTHER WITHOUT ANY HELP FROM US..."





Courtesy of Cox and Forkum, United States.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.



Clay Bennet—The Christian Science Monitor, United States.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

## Political Cartoon Techniques

---

*Introduction:* Cartoonists use a variety of methods to convey their ideas. The techniques they use include:

- Labels:** Cartoonists often identify or name certain things in their cartoons so that it is apparent what the things represent.
- Symbolism:** Cartoonists may use simple objects to represent larger ideas or concepts.
- Analogy:** Cartoonists may compare a simple image or concept to a more complex situation in order to help the viewer understand the situation in a different way.
- Irony:** Cartoonists may express an opinion on a topic by highlighting the difference between the way things are and expectations of the way things should be.

---

*Instructions:* Work with your group to analyze the cartoons your teacher has assigned you. You will be asked to identify the techniques that each cartoonist used. The following questions will help guide your thinking.

- If the cartoonist used **labels**, what things in the cartoon are labeled? Why do you think the cartoonist chose to label those things?
- If the cartoonist used **symbolism**, what things in the cartoon are symbols? What do they stand for?
- If the cartoonist used an **analogy**, what two ideas or situations are compared? How does this comparison help the viewer see the complex situation in a different way?
- If the cartoonist used **irony**, what does the cartoonist show about the way things are? How does the cartoonist think that things should be?

## The Options Role Play: Organization and Preparation

---

### Objectives:

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

Understand the perspectives of various 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.

### Required Reading:

Students should have read the Options in Brief.

### Handouts:

“Presenting Your Option” (TRB-38): option groups

“Expressing Key Values” (TRB-39): option groups

“Input from UN Members” (TRB-40): UN countries group

“UN Members—Issues of Concern” (TRB 41-42): UN countries group

“Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate” (TRB-43): committee members

“Options: Graphic Organizer” (TRB-44): all students

### In the Classroom:

**1. Planning for Group Work**—In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning this lesson. During the lesson, students will be preparing for the upcoming role play. Remind them to incorporate information from the reading as they develop their presentations and questions.

**2a. Option Groups**—Form four groups of five students each. Assign an option from the student text 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 the next class period to present the case for its assigned option to members of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. 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.

**2b. UN Representatives**—Assign one or two students to be the representative from each UN member described in the handout. Distribute “Input from UN Members” and “UN Members—Issues of Concern” to these students. Inform students that, following the options presentations during the simulation, they will be asked to present their country’s concerns to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

**2c. Committee Members**—The remainder of the students will serve as members of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. Distribute “Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate” to each committee member. While the option groups and UN members are preparing their presentations, members of the Committee on Foreign Relations should develop clarifying questions to ask during the option groups’ presentations. (See “Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate.”) Remind committee members that they are expected to turn in their questions at the end of the role play.

**3. Understanding the Options**—Give all students a copy of “Options: Graphic Organizer.” As they prepare for the simulation, students should begin to fill in the graphic organizer and use it to help them organize their thoughts. They should complete the worksheet during the role play.

### **Suggestions:**

See our short video for teachers “Tips for a Successful Role Play” <[www.choices.edu/pd/roleplay.php](http://www.choices.edu/pd/roleplay.php)>.

In smaller classes, other teachers or administrators may be invited to serve as UN members or members of the committee. In larger classes, additional roles—such as that of a newspaper reporter—may be assigned to students. Students in these additional roles should have the opportunity to question the Senate Committee after the committee has heard from all four options.

### **Extra Challenge:**

Ask the option groups to design a poster illustrating the best case for their options.

### **Homework:**

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

## Presenting Your Option

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### Preparing Your Presentation

**Your Assignment:** Your group has been called upon to appear before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. Your assignment is to persuade the committee members that your option should serve as 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 on one of the following roles:

- The **group director** is responsible for organizing your presentation to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
- The **legal expert** is responsible for explaining the legal issues at stake in dealing with terrorism.
- The **foreign policy adviser** is responsible for explaining why your option best addresses the foreign policy challenges facing the United States.
- The **domestic policy advisor** is responsible for explaining why your group's option best addresses the domestic policy challenges presented by international terrorism.
- The **historian** is responsible for explaining how the lessons of history help justify your group's position.

Before preparing your part of the presentation, work together to address the questions below and to complete the "Expressing Key Values" worksheet. As a group, also fill in your option's section of the "Options: Graphic Organizer." In your presentation, be sure to use quotes and evidence from your reading and outside sources to help explain the views of your group.

### Making Your Case

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

### Consider the following questions as you prepare your presentation:

1. What is your option's long-term vision for responding to terrorism?
2. According to your option, what policies and strategies should the United States pursue to achieve this vision?
3. How will your option affect people in the United States? People in other countries?
4. How might your option be challenged or resisted?



## Expressing Key Values

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Values play a key role in creating public policy. What do we believe about ourselves? What matters most to us? When strongly held values come into conflict, which are most important?

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 an important role in our civic life as well and influence our political beliefs. In the United States, the country's political system and foreign policy have been shaped by a wide range of values. Since the country's beginning, commitments to freedom, democracy, and individual liberty have been cornerstones of U.S. national identity. At the same time, many have fought hard for justice, equality, and the rights of others. Throughout U.S. history, people have spoken out when policies have not reflected their values and demanded that the government live up to the ideals of its citizens.

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 country. At times, U.S. leaders have emphasized the values of human rights and international cooperation. On other occasions, the values of U.S. stability and security have been prioritized.

Some values fit together well. Others are in conflict. U.S. citizens are constantly forced to choose among competing values in the ongoing debate about foreign policy. Each of the four options revolves around a distinct set of 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. According to your option, why should these values be the guiding force for U.S. policy against terrorism?

## Input from UN Members

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*Instructions:* Each member of your group is serving as the ambassador to the United States from a different country. After each of the policy options has been presented to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, you will be called upon individually to give a brief statement on behalf of your country. Your job is not to voice your opinion on the four options presented. Rather, you are expected to inform the committee members about policy issues of concern to you. This worksheet will help you prepare your presentation.

1. What does the Senate Foreign Relations Committee need to know about how your country sees the U.S. response to terrorism?
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
2. How might your country be able to contribute to a response to terrorism?
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
3. What constraints does your country have in addressing terrorism?

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

## UN Members—Issues of Concern

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**Russia:** For years, Russia has battled with Muslim separatists seeking independence in Chechnya—a region in the southern part of your country. Your government has called these separatists “terrorists.” Russia holds them responsible for the 2004 school hostage siege in Beslan that killed nearly 350 innocent civilians and for other terrorist attacks. The Russian government has 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. Indonesia 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. After the Bali attack and another bombing at a Marriott Hotel in Jakarta in August 2003, Indonesia pledged to hunt down and bring terrorists to trial. There have been numerous terrorist attacks since the Bali bombing, many of them against U.S. businesses and tourists. For example, a January 2016 attack that killed twenty-four people began

at a Starbucks. Since 2011, terrorists have focused their attacks primarily against the police. Between 2009 and 2011, Indonesia’s counterterrorism forces arrested more than 700 suspected terrorists. In 2011, the government announced that the military would have a role in fighting domestic terrorism. 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. Some have also expressed fears about military brutality towards the civilian population. In 2013, Indonesia joined an international coalition of countries that cooperate to stop money laundering and other financial transactions by terrorists.

**India:** Your country has the second largest population in the world and is the world’s largest democracy. While your government supports the U.S. struggle against terrorism, it is concerned about U.S. ties with Pakistan. India is locked in a long-term dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir, where extremist Muslim militants have launched attacks for years. In addition, Indian leaders believe that Pakistani-based terrorists—with the support of Pakistan’s government—are behind a number of deadly attacks in Mumbai and New Delhi. Current U.S. assistance to Pakistan seems hypocritical in light of the U.S. struggle against terrorism. The United States has agreed to sell India advanced defensive military equipment to balance U.S. growing ties with Pakistan. India also has important strategic and economic interests in Afghanistan and has invested more than ten billion dollars in the country.

**Jordan:** Jordan is considered a pro-Western country in the Middle East. It has a free-trade agreement with the United States. At the same time, Jordan sits in a precarious location, bordering Israel, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Syria. Many of Jordan’s citizens do not support the U.S. military campaign in Iraq or U.S. policies

in the Middle East. In 1994, Jordan signed an important peace treaty with Israel, although it is a strong supporter of the Palestinian people. 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 11 percent, and your economy relies on Iraqi oil and business connections. Your country is only now beginning to recover from the economic 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. While the monarchy in Jordan was not overthrown like many other Middle Eastern regimes beginning in 2010, your country has been profoundly affected by these events. In particular, Syria's civil war, which has forced nearly four million Syrians to flee the country, has led nearly 700,000 refugees to come to Jordan. In 2016, one out of every ten people residing in Jordan was a refugee. The crisis has heightened political, economic, security, and resource difficulties within Jordan.

**Germany:** As a member of NATO, your government has been a strong supporter of the United States. But 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. One in five Germans believes the U.S. government had a role in the September 11 attacks. Germany's opposition to the war severely strained its relationship with the United States. Although Germany is a NATO member and has contributed troops and funds to the reconstruction of Afghanistan, many Germans are opposed to using German military forces in Afghanistan and do not support U.S. military efforts there. Germany has cooperated fully with the United States in hunting down terrorists associated with al Qaeda and other terrorist groups, though it disagrees on how to try the suspects. U.S.-German relations were further challenged when it became known in 2014 that the United States wiretapped Chancellor Angela Merkel's phone. Another challenge that your country faces is how to

respond to the influx of refugees from war-torn countries where terrorist organizations thrive. In 2015, Germany took in more than 700,000 refugees, many of them from Syria. Domestic fears about potential terrorists entering the country as refugees has heightened Islamophobia in Germany.

**France:** Historically, you and the United States have enjoyed strong diplomatic relations, but that relationship has not been without its tensions. While your country politically and logistically supported the U.S. campaign in Afghanistan in 2001, your country strongly opposed the war in Iraq in 2003. France's opposition to the invasion of Iraq, and its threat to use its veto power in the UN Security Council vote on the matter, strained your relationship with the United States. Despite these tensions, in years since, your country's relations with the United States have continued to improve. While your country does not agree with every U.S. position, France and the United States have worked together closely to address issues such as terrorism and nuclear proliferation. For example, in September of 2014, France announced that it had conducted airstrikes against ISIS targets in Iraq in a U.S.-led attempt to weaken the terrorist organization. Concerns in your country about terrorism grew rapidly in 2015 after two separate terror attacks—one in January that killed twelve and one in November that killed 130 and wounded 368 others—devastated your country as well as the international community. ISIS claimed responsibility for the November attacks. Your government responded by vowing to fight terrorism, declaring a state of emergency in France, increasing national security measures, and upping the number of bombs it drops on ISIS targets. Another challenge that your country faces is how to respond to the influx of refugees from war-torn countries where terrorist organizations thrive. France's large Muslim population and the refugee crisis have heightened feelings of Islamophobia in your country.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

## Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate Hearing on U.S. Policy On Terrorism

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### Your Role

As a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate, you consider issues relating to U.S. foreign policy. As you know, the world is constantly changing. U.S. foreign policy must keep up with the changes that have taken place. These hearings will introduce you to four distinct positions on U.S. policy on terrorism.

### Your Assignment

While the 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 the role play.

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 struggle against terrorism, will we lose the cooperation of countries whose help we need?***

During the simulation, the four option groups and UN members 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 make their presentations. Part II should be completed as homework. After this activity is concluded, you may be called on to explain your evaluation of the option groups.



Name: \_\_\_\_\_

## Options: Graphic Organizer

	What does this option think about the threat from terrorism today?	What does this option think about using military force to address terrorism?	What does this option think about working with other countries to address terrorism?	What does this option think about targeted killings?	What does this option think about increased surveillance of U.S. citizens?	What does this option think about following international law?
Option 1: Lead an Assault on Terrorism						
Option 2: Collaborate to Fight Terrorism						
Option 3: Defend the Homeland						
Option 4: Address the Root Causes of Terrorism						

## The Options Role Play: Debate and Discussion

### Objectives:

**Students will:** Explore, debate, and evaluate multiple perspectives on U.S. policy on terrorism.

Articulate the leading values that frame the debate on U.S. policy on terrorism.

Sharpen rhetorical skills through debate, deliberation, and discussion.

Cooperate with classmates in staging a persuasive presentation.

### Handouts:

“Evaluation Form” (TRB-46) for 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 Committee on Foreign Relations 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 from each option group. Encourage the groups to speak clearly and convincingly. During the simulation, all students should fill out “Options: Graphic Organizer.” After each option group has presented, allow time for each UN member to give the statement that they prepared.

**3. Guiding Discussion**—Following the presentations, invite members of the Committee

on Foreign Relations to ask clarifying 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 questions from the UN members group. During the question period, allow any option group member to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit questions following the presentation of each option.)

**Note:** If you have assigned additional roles—such as newspaper reporters—to other students, these students should have an opportunity to question the Senate Committee after the committee has heard from all four options and before giving time for questioning among the options groups.

### Homework:

Students should read each of the four options in the student text, then moving beyond these options, they should fill out “Focusing Your Thoughts” (TRB-48).

### Deliberation:

The consideration of alternative views is not finished when the Options Role Play is over. In the Synthesis lesson, “Joining the Debate on U.S. Policy” students have an opportunity to deliberate with one another about the merits and trade-offs of alternative views. Students then articulate their own views and create their own options for U.S. policy.

See Guidelines for Deliberation at <http://www.choices.edu/deliberation> for suggestions on deliberation.

## Evaluation Form

# Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate

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### Part I

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

What was the most persuasive argument presented against this option?

Option 1

Option 1

Option 2

Option 2

Option 3

Option 3

Option 4

Option 4

### Part II

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

## Joining the Debate on U.S. Policy

### Objectives:

**Students will:** Deliberate with classmates on the merits and tradeoffs of alternative views.

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 and completed “Focusing Your Thoughts” (TRB-48).

### Handouts:

“Your Own Option” (TRB-49)

“Coping with Crisis” (TRB-50)

### In the Classroom:

**1. Debriefing the Role Play**—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. Deliberating Student Options**—Students should have completed “Focusing Your Thoughts” prior to class. Ask them to identify the beliefs that they most strongly support. Encourage them to clarify the connection between their values and beliefs.

Distribute “Your Own Option” to students. Tell students that they are going to deliberate with their classmates prior to creating their own option for U.S. terrorism policy. (See Guidelines for Deliberation at <<http://www.choices.edu/deliberation>> for suggestions on deliberation.)

Encourage students to carefully consider the perspectives of their classmates, to clarify

the connection between their values and their policy recommendations, and to incorporate these ideas on the “Your Own Option” worksheet. Give students three-to-five minutes to complete their own option.

Have some students share their own option with the class. Ask students to compare the recommendations of class members with current U.S. policy. How would their policy recommendations change U.S. policy?

**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 own option 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 might 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 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 terrorism. The first part of the letter should summarize the ideas expressed in the first three questions of “Your Own Option.” In the second part, students should offer their recommendations for U.S. policy on terrorism.

## Focusing Your Thoughts

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### Instructions

You have had an opportunity to consider four options for U.S. policy on terrorism. Now it is your turn to look at each of the options from your own perspective. 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 on U.S. policy.

### 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: Lead an Assault on Terrorism
- Option 2: Collaborate to Fight Terrorism
- Option 3: Defend the Homeland
- Option 4: Address the Root 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 countries to address international problems.
- Terrorism is the single greatest threat facing the United States today.
- Promoting U.S. values abroad is a necessary part of building a more peaceful world.
- When the United States is threatened, citizens should accept that they may need to give up certain rights in order to remain safe.
- Some U.S. policies since September 11 have done more harm than good in the fight against terrorism.
- The United States must be willing to anticipate further problems and use military force 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 poverty and improve education and health care in poorer countries.
- Meddling in the local affairs of other countries is counterproductive and dangerous.
- It is important to follow all international laws.
- Targeted killings and the use of drones are illegal and should not be allowed.
- Surveillance of citizens and noncitizens is an important tool in the fight against terrorism.



Name: \_\_\_\_\_

## Your Own Option

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*Instructions:* In this exercise, you will offer your own recommendations for U.S. policy on terrorism. 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. You should create an option that is logical, persuasive, and that reflects your personal beliefs. Your responses to “Focusing Your Thoughts” and your deliberations with your classmates will help you identify the guiding principles of your proposal.

**Title of Your Own Option:** \_\_\_\_\_

1. What values and interests should guide U.S. policy on terrorism?
  
2. Should the United States work with other countries to address the problem of terrorism? If so, how? If not, why not?
  
3. How does your option address concerns about national security?
  
4. What specific policies should the United States pursue in addressing terrorism? (Use the “What policies should we pursue?” section of the options as a guide.)
  
5. How would your option affect the lives of people in the United States? How would it affect the lives of people in other countries?
  
6. What are the two strongest arguments opposing your option?
  - a.
  
  - b.
  
7. What are the two strongest arguments supporting your option?
  - a.
  
  - b.

## Coping with Crisis

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*Instructions:* Terrorism is characterized by its unpredictability and violence. In this exercise, you will decide how the United States should respond to three hypothetical crises. Consider how the U.S. should respond both domestically and internationally to the problem. You should use your answers to the “Your Own Option” worksheet as a guide in developing your recommendations.

### **Crisis #1—U.S. Oil Ports: Saudi Arabia and Russia 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 country’s oil distribution system. ISIS 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.) The second explosion occurred at Port Everglades, Florida, where nearly four billion gallons of gasoline are stored in tanks above ground. There have also been simultaneous attacks on oil production facilities in Saudi Arabia and Russia. The price of oil has doubled. The economic health of the United States and the world is threatened. Anti-U.S. 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: New York City**

An outbreak of smallpox has been detected in New York City. Experts are concerned that this a biological terror attack. Smallpox was eliminated decades ago, but intelligence experts point out that a long list of countries possess stockpiles of the disease, including the United States, Russia, Israel, Iran, China, North Korea, and Taiwan. Doctors were able quickly to alert other hospitals and the Center for Disease Control. While only six people

have been diagnosed with the disease, experts fear that it will spread rapidly. The six infected people 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 countries 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.

#### **How should the United States respond?**

### **Crisis #3—U.S. Embassy Occupied: Nuclear Weapons Threat**

The United States embassy in London has been taken over by a group of heavily armed men. They have shot and killed several British 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 Afghanistan. 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

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### Introduction and Part I

state  
 nonstate actors  
 extremists  
 self-determination  
 colonial  
 dissent

anarchist  
 revolutionaries  
 hijacking  
 state-sponsored terrorism  
 militant  
 embargoes

sanctions  
 religiously motivated terrorism  
 secular  
 weapons of mass destruction  
 right-wing terrorism

### Part II

Islamophobia  
 network  
 human rights abuses  
 intelligence  
 ideological movement

affiliates  
*jihād*  
 social media  
 transitional government  
 corruption

nuclear weapons  
 militia groups  
 white supremacist

### Part III

Global War on Terror  
 personal freedoms  
 insurgency  
 international law

targeted assassinations  
 imminent threats  
 economic weapons  
 intelligence sharing

sovereignty  
 economic openness  
 civil liberties  
 infrastructure

## Terrorism Issues Toolbox

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### Islamophobia:

Islamophobia refers to unsubstantiated hatred, fear, and discrimination directed at Muslims or people perceived to be Muslim. Since September 11, Islamophobia has influenced both government policy and individual responses to the threat of terrorism. For example, the U.S. government racially profiles Muslims in its surveillance programs, individuals and groups have vandalized mosques, and, in the 2016 presidential primaries, numerous candidates argued that Muslims should not be allowed to enter the United States. Scholars agree that one of the major goals of terrorism is to incite fear. Experts also suggest that this fear, that often manifests itself in Islamophobic practices and policies, causes tension and drives new members to join terrorist organizations. Combatting Islamophobia while also securing the country against the threat that religiously motivated extremism poses continues to challenge the United States.

### Rights and Security:

The United States prides itself on being a free and open society. At the same time, the government is responsible for protecting its people from security threats, such as terrorism. People in the United States continue to engage in debates about the best way to achieve the balance between individual rights and security in relation to terrorism. These ongoing deliberations will likely shape U.S. responses to terrorism.

### Social Media:

The rise of social media—online tools for networking that connect people from around the world—has changed the way that terrorists disseminate their messages. As more people from more places have gained the ability to consume terrorist materials online, terrorism has increasingly become a global concern. As digital technologies continue to evolve, the United States faces questions about the most effective way to provide security for its people while also monitoring suspected terrorists' communications online.

### The United Nations:

The United Nations was created after World War II to maintain international peace and security. The UN charter spelled out procedures for resolving conflicts and stopping aggressive governments through military force, economic sanctions, diplomacy, and other measures. The United Nations established an executive body called the Security Council with five countries as permanent members—the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France, and China. The framers of the UN hoped that the permanent members would share a goal of maintaining global peace and stability by following the procedures for resolving conflict spelled out in the UN Charter. But throughout its history, some have criticized the United Nations for representing only the interests of the powerful countries in the Security Council.

## Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

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Group assignment: \_\_\_\_\_

Group members: \_\_\_\_\_

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<b>Group Assessment</b>	<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
 <b>Individual Assessment</b>					
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





# Prepare Students for College, Career, and Civic Life

Choices' inquiry-based approach to real-world issues promotes the skills required by the C3 Framework.



## Critical Thinking

Guided by compelling questions, students examine historical context, analyze case studies, consider contrasting policy options, and explore the underlying values and interests that drive different perspectives.



## Textual Analysis

Students examine primary and secondary sources and evaluate evidence to understand multiple perspectives on complex international issues.



## Creativity and Innovation

Students form original ideas and express them creatively through writing, drawing, and role play.



## Communication

Students construct, present, and critique arguments using written, oral, and digital communication.



## Collaboration

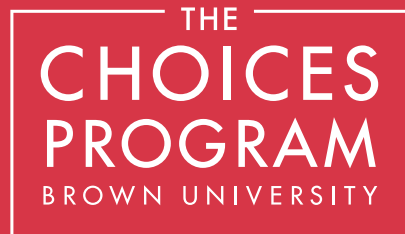
Students engage in deliberative discussions, build on each other's ideas, formulate persuasive arguments, and express their own views.

## Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy

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*Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy* addresses the issues arising from the threat of terrorism. 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 Program at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.



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