

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

## **"Terrorism Threatens International Security"**

In his TED Talk that we watched, Joseph Nye spoke of non-state actors appearing on the international and domestic stage. Non-state actors can be defined as an individual or organization that has significant political influence but is not allied to any particular country or state. With that said, you are to complete the attached reading and annotate,

*How & why have an increased number of non-state actors emerged over the past few decades?*

*To what extent have non-state actors made the United States continue and/or challenge their foreign policy over time?*

In the next few days, we will be watching the documentary "Harvest of Empire". Using those class notes, and thinking back through the rest of the theme, be prepared to discuss the following questions:

1. What is the cost to the United States of its increased presence in the world?
2. How has the role of the United States in the world changed?

ity to control operations damaged. By early 2007, however, it was apparent that from secure bases in Pakistan, Al Qaeda was rebuilding its command structure, directing a growing number of terrorist attacks on the West, and developing new alliances with other terrorist groups across the Middle East, North Africa, and Europe. Global terrorism was not on the run; it was on the march.

## Chapter 10

# Terrorism Threatens International Security

On a dark night in April 2011, a compound at the end of a dirt road in a small village in Pakistan was approached by 79 American commandos. The Navy Seals had arrived in four helicopters. They moved quickly into the compound and opened fire. Of the five people killed, one was identified as Osama bin Laden, the leader of the Al Qaeda terrorist organization responsible for the deaths of nearly 3,000 Americans on September 11, 2001. At long last, America's worst enemy was dead. A significant blow had been dealt to global terrorism and Al Qaeda.

*Terrorism* has been defined as the use of unpredictable violence against society in general and innocent people in particular to express beliefs and achieve political goals. In modern times, terrorism has largely been an instrument of the weak (individuals or small groups of commandos) against the strong (ruling groups and governments). It is a weapon favored by extremists, whatever their beliefs.

After terrorists crashed hijacked airliners into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in 2001, President George W. Bush declared all-out war on terrorism. The president said: "We will direct every resource at our command, every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence and every necessary weapon of war to the disruption and defeat of the global terror network."

The toppling of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan in 2001 and the defeat of Saddam Hussein in Iraq in 2003 were regarded as victories in the war on terror. Western leaders believed that Al Qaeda was on the run, its leaders arrested or killed, and its abil-

## Terrorism: The Historical Background

As a political tool, terrorism was heavily used during the French Revolution (1789–1799). Radical revolutionaries, called *Jacobins*, began a reign of terror by sending supporters of the monarchy and other suspected political enemies to the guillotine for beheading. This kind of terrorism used the instruments of state power against political enemies. Similar methods were used by the Bolsheviks after they seized power in Russia in 1917. In the United States, groups like the Ku Klux Klan used terror as a means of enforcing white supremacy in the South after the Civil War.

**The Post-World War II Years.** After the war, terrorism was used in a number of campaigns for national independence. Nationalists attacked officials and others associated with the British ruling colonial government in Kenya, Cyprus, and South Yemen. In Israel, Zionist leaders Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir led two terrorist groups, Irgun and Stern, which assassinated British officials, and Arabs as well, in their drive to achieve independence for Israel. A long conflict, from 1954 to 1962, pitted Algerian nationalists against the French colonial regime. Anticolonialism of a different sort led to terrorism in Northern Ireland, where Catholic militants fought to end British rule and Protestant militants fought to continue it.

Groups within independent countries also used terror in their campaigns for political and social change. It was a common tactic of *separatists*, who sought to secede from national governments and set up their own homelands. In Spain, a Basque organization, the ETA, became active in the 1960s. Members assassinated the handpicked successor of dictator Francisco Franco in 1973. By the 1990s, ETA terrorism had claimed more than 500 lives. In the Philippines, the Moro National Liberation Front began a campaign to gain independence for Moros

to Iran of the shah. The former ruler had been sentenced to death by the new government. Even after the shah died, in July 1980, the militants refused to release the hostages; they were finally freed in January 1981, after 444 days of captivity. During this period, several Americans and Europeans were kidnapped and held hostage for years by terrorists based in Lebanon.

A notable hijacking incident occurred in 1985. Four gunmen, reported to be members of a PLO splinter group, seized an Italian cruise ship, the *Achille Lauro*, in the eastern Mediterranean. The men demanded the release of Palestinians held prisoner by Israel. Their demand was not met and eventually they surrendered, but not until they had killed a wheelchair-bound American.

In 1989, the Pentagon reported the existence of 52 terrorist groups in various parts of the world. In addition to the terroristic acts committed by the militant groups mentioned here are others, including violence by Armenians and Kurds against Turks and assaults by ultranationalist Germans against foreign workers (Chapter 9).

1. Summarize five major examples of terrorism in the years between 1945 and 1990.
2. Match each victim of political assassination in Column A with his or her country in Column B.

Column A	Column B
1. Anwar Sadat	a. Italy
2. Indira Gandhi	b. Egypt
3. Aldo Moro	c. India

3. Complete the following sentences.
  - a. The Red Army Faction was active in \_\_\_\_\_.
  - b. Beginning in 1979, some 50 Americans were held hostage in \_\_\_\_\_.
  - c. Gunmen who hijacked the *Achille Lauro* demanded \_\_\_\_\_.
  - d. Terrorism against foreign workers was committed by ultranationalists in \_\_\_\_\_.

## Late 20th-Century Terrorist Attacks

**Attacks Around the World.** The Middle East has been the scene of countless terrorist attacks. Many of them involved hostility between Arabs and Jews in Israel. Violence often took the form of

suicide bombings by young Palestinians. These men belonged to such radical groups as Hamas and the Palestine Islamic Jihad. Fourteen such attacks by those two organizations between April 1994 and July 1997 killed more than 150 people. Dozens more suicide attacks came during the second Palestinian intifada, which began in September 2000 (see page 92).

In many Muslim countries, terror was a weapon used by both Islamic fundamentalists and governments. Nowhere was the resulting violence worse than in Algeria. It began in 1992, when the government cancelled elections that the fundamentalists seemed certain to win. Extremist rebels such as the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) massacred thousands of innocent villagers. The government countered with mass arrests, imprisonment, and executions. Estimates of the dead vary from 60,000 to 100,000.

Algeria's troubles spread to France. In 1995 and 1996, several bombings in or near Paris subways killed ten people. The GIA claimed responsibility. France had been targeted because of its ties to the government of Algeria.

In Japan in 1995, extremists released a nerve gas called sarin in five Tokyo subway cars during rush hour. Twelve persons were killed and more than 5,000 injured. Japanese officials blamed the attack on a religious cult called Aum Shinrikyo. This group predicted massive destruction and the end of the world.

Russians became the victims of terrorist attacks in 1999. Night time bomb blasts in apartment buildings in Moscow and elsewhere killed 367 people. Russian authorities blamed Islamists and other militants from Chechnya (see Chapter 2).

In September 2004, the world was shocked by a brutal attack on a Russian school by Chechen rebels. When their demands for a Russian troop withdrawal from Chechnya and independence for the region were not met, bloodshed resulted. Fighting between the rebels and local militia left 300 dead, half of them children. Russian officials referred to the terrorists as "a new generation of fanatics."

◆ How has the use of terror been linked to religion in the Middle East, Europe, and Asia?

**Attacks Against the United States.** During the 1990s, the United States experienced several serious terrorist attacks. In February 1993 in New York City, a powerful truck bomb exploded in a garage under the World Trade Center. It caused extensive damage and six deaths. U.S. authorities blamed Islamists from the

## ***21st-Century Terrorism Sets the World on Edge***

Terrorism reached a stunning new level of violence on the morning of September 11, 2001. Out of a sunny blue sky, two passenger airliners piloted by suicide hijackers plowed into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City and exploded in flames. A third hijacked airliner crashed into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, near Washington, D.C. A fourth plane came down in Pennsylvania woodland. An estimated 3,000 people died that morning in the crashes, the explosions, and the collapse of the Trade Center's 110-story towers.

**"The Day the World Changed."** When the first plane crashed into the north tower of the World Trade Center (or WTC) at 8:48 A.M., it appeared to be a horrible accident. Television cameras quickly carried live coverage showing the gaping hole around the 100th floor and black smoke that billowed out. Police, firefighters, and rescue crews rushed to the site. Office workers sought to flee down elevators and stairways.

Shortly after 9 A.M., TV viewers around the world watched in horror as the second plane smashed into the WTC's south tower. It sent a massive fireball out the opposite side. Within an hour the south tower collapsed. Thousands of office workers and rescuers were killed. An hour later, the north tower collapsed. Dust and smoke floated over lower Manhattan for weeks afterward. The search for bodies and the clearing of the rubble went on for many months.

The second strike at the WTC made it clear that the crashes were no accident. Further evidence came at 9:45 A.M. The third airliner struck the Pentagon, the five-story, five-sided building that houses the U.S. Department of Defense. The exploding plane destroyed about one-fifth of the building.

The planes that hit in New York had both left Boston that morning for cross-country flights to Los Angeles. The third plane was headed from Washington to San Francisco. Teams of four or five hijackers had seized the planes. They were armed with box cutters and small knives that escaped detection at airport security gates. Each team included trained pilots who took over the controls and flew the planes on suicide missions against their carefully chosen targets.

A fourth plane, from Newark, New Jersey, to Los Angeles, was also hijacked. Soon after it passed Pittsburgh it turned back toward the East Coast. But by this time, passengers with cell phones had

Middle East. They linked the bombing to a plot uncovered later in 1993 to blow up the United Nations headquarters in New York City and a tunnel linking the city and New Jersey, and to kill prominent political leaders. A key figure was an Egyptian fundamentalist Muslim leader, Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, who lived in the United States. Four militant Islamists were convicted of the Trade Center bombing in 1994. The sheikh and nine other defendants (including two U.S.-born Muslims) were found guilty in the case involving the broader plot in 1995; and in 1997, a jury convicted the accused mastermind of the Trade Center bombing. He was a Pakistani who wanted to punish the United States for its support of Israel.

A terrorist truck bomb in April 1995 blew up a federal office building in Oklahoma City. It killed 168 people, including 15 children at a day care center. At first, Islamists from the Middle East were suspected. But this time the bomber was an American, Timothy J. McVeigh. A former U.S. soldier, McVeigh had links to right wing militias. These are groups of heavily armed U.S. militants who claim the United States is becoming a police state.

McVeigh apparently wanted to avenge two earlier incidents. In the first, in 1992, federal agents at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, attempted to arrest a white supremacist sought on a weapons charge. Shootouts killed the man's wife and son and a deputy marshal. In the second incident, in 1993, government forces stormed a compound near Waco, Texas. It was occupied by members of a religious cult, the Branch Davidians. In the resulting fire, some 80 Branch Davidians lost their lives. McVeigh was convicted in 1997 and executed in 2001.

In August 1998, car bombs exploded simultaneously at two U.S. embassies in Africa: in Nairobi, Kenya, and in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The death toll came to 270. Twelve Americans were among the dead. U.S. authorities said that the mastermind behind the attacks was an exiled Saudi businessman, Osama bin Laden. They accused him of backing a prolonged campaign of anti-U.S. terrorism. Two weeks after the bombings, U.S. planes attacked bin Laden's camp in Afghanistan and a factory in Sudan that was suspected of making chemical weapons. The USS Cole, a Navy destroyer, was damaged by a terrorist bomb in Yemen in 2000.

◆ *Discuss the differences between the Oklahoma City bombing and the African embassy bombings.*

learned of the attacks in New York and Washington. Risking their own lives to prevent any attack on a fourth target, several passengers rushed the hijackers. At 10:10 A.M. the plane crashed in a remote area southeast of Pittsburgh. There were no survivors. The final moments on the plane's cockpit voice recorder had the sounds of a frantic struggle in or near the cockpit.

The death toll on the four airplanes was 236, not including the hijackers. Another 125 people died at the Pentagon. But the greatest toll was at the World Trade Center. The dead or missing numbered 2,723 people from dozens of different nations. At least 343 firefighters and 60 police officers from the New York vicinity were lost.

The events of the day shocked and sickened Americans and people all over the world. President George W. Bush declared the attacks to be "acts of war." He vowed to strike back against all who had helped the hijackers. Americans who had previously felt safe behind two oceans and powerful armed forces suddenly felt at great risk. In its cover headline, a British news magazine summed it up: September 11 was "The Day the World Changed."

◆ *Why did the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, have such a dramatic impact on the United States?*

**Who Did It—and Why?** News media was cautious about placing blame. But U.S. officials soon named Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda organization as the main suspects.

Investigators traced the names on the four airliners' passenger lists. They concluded that 19 men of Arab origin had been the hijackers. Some had attended flight schools in Florida and other states, training to pilot passenger jets of various sizes. U.S. officials said the men were part of a worldwide terrorist conspiracy directed by bin Laden and associated Islamist extremists. Those extremists sought to impose their militant brand of Islam throughout the Middle East and in other countries with large Muslim populations. And they saw the United States as an obstacle in their way.

President Bush offered his own explanation of the terrorists' motives. In a speech to Congress, the president said: "They hate what we see right here in this chamber, a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms, our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other."

Experts offered further explanations. They said the United States was viewed as an enemy by many people in Third World countries. In the view of its critics, the United States boasted of its democratic ways while sending arms and money to support governments that oppressed their citizens. Many people in the Middle East objected to the U.S.'s strong support for Israel and its frequent use of military force. At the same time, U.S. culture had a wide appeal in Middle Eastern countries. And "the American dream" had continued to attract a steady stream of immigrants to the United States from around the world.

Questions about the attackers' motives also focused on what they expected the United States to do in response. Did they want to provoke the United States into striking back blindly? Perhaps the terrorists hoped that U.S. military action would take a large toll in innocent lives, enrage the world's Muslims, and win new recruits for the Islamist cause. Many Americans worried about such a possibility. But polls showed strong public support for powerful and long-term military action against terrorists and their backers.

◆ *Identify each of the following:*

- a. Osama bin Laden
- b. Al Qaeda

**Effects in the United States.** The attacks of September 11 did more than kill people and destroy buildings. It badly damaged the economy of the United States (and the world). It undermined Americans' sense of security. And it sent waves of grief and anger through U.S. society.

The most immediate blow was to the airline industry. It faced massive insurance claims, sharp rise in future insurance costs, and a sudden drop in passengers. For two days, U.S. authorities barred all planes from the skies. Tough new security measures were put into place. When flights resumed, many seats were empty. Thousands of jittery Americans canceled their travel plans. Ten days after the attack, Congress went to the industry's rescue. It passed a multibillion-dollar package of subsidies and loan guarantees.

The U.S. economy was already troubled by a drop in business activity and a sliding stock market. Stock markets stayed closed for almost a week after the attack. In part this was because several Wall Street firms with offices in the World Trade Center had

lost many people. In part it was because disruptions to telephone and other services affected the nearby New York Stock Exchange. And in part it was to avoid the panicky selling of stocks. When stock markets did reopen, share prices plunged. The markets experienced the worst one-week percentage drop since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Share prices in other nations also fell amid fears of a global recession. Stock prices later regained some of the losses. Fears about the future still kept investors on edge.

In the United States and around the world, tens of thousands of workers lost their jobs. Airlines laid off thousands. So did hotels and other businesses related to travel and tourism. Many large corporations cut production and laid off workers. They were expecting sharp declines in business activity and in future profits. A few industries, however, saw business pick up. Defense industries prepared for new orders. Companies that provide security guards and other protective services had more work than they could handle.

U.S. officials planned major increases in spending as well as new tax cuts to help boost the economy. Before the attacks, Congress had been struggling to protect the federal budget surplus. But after the attacks, the emphasis was on hunting down the terrorists, tightening security within the United States, and reviving the economy.

◆ *What were the economic effects of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001?*

**A Nation Roused.** In the days after September 11, television networks ran and reran the dramatic footage showing the attack on the World Trade Center. Americans responded with fervent displays of patriotism and an outpouring of charity. Flags appeared on homes, businesses, cars, and bicycles. People pinned flag emblems to their clothes. Many wore purple ribbons as a symbol of mourning and of national resolve. Contributions poured in to charities that aided victims of the attacks and their families.

People in other nations added their contributions and their expressions of sympathy. Almost all the world's governments joined in condemning the attacks as atrocities. (An exception was Iraq.) Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat denounced the attacks and donated blood for the victims. But some Palestinians did not share Arafat's attitude. U.S. reporters found many people in Middle Eastern countries who condemned the attacks but were critical of the United States.

**Fighting Terrorism at Home.** The Bush administration immediately asked for and received from Congress more money and expanded authority to fight the terrorist threat within the United States. There were fears that terrorists might stage a chemical, biological, or nuclear attack. President Bush created a new Department of Homeland Security to coordinate federal efforts to protect Americans against terrorism.

Congress granted new powers to agencies like the FBI to tap the phones and monitor the computers of suspected terrorists. It also gave immigration officials expanded powers over immigrants suspected of terrorism. Groups of both left and right warned against reducing civil liberties in the name of fighting terrorism.

In the days and weeks following the attacks, authorities arrested more than a thousand people. Many were aliens or U.S. citizens of Middle Eastern heritage. Some were suspected of playing an active part in terrorism. Others were held as possible witnesses.

As outrage about the murderous attacks built among the U.S. public, Muslims and people of Middle Eastern and South Asian origin came under wide suspicion. Security agents stopped them for questioning at airline check-in counters and boarding gates. Several airline pilots refused to take off until people of Middle Eastern origin were removed from the planes. Angry Americans attacked several Muslim houses of worship. And a few revenge seekers murdered people they assumed to be Muslim.

The 9-11 Commission, led by Thomas Kean, former New Jersey governor, investigated the security problems that made the attacks possible and proposed measures necessary to prevent future disasters. The commission's 567-page report, published in July 2004, placed blame for major intelligence and security failures on both the Clinton and Bush administrations. President Bush ordered an immediate study of the report to rapidly implement the commission's recommendations.

1. *Describe the efforts taken to increase homeland security.*
2. *What was done to respond to Americans' demand to know why the September 11 attacks had not been prevented?*

**Fighting Terrorism Abroad.** President Bush put the nation on a war footing. He called up National Guard units. Warships and attack planes were sent to the Persian Gulf and Southwest Asia. And the president assembled a coalition of partners. (The first

Fresident Bush had done the same before the Persian Gulf War.) Bush said the United States would go after "every terrorist group of global reach" wherever it could be found. The United States would go after nations that harbored the terrorists. "Every nation in every region now has a decision to make," the president added. "Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists." U.S. and British forces invaded Afghanistan to remove the Taliban government sheltering bin Laden and to destroy Al Qaeda bases there.

The United Nations Security Council strongly condemned the assaults on New York and Washington. Within weeks, it passed a resolution requiring all member countries to cooperate in a campaign against terrorists. The resolution also obliged members to deny money and protection to terrorists and their organizations. The council gave those requirements binding force by invoking Chapter Seven of the U.N. Charter. The U.N. did not directly authorize a military response, but U.S. officials said they considered the resolution to be a go-ahead for U.S. military action.

The U.S. "war on terrorism" received strong backing from its allies in the NATO alliance and in Latin America. Russia pledged to share intelligence and give other support. Central Asian nations bordering Afghanistan offered help and bases. Middle Eastern governments gave more tentative support; they feared a backlash from their own people. Saudi Arabia, for example, denied the use of its territory for attacks on Muslim nations.

Under strong pressure from the United States, Pakistan allowed American forces to make use of its territory as a staging area for the military campaign against neighboring Afghanistan. Pakistan's military ruler, General Pervez Musharraf, agreed to help the United States. In return, Pakistan was to receive financial assistance. In addition, U.S. trade sanctions against Pakistan were lifted. The sanctions had been imposed in 1998 when both Pakistan and India had tested nuclear weapons. The United States also dropped sanctions against India when that country backed the antiterrorist campaign.

◆ *Why did the "war on terrorism" begin with military attacks on Afghanistan?*

In March 2003, U.S. and British forces invaded Iraq. Their mission was to destroy weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and free the Iraqis from the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein. No WMDs were found. Nor was it proven that Saddam was funding Al

Qaeda, as President Bush had asserted. Following the rapid defeat of his forces and the collapse of his regime, Saddam vanished. He was captured in December 2003 and eventually placed on trial before an Iraqi court for war crimes. The former dictator was hanged in 2006. The Americans and British began a long-term effort to rebuild Iraq. Ambushes, suicide bombings, and terrorist executions claimed the lives of Iraqis, Americans, and others, as Islamic terrorists and hostile Iraqis continued to attack the U.S.-led coalition.

A new Iraqi government was chosen in a national election in which there was broad Iraqi participation in December 2005. Nouri al-Maliki, a Shiite, eventually became prime minister. However, the Iraqis had voted along ethnic lines. This produced an impasse that has limited the government's effectiveness. The outnumbered Sunnis have felt locked out of a new Iraq dominated by Shiites. As a result, ethnic fighting between rival militias increased. With an increased number of troops supported by Sunni militias, General David Petraeus was able to improve the security situation in Iraq in 2008. That enabled President Barack Obama to begin the gradual reduction of U.S. forces there, setting August 31, 2010, as the date by which American combat troops would be withdrawn. In early 2011, 50,000 U.S. troops remained in bases outside Iraqi cities. These military advisors assisted brigades assigned to noncombat operations.

1. *What action did the United Nations take in response to the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon?*
2. *What did Pakistan stand to gain by siding with the United States? What risk did it take in doing so?*
3. *What were the results of the U.S.-British invasion, defeat, and occupation of Iraq?*

## Case Studies in Terrorism

**The PLO.** When Israel was established in 1948, warfare broke out between the new state and its Arab neighbors. Thousands of Palestinians lost their homes and fled the country. Many lived in refugee camps in Jordan (see Chapter 4). Various pro-Palestinian groups sprang up. Some relied on terrorism to dramatize the Palestinians' cause. In 1964, an umbrella group, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), was formed to unite many of those