

CHAPTER III

THE WAR ON TERROR

At the end of this unit you will be able to:

- Define terrorism
- Discuss why people use terrorism
- List how democratic countries have changed since the start of the 'War on Terror'
- Describe how international law and the UN have been affected by the 'War on Terror'
- Discuss some of the results of recent actions to combat terrorism

BRAINSTORM

What is a "terrorist?" What are some recent examples of terrorism?

VOCABULARY

hijacking (n) taking over a vehicle by force and making demands

hostage (n) person held and used to make demands

inspiration (n) reason to do something; motivation

sabotage (n) act of destroying something

tactic (n) plan; strategy

1. TERRORISM: SOME DEFINITIONS

Terrorism or the use of terror has a long history. Individuals, groups and States have used violence for political and religious reasons for thousands of years. The most common forms of terror have been: assassinations, **sabotage** and **hostage** taking. More modern terrorist tactics include: suicide bombing, **hijacking** and biological warfare. It is important to know that terrorism is as old as traditional war.

What sets terrorism apart from other violence is this: terrorism consists of acts carried out in a dramatic way to attract publicity and create an atmosphere of alarm . . . Terrorism is theatre.

Christian Science Monitor

The use of unlawful violence to create fear, intended to influence or intimidate governments or societies for goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological.

US Defence Department

"If they do it, it's terrorism; If we do it, it's fighting for freedom"

Former US Ambassador to Nicaragua, Anthony Quainton

"... terrorism is a way people wage war when they don't have F-16's or armored divisions."

*William Pfaff
International journalist*

EXERCISE

Match the examples of terrorism on the right with the tactic on the left.

Hijacking	The spiritual leader of Hamas was killed by Israeli forces while he was travelling to the nearby town of Nablus
Suicide bombing	Iraqi oil supply pipes destroyed by rebels.
Sabotage	Deadly germ Anthrax sent in letters to politicians.
Hostage taking	Two Bosnian separatists forced a British Airways jet to fly to Cyprus instead of the scheduled flight to Ankara.
Assassination	A car filled with explosives slammed into the US embassy killing six, including the driver.
Biological warfare	The group demanded that all Korean military should leave Iraq or the captured Korean official would be killed.

2. TERRORISM AND NATIONALISM

WHY IS THERE TERRORISM?

PREVIEW

What are some other examples of terrorism that you know?

What were the reasons, or motivation for these acts of terrorism?

EXERCISE

Write down as many reasons for terrorism you can think of

Religion and politics have been the main **inspirations** for most acts of terrorism throughout history. Terrorism has been a popular method for nationalist groups trying to end colonial rule. Some examples of nationalist groups who have used terrorism since World War II include:

- IRA (Irish Republican Army) in Ireland
- PLO (Palestine Liberation Organisation) in Palestine/Israel
- ANC (African Nationalist Congress) in South Africa
- Irgun in Israel
- the Mau Mau in Kenya
- ETA in Spain
- Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka
- The Viet Cong in Vietnam



Irish resistance has been fighting for over 200 years to remove the British from Ireland

Many of these groups actually succeeded in achieving exactly what they wanted. They have removed a colonising force from their country:

- The Irgun fought against the British in Palestine and eventually many of their members became the ruling party in Israel.
- The Mau Mau resistance helped to convince the British to leave the East African country of Kenya.
- The Viet Cong were successful in driving out first the French and then the Americans from Viet Nam.
- The ANC fought for years to remove the racist system of apartheid* and the minority white government of South Africa.



Jomo Kenyatta



Nelson Mandela



Yasser Arafat



Menachim Begin

Many individuals accused of being terrorists have become leaders of countries. Former President of Kenya Jomo Kenyatta; Former Israeli Prime Ministers Yitzhak Shamir, Shimon Peres, Yitzhak Rabin and Menachim Begin were all accused of belonging to terrorist organizations. Nelson Mandela served almost 28 years in prison for terrorism and then became President of South Africa. Yasser Arafat was the President of the Palestinian Authority. Four of these successful “terrorists” were even awarded the Nobel Peace Prize when they eventually became respected world leaders.

**Apartheid* is a Dutch word meaning *separate*. Apartheid was a social system in South Africa where different races had different rights. Black people were not given the same rights as white people.

COPREHENSION

Is terrorism a successful tactic? Explain/give examples

REASRCH

Find out why four former “terrorists” were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

3. SEPTEMBER 11

VOCABULARY

alleged (adj.) supposed, accused
plot (v) plan to do something harmful
disrupt (v) stop, interrupt
suspect (n) possible choice; possible guilty person
evidence (n) proof, information to prove guilt

IN PERSPECTIVE

PREVIEW

What happened on September 11, 2001?

Can you name some reasons for what has happened?

How have people around the world reacted to this terrorist attack?

The current “War on Terror” was declared by US President George W Bush following the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington on September 11, 2001. About 3000 people were killed on that day. The response world-wide was mixed. Some people reacted with shock, horror, grief and support for America and Americans, others thought that this was nothing special compared to what other people in other countries have to endure every day. Others thought that America and Americans deserved this.

There have been other “wars on terror” in recent history in many other parts of the world. Before the September 11 attack, countries such as Russia, France, UK, Israel, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Spain and Lebanon had been battling terrorist attacks for years. September 11 had the highest number of deaths for one attack. However, all of these other countries have each lost far more people to terrorism than the 3000 who died on September 11. In fact, the US has experienced far less terrorism than most places in the world.

Two other examples of terrorism in the US are: the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Centre in New York and the Oklahoma City Bombing in 1994. There had been few terror attacks in the US. Perhaps this is why American government and people were so shocked at the September 11 attack. The American response to September 11 has been very different to previous responses to terrorism in the world.



Hitting the symbol of American economic power, The Twin Towers, was the start of this War on Terror.

DEBATE

Do you agree or disagree with the statement: “America and Americans do not deserve any extra sympathy regarding the September 11 terror attacks because other countries have suffered much more.”

THE RESPONSE

RESEARCH

Research the supplementary readings (your teacher will direct you) about how different governments and nations around the world have responded to terrorism. Summarize the answers in your group.

PREVIEW

Do you know how the US has responded to the September 11 attacks?

Compare this response to the examples you have just discussed.

Immediately after the September 11 attacks, the US began preparing for a strong response. For years it was well known that various terrorist organisations had been **plotting** and planning to attack US targets. In particular, the Saudi born Osama Bin Laden had made it clear that he was organising terrorist activities against the US. He is accused of participation in the following acts of terrorism against the US:

- 1993 World Trade Centre bombing
- The 1998 bombing of US embassies in East Africa
- The 2000 bombing of the US Naval ship the USS Cole in Yemen.
- Bin Laden was the obvious **suspect**. In 2001, Bin Laden and many in the terrorist network Al Qaeda were based in Afghanistan as guests of the Taliban Afghan government.

In Search of Justice

The US began final preparations for an attack on Afghanistan immediately after the September 11 attacks. Meanwhile, the US demanded that the Taliban hand over Bin Laden to face justice. The Taliban response was that if the US provided **evidence** for Bin Laden's **alleged** crime they would co-operate. The US refused and repeated their demand. The Taliban then offered to turn over Bin Laden to a third country so he could have a fair trial for the crimes he was accused of. The US refused this offer.

DISCUSSION

Why did the US decide to attack Afghanistan as a result of the September 11 attacks?

ROLE PLAY

The US government wants the Taliban to hand over Osama Bin Laden. The Taliban demanded evidence for the crime Bin Laden is accused of. The US government refuses to provide evidence. What happens next? What arguments do you think the two sides exchanged? Have a role play.

The Suspects

Who is Osama Bin Laden?

Osama Bin Laden and the United States government began their relationship during the Afghan-Soviet War (1979-1987). Osama was a leader of one of the many opposition groups or Mujahideen trying to remove the Soviets from Afghanistan. The American CIA provided

money, equipment and support to these groups. Later, after the Gulf War, Bin Laden was angered by the permanent presence of US soldiers in his native country of Saudi Arabia. He also opposed the US-led sanctions against Iraq as well as the US support for Israeli occupation and war against the Palestinians. Osama Bin Laden comes from a very wealthy Saudi family whose ties to the oil industry and US business are strong. He has used his own great wealth to fund terrorist operations around the world, especially those directed at the United States and its foreign policy.



The Taliban's Mullah Omar and Osama bin Laden were former allies of the US

Who were the Taliban?

The Taliban were a strict Muslim fundamentalist group. They came to power in Afghanistan in 1996 at the end of the long Afghan civil war. Under the Taliban, there were many limits to freedom and human rights abuses. Most countries in the world criticised and condemned the Taliban.

DISCUSSION

If someone commits a crime, they usually have a reason or motivation for it. What motivation do you think Osama Bin Laden had for attacks on the US? Compare his reasons to any of the reasons for terrorism discussed in section 2.

War and Its Results

Three weeks after the September 11 the US military preparations were complete. Afghanistan was a country still recovering from twenty-five years of civil war. Millions of refugees were still in camps along the Pakistani and Iranian borders. The country was one of the poorest in the world. On 7 October 2001, the US attacked Afghanistan. Over the next several months, the US bombed and destroyed most of the terrorist training camps as well as cities, towns and villages inhabited by Afghan civilians. Over 5000 Afghan civilians were killed and tens of thousands were made homeless and displaced. The Taliban were removed from power and the US supported a new government led by Hamid Karzai. Many Al Qaeda operations in Afghanistan were destroyed and disrupted. Many key Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters and officers were killed or captured and imprisoned. Afghanistan was once again left in ruins by the US bombing and invasion. But the person who was the supposed main purpose of the “war” was still alive. The hunt for Osama would continue.



Afghan President Hamid Karzai is a former Unocal (US oil company) employee



Many more innocent Afghan civilians were killed in the War on Afghanistan than were killed on September 11

DISCUSSION

Looking at Alternatives: What other ways could the US have responded to the September 11 attacks? Many felt that the terrorist attack was a “crime against humanity.” What would be other possible ways to achieve justice? Which international organisations could have been involved in solving this conflict?

GROUP WORK

In your group discuss if you think the 2001 war with Afghanistan was a success. What has this war achieved? What has it failed to achieve? Organize your answers into this chart:

Successful points	Failure points

DEBATE

Do you agree with this statement: "The US was right to attack Afghanistan in 2001"

Have a debate in your group. Before you start, list all the arguments you can think of for and against this statement.

PREVIEW

1. What are some reasons for the terror attacks on the United States?
2. Why was Osama Bin Laden first suspected as responsible for the September 11 attacks?
3. Who were the Taliban?
4. What did the US government demand of the Taliban after the September 11 attacks?
5. Were the Taliban willing to co-operate with the US? Explain.
6. How did the Americans respond to the Taliban's offer?
7. Why was Afghanistan attacked by the US in October 2001?
8. Was the war in Afghanistan a success for the United States? Explain

4. THE BUSH DOCTRINE

VOCABULARY

dispute (n) disagreement, argument

negotiation (n) discussion to find agreement

retaliation (n) fight back; revenge

pre-emptive (adj) acting to prevent happening

scourge (n) horror; curse; evil

strategy (n) plan; design

succeeding (adj.) future; following

The US responded to the September 11 attacks in two ways:

1. retaliation (the attack on Afghanistan).
2. By changing US defence, security and foreign policy.

SOLVING CONFLICTS THE OLD WAY: INTERNATIONAL LAW

Previously, most countries, including the United States, believed that good security meant being well prepared for the possibility of attack or threat. Being secure required having a strong military, intelligence and diplomatic capability. Diplomacy, or using **negotiations** to resolve possible conflicts, was seen as the way modern civilised countries acted in times of conflict. In fact, the United Nations was created after World War II in order for the nations of the world to have an organisation to resolve conflicts peacefully. The UN Charter states that the main purpose of the UN is to prevent war.



...
we will not
hesitate to act alone, if
necessary, to exercise our
right of self defence by acting
pre-emptively against such
terrorists, to prevent them from
doing harm against our people
and our country. . . we cannot
let our enemies strike first."

from the National Security
Strategy 2002



"...save
succeeding
generations from the
scourge of war," and to
settle international **disputes**
using peaceful means and with
respect to international law.

United Nations Charter

DISCUSSION

1. Can you see any contradiction between these two quotes? The quote on the left expresses the position of the United Nations. The quote on the right is the "Bush Doctrine" You will learn more about the "Bush Doctrine" in this section.
According to these quotes, does the US government at present agree with the objectives of the UN? Why? Or Why not?
2. Can you use any examples from this module that demonstrate some of the aspects of the quote from the US National Security Strategy?

SOLVING CONFLICTS THE NEW WAY:

Pre-Emption

In September of 2002, the US announced its new official policy regarding security called the National Security Strategy (NSS). This **strategy** came to be known as the “Bush Doctrine.” In this new policy, the US will use “pre-emption” against a possible enemy, in other words, *attacking before being attacked*. In this new policy the US does not have to be attacked or even have proof of a threat. It just has to *believe* there is a threat and then attack.

In this policy, the US does not have to go to the United Nations to try and resolve the conflict or threat peacefully. This new policy of “pre-emption” was tested when the US attacked Iraq in 2003.

Another important goal of the Bush Doctrine is that the US will build up its military strength to be much stronger than other nations. The US will also try **prevent** any other nation from building their own military strength if it should challenge the US in any way (see box below). One way to achieve this strength is to have military bases all over the world. The US military has over 1000 bases or shared bases in over 130 countries in the world. Since September 11, 2001 the number of bases and planned bases has greatly increased, especially in Central Asia and the Middle East. The Bush Doctrine challenges many aspects of international law and established forms of international relations.

Pax Americana (‘American Peace’)

The US military budget before 2001 was already the largest in the world. However, after September 11 it rose even more. For 2003 the US budget, not including the costs of the Iraq War, was about 400 billion US dollars. The cost of the Iraq War up until June 2004 is estimated to be over US\$120 billion. The US spends more on

COMPREHENSION

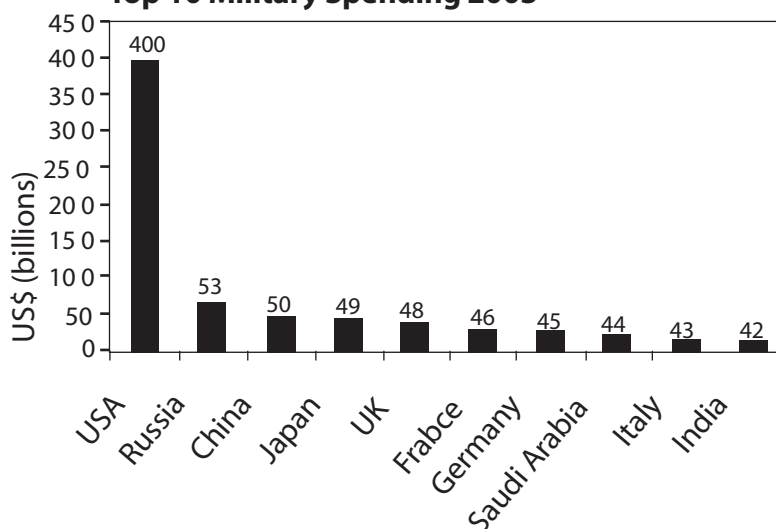
1. What are some ways countries try to resolve international conflicts?
2. Why was the United Nations created?
3. How is the new Bush Doctrine different to former ways of resolving international conflicts?

DISCUSSION

What are some possible consequences of the Bush Doctrine?

Do you think other countries and governments have ever used similar policies to resolve conflicts with other countries and inside their own countries? Can you name any examples? What have their policies been?

Top 10 Military Spending 2003



5. SECURITY AND DEMOCRACY

VOCABULARY

charges (n) claims of guilt

convict (v) find someone guilty

combatant (n) fighter, soldier

violate (v) breaks the rule/law; disobey

detention (n) arrest; capture; imprisonment

tribunal (n) court; place of justice

genocide (n) destroying an ethnic group

PREVIEW

Read the two paragraphs below quickly and answer this question:

There is a good point and a bad point about the US way of leading the ‘War on Terror’ and attempting to increase international security. What are they?

The Bush Doctrine is a kind of plan or overview of how the US government will fight its “War on Terror.” It proposes co-operation with countries to create a more secure world and to fight terrorists and terrorist networks. Since September 11, 2001 there has been a great effort by the police and intelligence agencies of many different countries to work together to share information about terrorist activities. Many terrorists and their activities have been stopped due to this increased international effort.

However, at the same time, US government is not co-operating with international agencies such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, or with international agreements such as the Geneva Conventions and the International Criminal Court. The ICC was created to deal with the most serious crimes under international law such as genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. It was established in 1998. The ICC can convict people and members of the military for crimes committed during international conflicts. The US and Burma are among a minority of countries which do not recognise the ICC.

The Rules of War

The Geneva Conventions are rules for protecting people involved in war. A “convention” is an international agreement between countries, like a treaty. The first Geneva Convention (met in Geneva, Switzerland in 1864) concerned the sick and wounded in times of war. The four Geneva Conventions of 1949 describe how soldiers and civilians should be treated during a war. This includes the humane treatment of prisoners of war. Almost every country in the world has agreed to honour the Geneva Conventions.

Case Study

Guantanamo Bay

Since the US attack on Afghanistan in 2001, several hundred suspected terrorists from all over the world (mostly from Afghanistan) have been held at a prison run by the United States at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba. Although the US President continually uses the words “War on Terror” the US refuses to call the Taliban and Al Qaeda prisoners in Cuba, “prisoners of war.” If the prisoners were considered “prisoners of war” they would be protected from abuse by the Geneva Conventions.

Instead, the US refers to the prisoners as “enemy **combatants**”. Because they are not in the United States, these prisoners are not protected by any laws. Prisoners have been held at Guantanamo Bay for over two years without any formal **charges** being laid. They have

not been allowed to see lawyers, and the International Red Cross are not permitted to make regular visits. The US has said that it will hold military **tribunals** to determine the guilt or innocence of the prisoners. The US military can then carry out the sentence, which may include the death penalty. Legal experts and lawyers all over the world have been arguing against this kind of **detention** which **violates** agreements in the Geneva Conventions.

DISCUSSION

The previous section of this module talks about the US not co-operating with international organisations and violating some international agreements. How do the two paragraphs above demonstrate this?

In June 2004, the US Supreme Court said that these prisoners must be given access to lawyers and that it is illegal to hold them in prison without charges and legal due process. After that decision, many prisoners were released and found to be not guilty of any crime. There has never been any formal charge against them.

DISCUSSION

1. Why wouldn't the US want to call the prisoners in Guantanamo Bay, "prisoners of war?"
2. Why doesn't the US co-operate with the rest of the world on some issues? Give several possible reasons.



THE 'COST' OF SECURITY IN A WORLD OF FEAR

VOCABULARY

censorship (n) official inspection of information

deport (v) officially send someone back to their home country for breaking a law

restrict (v) take away, allowing less

warrant (n) special order which allow authorities to search or arrest

wire tapping (v) using a secret device to listen in on someone's phone

PREVIEW

What 'cost' do you think increasing security can have for people in democratic countries?

How can governments use the threat of terrorism and the need for security to limit people's freedoms?

Do you think the same rule about the balance of security and freedom works for countries like Burma? How can you describe the situation in Burma in relation to security and freedom?

DISCUSSION

Do you know any examples where a government has used 'security' as an excuse to get rid of opposition? Can you compare this situation to situation in Burma?

A consequence of the 'war on terror' has been the loss of various freedoms and rights found in most democratic countries. In the US, for example, the US Congress agreed to laws (as part of the so-called "USA Patriot Act") which gave new increased powers to police, intelligence and government officials. The new powers include:

- Searching, questioning and detaining suspects without warrants
- increased wire tapping
- looking into personal email accounts
- forcing schools, hospitals and libraries to give the government personal and private information.

In America, Britain and other countries, political groups which oppose the government can be named as a "threat to national security" and forced to stop activities. Their members can be questioned and sometimes they are arrested. In America, right after September 11, hundreds of Arabic and/or Muslim men were detained by police without charges for months. Most have been released and found to be innocent of any crime. Many were deported back to their home countries for various minor visa problems. At public places, people are regularly searched for weapons.

Since the "War on Terror," people in many democratic countries have been more afraid to speak out against their government. There has been more **censorship** of the news and information which the government believes is threatening. The government's reasons for **restricting** freedom are that many terrorists live, plan and carry out their crimes in countries which allow much freedom of movement. Therefore, the governments of these "free" countries believe they must take away the freedoms in order to make it harder for the terrorists to operate. They believe that more government control will keep its citizens safer from danger. What has also resulted, though, is a loss of freedom for all people.

DISCUSSION

1. How do you think the citizens in democratic countries feel about the new security situations?
2. Do you think the new security changes are similar to the situation in Burma? What is similar, what is different?

DEBATE

Read the Declaration of Human Rights. What kinds of rights have been violated in the "war on terror?"

DISCUSSION

Do you agree or disagree with this statement? "Security is more important than freedom"

6. ALLIES IN THE WAR ON TERROR

VOCABULARY

authoritarian (*adj.*) strict, harsh, undemocratic

harass (*v*) treat badly continuously

biased (*adj.*) unfair, corrupt

tyrant (*n*) dictator

extra-judicial (*adj.*) above the law, accusing of guilt and then murdering



Since the War on Terrorism, the United States government has strengthened some old alliances and created many new alliances. Some of these alliances are with countries that have **authoritarian**-type governments and reputations of excessive human rights abuses. However, these countries border Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Syria and Israel. Therefore the U.S. sees them as important allies to help control the spread of terrorism.

After September 11, 2001, the US increased its number of military bases, especially in the Middle East and Central Asia. New bases were built in Qatar, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Georgia. In addition, the US has begun sharing local military bases, as well as providing military aid and training with the following new allies: Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and Ukraine. Closer military co-operation has been happening with long standing allies like Pakistan, Egypt, Morocco, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait.

All of these countries have been guilty of various forms of human rights abuses such as:

- **Harassing** and arresting people because of their political views
- Limited press freedom with little or no independent media—(censorship)
- Religious persecution
- Lack of national independent human rights institutions

- **Biased** and politically appointed judges
- **Extra-judicial** executions (assassinations) and torture

Many of these countries are considered to be among the worst human rights abusers in the world. They have been condemned by international human rights organisations (such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch) as well as the United States government.

DISCUSSION

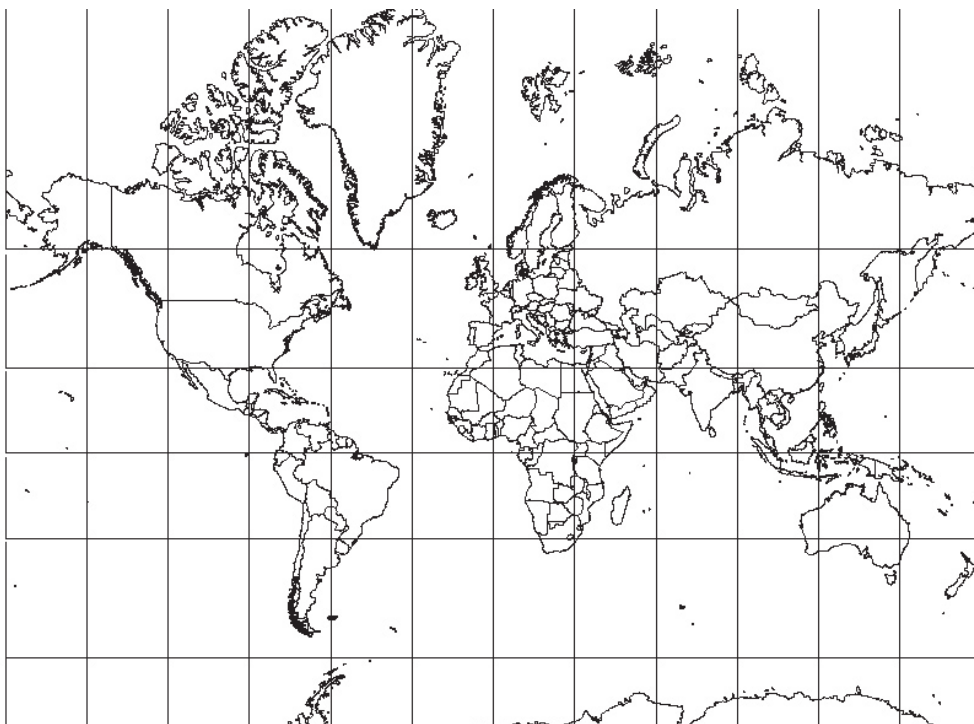
With the new 'War on Terror' some governments are limiting some freedoms and becoming more authoritarian. How can you explain the connection between authoritarian governments and promoting 'War on Terror'?

GROUP WORK

Why is the US forming alliances with many countries whose authoritarian governments commit human rights abuses? Is it a good idea for the US government to be doing this? What is the opinion of everyone in your group? Discuss your arguments.

DISCUSSION

On the world map outline, colour all of those countries where the United States has either a base or shares bases. Include the long standing bases/facilities in UK, Germany, South Korea, Japan, Philippines, Diego Garcia, Australia, New Zealand. Include a key and give the map a title.



EXERCISE

Make a list of basic human rights and freedoms you would expect to find in a free, open and democratic country. Refer to the Declaration of Human Rights.

7. EXPANDING THE WAR ON TERROR

VOCABULARY

Axis (*n*) group of three, originally referring to the WWII partners of Germany, Italy and Japan.

commission (*n*) official group looking at information to make a judgement

investigate (*v*) to examine critically

link (*v*) to make connection, closely relate to

separatists (*n*) group wanting to break away and make new country or state

In January 2002, US President GW Bush declared that in his “war on terror” there were some countries which were responsible for and contributed to, global terrorism. He spoke of an “**Axis** of Evil” and named Iraq, Iran and North Korea as the most dangerous. With these words he tried to **link** old political conflicts to the tragedy of September 11 and the new “War on Terror”. However, there has never been any evidence to connect September 11, Al Qaeda and these three countries.

In the case of Iraq, the Bush administration used the idea of the “Axis of Evil” to justify going to war in 2003. In 2004, UK and US government independent **commissions investigated** all the information collected before the Iraq war. This commission found out and announced that there was never any connection between Al Qaeda, September 11 attacks and the government of Saddam Hussein. However, Bush continues to call Iraq a victory in the “War on Terror.”



Philippine separatists were fighting for independence long before September 11

Other governments around the world have now started using the “War on Terror” to justify their military actions: In Russia, there has been a nationalist war for many years in the province of Chechnya. This war of nationalism has recently been re-named by Russian authorities as part of the Global War on Terror. In the Philippines, a guerrilla war between government forces and Muslim **separatists** which started years ago is now considered another battle in the global terror war.

Many Israelis claim the long and bitter struggle between the Palestinians and Israelis is an example of Muslim terrorism. Previously, it was seen as a war of nationalism or independence.

As the most powerful military in the world, the United States provides military support in the form of troops, equipment, training and funding to any country actively involved in trying to stop terrorism. In addition, other economic and political benefits can be gained by joining the world’s only superpower in fighting its global war.

EXERCISE

Mark the statements in the chart as true or false.

1. The Independent Commission has found evidence that Saddam Hussein participated in planning the September 11 attacks.
2. Most countries in the “Axis of Evil” have democratic governments
3. When the war in Chechnya has first started, everyone was calling it terrorism
4. The US has the most powerful military in the world

COMPREHENSION

1. What is the 'Axis of Evil'?
2. What was the job of the Independent Commission?
3. How can governments around the world use 'The War on Terror'?

DISCUSSION

1. Why do you think some governments have re-named local wars of nationalism as part of the global "War on Terror"?
2. What kinds of "economic and political benefits" can be gained by joining the only superpower in its war?
3. Why does Bush call Iraq a victory in "The War on Terror"?
4. What is the difference between "The War on Terror" and a war of nationalism or independence?

GROUP WORK

The independent commission has found out that there is no connection between the September 11 attacks and Iraq. The Bush administration still wants to continue the war with Iraq. What are the commission's arguments? What are the Bush government's arguments?

In your group role play a debate between the independent commission and the Bush administration.

Bush argument	Independent commission argument

8. WAR WITHOUT END

VOCABULARY

desperation (n) hopelessness

interim (adj) temporary

publicly (adv.) in public; in front of many people

outrage (n) extreme anger expressed by people

recruit (n) newcomers to join a group

regroup (v) reformed; started up again

PREVIEW

Do you think we can call “The War on Terror” a war without end?

WHO’S WINNING SO FAR?

At the time of this writing, it has been just over three years since the tragic day of September 11, 2001 and the start of the US governments “war on terror.” Is the world a safer place? Some say ‘yes’ and many say ‘no.’ Here are some of the results so far:

- Many top Al Qaeda leaders have been either arrested or killed.
- Communication between the law enforcement agencies of many countries has improved.
- Several terrorist plans have been discovered and prevented from causing harm to innocent people.
- Since September 11, the US has attacked two countries. In those countries over 17,000 innocent civilians have died. Many thousands of soldiers have died as a result and continue to die.
- The hunt for Osama Bin Laden and other Al Qaeda members goes on, but there have not been any convictions in relation to the September 11 attacks.
- In Iraq, Iraqis opposing the US supported interim government fight alongside with members of known terrorist groups—groups who were not in Iraq before the war. In Iraq daily bombings, suicide attacks, hostage taking and public executions of foreign hostages continue.
- The Israeli-Palestinian situation is as bad as it has been in years.
- There have been major terrorists attacks in Bali (Indonesia), Jakarta (Indonesia) and Madrid (Spain).

REACTION TO THE WAR ON TERROR

In the Muslim world, there is **outrage** over U.S. actions. It is said that Al Qaeda has **regrouped** since the Afghanistan war because of US actions in the Middle East. Al Qaeda has easily found new **recruits**. Anti-American feelings are strong in the Muslim world and many believe that Osama Bin Laden has succeeded in gaining more support for his cause.

In the West, popular support for the Iraq War declined after it became obvious that there were never any weapons of mass destruction, or any connection between Al Qaeda and September 11. In much of the world, citizens are still nervous and fearful of the next terrorist attack. Their governments offer regular warnings of possible terrorist attacks.



Anti-American feelings are high all over the world, especially in the Muslim world.

GROUP WORK

What are the good and bad results of “the war on terror” so far? Put them in this chart:

Some possible good results of the “War on Terror”	Some possible bad results

WAR WITHOUT END

When US president GW Bush began his “War on Terror” he made it clear that this war would be unlike any war fought before. He spoke of an enemy which “is not a single political regime or person or religion or ideology.” He said that this would be a war not easily fought or won. He said there was no way to predict how long it would take to win. The US Vice President and Secretary of Defence have said **publicly**, many times, that this “war on terror” could go on for years and years.

The ‘enemy’ in this war wears no uniform, has no flag and will always feel intense **desperation**. This could mean a war without end. Some say that terrorism is not an enemy, it is a method: A method of violence used by desperate people. Poverty and injustice are realities for most of the world’s population, and some people feel that terrorism is only one way to change this situation.

Terrorists say that the political, economic and social conditions in many places around the world are unacceptable and unfair. The new “war on terror” began three years ago but these conditions still exist. The powerful countries of the world do not acknowledge these concerns. So far, no solution has been found to solve this conflict. The Cold War lasted for over forty years. There is no end in sight for the “War on Terror.”

DISCUSSION

How is “The War on Terror” different from any other war?

DISCUSSION

1. How have certain US actions in the “War on Terror” helped Al Queda find new recruits?
2. What does this statement mean: *“Terrorism cannot be an enemy, it is a method.”*?
2. What are the main political, economic and social conditions in the world that many terrorists say are unacceptable? How do these conditions affect the success or failure of the “War on Terror”?

Torture: Who Gave the Orders?

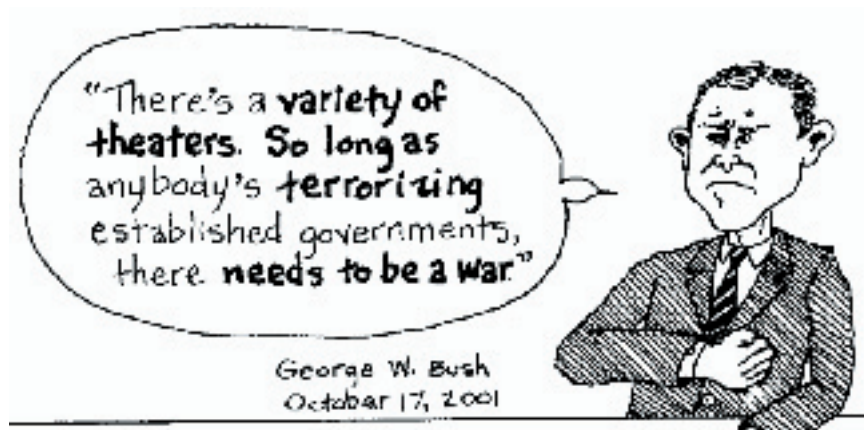
In early 2004, photos showing horrific kinds of torture against Iraqi prisoners were seen all over the world in newspapers and on TV. These photos were taken by US soldiers and they showed US soldiers committing the crimes. Some of the same techniques were used at Guantanamo Bay. The torture included: electric shocks to genitals, attack dogs, sexual abuse and other forms of humiliation. After investigation, many soldiers were charged and went to court. The soldiers said they were only following orders from officers. Investigations are still happening to determine where exactly the orders came from.



EXERCISE

What are the similarities and differences between “The War on Terror” and the Cold War. Put them into this chart:

Similarities	Differences



EXERCISE

A Letter to the Most Powerful Person in the World

Write a letter to President of the United States. Tell him what you think about the War on Terror." Explain to him how you think the world has changed because of this war. Tell him if you feel safer and why or why not. Give some suggestions on what you think should be done to make the world safer from terrorism.