CHAPTER III
THE WAR ON TERROR

TEACHER'S NOTES

At the end of this unit students 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

The last chapter in the module looks at an issue which has been the main focus for many countries all over the world. The "War on Terror" was declared by the United States after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. Due to its influence in the world, the US has been able to insist that this issue receives more attention than any other issue.

The countries who have joined the US in its "War on Terror" have also recently suffered from terrorist actions. Since this "war" was declared, the world has changed in many ways. How people travel, live, do business and think about other cultures has been seriously affected by the terror attacks of September 11 and the reaction led by the United States government.

Every day new events, tragedies and political decisions are happening which change the international environment. At the time of writing (October 2004) there is no end in sight to this international crisis. Some believe that this "War" is similar to the Cold War: Only history will decide if this is true.

BRAINSTORM

Write the word "terrorist" on the board. In small groups or as a class get students to offer as many examples or definitions of a terrorist or terrorism as they can. If they need help, remind them about conflicts in places like the Middle East and also about Burma. Remember this is only a brainstorming session so students shouldn't be expected to offer complete or many responses.

Some examples:

Taking hostages and making demands on governments

Suicide bombings

Hijacking airplanes

Assassinating prominent political leaders

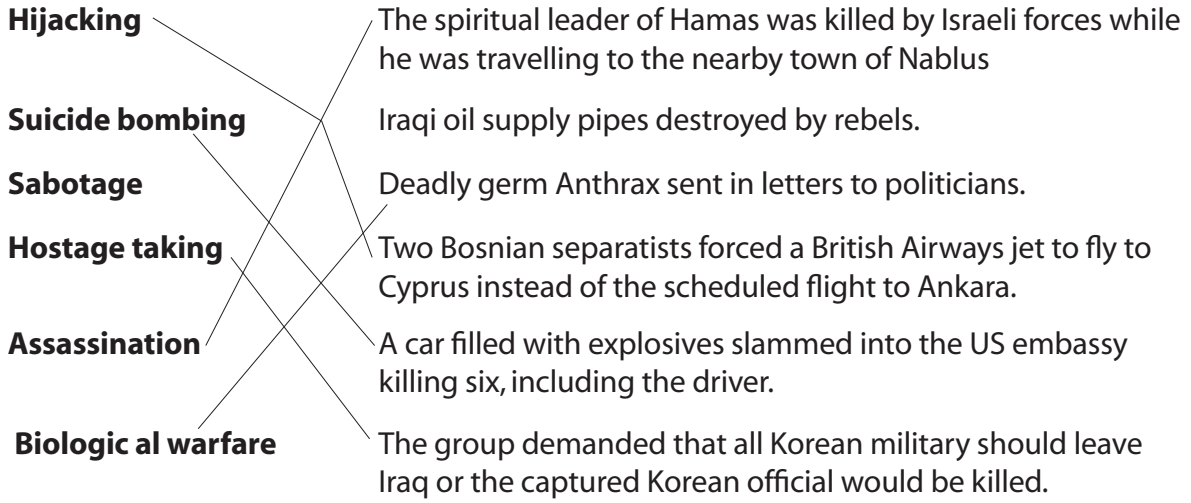
Blowing up buildings

Attacking civilians

1. TERRORISM: SOME DEFINITIONS

EXERCISE

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



2. TERRORISM AND NATIONALISM

WHY IS THERE TERRORISM?

PREVIEW

Some possible answers:

1994 - Oklahoma City bombing, This was a protest against the undemocratic nature of the American government.

1999 – Siege of the Burmese Embassy in Bangkok by the Vigorous Burmese Student Warriors. This was to protest the SLORC.

1999 – Bombing of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania to protest US policies in the Middle East.

2003 – Bali bombing – this was against Australian government policies in the Middle East.

2004 – School hostage crisis, Beslan, Russia. To protest for Chechnya to be independent from Russia.

More recent acts of terrorism have often been motivated by a combination of factors. Very often, a cause for political tensions, such as nationalism, has been joined with religion (for example) as a reason for terrorism. The September 11 attacks, for instance, cannot simply be understood as *either* religious or nationalistic alone. They were the result of many types of motivations, such as politics, nationalism and religion.

EXERCISE

Any strong beliefs or goals can possibly lead to terrorism, especially when there are no legitimate ways to express these feelings. When there is, for example, a lack of the freedom of expression, no religious freedom, or censorship, terrorism is more likely to occur. But some of the most common causes are: *religion, nationalism, financial gain, and politics.*

COMPREHENSION

Answer: Yes, terrorism has been very successful in many cases. For example, in the cases given of the Irgun in Israel, the ANC in South Africa, the Mau Mau in Kenya, the Viet Cong in Vietnam. These groups achieved independence from the colonial or minority rule. You can also point out that America's independence from Great Britain in the 18th century came after a war fought using acts of terrorism.

RESEARCH

Find out why three former "terrorists" were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (see *supplementary pack*).

This is an independent research assignment that students can do in groups or individually in their own time. Students will read biographies of the Nobel Prize winners from the *supplementary pack*. It is a good idea to get the students to work in groups, as you won't need copies for every student.

Summary answers: Israeli PM Begin was awarded the prize along with his Arab rival, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat for their efforts to make peace between Israel and its Arab neigbours. Arafat also shared the prize for his efforts with Israeli PM Simon Peres for their efforts at Israeli–Palestinian peace plans. Nelson Mandela shared the prize with South Aftican President De Klerk for their cooperation in ending Apartheid and allowing free democratic elections.

3. SEPTEMBER 11

IN PERSPECTIVE

PREVIEW

Ask students what they were doing on September 11, 2001. Do they remember it happening? Did it seem important to them? Do they think it was important now? Why or why not? Students might suggest some reasons for attack from the discussion of motivation for terrorism on the previous page. If students cannot bring up any answers, just move on.

DEBATE

Divide the students into two teams. You can separate them by counting off: 1-2-1-2, or you can ask them to choose their own side. For examples ask them: "Do you believe that America deserves extra sympathy regarding the September 11 attacks?" "Raise your hands if you do" This is team A. And then: "Do you believe that other countries have suffered much more and America does not deserve any sympathy?" "Raise your hands" This is team B.

In their teams, students prepare for the debate by writing out their arguments to defend their point of view. During the debate, teams take turns explaining their arguments, one at a time, and then the other team responds with relevant arguments.

You can nominate a student jury to judge the results of the debate: whose arguments were more convincing. It's a good idea to nominate the jury before dividing into teams, so that the students on the jury are not part of any team and are not biased.

The purpose of this debate is to look at two pints of view:

1. The more international point of view which saw the September 11 attacks as one of the many attacks which have happened all over the world in recent history.
2. The American point of view which is based on never having had such a tragedy before.

THE RESPONSE

RESEARCH

This is another research activity, similar to the one on the previous page. Students work in groups. Direct them to the *supplementary pack* readings. Groups have to work through the readings and summarize them for a class presentation.

PREVIEW

Suggested answers:

US foreign policy after the September 11, 2001 attacks appeared to be very different from what it had been under former President Bill Clinton. Instead of seeming to work with the international community, international law and the UN, President Bush proved that the US would work alone if they had to.

Before the attacks the so-called "Bush Doctrine" had not really been seen. Some people claim that George Bush changed his policies after September 11 to what they are today. But many others argue that the "Terror Attacks" only gave Bush enough power and support to be able to follow his policies.

IN SEARCH OF JUSTICE

DISCUSSION

Answers: Osama bin Laden was believed to be responsible for an attack on the World Trade Centre in New York in 1993. After the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Centre, Osama bin Laden was the main suspect along with his organisation, Al Qaeda, which was based in Afghanistan with the support of the Taliban – the Afghan government. The US connected the September 11 attacks with Afghanistan and decided to invade the country in order to capture Osama bin Laden, free the country, and remove bases of terrorism, they claimed.

ROLE PLAY

Divide the students into two teams: Taliban and the US government. Both teams prepare arguments for the role-play. Teams exchange their arguments in a role-play. See what decisions they come to. Is it different from the result between the Taliban and the American government? Try to encourage the students to see both points of view.

Alternatively, you can divide the students into four groups: to Taliban groups and two US government groups. Then have two sets of role-plays and see who comes up with better arguments.

The Afghan Taliban was an oppressive regime that did not respect human rights. It was easy for the US to gain support in attacking such a country. But the purpose of this role-play is to make students question whether the US invasion of Afghanistan was necessary or not. The Taliban were willing to co-operate but would not give in to US demands. The US saw the Taliban as a friend to the terror suspect and arch-enemy (Osama bin Laden) and did not want to negotiate with them.

THE SUSPECTS

Who is Osama Bin Laden

DISCUSSION

Some possible answers: Some of Osama bin Laden motivations might come from nationalism. Osama bin Laden is from Saudi Arabia and dislike the country's unequal relationship with the US (especially the existence of US military bases in Saudi). He may also see the US and the West as evil societies without religion and morality that need to be destroyed. But how the September 11 terror attacks might have helped with his religious or nationalistic goals is not always obvious.

There has been no official trial to prove that Osama bin Laden was responsible for any terrorist attacks on US soil. It is almost certain that he was responsible for the 1993 World Trade Centre Bombing as well as September 11. And even if he was not responsible, he has certainly voiced support for such attacks. But the exact reasons for these acts of terrorism are hard to understand.

WAR AND ITS RESULTS

DISCUSSION

Some possible answers: September 11 was not an attack from a foreign country and so many people felt that it did not make sense for the US to declare war on first Afghanistan and then Iraq. Instead, perhaps President Bush could have worked with these countries, as well as the international community, to fight terrorism.

The point here is for the students to consider the role of international law. How could an organisation like the UN have been used? If the September 11 attacks were a crime against humanity, then why was there not an attempt to use law enforcement instead of warfare?

Remind students that the UN did not have a chance to fully negotiate with the Taliban. The negotiations were mainly being controlled by the US. The UN did not authorise the attack by the US. Could other pressures against the Taliban have been used like sanctions or diplomatic pressure? Only three weeks passed between the September 11 attack and the invasion of Afghanistan. Most international conflicts take many more weeks, months or even years to sort out. Was this rush to war justified? Could it have been prevented? Why weren't the usual diplomatic efforts made?

The UN, NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation), and the ICC (International Criminal Court) are just some of the many international organisations which could have been used to respond to September 11.

GROUP WORK

Have students work in small groups (no more than 4).
Some possible answers are:

Successful points	*Failure points*
■ The Taliban were removed from power ■ Human rights are more respected in Afghanistan than they were before the war ■ There are fewer bases for terrorism in the country	■ The war is still not over – fighting continues ■ Hostage taking and sabotage could increase to the same levels as Iraq ■ Osama bin Laden (the original justification for the war) has not been captured, and Al Qaeda continues to operate

Get students to organize their answers in a chart

After the students have done this, get them to join with one other group, so that they now work in groups of up to 8. In these larger groups, the students compare their charts and add any other points that the other group has brought up.

DEBATE

Have this debate in groups, or as a whole class
Some possible arguments for the war:

- The Taliban were an oppressive regime, not democratically elected, and did not respect human rights. Afghanistan is better off with a different government.
- The Taliban supported terrorism which needed to be dealt with
- The country will be better off for the war
- The invasion of Afghanistan was the only way to get those responsible for September 11

Some possible arguments against the war:

- The Taliban might have given Osama bin Laden over if the US had given proof of his guilt or negotiated more
- The Taliban might have given Osama bin Laden over to the ICC (International Criminal Court)
- Therefore there was no need to fight the war
- The invasion has made more people hate the US and the West
- Afghanistan was not responsible for the September 11 attacks
- The war could lead to years of civil war and instability in the country (and region)

REVIEW

Some possible answers:

1. Refer to the reasons for Bin Laden's anger at the US – Us support of Israel, US troops in Saudi Arabia, the US support of sanctions against Iraq.

   Talk to the students about the United States position in the world after the end of the Cold War. As the only superpower, the US has been involved in many international conflicts. The US has by far the largest military. The US economy is the strongest. The US is seen as controlling international institutions like the United Nations, World Trade Organisation and the World Bank. This position of power and wealth in a world of poverty and powerlessness by most of the world creates resentment. Many in the world see the US as abusing its power to control the governments and lives of many other people all over the world

2. He had been accused of organising previous terror attacks against US on the World Trade Centre. He had publicly criticised the US and threatened to commit crimes against the US government.
3. A Muslim fundamentalist group, who tok over Afghanistan after Afghan civil war.
4. To hand over Osama bin Laden
5. Yes, they first asked for the US to provide evidence that Osama was responsible for the attack. They then said that they would give Osama to a third country to insure he had a fair trial.
6. They refused every offer and insisted that the Taliban give them bin Laden or else be attacked.
7. Because the US government said that the Taliban did not cooperate with the demands to turn over Osama bin Laden, and because the US said that the Taliban were protecting a terrorist and supporting terrorist groups.
8. The US officially claimed that the war in Afghanistan was a success because they removed the Taliban from power. They also destroyed many terrorist training camps and killed many terrorists and Al Qaeda members. But the main goal and reason for the war was to catch the main suspect for the September 11 attacks, Osama bin laden. They did not catch him.

4. THE BUSH DOCTRINE

SOLVING CONFLICTS THE OLD WAY: INTERNATIONAL LAW

DISCUSSION

1. The quote from the UN charter says that the purpose of the organisation is to use peace and international law to solve problems, but the quote from the 2002 National Security Security Strategy goes against both peace and international law to solve the US's problems if necessary. The goals and methods of the present US administration are very different, therefore, from those of the UN.
2. The US attacked Afghanistan and eventually Iraq, as a consequence of September 11 attacks. The US government did not cooperate with international organizations such as UN in trying to negotiate a peaceful solution of the problem. The invasion of Iraq was pre-emptive, according to the Bush doctrine.

SOLVING CONFLICTS THE NEW WAY:

Pre-Emption

COMPREHENSION

Some possible answers:

1. By talking about them; Negotiations; Politics; Through international organisations (UN, etc.)
2. The United Nations was created to sort out problems and to prevent war. The idea was to create an organisation where countries could work together to solve problems peacefully.
3. It uses pre-emption; force; doesn't require negotiations; doesn't include the UN.

DISCUSSION

Possible answers: Other countries use "pre-emption" and attack another without evidence of threat. Rivals like India and Pakistan or China and Taiwan could start a war without trying to use the UN or other peaceful means. This could result in continual wars. Also, the Bush Doctrine can lead to creating a world where only those with the strongest force can decide how conflicts are resolved: "might makes right." The UN and international law are weakened and become powerless to maintain peace and prevent wars.

Ask the students if they can see anything in the pre-emption doctrine that they can compare with the situation in Burma.

5. SECURITY AND DEMOCRACY

PREVIEW

This is a quick reading for gist exercise. Give students a time-limit: 3-5 minutes.

Suggested answer: A good point could be that a lot of terrorist acts have been stopped due to the enhanced security activities around the world due to the US government lead 'war on terror'

A not-so-good point is that US government violates international agreements and does not cooperate with many international organizations.

Case Study (Guantanamo Bay)

DISCUSSION

The case study of Guantanamo Bay shows how the US is willing to violate international law for its own ends. By describing the prisoners as something other than prisoners of war, and by keeping them out of mainland America, the Bush administration has been able to deprive these men of all the rights that international law has tried to give them for the past 150 years.

DISCUSSION

1. *Possible answers:* Because they would have to follow the Geneva Conventions which have rules for treatment of prisoners of war. They would have to take better care of the prisoners.
2. *Possible answers:*
   - It is the only superpower
   - No one is strong enough to stop them
   - The US sees itself as the world's "policeman" and feels it has responsibility for world security.
   - Sometimes quick action is needed to solve a problem and there is no time for discussions in international organisations

THE 'COST' OF SECURITY IN A WORLD OF FEAR

PREVIEW

There is a trade-off between security and freedom. The more freedom citizens of a country are given, the less security can be assured. Similarly, as security is increased, freedoms will be reduced.

When terrorism and domestic security become the most important aims of a government, the citizens of that country will lose some of their freedoms. Evidence of this can be seen with the Bush administrations "Patriot Act" – passed after September 11 – that allowed for many Arab residents of the US to be imprisoned and deported, as well as ordinary citizens rights of privacy being violated.

This balance, however, won't really work for Burma. As in Burma, there's equally no security and not freedom. The government denies most freedoms to the main stream population as well as to the ethnic minorities. This results in a civil war. In this situation, allowing the people more freedom, will in fact improve the security situation, as it might resolve some of the key conflicts that affect the civil war.

DISCUSSION

It is quite typical for governments to try to get rid of opposition or insurgencies using 'security' as an excuse.

For example, the Russian government has been trying for years to get rid of the rebel army in Chechnya, claiming that it is a threat to national security.

In Algeria, the government annulled the election in the early 90s after the Islamist party won a majority. Security was used as an excuse and it resulted in continuing conflict.

In Kashmir, the Indian government has continually refused to negotiate with the different insurgent and militant groups involved. They say they are a threat to Indian security and that they won't negotiate with terrorists. This is changing now though with a new government in India. The Prime Minister last week announced that he wants to talk to anyone and everyone to find a solution to the conflict.

However, governments usually ignore the fact that by responding to the opposition's claims in a constructive and participatory manner, they might avoid a security crisis much more effectively than by trying to suppress any rebellion.

In Burma, similarly, the government is claiming that the struggle of the ethnic minority people for their right to self determination, as well as the struggle of all people of Burma for democracy is a threat to national security. However, in fact, it is the military government creates a much greater threat to security of all people in Burma by persecuting ethnic minorities and denying the most basic human rights and freedoms to everyone in Burma.

DISCUSSION

1. Possible answers: They are not happy about losing freedoms. They are angry at their governments. They are angry at the terrorists. They understand the need for more security but do not like losing freedoms.
2. If students are not aware of the recent and current conditions in Burma, you may need to talk to them about how life has been for people in Burma. Discuss the limits on freedom under the SLORC and SPDC. Discuss the censorship of media, arts, education. The lack of political opposition. The political prisoners. The fear of being accused of opposing the government and going to jail.

EXERCISE

Students read the simplified version of the Declaration of Human Rights from the *supplementary pack* and answer the question.
Answer: Violations can be found if you focus on the following: #2,7,9,11,12,19,20

DEBATE

The question looks at the issue of the risks we find in an open "free" society. With freedom of movement it is perhaps easier for dangerous people and actions to commit crimes. With more control by the government it may be possible to better protect citizens. A person may be safer in a prison but not free. Is it better to be free or safe? Are the possible dangers of a free society worth the risks? It is up to the students to decide what their opinion is. Have a debate in class. Put the students in teams to prepare their arguments before they start to debate.

6. ALLIES IN THE WAR ON TERROR

DISCUSSION

A danger like the September 11 terror attacks threatens national security greatly, and provides an excuse for governments to restrict their citizen's freedoms. Some countries have seen how using the same language as the United States does in its "War on Terror" can give them the freedom to pursue their own policies that would otherwise be unacceptable.

Russia has done this with separatists in Chechnya; the Philippines against Islamic nationalists; and Musharaf of Pakistan has increased his controls with the support of the US in his fight against terrorist elements within his own country.

GROUP WORK

Get the students to answer the first question in pairs. Give a 5 minute time-limit. Get each pair to join with another pair so that now students are working in groups of 4. Ask them to present their answers to each other. Then get them to make an outline summary of their combined answers. Give 10 minutes for this.

When students have completed their outlines in groups of 4, get each group join another group. Now students are working in groups of 8. In groups of 8 students have to compare the reasons they have outlined in their summaries. Now they have to make a combined list.

Explain to the students that the purpose of this exercise is to get as many opinions from everyone in the class and to learn to share your opinion with your classmates.

When this is done, have a class discussion and outline all answers on board.

Discuss whether the students think the US should be making these alliances.

Some possible answers: The United States has formed alliances with many authoritarian governments since September 11, 2001. These alliances help give the US and its military greater power.

Some ideas in support of this approach are:

- The US has a right to defend and protect itself, and if these new alliances help, then they are justified
- One of the US military strategies is to have many military bases around the world. US government believes this offers increased security, as it will be easy for the US government to strike pre-emptively or in response to any attack anywhere in the world.
- Many democratic countries would refuse to allow American military bases on their territory. However, the more authoritarian governments are easier to negotiate with in this respect.

  The US can offer some benefits to the government (business benefits, direct aid, or military support) in return for letting American military establish bases on their territory. As authoritarian governments do not consult with the people, they are likely to agree to the US government offers than a democratic country.

- The country does have the right to protect itself. However, there is a difference between self-protection and aggression. Historically, countries have been known to protect themselves by building up their military and by guarding their borders, not by attacking other countries just in case they were planning an attack.

MAP WORK

The purpose of this activity is to show how wide spread the United States military is in the world. Students colour in the outline map.

MAP WORK

Use the Declaration of Human Rights from the *supplementary pack* for this exercise. You can choose to do this as homework, or you can do this in class as a timed activity and have a competition, who will be able to find all correct answers first.

Answers: A possible list would include: Right to safety. Freedom of speech. To be able to hold any opinion without fear of persecution. Freedom of religion. Political freedom. Right to free and fair elections. Freedom of movement. The right to a fair trial. Freedom to belong to any group or organisation. Right to have an education.

7. EXPANDING THE WAR ON TERROR

EXERCISE

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

COMPREHENSION

Answers:

1. Here is Bush's definition of the Axis of Evil: "Our … goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends and allies with weapons of mass destruction ... we know their true nature. North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens. Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom. Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred."
   It is extremely important, however, to consider criticism of this definition of the whole idea of the 'Axis of Evil' as bunching together without any particular reason of countries that are completely different. See the "Bush's "Evil Axis" Comment Stirs Critics" article in the *Supplementary Pack*.
2. The job of the Independent Commission was to inspect Iraq for any evidence of weapons of mass destruction. No such weapons or clear evidence of their production were eventually found.
3. The governments around the world can use 'The War on Terror' to limit the freedoms of people in their countries claiming that it is necessary for everyone's security. For example a government can put checkpoints on the roads and demand special passes for any travel between towns. The government can say that this is necessary to prevent terrorist activities. This will limit people's freedom of movement. Ask the students if they can think of any examples of governments that use this tactic. Governments can also crack down on any opposition movements, political activists or minority groups by accusing them of planning acts of terrorism.

DISCUSSION

Some possible answers:

1. ... to receive help from the United States. To get more international support. To give the government more power and approval to carry out its war. By calling something "terrorism" instead of "nationalism", governments receive less criticism, and support is easier to find.
2. The US can offer money in the form of aid and loans. The US can make business deals and investments in co-operating countries. The US can help countries through votes in the United Nations.
   (Israel is a good example of a country which has received massive US military, economic and political support for being cooperative with the US. Especially by voting to support Israel in United Nations resolutions). The opposite has happened with countries which did not vote in favour of the US. Fore example, before the Gulf War in 1990, Yemen did not support the US in a UN vote to attack Iraq. After the vote, the US ambassador said that Yemen would "pay for that vote." The US cut its aid to Yemen.
   Similarly, after Australia's Prime Minister John Howard joined the "coalition of the willing" with Blair and Bush, he was able to announce a trade agreement with the United States that was very good for Australia. Similar encouragements, both political and economic, have been given to many other countries that have supported Bush's "War on Terror".
3. Iraq is a victory for Bush insofar as Saddam Hussein has been overthrown.
4. The difference between the "War on Terror" and a nationalistic or independence war is the same as the difference between a terrorist and a nationalist. That is, they can be exactly the same thing, but the group with more power is able to choose the label for the other.

GROUP WORK

Some possible answers:

Bush's arguments	Independent Commission arguments
Saddam Hussein is a dictator who oppresses his people and needs to be removed	Neither Saddam Hussein nor Iraq itself were involved in the September 11, 2001 attacks, and Iraq should therefore not be attacked
In the past Saddam has invaded other countries and is a risk to international peace	Iraq is not known to sponsor terrorism
Iraq may have weapons of mass destruction that could be sold or stolen by terrorists	An attack like September 11 should not give a country the freedom to declare war on anyone it chooses
Terrorists could use Iraq as a place to recruit and train more terrorists	

8. WAR WITHOUT END

PREVIEW

This questions does not really have an answer. Terrorism has been going on for centuries. You can raise the following questions with the students: Is it possible for a war on terrorism to ever be over? Is there any reason to believe today's "War on Terror" will end terrorism forever? And if it does not, will the war go on forever instead? At what point would President Bush believe this war was a victory?

These are the questions this section will consider.

WHO'S WINNING SO FAR?

REACTION TO THE WAR ON TERROR

GROUP WORK

Some possible good results of the "War on Terror"	Some possible bad results
■ Damage done to various terrorist organisations ■ The overthrow of two oppressive governments (Iraq and Afghanistan) ■ The UN did not give into US pressure to support the war on Iraq	■ An increased resentment of the US and the West by the non-West ■ Increased political tensions and hostilities within the West itself ■ The UN failed to stop the US going to war in Iraq ■ The rights and freedoms of many people have been violated by the Bush administration's concern for security above freedom (Guantanamo Bay and the "Patriot Act") ■ Civil war and chaos in Afghanistan and Iraq that could last years

WAR WITHOUT END

DISCUSSION

Get students opinions on the differences between the 'War on Terror' and other wars.

DISCUSSION

These last two discussion questions are extremely important. Please take as much time as needed to be sure the students understand the main ideas. They are not simple and require an understanding of politics and propaganda. How do governments use information and create conditions to best control its people? Some comparisons to how the SPDC has created a climate of fear in Burma to maintain its control could be useful.

Possible Answers

1. Discuss how US policy in the Middle East has angered Muslims: The attack on Afghanistan and on Iraq. The killing of thousands of innocent civilians in Afghanistan and Iraq. The occupation and control of Iraq. The prison abuse in Iraq, Afghanistan and Guantanamo Bay. The support of Israeli actions against Palestinians. The way Muslims have been treated in Western Countries like being arrested without charges in the US. All of these actions make the United States look like a racist bully in the view of many Muslims. For poor, desperate and angry Muslims these actions make them want to fight back any way they can.

   It is useful to elicit some of these points from the students:
   Many Muslims think that the US wants to destroy Islam:
   - ☞ They see the attacks against Afghanistan and Iraq as attacks against Islam, and think that maybe their country will be attacked by the US too.
   - ☞ They think that US support of Israeli actions against Palestinians, as anti-Muslim.
   - ☞ They look at the way the US treats Muslims (especially after 9/11) in the US, such as arrests and interrogations of innocent US Muslims and Arab-Americans.
   - ☞ So therefore they think that if they join Al Queda they are fighting to save Islam, and their own people, from destruction.

2. Terrorism is a method or a technique or tactic used by people. The people who use terror as a weapon are the enemies not the method. It would be like saying you are having a war against "murder" or "violence." These are the ways people commit crimes and people will always use these methods. In other words, it is impossible to win a war against an idea or something people have always done and always will do. You can also ask the students to think about why would the US say they are fighting against a method and not a specific enemy. Think about the idea of a "war without end." The idea is that in wartime conditions a government (like the US) has exceptional powers and control over the people. People are frightened during war and they allow the government to do whatever is necessary to 'protect' them. Therefore, the loss of freedom is acceptable by people who are frightened. In times of war, people do not question what their government is doing as long as it seems it is for security. Endless war allows a superpower to use military force to gain even more power in the world. Terrorism is an umbrella term to describe many different actions, such as bombing, assassination, etc. Many different organisations' and countries' actions are called 'terrorism' depending on who disagrees with it. Or example the SPDC might call the KNU's actions 'terrorism', East Timor activists might call the actions of the Indonesian militias 'terrorism'. It is a convenient term to use for the actions of your enemies.

3. Politically and economically the US has a powerful position. Militarily it is unmatched—the only superpower. In most of the world there is extreme poverty and injustice. Many countries are ruled by undemocratic governments. The US supports many of these undemocratic leaders. The majority of the world's people live in poverty and feel powerless and hopeless. The spread of Globalisation has not been helpful for many of the world's people. The gap between rich and poor is growing in the world and the US is seen as the richest and most powerful. For many, the spread of American or Western culture is seen as a threat to their own culture. The threat of US military power spreading over the world is offensive to many people. The recent US military actions in Afghanistan and Iraq have made many people feel more threatened. Most importantly is that the US and some of its allies refuse to acknowledge that these global conditions are what motivate people who feel desperate and angry into using terrorism as a tactic.

   As long as these conditions continue there can be no real success in stopping the use of terror. In fact, in many ways, the world is much more dangerous than before this "war" began. In many ways the future looks much more likely to see more use of terror than before this "war" began. In some ways, the way the US has responded to terrorism has been like putting petrol on a fire---in other words, it has made things worse. Until the powerful countries discuss and listen to the points of view of the poor and powerless and are willing to make some changes; until this happens there can never be success in a "war on terror."

Useful points to bring up or elicit:

- Inequality between rich and poor countries
- Inequality between rich and poor within many countries
- Since the fall of the cold war, US is only superpower, and has unchecked influence and power.
- US media (Hollywood movies, US pop stars, US products like Coca-cola, US advertising) are everywhere. Many people see this as very bad for their culture, that their culture is being taken over by US
- People see 'Globalisation' as US driven, and see it as meaning Western economic and cultural dominance
- US has been building military bases in many parts of the world, this makes many people afraid
- In many countries there is decrease of free speech and free press, and police and army are given more powers. This activity can be done as an assessment to evaluate the student's understanding of the issues. Or, it can be done as a small group activity which begins with lots of discussion. Either way, make sure the student's try to look back on all the background covered in this unit. Consider the issues of: reasons for the use of terror (why?), world conditions which motivate acts of terror, the response to terrorism from the powerful governments, the success and failures of this response, the results of "anti-terrorism" methods, the way much of the world views the US government's actions. Then, it is important for the students to say what they think is the best course of action. They could agree with the US position and want more of the same. Or, they might disagree with the current "war on terror" and have ideas of alternative methods. Of course, the student's should try to give as much evidence and reasons for their opinions. In the end, all opinions are equally valid and important as long as there is awareness of the history and the facts.

EXERCISE

Some possible answers:

Similarities	Differences
■ Both "wars" were global ■ Most current affairs are usually understood as being a part of the "War on Terror", just as they were during the Cold War	■ The Cold War had a fairly equal balance of power between the US and USSR, whereas the "War on Terror" is about US hegemony

EXERCISE

This activity can be done as an assessment to evaluate the student's understanding of the issues. Or, it can be done as a small group activity which begins with lots of discussion. Either way, make sure the student's try to look back on all the background covered in this unit. Consider the issues of: reasons for the use of terror (why?), world conditions which motivate acts of terror, the response to terrorism from powerful governments, the success and failures of this response, the results of "anti-terrorism" methods, the way much of the world views the US government's actions.

It is important for the students to say what they think is the best course of action. They could agree with the US position and want more of the same. Or, they might disagree with the current "War on Terror" and have ideas of alternative methods. Of course, the students should try to give as much evidence and reasons for their opinions. In the end, all opinions are equally valid and important as long as there is awareness of the history and the facts.