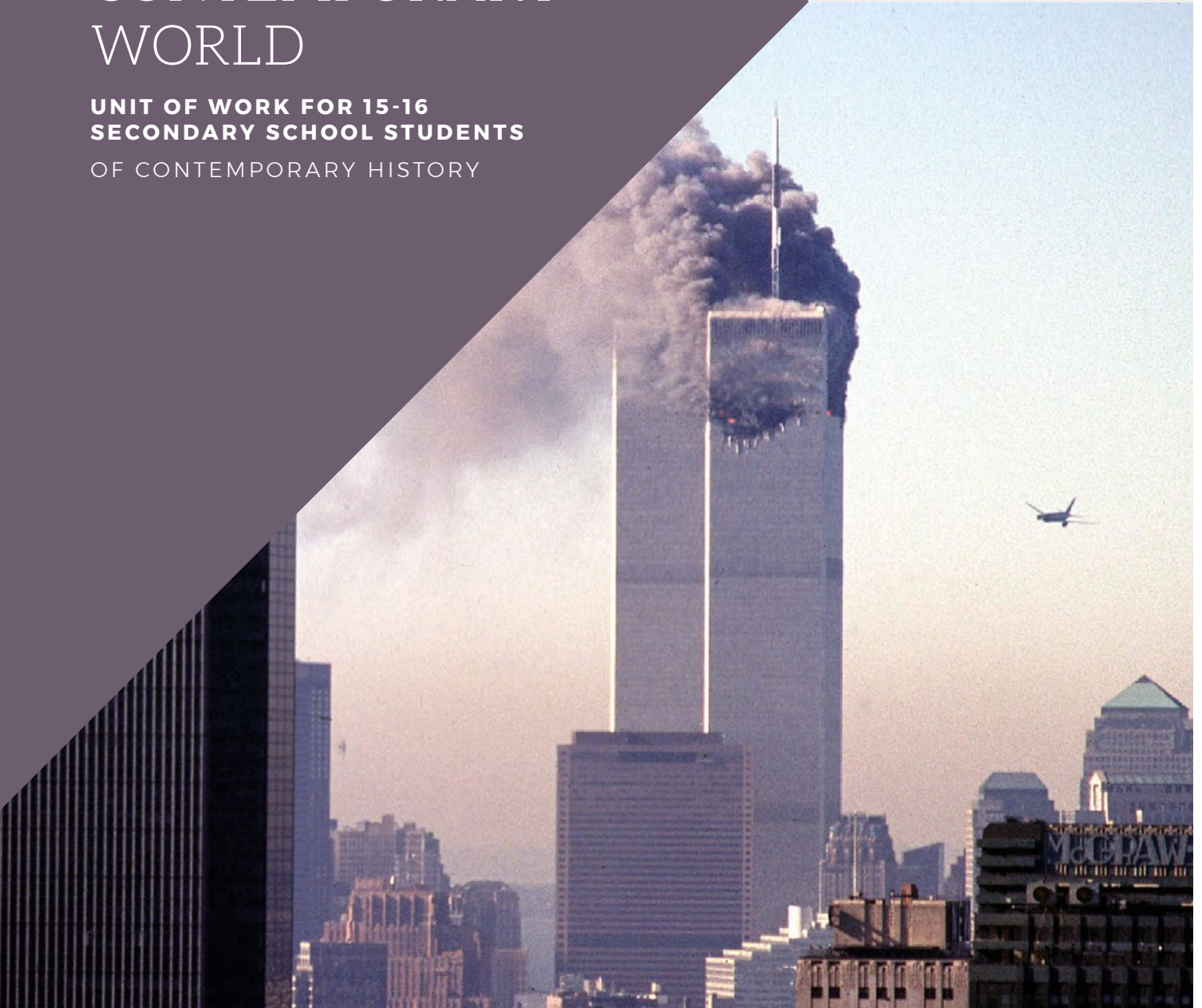




# INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

**UNIT OF WORK FOR 15-16  
SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS**  
OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY



**EDUCATIONAL PROJECT "MEMORY  
AND PREVENTION OF TERRORISM".  
UNIT OF WORK NO. 5**

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*Fig. 1. A child leaving flowers in memory of the victims of the jihadist attack in Nice, where a terrorist drove a truck into a crowd celebrating the French national holiday (16/07/2016). Photograph: Ian Langsdon, EFE/EPA.*



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The educational project "Memory and prevention of terrorism" is made up by a series of Units of Work which could be used in a range of school subjects such as Geography, History, Psychology, Contemporary History, Philosophy, and Citizenship.

This Unit of Work is for teachers to use in the classroom. All content, as well as its didactic implementation, is as it would be in a textbook. The work to be completed in each of the sessions is indicated. The didactic scheme can be found at the end of the publication.

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SESSION

01





*Fig. 2. A man cries while looking for his son who disappeared the day before the explosion of a Taliban terrorist truck bomb at the Afghanistan Ministry of Defense (02/07/2019). Source: Hedayatullah Amid, EFE.*

## INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS TERRORISM?

Terrorism is a form of illegitimate violence carried out against individuals, groups or institutions to intimidate and provoke fear in order to influence decisions and obtain certain objectives, usually of a political nature. It violates people's human rights, develops a culture of hatred, and attacks the functioning of democratic societies.

### CLANDESTINE VIOLENCE

Terrorism is committed in a secret way to avoid the action of justice. This clandestine nature of terrorism in turn causes greater isolation and radicalization within the terrorist group.

### CREATING AN ATMOSPHERE OF TERROR

The etymology of the word indicates that terrorism comes from terror, which is precisely the intention: creating fear in society.

### IMPOSITION OF POLITICAL OBJECTIVES

Behind terrorism is the issue of power, normally directed towards an institution or organization which the terrorists aim to make submit by the use of force.

### PROPAGANDISTIC IMPACT

Terrorist groups take advantage of the impact caused by their attacks to spread their distorted message.

Terrorism impacts the following groups:

#### VICTIMS

Terrorism mainly affects murdered, wounded, kidnapped, extorted and threatened people, as well as those around them (family and friends).

#### POLITICS

Terrorism violates democratic principles, generating a fear that reduces the possibilities of free and equal political participation.

#### SOCIETY

Terrorism has a direct impact on society, especially when attacking the most fundamental human rights.

#### ECONOMY

Attacks have a significant financial impact on material costs and security.

Fig. 3. View of Bologna's central train station, devastated by a terrorist explosion. Source: Keystone Pictures, Zumapress.



Four large groups of terrorist organizations can be identified according to their ideology:

### RADICAL NATIONALISTS

In Europe the terrorist groups that were active for the longest periods were the IRA (Irish Republican Army) and ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna, Basque Country and Freedom). The main target for both groups was separatism. The Provisional IRA (Provisional Irish Republican Army), founded in 1969, were declared heirs of the old IRA that emerged from the so-called Easter Rising (1916). The activity of the IRA officially ceased in 2005, although its dissolution officially occurred in 2008.

The Provisional IRA wanted Northern Ireland to leave the UK, while ETA pursued the independence of the Basque Country from Spain. ETA committed its first terrorist attack in 1968, a year before the birth of the Provisional IRA. There are similarities therefore in the timeline of their activities in the 1970s and 1980s. The announcement of the definitive cessation of armed activity of ETA took place on 20<sup>th</sup> October 2011.

Outside Europe there have also been radical nationalist terrorist organizations, such as the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), Sri Lanka, who wanted to establish their own Tamil state.

### JIHADISTS

Jihadism is the most active form of terrorism at present. Its objective is to establish a caliphate under a dogmatic interpretation of Sharia law. The best known groups are Al Qaeda, founded in 1988, and the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (Daesh), which has gained prominence since 2014. Both have regional groups, like Boko Haram in Nigeria, linked to Daesh. Similarly to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, jihadist terrorism has turned indiscriminate attacks into the main indicators of their identity.

### EXTREME LEFT

Terrorist groups from the extreme left in Europe include GRAPO (First of October Anti-fascist Resistance Groups) in Spain; the Red Brigades in Italy; and the Red Army Faction in Germany. These groups share the cause of using violence to bring down power structures in society. Also, outside Europe, other organizations of this type, such as the FARC, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, or Shining Path in Peru, already inoperative, can be found.

### FAR-RIGHT

The main examples of the far-right include authoritarian and fascist regimes led by dictators who ruled in different European countries during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, namely Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Germany and Franco in Spain. In Spain, far-right terrorism was fragmented into organizations such as the BVE (Spanish Basque Battalion) or the Triple A (Anti-Communist Apostolic Alliance). These groups enjoyed particular notoriety during the period of Transition in Spanish politics when they set out to destabilize the democratization process. This was certainly the case in 1977, when a commando from the far-right entered a law firm of *Comisiones Obreras* (CCOO) in Madrid, murdering five people and injuring another. Another group from this era were the *Guerrillas de Cristo Rey*, the armed wing of the extreme right. During this period, specifically in 1980, one of the largest terrorist massacres in Europe took place, caused by a far-right cell in Bologna train station (Italy), causing 85 fatalities.



*Fig. 4. The bloodiest year for terrorism in Northern Ireland was 1972, when nearly 500 people were murdered, most of them at the hands of the Provisional IRA. Source: Keystone Pictures, Zumapress.*

According to data from Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Center, it is estimated that each month there is an average of 900 terrorist attacks in the world. Reinares (2015) states that 9 out of every 10 attacks worldwide are currently taking place in South Asia, the Middle East and the northern half of Africa. Despite their many differences in substance and in form, it could also be stated that groups apparently as different as the FARC, Al Qaeda, Daesh, the IRA, ETA or Boko Haram have certain common characteristics: a fanatical idea leads to the need to eliminate the enemy.

In every terrorist group there is an idea based in myth, rites, and liturgies that is often wrapped up in a romantic narrative and realized through the construction of an alleged struggle for liberation. This idea is the breeding ground for the creation, dissemination, and practical exercise of the most violent theories of terrorist groups.

When we talk about terrorist violence we tend to think that it is only exercised by those who shoot guns, plant a bomb in a public place, or blow themselves up in a subway station. Terrorist activity uses many other weapons to create a climate of terror in society: confidants, captors, trainers, threats, extortion, and graffiti all become effective forms of intimidation and control.



**ACTIVITY 1****OLD OR NEW, TERRORIST VIOLENCE GENERATES SUFFERING**

What type of terrorist attack carried out in this century has impacted you the most? Why? Do you know anybody who has suffered a terrorist attack? Find out information on this topic (either individually or as part of collaborative group work) and prepare a written assignment. You may find this table useful to help you structure the data collected:

NAME OF THE VICTIM	TYPE OF VIOLENCE SUFFERED	LOCATION OF THE ATTACK	CONSEQUENCES OF THE TERRORIST ATTACK

The assignment can be hand-written or presented digitally. The final pieces can be discussed collectively in the class. They can be posted on the walls of the classroom or projected in video or PPT format.

SESSION

02



## THE FOUR WAVES OF TERRORISM

In this second session we will look at the origins of contemporary terrorism up to the present day. Taking the assumption that terrorism is not a recent phenomenon, but has deeper roots, we will also analyze the main features of terrorism in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Terrorism has appeared throughout contemporary history in the form of waves, each of them lasting on average 35 or 40 years. These cycles have not only affected one country, but several simultaneously, and show a phase of intensified violence followed by another one of decline until the disappearance of such terrorism. David C. Rapoport, professor and pioneer in Terrorism Studies from the University of California, distinguishes four waves of terrorism, not always consecutive, and with the end of some waves overlapping with the beginning of others. They are defined by the following elements: the political context in which they appear, predominant ideological orientation, organizations that feature them, places that suffer the most attacks, and main tactics and objectives.

The first wave of terrorism was of an "anarchist/nihilistic" type that emerged in the last third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The decline of the International Workers Association frustrated the expectations of imminent revolution. In this context, most extremists decided that violence was a useful formula to attack the state and achieve a classless society. There was propaganda for these actions and assassination attempts during this stage. Thus, attacks against high political positions with the intention of provoking a crisis system often occurred. In Russia, members of *Naródnaya Volya* (Will of the People) ended the life of Tsar Alexander II (1881). In Spain, anarchist-inspired terrorists killed three presidents of the Government at the time of the Restoration: Antonio Cánovas del Castillo (1897), José Canalejas (1912) and Eduardo Dato (1921). The perpetrators of the assassinations of King Humbert I of Italy (1900) and the President of the United States William McKinley (1901) were also anarchists. There were certain technical factors, such as the discovery of dynamite in 1866, which helped develop this wave given its power of destruction and, therefore, its ability to generate fear, although firearms such as pistols or revolvers also continued to be used. Nevertheless, the perpetrators did not reach their final targets.

*Fig. 5. World leaders together in Paris to honour victims of the terrorist attack against the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo (11/01/2015). Photography: Julien Warnand, EFE.*

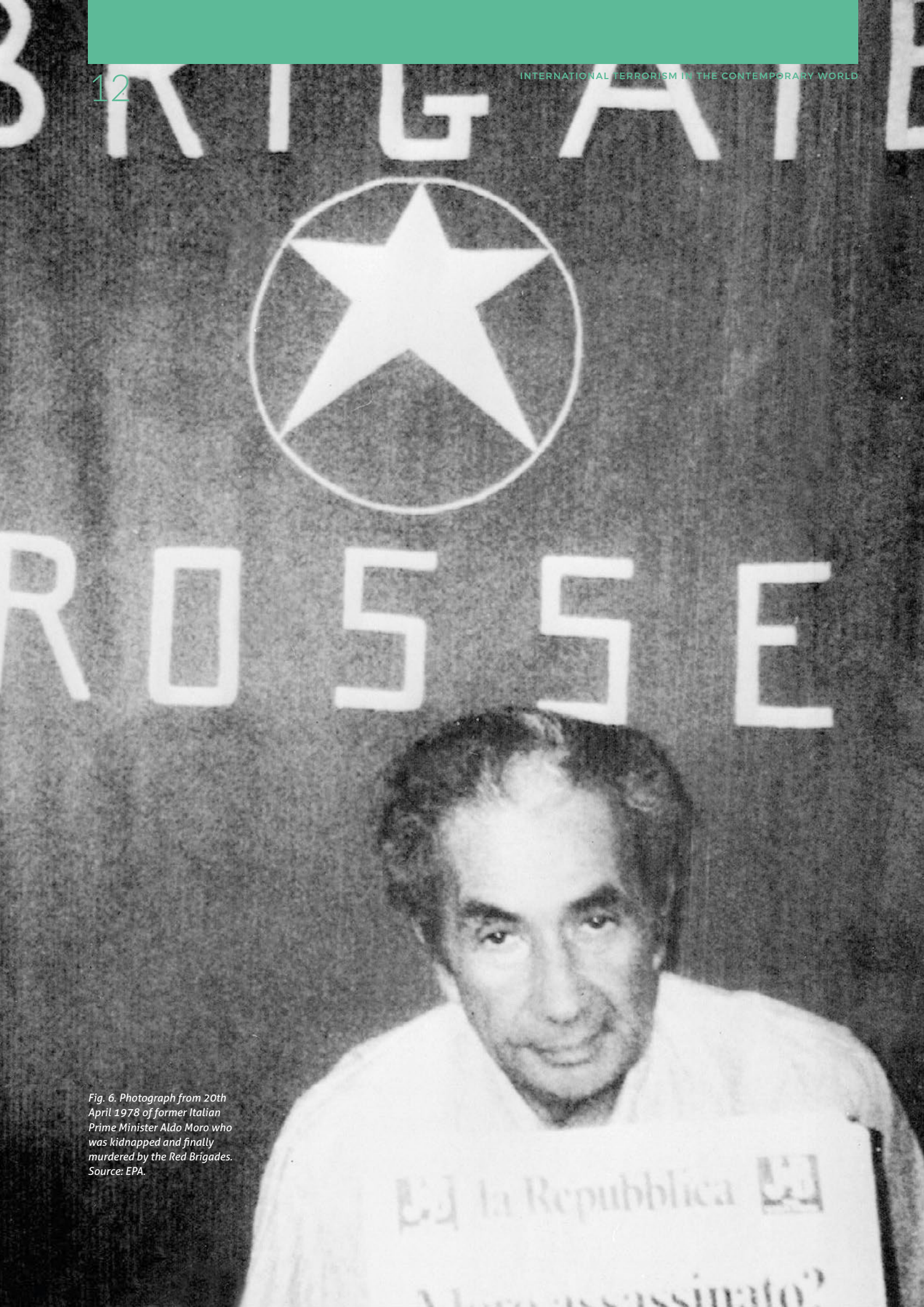


Fig. 6. Photograph from 20th April 1978 of former Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro who was kidnapped and finally murdered by the Red Brigades. Source: EPA.

Often, the subsequent repression of terrorism closed the cycle of violence within each affected country, so that the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw this first wave of terrorism already go into decline.

The second wave of terrorism arose around the First World War (1914-1918). Its main ideological inspiration was nationalism. Several factors explain its development. The first is the proliferation of separatist movements, guided by the demand of self-determination to provoke the rupture of the European plurinational states. Second, the rise in the interwar period of totalitarianism in Europe, of both sides - communist and fascist - and the parallel weakening of the liberal democracies. This wave had a precedent: the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the crown of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, at the hands of a Serbian radical. This event, which occurred in 1914 in Sarajevo, precipitated the outbreak of the First World War.

Probably the best-known organization of this stage, and the one that has lasted the longest, is the IRA, the Irish Republican Army, founded in 1916 and later divided into different factions, including the aforementioned Provisional branch. Its purpose was the independence of the island of Ireland, at that time under British rule. Far away in the Balkan region, Yugoslavia also suffered the onslaught of different nationalist terrorisms: Serbian, Croatian and Macedonian. In the case of totalitarian movements in Italy or Germany in the 1920s and 1930, it is not possible to speak of classic terrorist groups, structured in clandestine cells, but rather of the imposition of a climate of fear through paramilitary organizations whose members acted in uniform, such as the fascist squadrons in Italy, or the *Sturmabteilung*, SA (Nazi assault section) in Germany. In both cases they reached positions of power and tried to establish themselves in key positions in society, but their regimes of terror, led by Mussolini and Hitler respectively, did not last long, despite causing many victims. They were defeated in World War II by the allies.

The third wave of terrorism was linked to the rise of the so-called "New Left." After the end of the Second World War (1939-1945), democratic Europe experienced a period of political stability, economic growth and relative social calm that lasted approximately 20 years. Starting in the late 1960s, terrorism, both revolutionary and counterrevolutionary, struck again simultaneously in numerous countries: Spain, United Kingdom, Italy and Germany.

Once again the more radical groups chose a violent path and founded what they called "urban guerrillas," that is, new terrorist organizations. Those who had an inspiration

from extreme left, such as the Red Brigades in Italy or the Fraction of the Red Army (RAF) in Germany, entered into decline as early as the 1980s due to a lack of support. The majority of the population supported democracy and their institutions. However, other organizations, fundamentally separatist and nationalist, such as ETA in Spain or the various branches of the IRA in Northern Ireland, managed to survive longer until the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Alongside them arose the far-right gangs, such as Ordine Nuovo in Italy, the Anti-communist Apostolic Alliance (Triple A) in Spain or the loyalist groups in Northern Ireland.

The rise of terrorism and the violation of human rights occurs in much of the world, but it is also very close to us. There is a one particularly shocking fact: since 1960, almost 1,500 people have lost their lives as a result of the actions of terrorists in Spain alone.

Terrorism has a direct and negative effect on human rights, especially liberty, and it also destabilizes democratic institutions, relations between countries, and social and economic development. Terrorism is everyone's problem; it continues to be extremely present in our everyday lives.

## ACTIVITY 2

## TERROR AS A POLITICAL TOOL

**STAGE A.** Individually read the text from session 2 in the classroom or, indeed, at home in advance. Split the class into work groups of no more than five students. Each group must choose one of the texts below and develop a short assignment on the chosen topic. The assignment must answer the following questions:

Which wave of terrorism does it correspond to?

How did the attack take place and in which context?

What consequences did it have both on a human and social level?

## TEXT 1

**William McKinley** became the 25<sup>th</sup> president of the United States of America in 1897. On 6<sup>th</sup> September 1901, McKinley and his wife, Ida Saxton, attended the Pan American Exhibition held in Buffalo (New York). There, while in the Temple of Music, the anarchist Leon Czolgosz, of Polish origin, fired the revolver that was concealed in his right hand. His shot hit the president's shoulder and another one entered his abdomen. McKinley died of gangrene on 14<sup>th</sup> September.

## TEXT 2

The Sarajevo attack is the term by which the murder of Archduke **Franz Ferdinand**, committed on 28<sup>th</sup> June 1914, is known worldwide. The heir to the crown of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Archduke Franz Ferdinand was with his wife, the Duchess Sofia Chotek, in Sarajevo, capital of the imperial province of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The terrorist attack was perpetrated by the Serbian nationalist Gavrilo Princip, instigated by a movement whose objective was the emancipation of Bosnia from Austria-Hungary, an attack which had the support of intelligence and military circles of the Kingdom of Serbia.

## TEXT 3

In the morning of 7<sup>th</sup> June 1996, policeman **Jerry McCabe**, together with his partner Ben O'Sullivan, began escorting a post van in Adare, in the Irish county of Limerick. A Provisional IRA commando who wanted to steal money from the van shot at the patrol with a kalashnikov, seriously wounding Ben and murdering Jerry. Sadly, Jerry was close to retirement.

**TEXT 4**

On 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2017, Khuram Butt, Rachid Redouane and Youssef Zaghba drove a car across London Bridge, running over passersby. They then exited the car and began attacking other passersby in the vicinity of Borough Market with knives. **Ignacio Echevarria**, a Spaniard living in the British capital, saw how the members of the group attacked a girl and a policeman who came to help her. Without hesitation, Ignacio faced the terrorists with his only weapon: a skateboard. Ignacio died from the stab wounds caused by terrorists, who stated that they were acting on behalf of Islamic State. 9 people were killed and 48 were injured in that attack.

**STAGE B.** Once the group work is finished, the teacher will ask a spokesperson from each group to present their work to the class. The presentation will be oral, accompanied, if desired, by other supporting materials: images on the interactive whiteboard, videos, or other materials. Presentations can be recorded and thus remain accessible after the event. After listening to all the presentations, the teacher will point out what was discussed in the introduction of the activity and lead discussion on how the different versions of terrorism have spread terror as a political tool, based on hate speech and fanatical thinking. A final debate between students could also be recorded and uploaded onto the same platform.

*Fig. 7. Police arresting Gavrilo Princip, the assassin of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria.  
Source: Hilary Jane Morgan, Zumapress.*



SESSION

03







*Fig. 8. A commercial plane hijacked by jihadist terrorists shortly before crashing into one of the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center (New York, 11th September 2001). Source: Seth McCallister, EPA.*

## THE BIRTH OF GLOBAL TERRORISM

21<sup>st</sup> century terrorism has birth-date: 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001. That day a group of jihadist terrorists who were members of Al Qaeda kidnapped four civil aircraft in the US: two of them were crashed into the Twin Towers in New York City; another into the Pentagon in Washington; and the fourth was brought down in a field in rural Pennsylvania when the passengers rioted against the hijackers and the terrorists lost control of the aircraft. The result of such a complex terrorist operation was more than 3,000 fatalities and 6,000 wounded. The indirect outcome was the start of two wars - one in Afghanistan and another in Iraq - with tens of thousands of deaths.

One of the characteristics of jihadist terrorism is mass public violence. In addition to 9/11, there have been more attacks, such as those committed in Madrid on 11<sup>th</sup> March 2004 (193 fatalities), London on 7<sup>th</sup> July 2005 (56 murdered), Camp Speicher, Iraq, in June 2014 (1,600 victims), the slaughter of between 400 and 500 people carried out by Boko Haram in Borno State (Nigeria) on 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> June 2014, or the most recent attacks in Barcelona and Cambrils on 17<sup>th</sup> August 2017 (16 victims).

The 9/11 attacks informed the whole world of the prominence of a terrorist organization, Al Qaeda, and its founder and leader, Osama Bin Laden, who until then had passed unnoticed by public opinion even though the group had been active for thirteen years and since then had committed major attacks with hundreds of victims.

The history of Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups of Jihadist inspiration cannot be understood fully without knowing the recent history of Afghanistan. In 1979, USSR troops entered the country to support a pro-Soviet government which had settled in Kabul after an internal coup. The presence of the Soviet army provoked a large part of the local population and led to the involvement of other countries (in particular the US, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia) who helped with weapons, money and training for those wishing to fight back against the troops from USSR. Thousands of Muslims coming from various countries, motivated by religious reasons moved to Afghanistan to fight the occupiers. In 1989, after a decade of occupancy, the USSR withdrew from the country.



*Fig. 9. Osama Bin Laden poses in the center of the photograph, accompanied by other Al Qaeda leaders, Ayman Al Zawahiri (left) and Mohammed Atef (right). Source: EPA.*

One of those who traveled to fight in Afghanistan was Osama Bin Laden, a member of a wealthy Saudi family, who in 1988 created an organization called Al Qaeda, which included many experienced fighters. Bin Laden founded the group with Ayman Al Zawahiri, who would be the later successor of the group. On 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1998, Al Qaeda and other groups of jihadist inspiration created an alliance that they baptized as the World Islamic Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders, which became the international terrorist network that encouraged the attacks of subsequent years.

Al Qaeda looked for new enemies to face. First, it targeted governments from Muslim countries that did not apply Sharia or Islamic law, in other words, governments considered "apostates," that is to say governments not defending the radical vision of religion promoted by Bin Laden and his people. Secondly, they pointed out the "distant enemy", namely Western countries including the US.

Although the birth of Al Qaeda marks an important point in the history of recent terrorism and implies the emergence of global jihadism, before the creation of this group other at-

tacks had already been committed in the name of the Islamist religious extremism refuted behind the jihad. In Spain itself, since 1984 there have been terrorists with such views<sup>1</sup>. The most serious episode took place on 12<sup>th</sup> April 1985 when a bomb in the restaurant *El Descanso*, in Torrejón de Ardoz (Madrid), caused 18 deaths and wounded 80. A so-called Islamic Jihad group assumed responsibility for the attack. The same group had taken responsibility for another attack against a hotel in Athens, just two months earlier. Both the hotel, and the restaurant *El Descanso* were located near a military base used by US soldiers who frequented the attacked facilities. The name of Islamic Jihad has also served to assume the responsibility of attacks against US and French barracks in Beirut in 1983, which caused hundreds of deaths (306 casualties among US and French soldiers as well as civilian workers). Spanish police investigated the trail of radical Shiites of Iranian and Lebanese origin, since the Islamic Jihad flag had been used by the Hezbollah group (Party of God), without finding the perpetrators of the attack.

The end of the war in Afghanistan led to the demobilization of a large part of the foreign fighters, who returned to their countries of origin, including Algeria. These experienced jihadists took up arms on their own country after the 1992 coup that suspended the second round of a general election after the triumph in the first round of the Islamic Salvation Front. That episode made various jihadist groups appear in Algeria that caused a civil war that ended with tens of thousands of deaths following a decade of conflict. The lowest estimates put 100,000 deceased, while other calculations double that number. The Armed Islamic Group (GIA) was the most prominent of the jihadist organizations that operated in Algeria. The Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC) would also become Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). The GIA led its war on French territory in 1994 and 1995 with attacks that caused more than a dozen deaths and left 200 wounded.

This was a preview of what would happen in the early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Europe with other outbreaks of such terrorism.

Professor Luis de la Corte (2018)<sup>2</sup> has identified three phases of global jihadism: the first stage extends from the foundation of Al Qaeda in 1988 until the September attacks in 2001. The second stage takes place between the end of 2001 and 2010, and would be characterized "by the proliferation at global level of non-state actors linked to Al Qaeda or related to its ideology-project". The third phase of Global jihadism starts from the so-called "Arab Spring" which since 2011 has caused radical changes in countries like Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Syria.

Within the first stage, we must place the attacks perpetrated by Al Qaeda in August 1998 against embassies of the US in the capitals of Kenya and Tanzania, which left more than 200 dead and 4,000 wounded. In this period the first jihadist groups were also created in Yemen, nurtured by Afghan veterans who had returned home and would end up as part of Al Qaeda of the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), one of the most powerful branches of the organization founded by Bin Laden.

The attacks of 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001 caused the immediate response from the United States that, barely a month later, attacked Afghanistan, the country where Al Qaeda was based and where the leadership of the group was protected by the Taliban in power. The second war, against Iraq, began two years later with unfounded accusations directed against the government of Baghdad. This second conflict opened the doors to the multiplication of jihadist activity both inside and outside Iraqi territory, and their consequences still last today.

In the post-9/11 period, Al Qaeda and its leaders have been forced to leave Afghanistan and as such have lost numerous troops. To adapt to the new situation, in the words of Professor Luis de la Corte, "a transnational movement of diffused outline and variable geometry" emerged. This movement spread throughout Central and South Asia, the North Caucasus, the Middle East, the whole North Africa, West Africa and the Horn of Africa. Hundreds of attacks have been committed in such territories.

<sup>1</sup> A list of incidents can be found at Fontecha (2004).

<sup>2</sup> De la Corte (2018). Available on Internet at: [http://www.memorialvt.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Informe04\\_180212.pdf](http://www.memorialvt.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Informe04_180212.pdf)

**ACTIVITY 3****WORLD TRADE CENTER. THE TERRORIST ATTACK THAT MOVED THE WORLD**

Objectives:

**Investigate and gather information on an attack that shocked the world and marked a before and after in global terrorism.**

**Understand the history of jihadist terrorism.**

**Promote an attitude of empathy towards the victims, both of this attack and of similar ones.**

**Discuss the importance of this attack in the international order, and the personal consequences for the victims.**

After having read the Session 3 text, engage in collaborative group work based on different sources of documentation. It is recommended to carry out an Internet search to also develop digital competence. If no relevant information is found, we suggest visiting the following BBC link:

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-57698668>

Or other historical documentation such as:

<https://prensahistorica.mcu.es/en/inicio/inicio.do>

Split into groups of five. Each group will search for information on the 9/11 attacks and will prepare a brief report on the issues that has been studied. The report will include the following:

International political context at the time.

Terrorist group responsible for the attack.

How did it happen?

Motivations and claims.

Victims and consequences at world level.

For this activity, we suggest the cooperative learning strategy known as "Write Around". The teacher assigns a task for the teams (creating a list of words, writing a story, listing things they know about a certain topic to find out their previous ideas, writing a sentence that summarizes the main idea of the text they have read or the topic they have been studying) and a member of the team begins to write their part or contribution before passing the paper "around". The student passes the paper to the next group member in a clockwise direction to write his or her part of the assignment on the page. The process repeats throughout the group until everyone has participated in the final document, which will be handed to the teacher.

In the final part of the activity, the different groups express their findings on the suffering experienced by the victims of this attack. The teacher can start the debate by introducing questions such as: *Despite the attacks being different due to their socio-political contexts and the places in which they occur, do you consider that the suffering is different? Are all victims the same?*

Fig.10. Roses and photographs left to honour the anniversary of the 9/11 victims. Source: Justin Lane, POOL



SESSION

04



## JIHADISM AFTER THE ARAB SPRING

The butterfly effect became a reality in the Arab world in 2011. A local episode in Tunisia, which featured an unknown citizen, generated a succession of revolutionary political changes in many Arab countries. On 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010, a greengrocer set himself on fire because the police had seized merchandise he was selling in a market and mistreated him. Offended and stripped of his property, Mohamed Bouazizi lost his life the following 4<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

Bouazizi's incident provoked a revolt that, in a few days, ended up ousting President Ben Ali, who had ruled the country for 24 years. The Tunisian event created a domino effect and spread immediately to different Arab countries. In Libya another popular revolt ended the regime of Colonel Gaddafi, in power for 42 years, while in Egypt the Arab Spring took Hosni Mubarak, who ruled uninterruptedly for three decades. Gaddafi died during the revolt and in Egypt the Muslim Brotherhood came to power after an election, although after two years this government was eventually overthrown by the army. Protests also spread, with uneven effects in Yemen, Algeria, Morocco, Oman, Bahrain and Syria. The protests demanded the establishment of full democratic systems, while other sectors who advocated Islamist regimes also gathered together.

Political changes were accompanied by the emergence of violence led by different jihadist groups that tried to exploit the disorder caused by legitimate popular revolts for their own benefit. In Tunisia, the only country where a democratic system was consolidated, Al Qaeda and Daesh branches were operating. This country had registered an attack in 2002 against the synagogue of the island of Djerba, with 22 deaths, mostly tourists. This attack was financed from Spain by a businessman who sent the necessary money to Al Qaeda through from a phone booth in Logroño. Another attack by an Al-Qaeda affiliate was committed in 2015 against the Bardo Museum with a total of 19 dead, two of them residents of Barcelona.

Islamic State splinter groups have operated in Egypt over the years as well as Daesh and other groups founded after the expulsion of the Muslim Brotherhood.

*Fig. 11. A journalist observes an area full of bullet holes at the Bardo Museum in Tunisia. Source: Mohamed Messara, EFE.*

However, where jihadist terrorism has had more presence and activity has been in Libya and Syria. The fall of Gaddafi left the North African country without a common power structure, and it became divided into territories controlled by armed groups that clashed for control of cities and economic resources. Like-minded jihadist groups settled in Libya with both Al Qaeda and Daesh sending threats towards neighbouring countries such as Tunisia or the Sahel area, especially towards Mali. The crumbling of the structures of Libyan power left its army arsenals able to arm numerous terrorist groups and this has contributed to spreading jihadism to all countries in the Sahara area where numerous groups operate, the most prominent of which is Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). The threat in the case of Mali was so extreme that the intervention of French troops in 2013 was necessary so that the country wouldn't be under the control of these groups.

In Africa, the case of Nigeria should also be mentioned. The Boko Haram group, founded in 2009, operates there. This group later swore allegiance to Daesh. Since its establishment, it has caused about 20,000 fatalities and has carried out more than 2,000 kidnappings, not only in Nigeria but also in nearby countries such as Cameroon and Chad. Ter-

rorist activity is also intense in the Horn of Africa, where a group related to Al Qaeda (As Shabab) and another follower of the Daesh exists.

In Syria, the Arab Spring and the repression applied by the government led to a civil war that pitted the defenders of the status quo and those unhappy with the regime from Damascus against each other before jihadist groups entered. First it was Al Qaeda, which formed a subsidiary baptized as Al Nusra Front in 2011. The first Al Nusra fighters came from Iraq, where an Al Qaeda group had been operating since it was organized to resist US troops in 2003. At the beginning it was called the Organization for Monotheism and Jihad, then it was christened Al Qaeda in the Land of Two Rivers; in 2006, then they became the Islamic State of Iraq. The leader of this group, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, decided to fight Syria, where the Al Nusra Front already operated, contrary to the opinion of the Al Qaeda leadership, and this caused the rift between the two organizations. Al Baghdadi's group, which had been part of the ranks with numerous military personnel from Saddam Hussein's army, was reconverted into the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (Daesh) from 2013 and then shortened to Islamic State.

*Fig. 12. Daesh members in Syria perform a show of power (25/08/2015). Source: Ho, Zumapress.*





The success of this group led it to control a large territorial space in which Daesh acted as the power of an effective State, although it did not have any international recognition. Daesh came to control an extension equivalent to that of Great Britain. Following the capture of the Iraqi city of Mosul, Al-Baghdad proclaimed himself Caliph.

The war in Syria and Iraq caused a major jihadist mobilization: it is estimated that more than 40,000 volunteers out of 120 countries (including at least 237 volunteers from Spain) moved to fight in those two countries. The majority of them were part of Daesh, a group that gained in prestige in the eyes of most radicals due to its wide territorial domain and for their ability to perform a high level of propaganda efficiently using social media and audiovisual resources.

The attraction caused by groups like Daesh not only led to more than 5,000 residents in Europe to move to the Middle East to fight but has also led to numerous attacks in European countries. Sometimes cells were organized by Daesh or Al Qaeda, and other times they were individual actors, not directly linked to these groups, but simply inspired by their doctrine and stimulated by slogans that their political departments put out.



The attack on the Charlie Hebdo magazine in January 2015 in Paris was perpetrated by a cell shaped by Al Qaeda; the attacks of 13<sup>th</sup> November of the same year, also in Paris, which left 130 dead, were committed by a Daesh cell; the attacks in Barcelona and Cambrils in 2017 were carried out by a group of radical jihadists also inspired by Daesh.

The great mobilization of jihadist group supporters provoked great concern in European governments. First, an attempt was made to prevent citizens in Europe to move and fight in the Middle East. All governments put in place measures to prevent jihadist radicalization and to dismantle terrorist networks operating in Europe. When Daesh began to be defeated and were losing the ground they controlled, governments were vigilant to prevent the return of the combatants who had moved to Syria or Iraq because the return of trained and experienced terrorists represented a new security risk.

Some data highlights the extent of terrorism on recent dates: According to Professor Luis de la Corte, between 1994 and 2016 there were 115,709 terrorist incidents worldwide. Middle East and North Africa accounts for 34% of the total number of terrorists events, followed by South Asia (31.7%), Sub-Saharan Africa (17.7%) and Southeast Asia (8%). Western Europe barely gathers 4.35% of the attacks.

Jihadist violence cost the lives of 1,703 Europeans between the years 2000 and 2018, according to data collected in the book *Black and white paper on terrorism in Europe*. Those registered in Madrid because of the attacks of 11<sup>th</sup> March 2004 are included. 192 people lost their lives with those bombs as well as the policeman killed a few days later by another device activated by the perpetrators of the train attacks. 11-M is still the terrorist attack with the most fatalities on record in European territory. The impact was so big that the EU declared 11<sup>th</sup> March as European Victims Day.

When the tens of thousands of victims caused by jihadist terrorism are mentioned, we must not forget that the vast majority of them were Muslim citizens who lived in countries where a good part of their population were practicing Muslims. It is believed that between 80 and 90 percent of the victims caused by this type of terrorism are Muslims.

<sup>3</sup> Terrorism in Spain is also the subject for the Units of Work for 14-15 year-old secondary school Geography and History Students available at: <http://www.memorialvt.com/publicaciones/#unidades>

**ACTIVITY 4****A SPANISH PERSON AT THE GHAZALA GARDENS HOTEL EXPLOSION**

Please read the testimony of Tomás Fraga, who was injured in the attacks in the Egyptian town of Sharm el Sheikh on 23<sup>rd</sup> July 2005. After reading, please consider the following questions:

Reflect on what it means to be a victim of extreme violence, such as jihadist terrorism.

Discuss the perverse exercise of violence and the pain it causes in the victims.



Promote an attitude of empathy towards the victims, both of this attack and similar ones: such as the Bataclan Theatre in Paris, the events in Brussels or Nice, the 11-M in Madrid or the attacks in Barcelona and Cambrils.

After reading Tomás Fraga's case, exchange opinions in class on the effects of terrorism and hatred that must have filled whoever could commit such attacks. We oppose the hatred that fuels all terrorism by refusing to take similar means of revenge and trusting the delivery of justice. Ultimately, therein lies the resilience of democracies that terrorist attacks try to bringdown.

*Fig. 13. Hundreds of workers demonstrate at the doors of the Hotel Ghazala Gardens in Sharm el Sheikh, Egypt, protesting against terrorism a day after the series of bomb attacks on this resort that killed at least 90 people and injured more than 150 (24/07/2005). Source: Khaled El-Fiqi, EFE.*

"At approximately 01.20 in the morning, as I was on my way to find my vehicle parked on a side street from the Ghazala Gardens Hotel on the main avenue of Sharm el Sheikh, we passed through the hotel parking lot and right in front of the door, a car loaded with explosives crashed into it and detonated the explosives. I woke up on the other side of the street and two people helped me to sit up and took me to the city hospital. I will save the later details, operations, recovery, both in Egypt and in Spain, because they are irrelevant. I prefer to remember other moments. In an extreme situation, one with little humanity, many others gave the best of themselves for those who needed it most and ignored their fears. I remember people who transferred me to the hospital. Companions who overcame the chaos in the city to enter the hospital to be with me. They did something that is sometimes more important than other things: be with me so that I wouldn't feel alone.... I also remember the transfer in a military plane to Cairo with many other injured people. A person, who I don't know and I don't think I'll ever know, put his hand on my leg to reassure me and calm me down during the flight...I remember my parents, my sister, my partner, my uncles, grandparents, friends...people from the Fundación Jiménez Díaz Hospital who gave me everything, both medically and humanly, to aid me on my recovery. All in all, I remember so many people who either were already part of my life or started to become part of my life. And I feel lucky, within the misfortune that I had to experience, to be surrounded by so much kindness and affection. On 27<sup>th</sup> July 2006, one year and four days after the attack, I returned to Sharm el Sheikh...I remember the passage next to the now vanished hotel...I didn't feel fear or worry, not even resentment, but inner peace, which was what I needed. The circle was closed."<sup>4</sup>

First, the teacher will contextualize Tomás' testimony. For this purpose, a historical review of those years could be offered to the students.

Second, the class can be divided into pairs. Each student will individually read the text and discuss it with their partner. Everyone must know the text well and analyze it by sharing their opinion.

Third, in relation to the debate as a whole group, we should ask ourselves the following questions prior to commenting: Is there any difference between this attack and others with an Islamist justification? Are there differences between the thoughts and actions of the different jihadist terrorist groups and those of other terrorist groups? What do you think about Tomás' behaviour? If you were a victim of terrorism, do you think you would have a similar attitude?

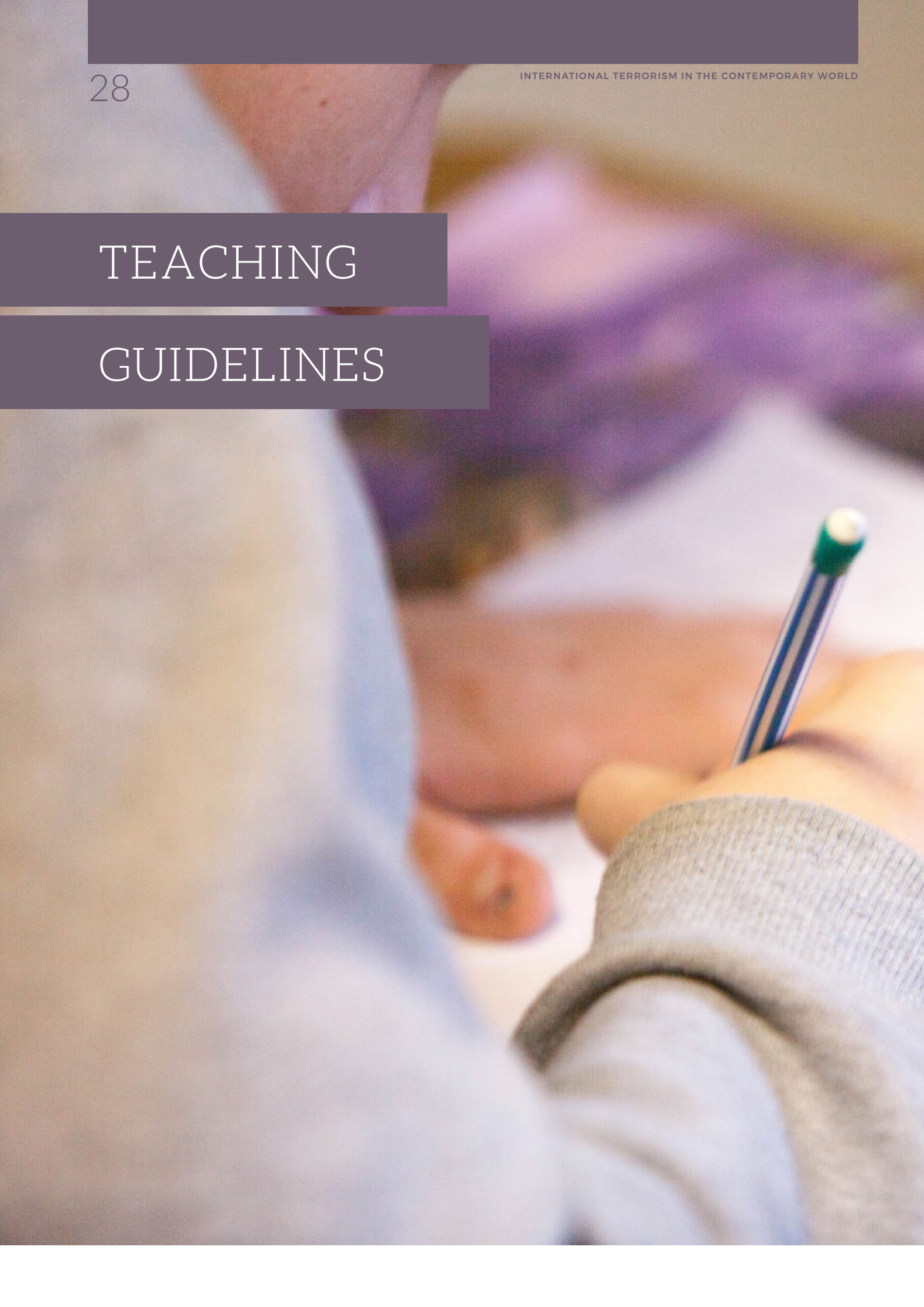
Finally, conclusions will be presented and recorded in the chosen format, on paper or digitally.

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<sup>4</sup> In López Romo (2018).

TEACHING

GUIDELINES



## SUBJECT

Contemporary History for 15-16 year-old students.

## LINKS WITH THE SPANISH OFFICIAL CURRICULUM

This Unit of Work is linked with Theme 10 "The current world from a historical perspective".

Spanish curricular legislation: *Real Decreto 1105/2014, de 26 de diciembre, por el que se establece el currículo básico de la Educación Secundaria Obligatoria y del Bachillerato (BOE del 3 de enero de 2015)*.

## TIMING

According to the Spanish curricular legislation Real Decreto 1105/2014, "History studies societies throughout time. For this reason, follow a chronological order." As such, this Unit of Work should be implemented in the third term.

Although 4 sessions are available, it is possible to choose only one of them to focus on at the teacher's discretion.

## AIMS

In general, the objectives to be achieved are set up in Article 25 of the above mentioned Spanish curricular legislation, which establishes that at this level the curriculum will help students develop the knowledge and skills that allow them to exercise democratic citizenship, from a global perspective, and acquire a responsible civic conscience, inspired by the values of the Spanish Constitution, as well as by human rights, which encourages co-responsibility in the construction of a fair and equitable society.

This Unit of Work on human rights, terrorism and its victims can be developed with 15-16 secondary school students within the subject of Citizenship. For this reason, the current applicable curricular guidelines, as well as various considerations and directions, have been taken into account. The intentions of this unit include:

Knowing the different definitions of terrorism and the main elements that characterize it.

Studying the journey from the origins of modern terrorism to the present. Analyzing terrorism in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Identifying the birth of global terrorism.

Learning about the development of jihadism after the Arab Spring.

Building a critical opinion about terrorism as a global phenomenon from the social, political and cultural context in which it arises and develops.

## CONTENTS

Contents for "The current world from a historical perspective" are:

The fall of the Berlin wall and the attacks in New York: globalization and the media; The terrorist threat in a globalized world; The scientific and technological impact; Europe: challenge and union; Relevant features of US society at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century after the attacks of 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001.

The following topics will be specifically addressed:

Introduction: What is terrorism?

The four waves of terrorism.

The birth of global terrorism.

Jihadism and the Arab Spring.

## KEY COMPETENCES

Following the 2018 Council of the EU European Reference Framework for Key Competences for Lifelong Learning, the following key competences are developed throughout this Unit of Work:

Literacy competence, since it will be essential for carrying out the activities of both comprehensive reading and the ability to produce texts and adequate oral expression.

Digital competence, since it will be necessary to use the technological means of information and communication to complete other activities.

Citizenship competence, so that students put themselves in the place of the victims and understand the importance of peaceful coexistence, as well as the concepts of democracy, justice, equality, citizenship and human rights.

## RESOURCES

For the development of this Unit of Work it will be essential to have a classroom with a projector and speakers. For the work with the texts, it is advisable to deliver photocopies, although you can choose to project the texts and read them aloud. If you do not have a classroom of these resources, it is recommended to carry out the sessions in the computer room or to use laptops such as those from national digitalization initiatives (School 2.0) if they are available in the school.

## LEARNING STANDARDS

According to the Spanish curricular legislation *Real Decreto 1105/2014, de 26 de diciembre*, the learning standards taken from Theme 10 "The current world from a historical perspective" applicable to this Unit of Work are as follows:

2.1. Conduct a guided search on the Internet about the terrorist threat, organizations that support it, most relevant attacks (New York 9/11, Madrid 11-M, London 7-J, etc.), their symbols and consequences on society (threatened citizenship, victims associations, mediation in conflicts, etc.), analyze and communicate the most relevant information.

This learning standard will be divided into several assessment indicators according to the content distribution, which can also be included in a simple rubric for evaluation purposes.

**INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS TERRORISM?**

- a. Define terrorism and its implications as a global phenomenon.
- b. Explains all the definitions of terrorism as a global phenomenon as well as its key elements.
- c. Builds a critical opinion about terrorism as a global phenomenon from his or her knowledge of history, and the social, political, and cultural context in which it arises and develops.

**THE FOUR WAVES OF TERRORISM**

- a. Learn about the four waves of terrorism.
- b. Identify and correctly explain some of the four waves of terrorism.
- c. Relate each of the waves of terrorism to the political context in which they were born; their predominant ideological orientation, the organizations that led them; the places that they suffered more attacks, their main tactics and their objectives.

**THE BIRTH OF GLOBAL TERRORISM**

- a. Learn about the origin of global terrorism.
- b. Identify some of the phases of terrorism in the twenty-first century.
- c. Relates the phases of global jihadism with the organizations of this terrorism.

**JIHADISM AFTER THE ARAB SPRING**

- a. Learn about the existence of jihadism after the Arab Spring.
- b. Identify some of the terrorist actions of jihadism from the Arab Spring to the present.
- c. It fully lists the jihadist organizations, as well as the attacks they carried out since the Arab Spring to the present from a critical approach.



## ASSESSMENT TOOLS AND CRITERIA

### ASSESSMENT CRITERIA

Students should:

Describe the effects of the terrorist threat (jihadism, etc.) on daily life, explaining its characteristics.

Summarize the challenges that the European Union has in today's world, distinguishing the problems it has to show itself as a united geopolitical zone compared to other areas.

Summarize the challenges that the European Union has in today's world, distinguishing the problems it has as a geopolitical actor to show itself as a united geopolitical zone compared to other areas.

Obtain and select information from various sources (bibliographic, Internet) that explain the different facts that determine the world today.

### ASSESSMENT PROCEDURES AND TOOLS

Students must complete the activities included in this Unit of Work and research on the Internet in their notebooks. During the development of the four sessions, students must actively participate. The teacher must assess the activities in the students' notebooks according to the rubrics established for the learning standards. In addition, teachers must record both the interventions of each student and how successful they have been in relation with the issues dealt with in class.

When evaluating and giving a grade, emphasis must be on students learning of: a) The historical content on the selected topics included in this Unit of Work ("The fall of the Berlin wall and the attacks in New York: globalization and the media, terrorist threat in a globalized world"), the scientific and technological impact. Europe: challenge and union. Relevant features of the US society at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, after the attacks of 9/11 2001 and b) on the critical discourse that they have been able to develop from the historical strategies that this study has provided them.

According to the rubric that each student reaches, the indicated number is assigned, understanding that whoever doesn't complete the tasks does not demonstrate reaching the minimum of the rubric, and so should receive a 1. Once all the values have been assigned to the rubrics, we proceed to add them. The passing grade is between 12-24, with 24 being the maximum. To get a grade over 10, the number obtained will be divided by 2.4.





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UNIT OF WORK FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL  
CONTEMPORARY HISTORY STUDENTS

**15-16-YEAR-OLD**

