

Part II: The Threat of Terrorism

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

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

Why is the United States a target?
For many in the United States, the threat of terrorism raises the question, "Why us?"

Part II Definitions

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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Al Qaeda

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

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

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

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

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

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6 We call upon Muslim scholars, their faithful leaders, young believers, and soldiers to launch a raid on the American soldiers of Satan and their allies of the Devil."

—Osama bin Laden, February 22, 1997

How did al Qaeda's terrorist acts contribute to increased fears about Islam?

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

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

Like all religions, Islam is subject to interpretation. Most interpretations of Islamic tradition note a history of tolerance and peace. (The word Islam is related to the Arabic word *salam*, which means peace.) Throughout much of history, Muslims have lived peacefully with followers of other religions. For example, in the late fifteenth century, many Jews fled persecution in Christian Europe and found the Muslim Ottoman Empire to be more

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

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

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

How strong is al Qaeda today?

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

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

What are ISIS and Boko Haram?

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

What is jihad?

Osama bin Laden often described his campaign against the United States as a form of *jihad*. This term, often associated with Islam and violence, is open to interpretation. Scholars point out that *jihad*, which literally means struggle or effort, has two meanings. For the founder of Islam, the Prophet Muhammad, the "great jihad" was the struggle against one's own moral shortcomings. The "little jihad" was the struggle against the enemies of Islam. Nevertheless, in recent years, the idea of *jihad* and the term *jihadi* have been commonly used to describe Muslim terrorists and extremists.

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

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

International Terrorism

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

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

—Paul R. Pillar, CIA official, 2001

How do terrorist groups use social media?

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

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

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

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

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

In which countries is terrorism a growing problem?

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

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

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

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

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

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

Somalia concerns U.S. counterterrorism

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

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



UN Photo/Stuart Price Photo #492280

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

Active since 2002 and becoming even more so in recent years, the group Boko Haram has claimed responsibility for a number of attacks in Nigeria and in neighboring countries. Although it has received less media attention, Boko Haram concerns the United States and other countries throughout the world. The United States and others have provided Nigeria with technical and intelligence assistance in the fight against Boko Haram.

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

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

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

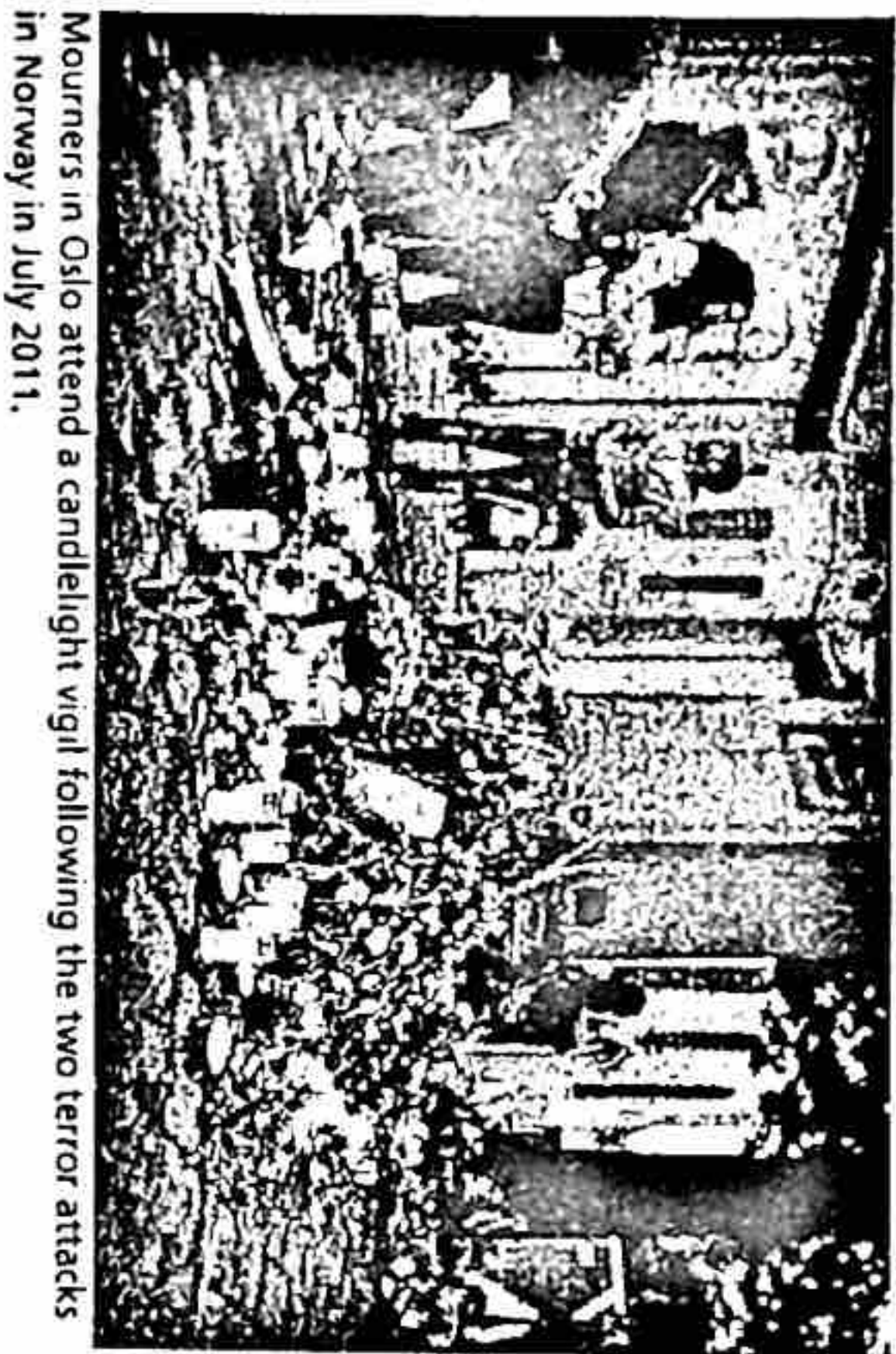
How great is the risk of a nuclear terror attack?

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

“At various times from at least as early as 1992, Osama bin Laden and others, known and unknown, made efforts to obtain the components of nuclear weapons.”

—From the Justice Department Indictment for the 1998 Embassy Bombings

There are several ways that a terrorist organization might acquire a nuclear weapon. Terrorists might choose to steal one. For example, in 1977, a German terrorist group called the Baader-Meinhof gang attacked a U.S. military base in Germany but were unsuccessful and retreated before they could steal a weapon. Nuclear weapons facilities are generally well-guarded, but experts point out that weapons are more vulnerable to theft when they are being transported from place to place.



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

Nrkbeta (CC BY-SA 2.0)

Another period of vulnerability might occur if a state experiences a coup, collapses, or loses control of its military. In the past two decades, groups and individuals have successfully stolen weapons materials in Russia, only to be caught when attempting to export them.

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

Finally, some authorities point out that if a terrorist organization obtained the necessary materials, it might be able to produce a nuclear device. Others are less sure that terrorists could produce a bomb. But, even if terrorists could not produce a nuclear explosion, there is concern that they could place radioactive materials around a conventional bomb. If this “dirty bomb” were to explode, it would shower poisonous radioactive materials over the surrounding area.

What other major terrorist acts have occurred since September 11?

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

of major terrorist attacks that have occurred since September 11.

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

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

London, England: In July 2005, suicide bombers set off four explosives during morning rush hour in three subway stations and aboard a double-decker bus in London. Fifty-six people were killed and hundreds were wounded as the G-8 summit, a meeting of major world leaders, convened in Scotland to address issues of poverty

In Africa and problems of climate change. Officials believed the acts to be the work of four British Muslim men affiliated with or inspired by al Qaeda.

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

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



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

Tom Green (CC BY 2.0)

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

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

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

Boko Haram claimed responsibility for the attack. The United States and other countries sent forces to aid in the search, and the Nigerian government unsuccessfully negotiated with Boko Haram for the students' release.

Since the April 2014 kidnapping, some of the students have escaped, but the majority of the girls remain captives of Boko Haram as of March, 2016.

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

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

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

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

Homegrown Terrorism

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

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

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

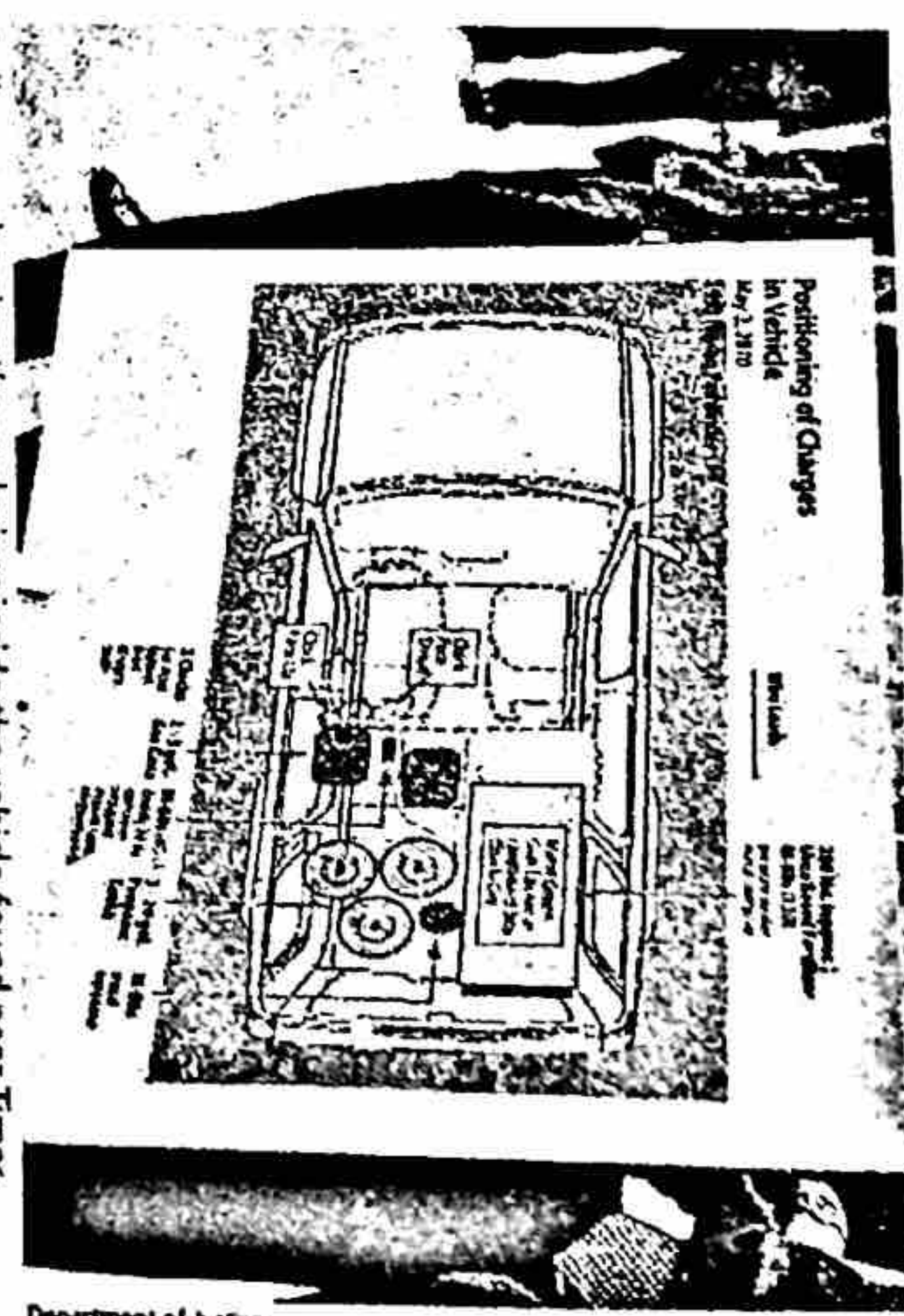
—Jeh Johnson, Secretary of Homeland Security, October 1, 2014

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

—President Barack Obama in his State of the Union Address, January 12, 2010

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

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

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

66 I am part of the answer of the U.S., terrorizing Muslim nations and Muslim people, and on behalf of that, I'm revenging the attacks."

—Faisal Shahzad, 2010

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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