

HISTORICAL
DICTIONARY
OF

THIRD EDITION

TERRORISM



SEAN K. ANDERSON
with STEPHEN SLOAN

HISTORICAL DICTIONARIES OF WAR, REVOLUTION, AND CIVIL UNREST

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Third Edition

Sean K. Anderson
with Stephen Sloan

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Editor's Foreword

Terrorism has repeatedly dogged and literally “terrorized” this supposedly modern and enlightened age. It has regularly adopted new shapes and forms in keeping with the times. The causes have also evolved over the years, as old problems are solved and new ones emerge, and recently it has gone high-tech, with devastating results in the numbers of those killed and maimed and the possibility of chemical, biological, and nuclear attacks. With the end of the cold war, it mutated and becomes more sophisticated and potentially more dangerous. So as this book sadly shows, terrorism will remain with us for the foreseeable future.

For a topic so widespread and diversified, it's no simple task to explain just which acts or groups are terrorist since one man's terrorist may be another's enforcer of justice. Still, this new, updated, and expanded edition of the *Historical Dictionary of Terrorism* certainly makes the situation much clearer by presenting an amazing amount of information in the dictionary's hundreds of entries on main issues, techniques, and counterterrorism measures. The chronology puts terrorism into a historical context, the introduction provides necessary background information, and the list of acronyms allows readers to keep track of organizations best known by just a few letters. Finally, there is a comprehensive and well-structured bibliography.

This third edition is again the work of Sean K. Anderson and Stephen Sloan; this time most of the updating and expansion was done by Anderson, and the introduction was amended by Sloan. Both of them have excellent credentials. Dr. Sloan was in Indonesia at the time of the 1965–1966 coup and wrote *A Study in Political Violence: The Indonesian Experience*. Later, while teaching political science at the University of Oklahoma, he pioneered simulations of terrorist incidents and formulated counterterrorist doctrine, resulting in a second book, *Simulating Terrorism*. His latest books are *Low-Intensity Conflict*, *Corporate Aviation Security*, and *Terrorism: The Present Threat in*

Context. He has also been active in formulating and evaluating counterterrorism policies. Dr. Anderson became initially acquainted with terrorism in the early 1980s in Iran, where he was chief editor of the International Department of the Pars News Agency. Since then he has been teaching at Idaho State University, where he is presently professor of political science. His specialization is state-sponsored terrorism in the Middle East and counterinsurgency measures by the United States, on which he has published articles and chapters in edited collections. He has worked long and hard to make this historical dictionary into a standard reference work and key to understanding terrorism.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank those who have made the third edition of this work possible. In particular I want to recognize the efforts of Kathryn A. Way, chief librarian for the Pasadena Branch of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, who cataloged relevant U.S. government documents and publications. I must thank Cheryl Hardy, administrative assistant of the Political Science Department at Idaho State University, who helped proofread an ever-growing text, and also Ralph and Rochelle Lillig, who not only helped proofread the text but offered valued comments regarding style and grammar. Special thanks is owed to the staff of the Instructional Technology Resource Center of ISU, in particular Brent L. Hutchins, John A. Lovelace, and Jared B. Schaalje, who assisted with the formatting of texts, and also Lydia K. Warth, who helped redesign the bookcover art. Professor Eduardo Castilla Ortiz of Missouri Western State University aided with the correct translation of various Spanish names of South American terrorist groups. Pyrotechnician and demolition expert Richard C. Green of TeraPascal LLC explained the various types of explosive and incendiary materials as well as the components of improvised explosive devices. Lon D. Waford lent his expertise regarding game theory while John Nielson of the Geographic Information Systems Training and Research Center of ISU directed me to current research on GIS applications in counterterrorism. Peter N. Spagnolo, of the Government Training Institute of Boise, Idaho, lent his expertise on counterinsurgency. Former and current students Nathan Drashner, Kris Knight, Christopher Monasterski, Rory Olsen, Andrew G. Steinfeldt, Lubomir Traykov, and John Warner all helped review parts of the text. Professor Corey Schou, Director of the Informatics Research and Education Institute of Idaho State University, contributed to the current edition in matters pertaining to Internet security and information assurance. I must also thank the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies for enabling me to contact leading terrorism

and security analysts and professionals through its Academic Fellowship Program 2009–2010.

I owe a great debt to my mentor and colleague over the years, Stephen Sloan, who continues to contribute through revising and updating the introduction and helping update the bibliography and who, moreover, has proven to be a great friend. Finally, I must thank the series editor, Jon Woronoff, without whose patience, professional criticism, guidance, and encouragement this edition would not have been possible.

Readers' Notes

Note on transliterations of Arabic and Persian words and names: I have not adopted a single, consistent phonetic transliteration of the names or words cited in this dictionary that were originally written in the Arabic script. Popular literature and journalistic usages have made most readers familiar with inexact transliterations of Arabic and Persian words, and their use has completely outpaced the efforts of linguistic purists to devise a consistent, universally observed scheme of transliteration for such words. For instance, most readers are already more acquainted with Koran than with the more precise Quran, or with Hezbollah rather than Hizballah. Therefore, to make this reference volume more accessible to a wider readership, I have used current and more common spellings rather than more unfamiliar, alternative spellings. Other Arabic and Persian names have been phonetically transliterated whenever a popular usage was not already current. Users of this volume should note that cross-references in each dictionary entry are printed in boldface type. The other form of cross-referencing is *See also*, which indicates related items that are not explicitly mentioned in the entry.

Since many of the terrorist organizations or parties are better known by their common names in the English-language press than by their original names in the language of the country or ethnic group in which they appeared, they are listed in the dictionary under their most commonly used name and therefore not always under their formal, national name. To find such organizations or parties, readers can look up the formal, national name in the list of acronyms and abbreviations, where it is followed by the English name under which the organization can be found. Those acronyms, which are already in common use in news coverage of the group, are used whenever possible.

The usual convention for calendar dates in this volume is day-month-year, for example, 4 July 1776. This convention has not been followed in the case of the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks

of September 11, 2001, insofar as the spoken phrase “nine-eleven” and the written “9/11” have become the customary popular and journalistic shorthand for this event. Following the first full reference to this event in any entry, it is then referred to as the “September 11 attacks” for the sake of brevity.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

Note: All abbreviations used in this dictionary are included in this list, including abbreviations of names of organizations and agencies that are not terrorist groups. Whenever possible, acronyms reflect English versions of names, for example, IRA for the Irish Republican Army, but when an acronym has become well-known based on the original language that acronym is retained, for example, ETA for Basque Fatherland and Liberty.

AAA	Alianza Apostólica Anti-Comunista, Anti-Communist Apostolic Alliance (Spanish group)
AAA	Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance
ABB	Alex Boncayao Brigade
ABC	Atomic, biological, and chemical weapons
AD	Action Directe, Direct Action
ADC	Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee
ADL	Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
AD/M-19	Democratic Alliance M-19 Movement
AEDPA	Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996
AIS	Armée Islamique du Salut, Islamic Salvation Army
AISSF	All-India Sikh Students' Federation
ALA	Armenian Liberation Army
ALF	Animal Liberation Front
ALF	Arab Liberation Front (group within PLO)
AL-AQSA	Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade (al Fatah group)
ALN	Ação Libertadora Nacional, National Liberation Action (Brazilian leftist group)
ALN	Alianza Liberal Nicaragüense, Nicaraguan Liberal Alliance

AMIA	Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina, Argentine-Israel Mutual Aid Association
AN	Alleanza Nazionale, National Alliance
AN	Avanguardia Nazionale, National Vanguard
ANAPO	Alianza Nacional Popular, National Popular Alliance
ANO	Abu Nidal Organization
ANS	Aktiongemeinschaft Nationaler Sozialisten, Action-Front of National Socialists
AOG	Army of God
APRA	American Popular Revolutionary Alliance
AQI	Al Qa'eda in Iraq
AQIM	Al Qa'eda in the Islamic Maghreb, aka the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC)
ARA	Armenian Revolutionary Army
ARDE	Alianza Revolucionaria Democrática, Nicaraguan Democratic Alliance
ARENA	Alianza Republicana Nacional, Republican National Alliance
ARM	Animal Rights Militia
AS	Ansar al Sunna
ASALA	Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia
ASALA-M	ASALA-Militant (extremist wing of ASALA)
ASALA-RM	ASALA-Revolutionary Movement (moderate wing of ASALA)
ASG	Abu Sayyaf Group
ATF	Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (agency within the U.S. Department of the Treasury)
AT&T	American Telephone & Telegraph Inc.
AUC	Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia, Self-Defense Units of Colombia, also known as the Peasant Self-Defense Groups of Córdoba and Urabá
AUM	Aum Shinrikyo (Japanese sect)
AVC	Alfaro Vive Carajo Organization
AWB	Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Afrikaaner Resistance Movement
AWOL	Absent without leave

AYM	Aryan Youth Movement (youth wing of White Aryan Resistance)
BAF	Brigade d'Autodéfense du Français, French Self-Defense Brigade (Quebec secessionist group)
BCCI	Bank of Credit and Commerce International
BKA	German Federal Office of Criminal Investigations
BLA	Black Liberation Army
BOAC	British Overseas Airways Corporation
BR	Brigate Rosse, Red Brigades
BR-PCC	Red Brigades-Communist Combatant Party
BR-UCC	Red Brigades-Union of Combatant Communists
BSO	Black September Organization
BTC	Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (oil pipeline)
C-4	Composition 4 (a military plastic explosive)
CALN	Comandos Armados de Liberación Nacional, Armed Commandos for National Liberation
CANF	Cuban-American National Foundation
CASH	Chicago Area Skinheads
CBRN	Chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear weapons
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System, aka CBS Broadcasting Inc.
CCC	Cellules Communistes Combattantes, Communist Combatant Cells
CCTV	Closed-circuit television
CERF	Frente Clara Elizabeth Ramírez, Clara Elizabeth Ramirez Front
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNI	La Central Nacional de Informaciones, Chilean National Intelligence Center
CNN	Cable News Network
CNPZ	Comando Nestor Paz Zamora, Nestor Paz Zamora Commando
COBR	Cabinet Office Briefing Rooms, UK crisis center
COINTELPRO	Counter Intelligence Program (FBI covert antisubversive program, 1956–1971)
CON	Coordinadora Opositora Nicaragüense, Nicaraguan Opposition Coordinator

CONADEP	Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas, Argentine National Commission on Disappearances
CONPAZ	Coalition of Non-governmental Organizations for Peace
COVEMA	Comando de Vengadores de Mártires, Martyrs' Avenging Commando
C-PDL	Christian-Patriots Defense League
CPI-Maoist	Communist Party of India-Maoist (Naxalite group)
CPN-M	Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist
CPP-ML	Communist Party of the Philippines, Marxist-Leninist
CSA	The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord
CSAMPP	Committee for Solidarity with Arab and Middle Eastern Political Prisoners
CSIS	Canadian Security Intelligence Service
CTAG	Counterterrorism Action Group
DCI	Director of Central Intelligence
DEA	Drug Enforcement Agency
DFLP	Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine
DGSE	General Directorate for State Security of the Interior Ministry (Nicaragua)
DHKP/C	Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front, formerly known as Dev Sol
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DNC	Combined National Directorate (FSLN governing body)
DNI	Director of National Intelligence
DRFLA	Democratic Revolutionary Front for the Liberation of Arabistan
DRU	Dirección Revolucionaria Unificada, Unified Revolutionary Directorate
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party (Northern Ireland)
EAJ	Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea, Basque Nationalist Party
ECCC	Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia
EGP	Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres, Guerrilla Army of the Poor
EIJ	Egyptian Islamic Jihad

ELA	Epanastatikos Laikos Agonas, Revolutionary Popular Struggle
ELF	Earth Liberation Front
ELN	Ejército de Liberación Nacional, National Liberation Army (name of both a Colombian and a Bolivian group)
EMETIC	Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy
EOKA	Ethniki Organosis Kypriou Agoniston, National Organization of Cypriot Fighters
EOKA-B	Ethniki Organosis Kypriou Agoniston-Beta, National Organization of Cypriot Fighters-B
EPA	Emergency Provisions Act
EPL	Ejército Popular de Liberación, Popular Liberation Army
EPR	Ejército Popular Revolucionario, Popular Revolutionary Army
ERCA	Ejército Rojo Catalán de Liberación, Red Army for the Liberation of Catalonia
EROS	Earth Resources Observation Systems
ERP	Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo, People's Revolutionary Army (member of FMLN; also name of Argentine group)
ESA	Ejército Secreto Anticomunista, Anti-Communist Secret Army
ETA	Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna, Basque Fatherland and Liberty
ETA-M	Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna-Militar, Basque Fatherland and Liberty-militant branch
ETA-PM	Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna-Politico-Militar, Basque Fatherland and Liberty-moderate branch
ETIM	East Turkestan Islamic Movement
EYAL	Irgun Yehudi Lohem, Jewish Fighting Organization
EZLN	Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, Zapatista Army of National Liberation
FACE	Freedom of Access to Clinics Act of 1994
FAL	Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación, Armed Forces of Liberation (member of FMLN)

FALN	Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional, Armed Forces of National Liberation
FAMS	U.S. Federal Air Marshal Service
FANE	Fédération d'Action Nationale Européenne, Federation for National European Action
FAR	Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes, Rebel Armed Forces (Guatemala)
FAR	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias, Revolutionary Armed Forces (Argentina)
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
FARC-EP	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-Army of the People
FARL	Factions Armées Révolutionnaires Libanaises, Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Factions
FARN	Fuerzas Armadas de la Resistencia Nacional, Armed Forces of National Resistance (member of FMLN)
FARN	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias Nicaragüenses, Nicaraguan Revolutionary Armed Forces (contra group)
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FCOs	Fighting Communist Organizations
FDN	Fuerza Democrática Nicaragüense, Nicaraguan Democratic Force
FDR	Frente Democrático Revolucionario, Democratic Revolutionary Front (political front of FMLN)
FIS	Front Islamique de Salut, Islamic Salvation Front
FISA	Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978
FIT	Front Islamique de Tunisie, Tunisian Islamic Front
FLEC-FAC	Frente para a Libertação de Enclave de Cabinda-Forcas Armadas de Libertação, Cabinda Liberation Front-Cabinda Armed Liberation Forces
FLN	Fuerzas de Liberación Nacional (former name of Zapatista Army of National Liberation)
FLN	Front de Libération Nationale, National Liberation Front of Algeria

FLNC	Frente de Liberación Nacional Cubana, Cuban National Liberation Front
FLNC	Front di Liberazione Naziunale di a Corsica, Front de Libération Nationale de la Corse, National Front for the Liberation of Corsica
FLNKS	Front de Libération Nationale Kanake Socialiste, Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front
FLQ	Front de Libération du Québec, Quebec Liberation Front
FMLH	Frente Morazanista para la Liberación de Honduras, Morazanist Front for the Liberation of Honduras
FMLN	Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional, Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, or Farabundo Martí Liberation Front
FN	Front National, National Front (France)
FNE	Faisceaux Nationalistes Européens, European Nationalist Fascists
FP-25	Forças Populares do 25 Abril, Popular Forces of 25 April
FPL	Fuerzas Populares de Liberación, People's Liberation Forces (member of FMLN)
FPM	Frente Patriótico Morazanista, Morazanist Patriotic Front
FPMR	Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez, Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front
FPMR-D	Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez Disidentes, Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front-Dissident Faction
FPÖ	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, Freedom Party of Austria
FRANCIA	Front d'Action Nouvelle Contre l'Indépendance et l'Autonomie, New Action Front Against Independence and Autonomy
FRAPH	Front Révolutionnaire pour l'Avancement et le Progrès Haitien, Revolutionary Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti
FRC	Fatah Revolutionary Council (Abu Nidal organization)

FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, Mozambican Liberation Front
FRPL	Fuerzas Revolutionarias y Populares Lautaro, Lautaro Rebel Forces, also known as Lautaro Youth Movement
FRP-LZ	Fuerzas Revolucionarias Populares Lorenzo Zelaya, Lorenzo Zelaya Popular Revolutionary Forces
FSB	Federal Security Bureau, Russian intelligence agency and successor of KGB
FSLN	Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional, Sandinista National Liberation Front
FTO	Foreign Terrorist Organization
FULK	Front Uni de Libération Kanak, Kanak United Liberation Front
G-7, G-8	Group of Seven nations, Group of Eight nations
GAL	Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación, Anti-Terrorist Liberation Groups
GAP	Gray-area phenomenon
GBR	Grupo Bandera Roja, Red Flag Group
GIA	Groupe Islamique Armé, Armed Islamic Group
GIS	Geographical information systems
GRAPO	Grupo de Resistencia Antifascista, Primero de Octubre, October First Antifascist Resistance Group
GSG-9	Grenzschutzgruppe-9, Border Protection Group No. 9 (West German antiterrorist unit of Border Patrol)
GSPC	Groupe Salafiste pour la Prédication et le Combat, Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat
HCSA	Hate Crimes Statistics Act of 1990
HT	Hizb al Tahrir, aka Tahrir al Islami, Islamic Liberation Party
HUA	Harakat ul Ansar, Movement of the Helpers (Kashmiri secessionist group)
HUK	Hukbong Bayan Lanban Sa Mga Hapon (Philippine Communist anti-Japanese resistance group)
HUJI	Harakat ul Jihad-e Islami
HUM	Harakat ul Mujahideen, Kashmiri separatist group
HUMINT	Human intelligence
ICE	U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement

ICJ	International Criminal Court
IDF	Israeli Defense Forces
IE	Invisible Empire (Ku Klux Klan group)
IED	Improvised explosive device
IEEPA	International Emergency Economic Powers Act
IFLB	Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain
IG	Islamic Group, Gama'a al Islamiya
IICD	Independent International Commission of Decommissioning
ILO	Islamic Liberation Organization
IMC	Independent Monitoring Commission
IMRO	Inner Macedonian Revolutionary Organization
IMT	Islamic Movement of Turkistan
INLA	Irish National Liberation Army
ITERATE	International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events
IPLO	Irish People's Liberation Organization
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IRGC	Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps, Sipah-i Pasdaran-i Inqilab-i Islami
IRGC-QF	Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps-Quds Force
IRS	Internal Revenue Service
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence (Pakistani intelligence agency)
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
JCAG	Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide
JD	Jama'at ad Dawa (Lashkar-e Tayyaba front group)
JDL	Jewish Defense League
JEGA	Jorge Eliécer Gaitán Action (M-19 faction)
JEM	Jaish-e Muhammad (Kashmiri separatist group)
JI	Jemaah Islamiyah
JRA	Japanese Red Army
JTTF	Joint Terrorism Task Force
JVP	Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, (Sri Lankan) People's Liberation Front
KADEK	Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress
KDP	Kurdistan Democratic Party
KEMA	(alternate spelling GEMA) Kikuyu, Embu and Meru Association

KGB	Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti, Committee for State Security, Soviet intelligence
KGK	Kurdistan People's Congress
KHK	Kurdistan People's Conference
KISAN	Kus Indian Sut Asla Nicaragua Ra, United Indigenous Peoples of Eastern Nicaragua
KKK	Ku Klux Klan
KKKK	Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (major Klan group)
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
LEHI	Lohame Herut Israel, Fighters for the Freedom of Israel
LIC	Low-intensity conflict
LJ	Lashkar-e Jhangvi, Army of Jhang (Pakistani group)
LPK	Lëvizja Popullore e Kosovës, Popular Movement for Kosovo
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
LT	Lashkar-e Tayyaba, Lashkar-e Toiba, aka Jammatal Dawat, South Asian Islamist group
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
LVF	Loyalist Volunteer Force
M-19	Movimiento 19 de Abril, April 19 Movement
M19CO	May 19 Communist Organization, also called May 19 Communist Coalition
MAGO	Muslims Against Global Oppression
MAIL	Muslims Against Illegitimate Leaders
MAK	Maktab al Khidamat, Services Office (predecessor of al Qa'eda)
MAPU/L	Movimiento de Acción Unitaria Popular-Lautaro, Popular Movement of United Action-Lautaro, also known as the Lautaro Youth Movement
MAS	Muerte a Secuestradores, Death to Kidnappers (Colombian drug smugglers' antileftist death squad)
May 1	Revolutionary Organization of May 1
May 15	Arab Organization of May 15
MBR-200	Movimiento Revolucionaria Bolivariano 200, Revolutionary Bolivarian Movement, aka Fifth Republic Movement (MVR)
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta

MI5	Military Intelligence, Section 5 (British counterintelligence and security service)
MICG	Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MIR	Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionario, Movement of the Revolutionary Left
MIR	Mujahideen-e Inqilab-e Islami, Mujahideen of the Islamic Revolution
MJL	Movimiento Juvenil Lautaro, Lautaro Youth Movement
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe, Spear of the Nation (military wing of African National Congress)
MKO, aka MeK	Saziman-i Mujahideen-i Khalq-i Iran Organization, People's Mujahideen Organization of Iran
MLAPU	Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda Unit, Marxist-Leninist Silahlı Propaganda Birliđi
MLB	Movement for the Liberation of Bahrain
MLF	Moro Liberation Front, or Moro National Liberation Front
MLN	Movimiento de Liberación Nacional, also known as the Tupamaros
MNR	Mozambique National Resistance (until 1982 the name of the current RENAMO)
MPL	Cinchoneros Popular Liberation Movement
MPLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
MRTA	Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru, Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement
MS-13	Mara Salvatruchas, Salvadoran-originated criminal gang
MSA	Muslim Students Association
MSI	Movimento Sociale Italiano, Italian Social Movement
MTP	Movimiento Todos por la Patria, All for the Fatherland Movement (faction of Argentinean People's Revolutionary Army [ERP])
MVR	Movimiento V República, Fifth Republic Movement
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

NAFF	New Afrikan Freedom Fighters
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NAP	National Action Party
NAR	Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari, Armed Revolutionary Nuclei
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NBC	Nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons
NCTC	National Counterterrorism Center
NDM	Nicaraguan Democratic Movement
NDP	National Democratic Party (Germany)
NDPVF	Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force
NIE	National Intelligence Estimate
NLETS	National Law Enforcement Telecommunications System
NMP	Turkish Nationalist Movement Party
NORaid	Irish Northern Aid Committee
NOV17	Epanastatiki Organosi 17 Noemvri, Revolutionary Organization of 17 November
NPA	New People's Army
NSA	National Security Agency
NSF	National Salvation Front
NSLF	National Socialist Liberation Front
NSM88	National Socialist Movement (U.S. neo-Nazi faction)
NSWPP	National Socialist White People's Party
NTF	Turkish Nationalist Task Force
NUPRG	New Ulster Political Research Group
NWLF	New World Liberation Front
OAAS	Organization for the Armed Arab Struggle
OAS	Organisation de l'Armée Secrète, Secret Army Organization, also Organization of American States
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
OIRA	Official Irish Republican Army
OOTW	Operations other than war (another term for low-intensity conflict)
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OPM/SANG	Office of the Program Manager/Saudi Arabian National Guard
ORDEN	Organización Democrática Nacional, National Democratic Organization

ORPA	Organización Revolucionaria del Pueblo en Armas, Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms
OSINT	Open-source intelligence
OVPR	Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution
PA	Palestinian Authority
PAGAD	People Against Gangsterism and Drugs
PALIKA	Parti de Libération Kanak, Kanak Liberation Party
PCC	Communist Party of Colombia (original FARC body)
PCES	Communist Party of El Salvador
PdL	Il Popolo della Libertà, People of Freedom Party
PEMEX	Petróleos Mexicanos
PFLA	Popular Front for the Liberation of Ahwaz
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (group within PLO)
PFLP-GC	PFLP-General Command
PFLP-SC	PFLP-Special Command
PFLP-SOG	PFLP-Special Operations Group
PGT	Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo, Guatemalan Workers' Party
PIJ	Islamic Jihad of Palestine
PIR-1	People's Information Relay No. 1
PIRA	Provisional Irish Republican Army
PJAK	Partiya Jiyana Azad a Kurdistanê, Free Life for Kurdistan Party
PKK	Partiya Karkaran Kurdistan, Kurdistan Workers' Party
PL	Prima Linea, Front Line group
PLA	Palestine Liberation Army
PLF	Palestine Liberation Front (group within PLO)
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PMOI	People's Mujahideen Organization of Iran, aka Mu- jahideen Khalq Organization (MKO)
PNC	Palestine National Council
PNV	Partido Nacionalista Vasco, Basque Nationalist Party
PPC	Communist Party of Colombia
PPM	Patriotic People's Movement

PROCUP	Partido Revolucionario Obrero Campesino Unión del Pueblo, Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Party-People's Union. <i>See also</i> EPR.
PRTC	Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores Centroamericanos, Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers (member of FMLN)
PSF	Popular Struggle Front (group within PLO)
PSNI	Police Service of Northern Ireland
PSOE	Spanish Socialist Workers' Party
PWG	People's War Group, Naxalite group
RAF	Rote Armee Fraktion, Red Army Faction
RAND	RAND Corporation (originally U.S. Air Force's "Project RAND" [Research and Development], now a nonprofit research institute)
RATF	Revolutionary Armed Task Force
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana, Mozambique National Resistance
RFF	Frente Ricardo Franco, Ricardo Franco Front
RGR	Red Guerrilla Resistance
RHD	Red Hand Defenders
RICO	Racketeer Influenced Corrupt Organizations Act
ROTC	Reserve Officers' Training Corps
RSM	Rajah Soleiman Movement
RUC	Royal Ulster Constabulary, predecessor of Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI)
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
RZ	Revolutionäre Zellen, Revolutionary Cells, also Rote Zora, Red Zora (women's group within Revolutionary Cells)
SAFTI	Secure and Facilitate International Travel Security Initiative
SAIRI	Supreme Assembly for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq
SAS	Special Air Service (elite British antiterrorist and special operations units)
SASOL	South African Coal, Gas and Oil Conversion
SCIRI	Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq
SDS	Students for a Democratic Society
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee

SHAC	Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty
SIGINT	Signals intelligence
SIIC	Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council
SIM	Imperialist State of Multinationals (Red Brigade idiom for modern Italian state)
SL	Sendero Luminoso, Shining Path (Peruvian Maoist group)
SLA	Symbionese Liberation Army
SLFP	Sri Lanka Freedom Party
SLMM	Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SPLC	Southern Poverty Law Center
SSC	Small-scale contingencies (another term for low-intensity conflict)
SSNP	Syrian Social Nationalist Party
SUV	Sport utility vehicle
SWAT	Special weapons and tactics team
TATP	Triacetone peroxide (nonconventional peroxides-based explosive)
TL	Terra Lliure, Free Land, Catalan separatist group
TNT	Trinitrotoluene (standard commercial explosive)
TPLA	Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu, Turkish People's Liberation Army
TPLF	Turkish People's Liberation Front
TSA	U.S. Transportation Security Administration
TULF	Tamil United Liberation Front
UAV	Unmanned aerial vehicles
UÇK	Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës, Kosovo Liberation Army
UDA	Ulster Defence Association
UDP	Ulster Democratic Party
UDR	Ulster Defence Regiment
UFF	Ulster Freedom Fighters
UFF	United Freedom Front
UGB	Unión de Guerreros Blancos, or Unión Guerrera Blanca, White Warriors' Union
UIA	United Iraqi Alliance
UKA	United Klans of America

UNCAT	United Nations Convention Against Torture
UNITA	União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNL	Al Qiyada al Wataniyya al Muwahhada, Unified National Leadership
UNO	Unidad Nicaragüense Opositora, Unified Nicaraguan Opposition
UNOSOM II	United Nations Operation in Somalia II
UP	Union Patriotico, Patriotic Union (FARC front)
URNG	Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca, Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union
USA Patriot Act of 2001	Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism
USIS	United States Information Service (overseas offices of United States Information Agency of the U.S. Department of State)
USO	United Service Organizations
UTA	Union des Transports Aériens (French air carrier)
UVF	Ulster Volunteer Force
VB	Vlaams Blok, Flemish Bloc
VBIED	Vehicle-borne improvised explosive device
WAR	White Aryan Resistance
WISE	World and Islam Studies Enterprise
WMD	Weapons of mass destruction
WPA	White Patriot Army
WPK	Workers' Party of Kampuchea, or Khmer Rouge
YAMATA	Yapti Tasba Masraka Aslika Takanda, Miskito Indian acronym for United Nations of Yapti Tasba, Sacred Motherland
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZOG	Zionist Occupation Government (neo-Nazi idiom for U.S. government)

Chronology

A.D. 66–70 Jewish nationalist Zealot (Sicarii) movement creates mass insurrection in Roman province of Judea, leading to Roman destruction of Jerusalem and Second Temple and mass suicide of Zealots besieged at Masada fortress.

A.D. 1090–1256 The Isma‘ili Fedayeen cult of “assassins” conducts a terror campaign against the Abbasid Islamic empire until the cult is exterminated by the Mongol invaders.

1793 May: French revolutionary Committee of Public Safety undertakes purge of real and suspected enemies of the revolution, leading to 300,000 arbitrary arrests and 17,000 executions.

1794 July: “Great Terror” ends when Robespierre is executed.

1865 24 December: Ku Klux Klan is founded in Pulaski, Tennessee, by Confederate Civil War veterans.

1869 *Catechism of the Revolutionist* by Sergey Nechayev provides an idealized model of a terrorist, inspiring later terrorist theorists and actors.

1878 January–1881 March Narodnaya Volya (People’s Will) Russian terrorists conduct bombing campaign against Tsarist government, culminating in assassination of Tsar Alexander II on sixth attempt.

1886 4 May: In Haymarket Square, Chicago, while 180 police confront 1,300 workers protesting for an eight-hour work day, a bomb explodes, killing eight and injuring many others.

1901 September–1902 March An American, Ellen M. Stone, is kidnapped by the Inner Macedonian Revolutionary Organization and held for ransom of \$66,000. After the U.S. government refuses to

pay this ransom, Stone's sponsoring organization raises and pays the required sum.

1910 1 October: During labor strike, the office building of the anti-union *Los Angeles Times* is dynamited and erupts into flames due to severed gas lines. At least 20 perish and another 20 are disabled from the explosion and resulting fire.

1914 28 June: Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand is assassinated by a Serbian terrorist in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, setting World War I in motion.

1916 22 July: A bomb set off during San Francisco's Preparedness Day kills 10 and wounds 40. Radical antiwar labor activists are blamed for the bombing due to prior antiparade pamphlet warning of "direct action."

1920 16 September: TNT bomb in parked horse-drawn wagon explodes on Wall Street across from Morgan House, killing 35 and injuring hundreds. Pro-Bolshevik or anarchist terrorists are believed responsible but never apprehended.

1931 21–23 February: First recorded hijacking of an airplane: rebel soldiers in Peru force two American pilots to fly them about and to drop propaganda leaflets over Lima.

1938 9–10 November: German Nazis undertake *Kristallnacht* terror against German Jews, smashing shop windows of Jewish-owned businesses and burning synagogues. This marks the beginning of genocidal policy against Jews as part of Nazi state terror lasting until the collapse of the Third Reich in May 1945.

1939 January–1940 February Irish Republican Army carries out first major bombing campaign within England proper with more than 50 bombings of public places within a 13-month period.

1944 6 November: Jewish terror group Lehi assassinates Lord Moyne, the British minister for Middle Eastern affairs, in Cairo.

1946 11 March: The Fedayan-i Islam, an Iranian Islamic fundamentalist group, initiates 10-year-long assassination campaign against westernized Iranian intellectuals and political leaders by murdering Ahmad Kasravi, prominent anti-Shi'ite secularist intellectual and historian.

22 July: Jewish terror group Irgun bombs British administrative headquarters located in the King David Hotel, Jerusalem, killing 91 people.

1948 30 January: Mohandas K. Gandhi is killed by a Hindu extremist. **9 April:** Jewish terror groups Irgun and Lehi massacre Arab villagers of Deir Yassin, located on Jerusalem–Tel Aviv road. News of massacre creates panic among other Palestinians, who flee the former Mandate of Palestine at onset of first Arab-Israeli war.

1949 7 May: Philippines Airlines flight from Daet to Manila is bombed, killing all three aboard. This is the first known instance of an in-flight bombing of an aircraft.

1950 1 November: Puerto Rican nationalists plotting to assassinate U.S. President Harry Truman exchange gunfire with security guards at Blair House, Washington, D.C.

1952 September: Mau Mau insurgency erupts in Kenya, lasting until October 1956.

1954 1 March: Four Puerto Rican nationalists open fire on U.S. House of Representatives from visitors' gallery, wounding five representatives. All four are captured by security guards.

1955 20 August: Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) terrorists undertake wholesale slaughter of 37 European men, women, and children in Philippeville massacre.

1960 20 March: South African police massacre 69 black civil rights demonstrators in Sharpeville incident, which moves the African National Congress to abandon its policy of nonviolence.

1963 15 September: The all-black 16th Street Baptist Church of Birmingham, Alabama, is bombed by the United Klans of America, killing four young girls. Birmingham experiences more than 50 antiblack bombings between 1947 and 1965 believed to be the work of the United Klans of America.

1967 10 October: Ernesto “Che” Guevara, guerrilla leader and author of *Guerrilla Warfare*, is captured and executed by U.S.-trained Bolivian anti-insurgency forces.

1968 22 July: Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) begins hijacking campaign against Western airliners with hijacking of El Al Flight 426 from Rome to Tel Aviv, diverting it to Algeria. **28 August:** Guatemalan Rebel Armed Forces gunmen assassinate U.S. ambassador John Gordon Mein in Guatemala City, the first killing of a U.S. ambassador in the line of duty.

1969 4 November: Carlos Marighella, terrorist and author of *Manual of the Urban Guerrilla*, written in June 1969, is killed by Brazilian police in a gunfight in São Paulo. **12 December:** The Avanguardia Nazionale, an Italian neo-Fascist group, bombs Agricultural Bank of Milan, killing 16 and injuring 90 others.

1970 31 July: Uruguayan Tupamaros kidnap and murder Daniel A. Mitrone, a U.S. Agency for International Development public safety adviser. **6–9 September:** Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine terrorists hijack four commercial airliners to Dawson’s Field, outside Amman, Jordan; they destroy them after releasing most of the 310 hostage passengers and crews. Three-week crisis provokes Jordanian government to expel Palestinian guerrilla groups in an armed confrontation, an event recalled by Palestinians as “Black September.” **5 October:** Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ) terrorists kidnap James Cross, British trade commissioner to Quebec. **10 October:** FLQ members kidnap and murder Pierre LaPorte, Quebec Minister of Labor. Canadian government invokes War Measures Act, suspending civil liberties, in order to crack down on the FLQ.

1971 1 March: U.S. Senate Office Building is bombed by the Weather Underground. **28 November:** Jordanian Prime Minister Wasfi al Tall is assassinated by Black September agents in Cairo.

1972 30 January: British troops open fire on Catholic civil rights demonstrators in Londonderry, Northern Ireland, killing 13. The incident, known as Bloody Sunday, marks upsurge of Irish Republican Army and sectarian violence in Northern Ireland. **30 May:** Three Japanese Red Army members, acting on behalf of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, open fire on travelers at Israel’s Lod airport, killing 25 and injuring 76. **21 July:** Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) conducts more than 20 bombings in Belfast, killing 11 and injuring more than 100, on “Bloody Friday.” **5–6 September:**

Eight Black September terrorists seize Israeli team at Munich Summer Olympics after killing two team members. Eventually all hostages are murdered and all but three terrorists killed when Bavarian police open fire on terrorists moving the hostages. **1 March:** Eight Black September members seize Saudi Arabian embassy in Khartoum, Sudan, and murder U.S. ambassador, his chargé d'affaires, and a Belgian diplomat. **29 March:** Irish navy seizes cargo ship *Claudia* filled with Libyan-supplied arms and explosives being smuggled to Northern Ireland by four Irish Republican Army members.

1973 28 September: Two al Sa'iqa terrorists seize five Jewish hostages on Chopin Express train used to transport Soviet Jews emigrating to Israel via Austria, forcing closure of transit facilities for émigré Jews. **20 December:** Basque Fatherland and Liberty members assassinate Spanish Prime Minister Luís Carrero Blanco by exploding mined road as his automobile passes over charges. **31 December:** Venezuelan terrorist "Carlos" attempts assassination of Teddy Zeiff, Jewish owner of British Marks and Spencer department store chain, but fails when his gun jams.

1974 5 February: Symbionese Liberation Army abducts American heiress Patricia Hearst. **11 April:** Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine terrorists attack northern Israel town Qiryat Shemona, killing 18 and injuring 16. **13 April:** New People's Army murders three U.S. Navy personnel outside Subic Bay Naval Base in the Philippines. **15 May:** Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine gunmen seize school together with more than 100 students and teachers as hostages in Israeli town of Ma'alot. Gunmen kill 27 students as Israeli troops try to storm building. **17 May:** Core group of Symbionese Liberation Army is killed in shoot-out with Los Angeles police. **19 August:** Cypriot right-wing nationalist EOKA-Beta gunmen stage riot at U.S. embassy in Nicosia and murder U.S. ambassador Rodger P. Davies in revenge for perceived U.S. support for Turkey. **13 September:** Three Japanese Red Army members seize French embassy in the Hague in order to free comrade from prison. All four are allowed to leave for Syria. **6 October:** Puerto Rican nationalist group, the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN), initiates mainland U.S. bombing campaign striking five New York City banks. **9 November:** Red Army Faction (Baader-Meinhof Gang) murders head of West German Supreme Court, Günter von Drenkmann, at his Bonn

home. **21 November:** Irish Republican Army bombs two Birmingham pubs, killing 21 people and injuring close to 200 others.

1975 24 January: The Puerto Rican nationalist group the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) bombs Fraunces Tavern in Wall Street district during lunch hour, killing four and injuring another 60. **29 January:** Weather Underground bombs U.S. State Department main office in Washington, D.C., causing extensive damage. **27 February:** June 2 anarchistic leftists kidnap West German Christian Democrat leader Peter Lorenz, who is released in exchange for five Red Army Faction prisoners. **4 August:** Ten Japanese Red Army (JRA) gunmen seize U.S. consulate in Kuala Lumpur with 52 hostages, who are released in exchange for freedom of seven imprisoned JRA members in Japan. **21–23 December:** Venezuelan terrorist “Carlos,” leading a team of five terrorists, captures 11 oil ministers meeting at the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries Secretariat in Vienna, along with several other hostages, who are released in exchange for an as yet undisclosed ransom. **23 December:** November 17 leftists murder Richard Welch, Athens station chief of the Central Intelligence Agency.

1976 27 June–4 July: Hijacking of Air France Flight 139 from Tel Aviv to Paris, to Entebbe, Uganda, by a joint team of members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Red Army Faction with the support of Ugandan President Idi Amin. Israeli rescue operation on 4 July is carried off with great success, although four hostages lose their lives as does the Israeli commander of the rescue mission. **10 September:** Six Croatian nationalists hijack New York–Chicago Trans World Airlines Flight 355, diverting it to Paris. The hijackers demand publication of a manifesto for release of the passengers. **21 September:** Former Foreign Minister Orlando Letelier of Chile’s Allende government is assassinated by agents of Chilean secret police in Washington, D.C.

1977 9 March: Muslim sectarians, motivated by intrasectarian grievances, seize the Washington, D.C., Islamic Center and B’nai B’rith headquarters, together with 134 hostages, but surrender after two days. **23 May:** South Moluccan terrorists seize a passenger train near Assen, the Netherlands, and a primary school in a coordinated action. As the situation with hostages on the train deteriorates markedly, Dutch Marines storm both the train and the school, killing all six terrorists on the train but capturing all four alive at the school. **5 September:** Red Army Fac-

tion (RAF) kidnaps West German businessman Hanns-Martin Schleyer, holding him hostage against release of imprisoned RAF comrades. **13–18 October:** Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine members hijack Mallorca–Frankfurt Lufthansa Flight 181 to Mogadishu, Somalia, demanding release of RAF members from West German jails. After the pilot is murdered, West German antiterrorist commandos storm the plane on 17 October, killing three of four terrorists and freeing hostages. On learning of the hijackers' failure, the RAF prisoners in Germany commit suicide and RAF kidnappers murder Hanns-Martin Schleyer in reprisal.

1978 16 March: Italian Red Brigades kidnap former Italian Premier Aldo Moro for release of imprisoned comrades. Moro is murdered and his body found on 9 May 1978. **25 May:** “Unabomber” Theodore J. Kaczynski begins a 17-year mail-bombing campaign directed at academics and businessmen, resulting in three deaths and the maiming of 23 others. He is arrested on 3 April 1996 following his final bombing on 24 April 1995.

1979 27 August: Irish Republican Army bombs yacht of Louis Earl Mountbatten, killing him and two others and injuring four. **14 February:** U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan, Adolph Dubs, is kidnapped by Islamic rebels but killed by the gunfire of Afghan security forces. **4 November:** Iranian university students storm U.S. embassy in Tehran, with apparent blessing of Ayatollah Khomeini. They hold 53 Americans hostage for 444 days, resulting not only in the severance of diplomatic relations between Iran and the United States but also the ascendance of Islamic fundamentalist radicals within Iran's revolutionary regime. **20 November:** On the first day of the year 1,400 of the Hegira (Islamic) era, Sunni Muslim fundamentalists seize the Masjid al Haram, Islam's holiest shrine, in Mecca, which is regained by Saudi Arabian national guards only after fierce fighting and bloodshed. Rumors of alleged U.S. involvement in the desecration of the shrine sparks riots in Pakistan in which the U.S. embassy is burned and an embassy guard killed.

1980 24 March: Archbishop of El Salvador and critic of Salvadoran government, Oscar Romero y Galdames, is assassinated while saying Mass, presumably by a right-wing death squad. **22 July:** David Bellfield, an American follower of the Ayatollah Khomeini, murders Ali Akbar Tabataba'i, an Iranian anti-Khomeini activist, at the latter's home in a suburb of Washington, D.C. **4 December:** Four American

church workers are found murdered outside San Salvador, believed to be victims of right-wing death squads. This incident creates backlash against Salvadoran regime among the U.S. public.

1981 13 May: Assassination attempt by Turkish gunman wounds Pope John Paul II in St. Peter's Square. Evidence emerges of Bulgarian secret police and possible Soviet involvement in plot. **6 October:** Anwar Sadat is assassinated by Islamic fundamentalists during review of parade commemorating October 1973 war. **17 December:** North Atlantic Treaty Organization Southern Europe Ground commander, U.S. Army General James Lee Dozier, is kidnapped by Red Brigades but is rescued 42 days later by Italian counterterrorist commandos.

1982 2 February: Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad orders destruction of city of Hama after its occupation by Muslim Brotherhood forces seeking to topple Syrian regime. Estimates of total deaths in this city of 180,000 range from 10,000 to 25,000. **3 June:** Abu Nidal's followers wound Israeli ambassador to Britain in assassination attempt. Israel invades Lebanon in reprisal, ultimately besieging Beirut and forcing Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to remove its troops and offices from Lebanon. **20 July:** Irish Republican Army bombs Royal Household Cavalry regiment in Hyde Park and also Royal Green Jackets military band at Regent's Park. **11 August:** May 15 Organization bombs a Tokyo to Honolulu Pan Am flight, killing a Japanese passenger and injuring 15 others. **16 September:** Lebanese Phalangist troops begin two-day massacre of Palestinian refugees at Sabra and Shatila camps in revenge for the assassination of Lebanese President and Phalangist leader Bashir Gemayel two days earlier in bombing by members of pro-Palestinian Syrian Social Nationalist Party.

1983 18 April: U.S. embassy in Lebanon is partially destroyed by Islamic Jihad suicide truck bomber, killing 49 people and forcing removal of U.S. embassy from West Beirut. **9 October:** North Korean agents detonate remote-controlled bomb at the Martyr's Memorial in Rangoon, Myanmar, killing 17 South Korean officials and four Burmese nationals and injuring 46 other people. The bombing is intended to kill South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan, who escapes harm. **23 October:** U.S. Marines' temporary barracks at Beirut airport are destroyed by Islamic Jihad suicide truck bomber, killing 241 U.S. Marines. Islamic

Jihad conducts a similar operation the same day against French military headquarters, killing 56 soldiers. **6 November:** U.S. Senate cloakroom is bombed by Armed Resistance Unit leftist group in protest against U.S. invasion of Grenada. **12 December:** Suicide truck bombers of al Da'wa, a pro-Iranian Islamic fundamentalist group, attack U.S. and French embassies in Kuwait City.

1984 16 March: William Buckley, Central Intelligence Agency station chief in Beirut, is kidnapped by Islamic Jihad as part of its hostage-taking campaign against westerners in Lebanon. Buckley is later murdered, possibly in late 1985, his remains returned only in December 1991. **17 April:** Libyan diplomats open fire from Libyan embassy on anti-Qaddafi protestors in St. James Square, killing British policewoman. The embassy is subsequently besieged and the diplomats are expelled from Britain; diplomatic relations between Libya and Britain are severed. **5–6 June:** Indian army storms the Golden Temple, the Sikhs' holiest shrine, to end terrorist agitation directed by the leaders of a Sikh splinter group from within the sanctuary. Hundreds are killed, and relations between Sikhs and Indian government reach new low. **18 June:** Neo-Nazi group the Order murders Alan Berg, a controversial Denver radio talk-show host, at his home. **12 October:** Irish Republican Army bombs Brighton hotel hosting conference of top members of British Conservative government, killing five and injuring 32 but without harming Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. **31 October:** Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is assassinated by two Sikh bodyguards, apparently in reprisal for her orders for the 5 June attack on Golden Temple.

1985 14 June: Trans World Airlines Flight 847 hijacked to Beirut by Hezbollah terrorists. Hijackers murder U.S. Navy diver Robert Dean Stethem. Last 39 of original 145 hostages are released by 30 June. **23 June:** Air India Flight 182 is destroyed off west coast of Ireland. Evidence suggests it has been bombed, possibly by Sikh terrorists, as Dashmesh Regiment, a shadowy Sikh group, claims credit for bombing the flight. **1 October:** Israeli jets strafe and bomb Palestine Liberation Organization headquarters outside Tunis in retaliation for murder by al Fatah operatives of three Israeli tourists in Larnaca, Cyprus, on 25 September. **7 October:** *Achille Lauro* cruise ship hijacked by Palestine Liberation Front terrorists, who murder elderly Jewish American hostage Leon Klinghoffer. **27 December:** Abu Nidal gunmen open fire at Rome and Vienna airports in coordinated attacks, killing 18 holiday travelers.

1986 5 April: Bombing of West Berlin LaBelle Discothèque, killing three and injuring 200 others, leads United States to bomb Libya, the suspected sponsor of the bombing, on 15 April. **6 September:** Abu Nidal gunmen attack Istanbul synagogue, killing 21 worshipers before killing themselves.

1987 20 January: Islamic Jihad kidnaps hostage negotiator Terry Waite after media speculation links him to Iran-Contra affair. **29 November:** North Korean agents bomb Korean Air Flight 858 en route from Abu Dhabi to Bangkok, killing all 115 aboard. **9 December:** Palestinian protest over an Israeli motorist's accident that killed Palestinian pedestrians in Gaza Strip erupts into rioting, marking beginning of first *intifada* uprising.

1988 5 April: Iranian-sponsored terrorists seeking release of comrades from Kuwaiti jails hijack Kuwait Airways Flight 422, killing two hostages and holding rest of crew and passengers captive for two weeks before abandoning airplane in Algeria. **14 April:** Japanese Red Army members car bomb Naples United Services Organization club, killing five people, to mark second anniversary of U.S. raid on Libya. **15 November:** Palestine National Council, legislative organ of the Palestine Liberation Organization, declares independent Palestinian state to exist in West Bank and Gaza Strip and accepts, in principle, Israel's right to exist within pre-1967 borders contingent on Israeli recognition of Palestinian state. **21 December:** Pan Am Flight 103 is destroyed over Scotland by bomb concealed in radio, killing all 259 people aboard as well as 11 villagers of Lockerbie struck by falling debris. Evidence eventually points to Libya as most probable state sponsor.

1989 14 February: Ayatollah Khomeini issues fatwa of *takfir* against British author Salman Rushdie, for the writing of *Satanic Verses*, a book regarded by many Muslims as a thinly veiled attack on the character of the Prophet Muhammad. The verdict of *takfir* anathematizes Rushdie as an apostate and enemy of Islam and authorizes any true believer to kill him on sight. **31 July:** U.S. Marine Lieutenant Colonel William R. Higgins, kidnapped on 17 February 1988 by Hezbollah elements while serving in Lebanon as a truce observer, is murdered by captors in reprisal for Israeli capture of Hezbollah leader Sheikh Abdulkarim Uba'id on previous day. **16 November:** Salvadoran soldiers murder six Jesuit

priests and two maids at the José Simeón Canas University of Central America. For the first time in Salvadoran judicial history, the officers involved in this death squad killing are eventually convicted for their participation.

1990 25 February: Violeta Chamorro defeats Daniel Ortega in Nicaraguan presidential elections, ending formal Sandinista domination of Nicaragua. U.S.-supported contras begin demobilization while Nicaraguan state support for leftist insurgency in El Salvador is ended. **30 May:** Israeli forces thwart seaborne attack on Tel Aviv beaches by members of Palestine Liberation Front. Refusal by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to condemn this attack leads U.S. government to discontinue talks with PLO representatives. **14 August:** Sendero Luminoso terrorists attempt car bombing of Presidential Palace in Lima, Peru, but fail to kill or wound newly elected President Alberto Fujimori. **12 October:** Speaker of the Egyptian National Assembly is murdered in an assault on his motorcade, possibly by pro-Iraqi agents in retaliation for Egypt's support of U.S.-led military preparations against Iraq following Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990.

1991 7 February: Irish Republican Army launches a mortar attack upon the British Prime Minister's residence while Prime Minister John Major and members of his cabinet are in session there. This attack results in no deaths or injuries. **21 May:** Former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is assassinated by Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam suicide bomber in southern India. **6 August:** Shapur Bakhtiyar, last prime minister of prerevolutionary Iranian monarchy, is assassinated by Iranian agents in Paris. **11 August–4 December:** All remaining six U.S. hostages held by Islamic Jihad and several other Western hostages, including Terry Waite, are released before end of year. Remains of William Buckley and Lieutenant Colonel William R. Higgins also are surrendered and returned to United States.

1992 17 March: Islamic Jihad claims credit for car bombing of Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires, killing 29 and injuring 242 others, in reprisal for Israeli killing of Hezbollah leader in air raids on Hezbollah bases. **29 June:** Armed Islamic Movement, believed to be the armed wing of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), assassinates Algerian President Muhammad Boudiaf. **16 July:** Sendero Luminoso begins offensive to topple

Peruvian government with two massive car bomb attacks, killing 18 and injuring more than 140 others in Lima. **13 September:** Abimael Guzman, the leader of Sendero Luminoso, is captured by Peruvian security forces along with top lieutenants during a strategy session held in Lima, Peru.

1993 January 25: Lone Pakistani gunman, Mir Aimal Kansi, opens fire on U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) employees, killing two, at entrance of CIA compound in Langley, Virginia. **26 February:** World Trade Center building in New York City is car bombed by followers of Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman, the exiled leader of the Egyptian fundamentalist Islamic Group, killing six people and injuring another 1,042. Four suspects are found guilty by a federal jury on 4 March 1994 and another two suspects are later arrested and tried. **13 September:** Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement is signed in Washington, D.C., by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Chairman Yasir Arafat. Those opposed to the accord, including Palestinians affiliated with the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) or with dissident PLO factions, as well as Israeli settlers and ultranationalists, seek to scuttle peace settlements through terrorist attacks in following months. **2 December:** Pablo Escobar, fugitive head of Medellín cocaine cartel responsible for narco-terrorist bombing and kidnapping campaign against Colombian police and government officials, is shot to death by security forces in Medellín.

1994 25 February: Dr. Baruch Goldstein, a militant follower of Rabbi Meir Kahane, opens fire on Palestinian Muslims praying at the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron, killing at least 29 and injuring an estimated 150. Event triggers anti-Israeli rioting in occupied territories and leads to temporary hiatus in Israeli-Palestinian negotiations on autonomy. **18 July:** Hezbollah suicide volunteer detonates car bomb at the Argentine-Israel Mutual Association in Buenos Aires, killing 85 and injuring more than 300. **15 August:** French Interior Ministry announces “Carlos” arrested in Sudan by French counterintelligence agents. **11 December:** Abu Sayyaf Group bombs Philippine Airlines Flight 434, killing one Japanese citizen and injuring 10 other passengers. **24 December:** Armed Islamic Group (GIA) team hijacks Air France flight in Algeria to Marseilles where, after a 54-hour siege during which three hostages are killed, all four hijackers are killed by French hostage rescue team. On 27 December GIA murders four Catholic priests in

Algeria in reprisal for the killings of its own members by the French rescue team.

1995 20 March: Members of Aum Shinrikyo sect release sarin nerve gas on five trains of the Tokyo subway system, killing 12 people and injuring 5,500 others. **19 April:** Truck bomb demolishes north section of Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 and injuring hundreds more. This is the single deadliest terrorist attack ever perpetrated in the United States until the 11 September 2001 World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks. **26 June:** Islamic Group gunmen attempt assassination of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak during his visit to Ethiopia. **4 November:** Jewish religious extremist assassinates Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin during peace rally in Tel Aviv. **13 November:** In Riyadh, car bomb explodes at the Office of the Program Manager/Saudi Arabian National Guard, killing four U.S. civil servants, one member of the U.S. Armed Forces, and two Indian government employees, while injuring 42 others.

1996 31 January: Truck bombing of Central Bank building in Colombo, Sri Lanka, by Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam kills 90 people and injures more than 1,400 others. **9 February:** Irish Republican Army breaks 17-month cease-fire with bombing in Docklands area of London, killing two and injuring more than 100 others. **24 February–24 March:** Hamas carries out three suicide bombings, detonating devices on two buses in Jerusalem on 24 February and 3 March and another outside the Dizengoff shopping mall in Tel Aviv, in total killing 65 people and injuring 161 others. **25 June:** Truck bomb explodes opposite U.S. military housing in Khobar Towers in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 U.S. citizens and wounding some 500 people. **27 July:** Pipe bomb explodes at Centennial Olympic Park during the Atlanta Olympic Games, killing two people and injuring 111 others. **17 December:** Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement terrorists seize Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima, Peru, during a diplomatic reception, taking 500 hostages. By New Year's Day only 81 hostages remain, the others having been released. Peruvian police storm compound on 22 April 1997, freeing hostages and killing all 14 terrorists.

1997 17 November: Outside Luxor, Egypt, members of Islamic Group shoot and knife to death 58 foreign tourists and four Egyptians at Hatshepsut Temple.

1998 7 August: Near-simultaneous bomb attacks on U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, kill 212 people and injure more than 4,000 (Nairobi attack) and kill 10 people and injure 85 (Dar es Salaam attack).

1999 17 February: Abdullah Ocalan, the leader of the Kurdish Workers' Party, which has waged a 14-year insurgency against Turkey, is captured in Kenya and flown back to Turkey to stand trial. **13 November:** Rocket attacks on U.S. and UN offices in Pakistan follow the Taliban's refusal to hand over Osama bin Laden, suspected mastermind of August 1998 attacks on U.S. embassies in East Africa. **13 December:** Supporters of Taliban open fire on U.S. embassy and UN offices in Islamabad, Pakistan, in response to U.S. and UN demands for surrender of Osama bin Laden. **14 December:** U.S. Customs arrests an Algerian, Ahmad Rassam, trying to smuggle explosives into the United States from Canada. Rassam is suspected of ties to a radical Algerian Islamic group and al Qa'eda. **24–31 December:** Kashmiri separatists hijack Indian Airlines Flight 814 out of Kathmandu destined for Delhi with 153 passengers and crew from India to Qandahar, Afghanistan, in the course of which one passenger is murdered. The hijackers are apparently aided by the Taliban.

2000 21 January: Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA) carries out two car bombings in Madrid, killing an army officer and injuring bystanders, thus ending a cease-fire that the ETA had declared on 16 September 1998. **23 April–10 September:** Abu Sayyaf Group seizes several European and American tourists, both within the Philippines and also in nearby Malaysian island resorts, holding many of them for ransom and killing several before releasing the remainder. **8 June:** November 17 assassinates the British military attaché to Greece, Brig. General Stephen Saunders, as he drives to work in Athens. **28 September:** Outbreak of second Palestinian *intifada* in Gaza and West Bank in reaction to visit by Likud Party leader Ariel Sharon to disputed holy sites in East Jerusalem. **12 October:** USS *Cole* badly damaged by large bomb deployed by two al Qa'eda suicide bombers by skiff along ship during docking in harbor of Aden, Yemen. Blast kills 17 sailors and cripples ship. **8 November:** Japanese Red Army leader, Fusako Shigenobu, captured in western Japan town after 31-year hunt for her by police forces throughout the world.

2001 **2 January:** Trial of four defendants accused of the conspiracy to bomb U.S. embassies in East Africa in August 1998 begins in U.S. Federal District Court in New York. **24 July:** Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam attack Bandaranaike International Airport outside Colombo, killing six and injuring nine others. Attackers destroy eight military aircraft, five commercial aircraft, and several ammunition dumps and oil storage tanks, with damages totaling nearly \$500 million. **24 July:** Two Hamas suicide bombers kill 12 people in Jerusalem mall while injuring more than 120 others. Secondary car bomb intended for first responders explodes prematurely. **18 August:** Basque Fatherland and Liberty car bombs hotel in Salou, Spain, injuring five Spanish and eight foreign tourists. **27 August:** Israeli Defense Forces kill Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine leader Mustafa Zibri in reprisal for involvement in bombing attacks in Israel. **9 September:** Al Qa'eda suicide bombers assassinate Ahmad Shah Massoud, leader of the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan. **11 September:** Suicide bombers hijack four American domestic flights, crashing one into the north tower of the World Trade Center, another into the south tower of the World Trade Center, and another into the east side of the Pentagon. The fourth flight crashes in a field in Pennsylvania after an apparent struggle between the hijackers and passengers. At least 2,603 victims are killed at the World Trade Center and 125 killed at the Pentagon. All 19 hijackers and 238 passengers and crew also perish in this attack. **14 September:** U.S. Congress approves Joint Resolution No. 23 authorizing the use of military force against agents and suspected state sponsors responsible for the 11 September attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. After the Taliban refuses to hand over al Qa'eda elements within Afghanistan, the United States launches Operation Enduring Freedom on 7 October 2001 against Taliban and al Qa'eda forces within Afghanistan. **18 September–9 October:** Anthrax-contaminated letters mailed to American Media, Inc. (AMI), Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle, the *New York Post*, Tom Brokaw of NBC news, and other targets. On 5 October AMI employee Robert Stevens dies of inhalation anthrax. By mid-November, 17 cases of anthrax exposure and five deaths from inhalation anthrax are confirmed. **9–13 November:** Following a month of U.S. air strikes on Taliban and al Qa'eda positions, the opposition Northern Alliance forces occupy Mazar-i Sharif, Herat, and Kabul after rout of Taliban

forces. **13 December:** Armed group of five militants believed to be members of the Lashkar-e Tayyaba and the Jaish-e Muhammad groups attack Indian Parliament during session, leading to the deaths of all attackers, six security men, and one groundskeeper and injury of 12 others. India blames Pakistan for these attacks, elevating tensions between the two nations to a state of near war which persists until October 2002.

2002 23 January: *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl is kidnapped in Pakistan by Muslim militants who murder him on 1 February. On 21 March, Ahmad Omar Saeed Sheikh and three others are arrested for the kidnapping and murder of Pearl. **23 February:** Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia kidnap presidential candidate Ingrid Betancourt, who is later rescued on 2 July 2008. **27 March:** A Hamas suicide bomber strikes crowded Passover meal in Netanya, Israel, killing 30 and injuring another 140. Event provokes Israeli Operation Defensive Shield, directed at concentrations of Palestinian militants in the West Bank, which lasts from 29 March to 3 May 2002. This operation marks a turning point in the second *intifada*, with a 70 percent decrease in suicide bombings from the beginning to the end of 2002 and a 35 percent drop in Israeli fatalities between 2002 and 2003. **22 May:** A jury in Birmingham, Alabama, convicts Ku Klux Klan member Bobby Frank Cherry of the murders of four girls killed in the 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church. **5 September:** Car bombing in Kabul kills at least 30 people, while in Qandahar a gunman attempts to assassinate Afghan President Karzai as he is riding in an open-air limousine, missing Karzai but wounding his fellow passenger, provincial governor Gul Agha Sherzai. The gunman is killed by U.S. security forces. **12 October:** Jemaah Islamiyah carries out double car bombings in Bali, Indonesia, targeting foreign tourists, who are largely Australian, killing 202 and injuring another 209. **22–26 October:** Chechens seize Dubrovka Theater in Moscow, holding 800 hostages. On hearing gunfire early the morning of 26 October, Russian security forces begin a rescue effort using fentanyl narcotic gas, resulting in the deaths of 127 hostages and 33 of the 34 attackers. Two other hostages had been murdered by the rebels. **28 November:** In Kenya al Qa'eda launches a three-man suicide truck bombing of a seaside hotel in Mombasa, killing 13 people and injuring 80 others. Another al Qa'eda team simultaneously launches a shoulder-fired Strela-2 surface-to-air missile at an Israeli-chartered Boeing 757 taking off from Moi airport

with 271 passengers returning to Israel, which misses the plane. **27 December:** Two bomb-laden vans driven by suicide bombers strike the main government building of Chechnya's Russian-supported government, killing 40 and wounding 70.

2003 1 March: Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the presumed al Qaeda mastermind of the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of 11 September 2001, is captured in Pakistan along with al Qaeda financier Mustafa Ahmed al-Hawsawi. **19 March–9 April:** United States leads invasion of Iraq with participation of armies of Australia, Poland, and the United Kingdom, eventually occupying Baghdad on 9 April and ending regime of Saddam Hussein. **12 May:** In Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, two al Qaeda suicide truck bombers strike two residential compounds for foreign contract workers, killing 35 and injuring more than 160. **16 May:** In Casablanca, Morocco, fourteen suicide bombers strike numerous tourist spots, an empty Jewish community center, and a Jewish cemetery, killing 33 victims along with 12 of the bombers, and injuring more than 100 others. The other two bombers are captured before they can detonate their explosives-laden vests. The operation is work of Salafia Jihadia, an offshoot of the Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group believed to be affiliated with al Qaeda. **31 May:** Eric Rudolph, suspected in the 1996 Centennial Olympic Park bombing, the 1996 Atlanta abortion clinic bombings, and also the Birmingham abortion clinic bombings of 1997, is captured in Murphy, North Carolina. **11 August:** North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) assumes command of peacekeeping forces in Afghanistan, its first major mission outside Europe and the North Atlantic region since its founding in 1949. Jemaah Islamiyah leader Riduan Isamuddin, also known as Hambali, is captured in Bangkok, through joint operation of Thai police and the Central Intelligence Agency. **25 August:** Two car bombings in Mumbai (Bombay), India, strike Gateway of India, a major tourist spot and jewelry bazaar opposite Mumba Devi Temple, killing 52 and injuring more than 150. This is the fifth and most deadly bombing in Mumbai during 2003, all of which are believed to be the work of the Lashkar-e Tayyaba group. **15 November:** In Istanbul two coordinated suicide truck-bomb attacks strike the Bet Israel and Neve Shalom synagogues during worship services, killing 27 people and injuring more than 300 others. Al Qaeda claims responsibility. **20 November:** Two more suicide truck bombs in Istanbul target the British consulate and main office

of the Turkish branch of the HSBC bank, killing 30 people and injuring more than 400 others. This action is also claimed by al Qaeda. **24 November:** Scotland's High Court in Glasgow sentences Abdel Basset Ali al-Megrahi to 27 years for the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland.

2004 11 March: Simultaneous explosions on four rush-hour trains in Madrid kill 190 people. National elections on 14 March oust Popular Party government of José María Aznar in favor of Socialist Party government led by José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, which on 19 April 2004 announces the withdrawal of Spanish forces from participation in the U.S.-led coalition in Iraq. Subsequent trial rules that responsibility for attacks lies with "local cells of Islamic extremists inspired through the Internet" rather than Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group or Armed Islamic Group of Algeria. These bombings are thought to have contributed both to the electoral defeat of the Aznar government and the later withdrawal of Spanish support of U.S. war effort in Iraq. **22 March:** Israeli helicopter gunship kills Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin in Gaza City and seven others, leading to massive Palestinian protests against Israel in Gaza. **31 March:** Iraqi insurgency begins in Falluja with the ambush and murders of four U.S. military contractors working for Blackwater USA. Insurgents take control of the city until U.S. forces recapture it in November 2004. **24 August:** Two female Chechen suicide bombers destroy two Russian airliners flying out of Moscow's Domodedovo International Airport within minutes of each other, killing 89 passengers and crew. **1 September:** About 40 Chechen terrorists seize more than 800 hostages, most of them schoolchildren, at Public School No. 1 in Beslan, Russia. On 3 September Russian forces storm the school after explosives detonate in the school. At least 335 people are killed, including 32 of the hostage takers, and at least 719 people injured. **9 September:** Car bombing outside the Australian embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, kills nine people and injures more than 150. Responsibility is claimed by Jemaah Islamiya. **8 October:** Two suicide bombers recruited by a Palestinian extremist strike a hotel and a campsite frequented by Israeli tourists at the Red Sea resort of Taba, Egypt, killing 34 people, mainly Israeli tourists and Egyptian workers, and injuring 171 others. **2 November:** Dutch film director Theo van Gogh is assassinated in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, by a Muslim extremist in retaliation for making a short documentary viewed as insulting to Islam. **6 December:** Five gunmen attack U.S. consulate in Jeddah, Saudi

Arabia, killing five non-American consular staff and four Saudi security guards. The attackers, believed to be affiliated with al Qaeda, are killed by Saudi security forces. **22 December:** Armed robbers believed to be members of the Irish Republican Army steal over £22 million from the headquarters of Northern Bank in Belfast, leading to recriminations by Unionist politicians, so stalling the peace process.

2005 9 February: Basque Fatherland and Liberty car bombing injures 31 people at conference center in Madrid. **14 February:** Former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri and 15 other people are killed by massive car bomb in Beirut and 135 others are injured. Protests over assassination of Hariri lead to “Cedar Revolution,” forcing Syria to withdraw its troops and security forces from Lebanon by 26 April. **7 July:** London hit by four suicide bombings by British Islamic militants, three on the London Underground and one on a public bus, killing 56 and injuring more than 700. **23 July:** Three bombings within five minutes of each other kill as many as 88 people and injure more than 200 at Egypt’s Red Sea resort town of Sharm el-Sheikh, an action claimed by pro-al Qaeda militants but attributed to local Bedouin tribes by the Egyptian government. **28 July:** The Irish Republican Army formally orders an end to its armed campaign, directing all of its units to dump their arms, which has been a major obstacle to implementing restored Home Rule under the 1998 Belfast Agreement. **23 August:** Israel completes its unilateral dismantling and evacuation of 25 Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. **23 September:** Long-term fugitive Macheteros leader Filiberto Ojeda Ríos is killed in Hormigueros, Puerto Rico, when the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation attempts to arrest him. **1 October:** Three suicide bombings in Bali believed to be the work of Jemaah Islamiya kill 26 people and injure 129 others. **29 October:** Lashkar-e Tayyaba carries out three bombings in New Delhi within one half-hour, killing 62 people and injuring 210 others. **9 November:** Coordinated suicide bombings by followers of Abu Musab al Zarqawi strike three hotels in Amman, Jordan, killing at least 60 people and injuring 115 others.

2006 22 February: Bombing by al Qaeda in Iraq of al Askari Mosque, a major Shi’ite shrine in Samarra, leads to major Sunni-Shi’ite communal clashes in Iraq. **22 March:** Basque Fatherland and Liberty declares a permanent cease-fire with Spanish government. **2–3 June:** Canadian police arrest 17 in the greater Toronto area in alleged Mus-

lim extremist plot to bomb the Canadian Houses of Parliament and to kidnap and murder Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper. **7 June:** U.S. forces kill al Qa'eda in Iraq leader Abu Musab al Zarqawi along with seven of his aides in an air strike north of Baquba, Iraq. **11 July:** Seven coordinated bombings of several commuter trains in Mumbai, India, during evening rush hour leave 209 dead and 714 injured. The bombings are believed to be the work of the Lashkar-e Tayyaba. **12 July:** Israeli troops attack Lebanon due to kidnappings of two Israeli soldiers, leading Hezbollah to declare war on Israel on 14 July. Inconclusive Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon and continuous Hezbollah missile barrages on Israel eventually end with UN-brokered truce on 8 September 2006. **9 August:** British police arrest 21 people involved in British airliner bombing plot targeting aircraft traveling from Britain to the United States. Discovery of the plotters' use of nondetectable peroxide-based explosives leads to U.S. and British bans on liquids and gels from checked and carry-on baggage. **30 December:** Basque Fatherland and Liberty bombs Madrid's Barajas International Airport, killing two Ecuadorians and ending 22 March cease-fire.

2007 **27 February:** Taliban suicide bombing attack at Bagram Air Base in Afghanistan kills 23 people but does not harm visiting U.S. Vice President Dick Cheney. **23 March:** Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps naval unit seizes 15 British Royal Navy personnel in waters claimed by Iran; the sailors are later released on 4 April. **11 April:** Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat carries out two bombings in Algiers, killing at least 33 people and injuring 222 others. **15 May:** Coalition government of al Fatah and Hamas in Palestinian Authority collapses, leading to virtual civil war and Hamas takeover of the Gaza Strip. **7–15 June:** Fighting between Hamas and al Fatah and Hamas takeover of Gaza Strip ends in the dismissal of the government of Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh by Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas, leaving al Fatah in control of the West Bank. **30 June:** Apparent suicide attack by two Islamist extremists ramming a gasoline-loaded Jeep Cherokee into the entrance of the main terminal of Glasgow International Airport results in death of the driver and injuries to the passenger and three bystanders. **14 August:** Four simultaneous car bombings by Sunni insurgents kill 796 people and injure 1,562 others in the towns of Qahtaniya and Jazeera in northern Iraq. **6 September:** Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat bombing in Batna, Algeria, intended for visiting Algerian President Abdelaziz

Bouteflika, kills 19 people and injures 107. **11 December:** Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat conducts two bombings in Algiers within ten minutes of each other, one destroying a UN office and the other damaging the Algerian Supreme Court offices and killing 31 people. **27 December:** Former Pakistani prime minister Benazir Bhutto is assassinated by a Lashkar-e Tayyaba suicide-bomber attack, which also kills 20 others at an election rally in Rawalpindi.

2008 **12 February:** Hezbollah terrorist mastermind Imad Mughniyah is assassinated by remote-detonated car bomb as he leaves ceremony in Damascus marking anniversary of Iranian revolution. Israeli Mossad denies responsibility, while U.S. Director of National Intelligence Mike McConnell alleges killing was work of Hezbollah rivals. **17 February:** Suicide bombing by a Taliban member in Qandahar, Afghanistan, kills as many as 80 people. **2 March:** Colombian raid into Ecuador that kills Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia commander Raúl Reyes leads to military tensions with Venezuela and Ecuador. **27 April:** Taliban attempts assassination of Afghan President Hamid Karzai during military parade in Kabul. **2 July:** Former Colombian presidential candidate Ingrid Betancourt and 14 other hostages are freed from Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia by Colombian security forces. **26 July:** Sixteen bomb blasts in Ahmadabad, India, kill more than 45 people and injure more than 1,000 others. **3 September:** The Independent Monitoring Commission declares that the Irish Republican Army has ceased to be a terrorist organization. **8 September:** British court convicts three out of eight men accused of conspiracy to commit murder in the 9 August British-U.S. flights bomb plot. **17 September:** Islamic Jihad of Yemen suicide car bombers attack U.S. embassy in Sana, causing 16 deaths, including the six attackers. **18 September:** Sri Lankan naval forces sink 10 boats and kill 25 members of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in battle near Nachikkudah. **19 September:** Suicide truck bomb attack against Marriott Hotel in Islamabad, Pakistan, kills at least 54 and wounds some 266 others. **11 October:** U.S. State Department removes North Korea from list of state sponsors of terrorism. **26–29 November:** Ten attackers of Lashkar-e Tayyaba strike 10 targets in Mumbai, India, with machine-gun and grenade attacks. At least 173 people are killed, including many Indian police and security officials, and at least 308 injured. This attack is the worst in India's history since its independence in 1947 and leads to a severe crisis in Indian-Pakistani relations.

Introduction

THE SUBJECTIVITY OF TERRORISM

The study of terrorism has been burdened by a continuing and often acrimonious debate over the definition of terrorism as well as its nature and scope. The overused platitude “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter” aptly illustrates how subjectivity has obscured the identification of terrorism, without which there can be no systematic study of this matter. This subjectivity stems from several related factors. First, the very mention of “terrorism” evokes a fearful image of slaughter, an image that has been perpetuated and magnified through the mass media. The vision of unarmed civilians being taken hostage and wounded or murdered has been seared into the consciousness of a global audience. Terrorists themselves have skillfully exploited that image to force their message on a mass audience, with the stereotypical image of an armed and hooded perpetrator pointing an AK-47 or M-16 at helpless victims. Second, in reaction to the frightening imagery of terrorism, an emotional response has equally overwhelmed ordinary citizens, scholars, and policymakers, none of whom can ignore their gut reactions to the threats and acts of bloodshed. All too understandably, such indignant condemnation impedes any detached assessment of the causes, dynamics, and outcomes of terrorism. A blanket condemnation of terrorists as crazed killers may act as a catharsis but does not provide any foundation for understanding the phenomenon.

This moralistic condemnation makes it difficult to arrive at any dispassionate objectivity in understanding terrorism. Even the attempt to study terrorism without immediately condemning it may be viewed by many as displaying insensitivity to the victims of terrorism or even as tacit acceptance of the pernicious and reprehensible acts or motives of terrorists. These disturbing questions of morality are carried over into the equally heated debate on the nature of terrorism, in which competing

interpretations of what terrorism really is complicate the issue of how best to respond to it.

ELEMENTS OF TERRORISM

Many view terrorism as, first and foremost, criminal acts that cannot be justified, assaults upon the civil order that should not be dignified by being regarded as instruments for pursuing some higher cause. Viewed in this manner, terrorism is nothing more than a form of criminal violence.

Another approach recognizes that while terrorism may consist of criminal actions, these actions are nonetheless meant to achieve goals beyond the mere criminal act. However brutal or reprehensible terrorism may be, it cannot simply be dismissed as mindless violence. Accordingly, terrorism can be defined as “a purposeful human activity directed toward the creation of a general climate of fear designed to influence in ways desired by the protagonists, other human beings, and through them some course of events.”¹ This attempt to define terrorism as purposeful action may provide, in turn, the basis for an objective analysis, for it offers a functional means for understanding the major common elements of terrorism irrespective of the differing goals of various perpetrators.

The first common element of terrorism is the use of violence, often but not always preceded by the threat of violence. However, the threat of violence alone is not enough to be counted as terrorism. Ultimately there must be the use of violence, or else the threat, however ominous, will lose its credibility. There may be some disagreement on whether such violence must be physical. Do different forms of mental cruelty, for example, constitute a form of terrorism? While there is no consensus on the answer to this question, a second common element of terrorism helps to clarify the problem, for the use of terrorism, irrespective of its goal, involves “violent . . . behavior . . . designed to generate fear in the community [or individual].”²

The intent to generate fear is the second common element that distinguishes terrorist violence from other forms of violence. One authority aptly notes that terrorism ultimately is “a form of psychological operations.”³ This psychological component of seeking to create fear as a primary goal, whether in an individual, a community, a state, or a corporation, is essential to the concept of terrorism.

Another common element of terrorism as purposeful action is that the terrorist act is a form of communication meant to send a message of fear and intimidation, not just to the immediate victims but also to a broader audience. An often-quoted definition notes that “terrorism is the threat of violence and the use of fear to coerce, persuade, and gain public attention.”⁴ Terrorism, then, is a form of “armed propaganda,” a potent way not only to communicate but also to send a message in an age dominated by the mass media.

TYPES OF TERRORISM: THE PRIMACY OF POLITICS

While in practice it is not always clear whether a given terrorist act is the work of “crusaders, criminals, or crazies,”⁵ since even criminals will try to justify their acts through a political pretext, there is basic agreement that terrorism is a form of political violence and action. There is, however, a reluctance to append the word “political” to a terrorist act since it is feared that doing so will transform the criminal into a political actor and so confer some degree of legitimacy upon the act. Nevertheless, the political content of terrorism has largely been accepted in the scholarly literature. While there are many definitions of political terrorism, Grant Wardlaw’s pioneering effort tightly defines its major characteristics: “Political terrorism is the use, or threat of use, of violence by an individual or a group, whether acting for or in opposition to established authority, when such action is designed to create extreme anxiety and/or fear-inducing effects in a target group larger than the immediate victims with the purpose of coercing that group into acceding to the political demands of the perpetrators.”⁶

From this basis, scholars have sought to establish typologies to identify different types of terrorism as a foundation for comparative analysis. One of the most useful is the dichotomy developed by T. P. Thornton, who differentiates between “enforcement terrorism” and “agitational terror.” The former is also called “terror from above” and is used by governments and authorities to maintain their control and to suppress threats to their own power. The latter is used by those who wish to replace, transform, or destroy the existing order.⁷ This basic typology is exceedingly useful, for it recognizes that terror is not an instrument used only by those supporting the status quo, a liberal view often used to justify violence against the state, nor is it an instrument

used only to attack the civil order, a conservative view often used to condemn terrorism and to justify harsh countermeasures.

There are more elaborate typologies, such as the well-known classification system by Richard Schultz, who identifies three general categories:

1. "Revolutionary Terrorism [is] the threat and/or development of extranormal forms of political violence, in varying degrees, with the object of successfully effecting a complete revolutionary change (i.e., a change of fundamental political-social processes) within the political system. Such means may be employed by revolutionary elements indigenous to a particular political system or by similar groups acting outside the geographic boundaries of the system."
2. "Sub-Revolutionary Terrorism [is] the threat and/or employment of extranormal forms of political violence, in varying degrees, with the objective of effecting various changes in the particular political system. . . . The goal is to bring about certain changes in the body politic, not to abolish it in favor of a complete system change. Perhaps the broadest of the three categories, groups included here span the political spectrum from left to right. . . . Such means are employed primarily by groups or movements indigenous to the particular political system, though similar elements beyond the system's geographic boundaries may also rely on such means."
3. "Establishment Terrorism [is] the threat and/or employment of extranormal forms of political violence in varying degrees, by an established political system, against both external and internal opposition. Specifically such means may be employed by an established political system against other nation-states and groups external to the particular political system, as well as internally to repress various forms of domestic opposition/unrest and/or to move the populace to comply with programs/goals of the state."⁸

Schultz's definitions, however, may be culturally bound. How one determines what constitutes "extranormal forms of political violence" may depend largely on what is "normal" for the particular culture and political tradition in which the violence takes place. What is regarded as extranormal political violence in the Netherlands may be viewed as normal, indeed as routine, political violence in Lebanon.

The other unexamined assumption within this typology lies in the distinction between “revolutionary” and “subrevolutionary” political violence, which appears to reflect a tendency, largely unquestioned in contemporary Western political thought, to link the idea of revolution connotatively with that of political development or progress, and specifically with leftist or socialistic political movements, while regarding rightist or fascist political movements as atavisms that cannot be classified as truly “revolutionary.”

In fact, right-wing authoritarian states and left-wing totalitarian states resemble each other structurally far more closely than either type resembles Western liberal democracy, while they and their state functionaries, or else state-sponsored agents and proxies, also behave similarly. The implied claim, that true revolutionary movements achieve systematic transformation while subrevolutionary ones do not, actually begs the question whether the supposedly “true” revolutionary movements ever do live up to their aspirations of holistic change and transformation. Historically it seems more evident that upon seizing power the new revolutionary order usually incorporates large structural elements of the repressive system it replaces. For example, the Bolshevik revolutionaries replaced the Tsarist Okhrana with their own Cheka, which eventually became the Soviet Union’s KGB, thus perpetuating in a more efficient form an instrument of statist absolutism.

Moreover, even “subrevolutionary” nationalistic or secessionist political movements often claim to seek the same types of social and economic transformations sought by avowedly socialist and internationalist movements. Despite these limitations, Schultz’s typology, and others like it, have provided a valuable comparative framework in which to analyze terrorism in its many forms.

THE IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGY ON CHANGING TYPES OF TERRORISM

While the common elements of violence, political motivations, and communication (or mass manipulation) described above provide lines of continuity running through terrorism’s long and complex history, a strong case can be made that technological innovation has created a new form of terrorism, *nonterritorial terrorism*, which is not confined to a clearly delineated geographical area.⁹

That is, as a result of the large-scale introduction of jet aircraft into international travel and the proliferation of television, both in the 1960s, terrorists could literally strike at global targets of opportunity in a matter of hours and force their message upon a mass audience undreamed of by their most dedicated and skillful predecessors. Moreover, their objective might not be the seizure of territorial power but rather regional or even global destabilization. Faced with this challenge, authorities were forced to recognize that traditional means of prevention and control of terrorism appropriate within a specifically identifiable strife zone would not be effective against those who might be many thousands of miles away from their intended target. Nonterritorial terrorists had something new and deadly at their disposal: an intercontinental delivery missile rivaling the missiles of mass destruction that, fortunately, were never employed in any general war.

THE HISTORICAL DIMENSIONS

Despite these innovations and the emphasis on contemporary terrorism being, as one authority deemed it, “a new mode of conflict,”¹⁰ terrorism actually comes from an ancient tradition. As one author notes, “We tend to think of political terrorism as a modern development. . . . But the terrorizing of humans by fellow humans on political or political-ethnic grounds goes much further back, in many forms. As a missionary in Burundi sadly said about the massacre of 10,000 Hutu tribesmen by the ruling Tutsi in 1972. . . . ‘This has been going on for centuries and will happen again.’ ”¹¹

The same could be said for the tragic ethnic violence in the former republics of Yugoslavia and the disintegrated Soviet Union, the relentless attacks against the tribal peoples of Sudan, and any other number of primordial conflicts in both industrialized and agrarian societies.

In the long history of terrorism, the names of certain groups surface repeatedly; they share the tendency to use violence to promote and exercise their religious beliefs. The Zealots were religious nationalists in first-century Judea who revolted against the Roman occupation. Hidden in crowds, they would stab secular officials, priests, and soldiers with their daggers (*sicarii*) and then escape by merging back into the crowds. Their actions created an environment of fear where no one was to be trusted and everyone was feared. The Zealots pioneered the

techniques of pure terror that would be used by future generations of true believers.

The word “assassin” came from another religious-political group. In the 11th and 12th centuries, Isma’ili Shi’ite activists in southwest Asia organized corps of assassins, known as the Fedayeen, literally the “self-sacrificers.” These assassins were willing to undertake attacks against Sunni rulers despite the certainty of their own death or capture, as they were assured of their place in heaven if they fell as martyrs fighting in the path of God. To counter the awe and respect these bold attacks created among the common people, apologists of the Abbasid dynasty targeted by the Isma’ilis gave out that the attackers were really “Hashshishin,” those acting under the influence of hashish. This official disinformation became the source of the word “assassin.” The car and truck bombers of the 1980s, who blew up the U.S. embassy in West Beirut and later bombed the U.S. Marine barracks and French military headquarters, all within one year, reproduced in a modern setting the same tactics used by the earlier Isma’ili Fedayeen. This traditional form of terrorism is continuing today in Iraq, Israel and the Palestinian territories, South Asia and Sri Lanka, and other strife-torn areas.

Other English words have come from the ancient lexicon of terrorism. The term “thug” was taken from the name of a secret sect in India that also employed terrorism as part of its ritual worship of Kali, the Hindu goddess associated with death and destruction.

Modern terrorism originated during the French Revolution and the reaction that followed it. Under Citizen Robespierre and his Committee of Public Safety, the “Great Terror” was directed against the real and imagined enemies of the revolution. In excess of 17,000 people were victims of this first exercise of mass state terrorism. It is sad to note how this figure pales into insignificance when compared with the statistics of the mass terrorism of modern totalitarian states, which have refined with murderous efficiency the ability to engage in genocide, whether in the gas chambers of the Third Reich or the killing fields of Kampuchea.

Terrorism as an instrument of revolutionary transformation developed more fully in Imperial Russia. In the *Catechism of the Revolutionist*, written in 1869, Sergey Nechayev provided an idealized guide that would be employed by later generations as the model of a terrorist dedicated to his or her cause to the death. As he noted in this *Catechism*,

The revolutionary is a doomed man. He has no interests of his own, no affairs, no attachments, no belongings, not even a name. Everything in him is absorbed by a single thought, a single passion—the revolution. . . . The revolutionary enters into the world of the state, of class, of so-called culture, and lives in it only because he has faith in its speedy and total destruction. He is not a revolutionary if he feels pity for anything in this world. If he is able to, he must face the annihilation of a situation—everything and everyone must be equally odious to him. All the worse for him if he has family and loved ones in this world; he is no revolutionary if he can stay his hand.¹²

Modern terrorist tactics also developed during this period. The *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will) organization employed dynamite and bombings in its assassination campaigns against the officials of the Tsarist regime. During this period, the followers of anarchism further developed terrorism as a weapon of propaganda and communication. The leading advocate of anarchism, Mikhail Bakunin, recognized that violence sent a potent message to both allies and enemies. This message, through the medium of violence called "propaganda by the deed," is still practiced today before the lens of the video camera.

The impact of technology on communications and control of information heightened the capacity of those who used terrorism as a form of propaganda not only to convey a message but, more ominously, to exert a social and political control over subject populations that went far beyond the capability of the most repressive dictators of the past. The penetration and consequent control of all levels of political, social, and economic life by a repressive regime led to the development of the modern totalitarian state. The reign of terror pioneered by the French revolution was expanded with murderous efficiency by Stalin through the massive purges and show trials of the 1920s and 1930s and reached its zenith in the genocide attempted under the Third Reich with its concentration camps and crematoria. This murderous combination of technology and attendant organizational capabilities led to the maturation of "terrorism from above." Modern state terrorism had come of age, aptly defined thus: "State terrorism can be seen as a method of rule whereby some groups of people are victimized with great brutality, and more or less arbitrarily by the state, or state-supported actors, so that others who have reason to identify with those murdered, will despair, obey, or comply. Its main instruments are summary arrest and incarceration without trial, torture, political murder, disappearances, and concentration camps."¹³

CONTEMPORARY TERRORISM

In the 1960s, “terror from below” continued as a new generation of revolutionaries attempted to overthrow what they regarded as repressive regimes. In Latin America, the use of terror as part of insurgent movements was accelerated by the Cuban revolution and the attempt to export it to Central and South America. Ernesto “Che” Guevara perhaps best embodied the mystique that surrounded the new revolutionaries. Guevara emphasized the need to employ terror tactics in an essentially rural guerrilla war. He emphasized the importance of the *foco*—a small, clandestine group of rebels who could ignite the fires of revolution. Guevara, however, overlooked the importance of slowly developing a foundation of support among the indigenous peasantry. His failure to rally the peasants led to his capture and death in Bolivia. Despite Guevara’s failure, his mystique would influence other real and self-styled revolutionary terrorists.

In contrast to Guevara’s rural-based approach, Carlos Marighella emphasized the importance of employing terrorism in the cities as a means of dramatizing the rebels’ cause and provoking the government to overreact. In turn this overreaction was supposed to antagonize the general population, either neutralizing their support for the established order or prompting them to join the revolutionary cause. Marighella’s *Manual of the Urban Guerrilla* provided a tactical guide instructing future urban terrorists on how to finance their operations through bank robberies, among other things.¹⁴ In the United States the Symbionese Liberation Army would follow Marighella’s approach, even using the kidnapped heiress Patty Hearst in its short-lived and violent history. During this period groups such as the Red Army Faction in Germany (then better known as the Baader-Meinhof Gang), the Red Brigades in Italy, and the Weather Underground in the United States revived and renewed the anarchistic tradition even though they conceived of themselves as bona fide internationalist socialist revolutionaries.

During the late 1960s, the scope and impact of terrorism was greatly expanded, as was earlier noted, as a result of the large-scale global introduction of jet aircraft. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) engaged in a number of highly dramatic operations in the period from 1968 to 1970 that would be copied by numerous terrorist groups in the following decades.

With the seizure of 53 American hostages at the U.S. embassy in Tehran in November 1979, another chapter in modern terrorism was

opened: “The behavior of Iran, Libya, and other countries points to the development of rogue, or outlaw states, who no longer use terror [solely] as an instrument of maintaining internal control, but rather as a technique in a new diplomatic method—‘armed diplomacy’—as a means of carrying out foreign policy.”¹⁵

In the 1980s states increasingly supported various terrorist groups in pursuit of their foreign policy objectives. “State-sponsored terrorism” by the Soviet Union, the United States, Iran, Iraq, Syria, North Korea, and other governments enabled terrorists to have levels of financial, logistical, and tactical support unavailable to them in the past. The linkages between various terrorist groups and their state sponsors were hotly debated, particularly by the United States, which sought to verify the degree of Moscow’s involvement with terrorists during the waning days of the cold war. Such diverse groups as the West German Baader-Meinhof Gang, the Irish Republican Army, and the PFLP received funding from their respective state sponsors.¹⁶ State sponsorship, particularly in the Middle East, continues to enhance the capability of various terrorist groups to pursue their objectives and for sponsoring states to pursue their geopolitical goals through proxy warfare.

THREATS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND CHANGING MOTIVATIONS

In the introduction to the first edition of this book, we noted, “Modern terrorism is entering a very dangerous period.” We were referring to the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the resurgence of ethnicity that had long been suppressed during the cold war by the Soviet empire, and the revival of religious fundamentalism. Our concerns particularly focused on the increased availability of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, or what are now called weapons of mass destruction (WMD), that could be used by a state, state-sponsored terrorists, or independent terrorist groups to pursue their objectives. While there have been threats and resorts to such weapons, they had been limited until the sarin gas attack by Aum Shinrikyo in the Tokyo subway system in March 1995. Just as the Oklahoma City bombing represented a new phase in terrorism to the United States, so did that attack (and a previous, less publicized one by the group upon a prefecture building)

by what until then had been a relatively obscure cult opened the Pandora's box of mass terrorism. Until that event, Brian Jenkins's dictum that "terrorists wanted more people alive than dead" had remained essentially valid. Most terrorist groups sought some level of support within a targeted audience, or wanted enough intimidated survivors to recognize their cause and, if possible, to force their governments to adopt policies that would further the aims of the terrorist group. Moreover, most terrorists realized that if their acts were too provocative, the public might support the government taking whatever measures were necessary to defeat them. Thus the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon of 11 September 2001 have been the most deadly attacks to date. But the scale of these attacks has mobilized not only the U.S. government and public, but also a wider community of nations, to punish the perpetrators and to halt any repetition, much less the escalation, of such attacks in the future.

The development of various cults and religious fundamentalist groups that viewed their acts to be divinely inspired, who were ultimately not concerned about achieving temporal goals, but goals in a next life, broke this implicit constraint based on concerns over public opinion. Thus in the 21st century there is good reason to believe that such groups might use mass terrorism to achieve their respective apocalyptic visions. These groups may also be joined by rogue states and regional powers that might seek to engage a stronger enemy in asymmetric warfare by indirectly supporting such groups and so achieving "plausible deniability" in pursuing their national and transnational goals.

Unfortunately, not only have terrorist destructive capabilities have increased in the area of weapons of mass destruction, but even more conventional "rational" terrorist groups have at their disposal an increasingly sophisticated arsenal of standoff weapons that will make it increasingly difficult to ensure the physical defense of any given potential target. The implications, particularly in regard to aviation security, are extremely serious, with the incredible availability of targets created by the rapid expansion of airline traffic and the continued growth in general aviation. The state of the terrorists' capabilities, plus their increased willingness to use lethal means, will in all likelihood dramatically increase in both the near and far term. It is worth reiterating that an overreaction to the WMD threat could place democratic orders on a dangerous path of incremental repression in the name of preserving order.

THE GROWING TERRORIST THEATER OF OPERATIONS: THE INTERNET

Perhaps the most glaring gap in the introduction to our first edition was the lack of any discussion of the role of the Internet in the changing face of terrorism. In the second edition we discussed the use of the Internet for recruitment and propaganda, for the waging of “netwar” campaigns, and also as a means for cyber-warfare attacks on targets. In this edition we note the interplay of Internet capabilities, intelligence, and “emergent intelligence,” both for terrorist actors and for counterterrorism professionals.

Certainly the Internet provides terrorists at the outset with an expanding capability to engage in what could be called “electronic unarmed propaganda.” A web page, for example, gives a terrorist group of three, thirty, or three hundred the ability to publish its manifesto through the anonymity of cyberspace. Perhaps even more significant, the Internet provides the means by which various terrorist groups can maintain their security via the anonymity of cyberspace but increasingly have the ability and opportunities to coordinate operations with highly diverse groups that may share a general strategic goal of destabilizing a city, a country, or a region.

More significant is the fact that the Internet enables terrorists to engage in what is called “netwar.” In so doing they are now evolving into self-contained, “free-floating cells” that can engage in concerted attacks, but which may remain essentially free from the need for external support, be it state or non-state sponsored. As such, groups will continue to be increasingly difficult to identify, since many may be small with no track record, and also difficult to penetrate, since they are not part of a larger organization that can be placed under surveillance by technical intelligence or infiltrated by a hostile intelligence service. In the past it was understood that even the most sophisticated techniques of technical collection could not monitor the person-to-person discussion of two terrorists in a safe house in Beirut or Tokyo. It will continue to be a daunting technological task to separate “the noise from the signal” in the cacophony of cyberspace. Already the global war on terrorism has raised controversies over the need of governments to eavesdrop and to monitor Internet and telephone communications over the rights of privacy of ordinary individuals.

While concerns have been voiced over the development of a so-called cyberterrorism, this term is too general for analysis. As was

stated above, an essential element of terrorism is the threat or use of violence. Thus, however disruptive hacking might be to a database, or to a banking system, it would not be regarded as terrorism unless the intended results of such disruption could or did lead to physical violence against people. Thus, disruption of a flight schedule by itself is not terrorism, but the disruption of an air traffic control system with the intended second-order effects of the deaths of passengers would indeed be a form of terrorism. One should emphasize that the difference between cyberdisruption and cyberterrorism is more than a semantic exercise. Failure to recognize this difference creates a serious problem in establishing the scope of the threat.

Future terrorists, however, may thrive from blurring this distinction between cyberdisruption and cyber-enabled violence by using the Internet to generate a new form of “virtual terrorism.” Just as terrorists profit by blurring the distinction between war and peace, or between criminality and political protest, so too terrorists may be willing to multiply the force of their threat capabilities by using the Internet to manipulate the perceptions of the increasing numbers of people drawn into the Internet’s virtual reality of blogs, YouTube-enabled exhibitionism, grass-roots journalism, and online chat rooms and other forums. Through careful manipulation of online video clips and other Internet materials, terrorists in effect no longer need to stage violent operations to take credit for them. Viewers will be provoked into fear and manipulated through staged events and through the propagation of electronic rumors, conspiracy theories, and other disinformation whose shelf life is perpetuated by bloggers as well as by more well-meaning people who not only are taken in by the terrorists’ disinformation but who will even often pass along this same disinformation through their mailing lists to friends and associates.¹⁷ A sickening example of such force multiplication was the broadcasting of decapitations of hostages by militant groups in Iraq that were not only broadcast by Al Jazeera but which were then incorporated into the websites of numerous other militant groups that had no direct connection with the original group that carried out these atrocities.

The Internet presents both a new terrorism peril but also a new counterterrorism opportunity, both of which have become more evident in the time since the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003. The new peril is that of an enhanced contagion of terrorist ideas and technology through emergent intelligence: no longer must would-be jihadists or ethno-nationalists physically contact a terrorist recruiter, travel to a

training camp, and receive sophisticated training in scouting, evasion, and bomb-making techniques to become an active terrorist. The aspiring novice can now acquire bomb-making instructions via the Internet and then, by reading the blogs on successful and unsuccessful bombing operations as well as other coverage of effective counterterrorism measures, continually upgrade his terrorist skills. This process of learning and improvement through feedback using the information made available through the mass media and the Internet is what intelligence analysts now label “emergent intelligence.” The opportunity presented by this interplay of Internet and emergent intelligence is that counterterrorism professionals can use the open-source intelligence (OSINT) of the Internet to study the same successes and failures of this new breed of terrorists and, with the help of electronic surveillance, to reveal the linkages and networks that make possible the modern netwars being conducted by terrorist groups and individuals. In short, the increased reliance of terrorists on the Internet for recruitment, propaganda, and coordination itself becomes one of their vulnerabilities.

NEW PLAYERS IN TERRORISM

Since the first edition, one of the classifications of type of actor, namely, “entrepreneurial terrorists,” has become increasingly important for two reasons. First, the rise of nonstate actors in international affairs is increasingly challenging the traditional domination by state actors in the international order. Increasingly interconnected by the Internet, a wide variety of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and other nonstate entities are making their own parallel hierarchy to the existing state order. Second, in a world where large areas consist of failed states or the “gray area” phenomenon of ungovernable states, nonstate actors will fill the political, economic, and social vacuum of disorder for their own purposes. Over time these nonstate entities may engage in more acts of terrorism for mercenary rather than political ends. They can, and will, hire themselves out to threatened regimes, or seek to corrupt and control them, as in the case of narco-terrorists in the Andean nations, or the case of the Taliban and al Qa’eda in Afghanistan in the period 1996–2001.

Furthermore, there will continue to be those with deep pockets able to support their own terrorist networks to achieve their own goals. The

Osama bin Laden network illustrates how dangerous entrepreneurial terrorists can use private resources for political purposes in a world where the power of independent wealth and the Internet come to rival the more traditional interactions among states. The impact of such individuals will be multiplied when they are able to recruit or hire like-minded individuals who are also highly versed in computer technology and therefore able to engage in technological terrorism in the form of information operations, in which the gun or bomb is replaced by the personal computer. NGOs can use this power for both good and evil. The Seattle riots against the World Trade Organization (WTO) illustrate how disparate groups can use the Internet to coordinate themselves in seeking to achieve what may be either laudable or evil goals. Moreover, within such netwar social and political movements there have always been entrepreneurs who will use violence created by such protests to achieve both political and personal goals.

The development of such groups has serious implications for those governments that are seeking to combat terrorism. Just as there has been a vast increase in internal defense budgets, there will also be a massive growth of private security firms, which will compete not only with each other but also with national governments in providing security for their citizens. We are witnessing what has elsewhere been labeled the “privatization of public violence,”¹⁸ a trend that will challenge the state’s classic monopoly over the use of force. National governments seeking to combat terror will increasingly face a difficult choice: by seeking to cooperate with private security firms, the nation-state increases its ability to fight the terrorists but then may become co-opted by these same private agencies, creating public-private conflicts of interest. Or else the nation-state can seek to maintain its own monopoly over counterterrorism through government oversight and regulation of private security firms, but at the potential cost of depriving itself and society of the potential counterterrorism contribution by the private sector.

FUTURE TRENDS

The trends noted in the first and second editions will likely not only continue but intensify. The breakdown of the Soviet Union, unleashed by the forces of nationalism so long repressed and hidden under Communist rule, manifested a profound and fundamental change in the international

environment: The very technology that has made the world more interconnected has also promoted the assertion of “primordial loyalties fueled by ethnicity, race and language.” In addition, secular nation-states that once prided themselves on their openness to cultural and ethnic diversity are increasingly being challenged by renewed appeals by dissident groups within their own societies to an exclusivist religious or cultural hegemony or dominance. European nations are witnessing a strident militancy among a small segment of their growing Muslim immigrant populations accompanied by the backlash of nativist right-wing political groups. India, which following its independence succeeded in maintaining a democratic society under a secular and inclusive constitution, faces the challenge of growing Hindu-nationalist movements that seek to use democratic processes to marginalize non-Hindus in Indian society, a development that can only inflame militancy among Muslims and other non-Hindu minorities of India. Lately these tendencies have accelerated, not only as reactions to Western secular culture by various fundamentalist groups, but also through the desire of other subnational groups seeking to protect their own identity from the danger of assimilation into a mass society marked by rampant consumerism and loss of basic spiritual values. These resurgent nationalist movements have already used the technology of the postindustrialized societies against them. The Zapatistas, for example, have used the Internet to dramatize their cause through the use of netwar¹⁹ much in the way that the Black September Movement seized the world’s attention through what is now called the “CNN-drome.”²⁰ Groups using terrorism as a means of achieving their goals may increasingly combine ancient loyalties with modern technology in their quest for identity.

This reassertion of traditional loyalties demonstrates that the arbitrary borders imposed by old colonial policies are being not only eroded but destroyed. Tribes, clans, and extended families will no longer play by the rules of international affairs, which were written during the great power dominance of the Congress of Vienna and which emphasized the centrality of the nation-state in international politics. In the new international arena where nonstate actors will grow in importance, former geographic and political boundaries will be replaced by psychosocial boundaries, where individuals and groups may resort to terrorism in a world marked both by increasing technological interdependence and by a decreasing sense of community with others outside the primordial group.

At the same time, the power of the Internet and accompanying technological developments will continue to promote the creation of move-

ments that are regional in scope. The power of the Internet and television will bring together widely scattered groups into coordinated actions, as seen in the demonstrations in Europe directed by the Kurdish community to protest the Turkish government's arrest and subsequent sentencing to death of Abdullah Ocalan, head of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). It is not a large step to move from using the Internet for mobilizing transnational demonstrations to coordinating transnational terrorist operations. Moreover, while there appears to have been some normalizing of relations between former state sponsors of terrorism, such as Libya and Iraq, and the West, particularly the United States, the militancy and deep anti-Western hatred accompanying Islamic fundamentalism will in all likelihood continue to grow. Whether they are aided by the deep pockets of bin Laden or by Iranian state sponsorship, both the Sunni insurgents of Afghanistan and the tribal areas of Pakistan and the Shi'ite militias in Iraq and Lebanon will continue to fight. These groups will be joined by others not only to overthrow what they view to be the feudal, "apostate" regimes of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf emirates, but also to direct attacks against their most profound enemy, the "Great Satan," that is, the United States. It should be noted that most of these groups view their warfare against Israel as a proxy war with the United States. They will practice their own form of "electronic armed propaganda" by resorting to the Internet in addition to using the bomb, the shoulder-launched missile, and the M-16 or AK-47.

The most ominous possibility is the growing likelihood of incidents of mass terrorism involving biological, chemical, or nuclear/radiological weapons. The motivation for using such weapons is clearly present among millennialist cults and fundamentalist groups, and active attempts to deploy such weapons have been evident, both in the sarin gas attack in Tokyo in 1995 and in post-2003 attempts by Iraqi insurgents to create improvised explosive devices coupled with sarin artillery shells and chlorine gas canisters against U.S. troops and fellow Iraqi citizens. The emergence of groups lacking inner restraints in their resort to terrorism coupled with the increased availability of such weapons underscores the real threat of mass-casualty WMD terrorism, both to the United States and to its allies overseas. Such threats would most likely involve biological or chemical attacks, since most of these groups do not possess the technology to process fissionable material into a weapon nor the resources to acquire a nuclear device. Nonetheless, it remains relatively easy for such groups to acquire nonfissionable radioactive

materials for a “dirty bomb” that could lead to serious contamination. Therefore the danger of this form of radiological assault on the lower end of the spectrum of mass terrorism should not be discounted.

Having noted the possible changes in motivation and tactics, for the foreseeable future the weapons of choice will still be the gun and the bomb. Their sophistication and destructive power will increase, and they will probably remain the rule and not become the exception. Those who continue to practice terrorism will for the most part still be motivated by the classic demands for self-determination, striking back at what they perceive to be repressive regimes, as well as the other traditional causes that impel individuals and groups to engage in classic hostage taking, bombings, and assassinations. The majority of these events will result from territorial disputes over land and, increasingly, over scarce resources.

While the old ideological classifications of left and right as a means of understanding the basis of terrorism will in all probability be of even less significance, as the ideological issues used by adversaries during the cold war diminish, this does not portend an end of ideology as the motivation or justification for acts and campaigns of terrorism. First, in the uneven and dangerous transition from authoritarian rule to democracy, the possibility of reaction cannot be discounted as people look back nostalgically to the *ancien régime* because their expectations of the new order to resolve their problems have been disappointed. Second, the force of fundamentalism and, in particular, those religious fundamentalisms that do not separate church from state will remain a potent force for those who employ terrorism as a weapon in their contemporary crusades. Middle Eastern ayatollahs or their American counterparts will continue to exploit religious beliefs to justify the carnage inflicted by terrorism. One should also note that the motivations for terrorism will probably become more diffuse as a wide variety of single-interest groups move beyond the politics of protest and extremism into the realm of terrorism. These groups will be particularly difficult to identify since they may be small and, as noted earlier, have no track record. Finally, the convergence between criminal enterprises and terrorism will continue, especially in geographical areas where there is little or no effective government. The law of the jungle is bound to become more lethal as a new generation of criminally inspired terrorists acting under the guise of politics have more sophisticated weapons at their disposal.

CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM EMPLOYED IN THE DICTIONARY

Because of the great diversity of terrorist groups presented in the following pages, a classification system has been provided to enable the reader to identify the unique features of each group and to have the means to acquire a comparative perspective on terrorism. As is true of all classification systems, this one is arbitrary, and a given group may fit into more than one category. Nevertheless, this classification scheme is sufficiently broad in scope to discern patterns that may be obscured by the outward diversity that characterizes the landscape of terrorism.

A thorough encyclopedia of terrorism will need to identify and describe other terrorist phenomena besides the various terrorist groups, such as the principal doctrines motivating such groups; biographic sketches of important theorists, tacticians, and operators; and chronologies of events associated with particular groups or movements. Properly conceived, a regular scheme of description and comparative analysis should not preclude some discussion of the distinctive political beliefs, unique organizational features, motivations, and tactics of a group.

The scheme for classifying terrorist groups presented here is derived in part from Richard Schultz's proposed typology of terrorism.²¹ Each entry on a given group addresses two essential questions: First, Who are they? that is, what sort of *group* or *actor* is behind the given terrorist action(s)? Second, What do they want? that is, what are the *long-range political goals* that the group is seeking? Together these two characteristics define the overall type of each group. Once one grasps the overall type of group, one may proceed to note the peculiarities of doctrine, strategy, tactics, targets, group origins, history, and leadership that distinguish each group within a single type from others belonging to that same basic group type.

TYPES OF TERRORIST GROUPS

Identification of Actor Type

Following both Paul Wilkinson²² and Richard Schultz,²³ this classification recognizes three main types of terrorist actors:

State Actors: Governments and their agencies can use terrorism against their own people to preserve their rule. Sovereign states can also use terrorism to topple other governments or force them to change their politics.

Examples would include the Tonton Macoutes of the former “Papa Doc” Duvalier regime in Haiti, used to terrorize political opponents of the regime. In Nicaragua under Sandinista rule, the *turbas divinas* (divine mobs) and Iran’s *hezbollahi* street mobs are also examples of state-directed and state-controlled terror groups.

Revolutionary Actors: They use terrorism to overthrow a regime or to force a regime to change fundamentally how it conducts its public business, or else to establish a new state within the territory of an existing state. Although nationalist insurgents seeking to secede from an existing nation-state appear to pursue a more modest goal than those who seek an overall sociopolitical transformation within that nation-state, both nationalist secessionists and self-styled revolutionaries are seeking fundamental changes in the status quo, which is basically the essence of revolution. Radical socialism and radical nationalism may not resemble each other in substance, but if the goal that each strives to achieve is so radically different from the existing state that realizing it requires the end of the current state, then each would be equally revolutionary.

An example of this can be found in the relationship of two groups, the Revolutionary People’s Liberation Party (DHKP), formerly known as Dev Sol, and the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), with respect to the existing Turkish Republic. The former would overthrow its current regime to establish a Marxist-Leninist state within the existing Turkish borders. The latter would establish a new Armenian state within the eastern one-third of the modern Turkish state’s territory. Both are counted as “revolutionary” groups since each seeks an absolute transformation of the existing status quo in Turkey, one redefining the social and economic system within Turkey and the other redefining the scope of Turkish jurisdiction and sovereignty over territory and nationalities.

Entrepreneurial Actors: They are the transnational terrorist groups that have achieved a degree of group identity, making them autonomous from any given nation-state. While Wilkinson and Schultz count ethnic nationalist terror groups as representing forms of subrevolutionary terrorism, under the classification system used in this text they would be considered examples of revolutionary groups rather than entrepreneurial groups. In effect, entrepreneurial groups either hire themselves out for service to various regimes on a contract basis or else pursue an agenda of limited goals distinct from any

nationalistic or revolutionist program. As the Abu Nidal Organization has separated itself from the mainstream Palestinian nationalist movement, it has been transformed into a self-sustaining criminal organization that sells its terrorist skills to various Arab and non-Arab regimes. Criminal organizations may also maintain their own in-house terrorist capacity, as has been the case with the Colombian drug syndicates' proprietary death squads known as the Extraditables and MAS (Muerte a Secuestradores, "Death to Kidnappers"). Less insidious examples of entrepreneurial groups include ecological activists and animal-rights activists who pursue a terrorist version of single-interest politics cutting across several national jurisdictions. One of the most prominent examples of such a group that has embarked on a terrorist campaign is the Animal Liberation Front, which has carried out sabotage of private and public research facilities and harassment of animal researchers in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain.

The category of entrepreneurial groups often contains groups that at an earlier stage in their history would have been more readily classified as revolutionary organizations. This can be explained often by such groups' failure to achieve their original revolutionary goals coupled with their members' inability to separate themselves from the cohesive identity of the group, for which they have often sacrificed the prime years of their lives and which has absorbed so much of their energies and devotion. Such members also often have no alternative skills with which to pursue a nonterrorist livelihood, and so the group continues to exist by selling its services to various buyers.

Identification of Goals

There are three main types of goals, namely, regime maintenance, regime change, and seeking limited advantage(s). The generation of a typology from these two sets of characteristics, namely, types of actor and types of motivations, is illustrated in table I.1, along with specific examples of each possible combination of actor type and motivation type. The types found in the upper left to lower right diagonal represent the most natural congruence of actor types with goal types. State actors have a primary interest in self-maintenance. The Tonton Macoutes of Haiti were a state-sponsored repressive group. Revolutionary groups generally pursue a revolutionary agenda, while entrepreneurial groups will be primarily motivated by goals other than maintaining or overthrowing state

systems. The main characteristics of actor types and of types of goals are as follows:

Type of Actor

State

- Acting against one's own people to preserve their regime, sometimes called state repression, regime terrorism, or state terror.
- Acting against other states to topple their governments, known also as state sponsorship of terrorism.
- Acting against other states to force political changes, that is, changes in the policies of targeted governments, also called state sponsorship of terrorism.

Revolutionary

- Acting to overthrow a regime to establish a new regime.
- Acting to create a new state out of the territory of an existing state, for example, nationalist insurgents.
- Acting to create a fundamental change in the nation-state system, for example, pan-nationalist or anarchistic movements.

Entrepreneurial

- Acting autonomously from any nation-state but also from any *aspirant* would-be nation-state.
- Operating transnationally, may hire themselves out to states or other groups.
- Engaging in criminal actions but usually as a means to other political ends, for example, bank robberies and kidnapping for ransom in order to finance operations or else to drive out some foreign presence.

Goals of Actors

Regime Maintenance: State repression of dissidents

Regime Change: Revolution by substate or antistate actors

Limited Advantage (subsystematic changes): Forcing policy changes by the state or protecting criminal enterprises from police actions by the state

Table I.1: Generation of Typology

<i>Type of Actor</i>	<i>Type of Objective</i>		
	<i>Repressive</i>	<i>Revolutionary</i>	<i>Limited</i>
<i>State</i>	Tonton Macoutes	Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps	Wrath of God
<i>Revolutionary</i>	Force 17	Sendero Luminoso	Black September
<i>Entrepreneurial</i>	The Extraditables	PFLP-General Command	Animal Rights Groups

Although this congruence of actor types and goals seems intuitive, it does not tell the entire story. In fact, each basic type of actor can use terrorism in each of the three ways described earlier. While the main upper-left to lower-right diagonal contains the most favored position for each of the actor types, the off-diagonal positions are roles that such groups can occupy as situations require. Thus, although al Fatah is primarily a revolutionary group seeking the establishment of a Palestinian state, it also has a “regime maintaining” goal of keeping other Palestinians in line and punishing dissidents. Therefore, it created Force 17 as its own version of a security police and intelligence force within the Palestinian community. Following the expulsion of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) from Jordan, al Fatah also sought the limited goal of punishing Jordanian government and military authorities. To that limited end, al Fatah created the Black September Organization, which very quickly expanded its list of targets to include Israel and the western nations.

The example of the Extraditables, an extension of the Medellín drug cartel, which was essentially a criminal entrepreneurial group, shows how even entrepreneurial groups can act as protectors of a status quo or as a revolutionary group. In this case, the status quo would have been the cartel’s domination over much of the economic life of Colombia and over the rural communities producing the coca crop. The cartel has also behaved in a revolutionary manner in seeking to destabilize the Colombian government through wholesale terrorism against not only the Colombian government but even against terrorist guerrilla groups that have interfered with the drug cartel’s operations and profits.

State actors also can seek to produce revolutions in other nations or use terror to achieve limited goals. Iran has sought to export its Islamic

revolution to neighboring Muslim states, and the very same Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps that acts as an organ of state repression within Iran has set up training camps in Lebanon's Bekaa valley to train Hezbollah guerrillas and terrorists bent on establishing an Islamic state in Lebanon and on destroying the State of Israel. Meanwhile, Israel developed its own corps of quiet killers, known as the Wrath of God, who engaged in the limited pursuit of tracking down and killing Palestinians or others considered to be responsible for terrorist actions against Israel, such as the Black September operatives who planned and executed the Munich Olympics massacre, or else considered to be public enemies of Israel, such as the former PLO leader Khalil al Wazir. In fact, it is this wide range of possible motives enjoyed by each of the actor types that makes state sponsorship of terrorism at all possible.

Of course, classification schemes do not accommodate all cases perfectly. There are at least two types of terrorist groups that are anomalies, namely, what this dictionary describes as "anarchistic leftists" and state co-opting groups.

Augustus Norton and others have used "anarchist" or "anarchistic" as an additional classification. One can argue that anarchists, too, should fall under the heading of "revolutionary" since they seek a revolutionary transformation of the nation-state system to a nonstate system, which entails the overall transformation of existing regimes. While few groups today openly identify themselves as being anarchist, there was a type of revolutionary group that espoused tentatively revolutionary socialist goals while behaving for all practical purposes as if its goals were anarchistic. During the student radicalism of the late 1960s, a number of similar student groups emerged in Europe, North America, and Japan that spoke the language of the New Left but ultimately appeared to pursue terrorist violence as an end in itself rather than as a strategy to achieve revolution. Despite their self-identification with a world socialist revolution, they amounted to little more than practicing anarchists, or perhaps even nihilists, insofar as they limited their purposes to destroying the existing capitalist states rather than building the foundations of some successor socialist state. While this type of group does form a subspecies of the revolutionary terrorist groups, it is sufficiently different from other revolutionary groups to deserve its own distinctive label of "anarchistic leftist terrorists."

The other anomalous group type is that of nonstate groups that are so powerful relative to a weak, or weakened, state that they are able to penetrate the apparatus of state power and to usurp government power

for their own ends. Examples of this can be found in the penetration of the Salvadoran transitional government's military and security forces in the early 1980s by privately run death squads, or EOKA-Beta's penetration of the Cypriot national guard and judiciary prior to the coup d'état against Archbishop Makarios in 1974. The al Qaeda group of Osama bin Laden to some degree co-opted the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, operating to some degree as a state within a state.

Although these cases seem anomalous, the anarchistic leftists are simply a variation of the revolutionary actor while the state co-opters are entrepreneurial or revolutionary actors that exploit opportunities to usurp control over a weakened state for achieving limited ends. Having established a classification scheme broad enough to encompass even these subspecies, the reader can proceed to study who and what the various terrorist groups are and the goals each group is seeking.

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THE DICTIONARY

– A –

ABC WARFARE AND/OR WEAPONS. Acronym for atomic, biological, and chemical weapons. *See also* WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

ABDUL RAHMAN, SHEIKH OMAR (1938–). **Islamic fundamentalist** cleric and leader of the **Islamic Group**, a militant group in Egypt. Abdul Rahman, along with the **Munazzamat al Jihad** defendants, was accused of **assassinating** President Anwar Sadat in 1981. Although Abdul Rahman, who is blind, was tried as an accessory due to his issuing the **takfir**, or Islamic judicial decree, authorizing the killing of Sadat, he was acquitted. After his release, Abdul Rahman led a puritanical Islamic fundamentalist movement that aimed to topple the regime of Hosni Mubarak in order to create an Islamic state. The Islamic Group has tried to accomplish this in part by attacks on non-Muslim tourists in Egypt, particularly those visiting the monuments of pre-Islamic Egypt.

Although banned from entering the United States as a person known to be associated with terrorist groups and activities, Abdul Rahman nonetheless obtained a tourist visa in Sudan and came to New Jersey, where he became the prayer leader of a small mosque in Jersey City. Following the **World Trade Center bombing** in 1993, he was implicated in that conspiracy and a broader conspiracy to **bomb** other public places in New York, including the Holland and Lincoln tunnels and the United Nations building, as well as a plot to murder U.S. Senator Alfonse d'Amato (Republican, N.Y.) and United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. On 24 June 1993, eight of Abdul Rahman's followers were arrested in connection with this plot. Government transcripts of conversations

between Abdul Rahman and his followers secretly taped by an informer of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) revealed his discussing the relative merits of various **targets** for this terrorist bombing campaign.

On 27 August 1993 Abdul Rahman was indicted in U.S. Federal District Court for leading a conspiracy to wage a bombing campaign upon the United States. The trial of Abdul Rahman, along with 11 other defendants charged with the bombing of the World Trade Center and for the conspiracy to bomb New York landmarks, began on 10 January 1995. On 1 October 1995 Abdul Rahman was convicted of seditious conspiracy, solicitation and conspiracy to murder Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, solicitation to attack U.S. military installations, and conspiracy to conduct the bombing campaign against New York tunnels and landmarks. On 17 January 1996 he was sentenced to life imprisonment for his role in the **Holland Tunnel bomb plot** and is currently serving his sentence in a U.S. federal prison.

Abdul Rahman was also the spiritual mentor of El Sayyid A. Nosair, who assassinated **Jewish Defense League** (JDL) founder Rabbi Meir Kahane on 5 November 1990. Nosair was convicted for the murder of Kahane on 1 October 1995.

In March 2003 U.S. federal prosecutors charged Lynne F. Stewart, Abdul Rahman's attorney, with having passed messages in 2000 from him to the Islamic Group, in violation of restrictions to prevent him from communicating with other terrorists, instructing the Islamic Group to end its 1999 cease-fire with the Egyptian government that it had made following the **Luxor Temple massacre**. She was convicted of making false statements to federal authorities and conspiracy to defraud the government on 10 February 2005.

ABU HAFS AL MASRI BRIDGADE. Name under which credit was claimed for the 2004 **Madrid bombings** and the 2005 **London subway bombings** through messages printed in London's Arabic daily *Al Quds Al Arabi*. The name is taken from the nom de guerre of Mohammad Atef, the **al Qa'eda** leader killed in Afghanistan by U.S. aerial bombings in November 2001. The group also falsely claimed credit for the 2003 summer power blackouts in North America, which are known to have been caused by technical glitches rather than sabotage. For this reason, analysts doubt that there is an actual organization behind the name.

ABU NIDAL (1935–2002). Sabri Khalil al Banna was born in Jaffa, Palestine, but fled with his family to Beirut in 1948. He joined **al Fatah** after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, adopting the nom de guerre Abu Nidal, meaning “father of the struggle.” As a high-ranking member of the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**, he was put in charge of its diplomatic mission in Sudan in 1970 and afterward was appointed chief PLO representative in Iraq. After the October 1973 war, he grew disillusioned with the direction of the PLO under **Yasir Arafat**’s leadership and founded his own rival group, the **Fatah Revolutionary Council**, in 1974.

Abu Nidal reputedly tried to **assassinate** Arafat on a number of occasions and therefore was put under a death sentence by the PLO. In addition to the Fatah Revolutionary Council, Abu Nidal founded and directed other groups, such as **Black June**, the Revolutionary Organization of Socialist Muslims, and the Arab Revolutionary Brigades, which may be separate groups or merely different names for the same group. As the organizational relationship of these groups to one another is unclear, analysts tended to speak of an **Abu Nidal Organization** rather than the Fatah Revolutionary Council or its satellite groups.

Abu Nidal enjoyed the **state sponsorship** of Iraq from 1974 to 1983, Syria from 1983 to 1987, and Libya from 1987 to 1997; after a brief limited cooperation with Egypt from 1997 to 1998, he returned to Iraq in December 1998 where he again enjoyed state support. After relocating his organization to Libya, Abu Nidal reportedly spent a year in Poland under the protection of the Polish security services. The notoriety of his terrorist actions has moved each of his sponsors to distance themselves from him. The Iraqi government, with which Abu Nidal had the longest-standing relationship, ordered his organization to leave Iraq in 1983; however, during the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf crisis and war, Abu Nidal’s organization was believed to have carried out assassinations on behalf of Iraq against Arab officials critical of Saddam Hussein, in particular, the Speaker of the Egyptian National Assembly, killed on 12 October 1990, and also PLO official Salah Khalaf, killed on 14 January 1991.

Abu Nidal once had 200 to 300 followers, mainly in Lebanon but also found in Syria, Libya, and Iraq. During 1983 to 1997, Abu Nidal was headquartered in Libya but moved to Egypt after the **Qaddafi** regime began to improve its relations with the United

States by cooperating to resolve the deadlock over **extraditing** the suspects in the **Pam Am Flight 103 bombing** for trial at The Hague. In Egypt, Abu Nidal cooperated with Egyptian security officials in their operations against the **Islamic Group**. In April 1998 his operatives bombed a mosque in San'a, Yemen, used by Egyptian **Islamic fundamentalists** and in July 1998 they assassinated an Islamic Group leader, Sheikh Mohammad Salah Mottalid, at another San'a mosque. On 3 July 1998, however, Abu Nidal was confronted by a revolt of 10 of his followers who tried to wrest control of his organization from him. The Egyptian security forces put Abu Nidal under protective arrest on 5 July 1998 and proceeded to deport the 10 dissidents. News of his presence in Egypt leaked out in August 1998, much to the embarrassment of the Egyptian regime, which adamantly denied his presence in Egypt. On 6 December 1998, he was allowed to leave from Cairo to Tehran, Iran, and from there he moved to Baghdad, Iraq. On 16 August 2002, Abu Nidal was killed by between one and four gunshot wounds. While the Iraqi regime claimed he had committed suicide, Palestinian sources claimed he had been killed on the orders of Saddam Hussein.

ABU NIDAL ORGANIZATION. Name by which Western intelligence and law-enforcement agencies referred to the umbrella organization comprising the **Fatah Revolutionary Council** and other Palestinian terrorist groups, all headed by Sabri Khalil al Banna (aka **Abu Nidal**).

ABU SAYYAF GROUP (ASG). The Abu Sayyaf Group is a faction that split from the **Moro Liberation Front (MLF)** in 1991, apparently due to disagreements over the MLF's negotiations with the Philippine government. Originally led by Abdulrajik Abubakar Janjalani (d. 1998), the ASG is attempting to create an Iranian-style Islamic republic in the predominantly Muslim-inhabited Mindanao and Sulu islands of the Philippine archipelago. Leadership of ASG passed to Khaddafi Janjalani, who was later killed on Sulu Island when shot by government troops on 4 September 2006. His brother Omar Janjalani reportedly has taken control of the group since then.

The ASG **bombed** a light passenger plane in Manila in 1993 and was involved in the bombing of a Philippine airliner on 11 December 1994 in which one Japanese citizen was killed and 10 others were injured. The group is linked to Ramzi Ahmad Yousef and Omar Ben

Mahmoud, both later convicted for their roles in the **World Trade Center bombing**. Apparently Yousef planned the bombing of the airliner in flight as a trial run for Operation Bojinka, an intended simultaneous bombing of 10 American airliners in flight. The group also planned to **assassinate** Pope John Paul II during his January 1995 visit to the Philippines.

After numerous **kidnappings**, bombings, and killings directed largely against Christians, the ASG conducted its first open offensive against Ipil, a predominantly Roman Catholic town of about 50,000 people on Mindanao Island, on 7 April 1995, killing dozens of inhabitants and taking several as hostages. MLF members apparently joined the ASG in this action, but eventually Philippine troops pushed the insurgents back into the hills. In 1997 the ASG conducted numerous assassinations, including the killing of a Roman Catholic bishop in February.

On 18 December 1998 the leader and founder of the ASG, Abdulrajik Abubakar Janjalani, was killed in a clash with Philippine troops and leadership of the group passed to Khadaffi Janjalani. On 20 March 2000 the ASG took around 50 people hostage on the island of Basilan, 550 miles south of Manila, many of them schoolchildren who were later released. On 23 April 2000, the ASG kidnapped 21 hostages from the Malaysian island resort of Sipadan and moved to an ASG hideout on the island of Jolo. When the Philippine government refused the group's demands, the ASG beheaded two male hostages, which led the Philippine army to attack the rebels. By 10 September 2000 about 21 hostages were released after payments of ransom reportedly amounting to millions of dollars from the European Union following Libyan mediation with the rebels. After 20 September, two French journalists and one American taken hostage escaped and only one Filipino was reported to remain hostage.

In 2002 the Philippine army reported that the group's numbers, which at its height had been about 1,000 members, had fallen to around 200. On 15 April 2002 about 18 ASG members surrendered to Philippine Marines in Malusa on Basilan Island. On 8 April 2004 Hamsiraji Sali, an ASG leader, who had beheaded 10 Filipino villagers on Basilan in 2001, was killed in a shoot-out with security forces. In May 2004, President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo reported that security forces had prevented a "Madrid-style" bombing plot involving 36 kilos of TNT to be deployed against shopping malls and

transit railroads in Manila. In late July 2006, Philippine troops found a bomb-making factory in bunkers at the base of Mount Bud Kapok on Sulu Island following a shoot-out with ASG members.

Following the February 2004 bombing of a ferry in Manila Harbor that killed 116 passengers, Philippine security forces captured the principal behind the attack, Ahmad Santos, for whom the U.S. Rewards for Justice program had offered a \$500,000 bounty. Santos also is the head of the Rajah Soleiman Movement (RSM), which consists of Filipinos who have converted from Christianity to Islam and works in tandem with the ASG and other Muslim extremists. The ASG has ties to other Islamic extremists in Southeast Asia, such as **Jemaah Islamiyah** and the **Moro Islamic Liberation Front**, and with **al Qa'eda**.

ACHILLE LAURO HIJACKING. *See* PALESTINE LIBERATION FRONT.

ACTION-FRONT OF NATIONAL SOCIALISTS (ANS). The Aktiongemeinschaft Nationaler Sozialisten was a German **neo-Nazi** offshoot of the right-wing National Democratic Party. This **revolutionary** group has engaged in paramilitary training and terrorist activities to overthrow the Federal Republic of Germany and restore a right-wing authoritarian nationalist regime. The ANS was formed in 1977 by former West German army lieutenant Michael Kühnen, who led the group in violent attacks against foreign immigrants, Jews, and leftists. Apart from conducting this violence and vandalism, the approximately 270 ANS members were heavily involved in training a paramilitary, stealing military arms, and committing robberies.

ANS leader Michael Kühnen was first arrested in late 1977 for painting swastikas on shop windows in Hamburg. In 1978 an antipolice riot in Schleswig-Holstein broke out when German police tried to prevent about 120 ANS members from dedicating a plaque honoring Adolf Hitler. Kühnen and 19 other ANS members were then arrested and later released. Four other ANS members were arrested in August 1978 for plotting to bomb the Kiel office of the Communist Federation party.

Kühnen was sentenced to four years in jail for incitement to racism and glorification of violence. In 1980 his followers in Hamburg “tried” an ANS member whom they suspected of being an informant and a homosexual, who was accordingly murdered on 28 May 1981.

During Kühnen's imprisonment, his lieutenant, Christian Worch, led the ANS until he, too, was arrested on bombing charges in March 1980. Kühnen was released from jail in 1982 on condition that he not employ, train, or shelter neo-Nazis. Defying the terms of his probation, he reconstituted the ANS group under the new name Action-Front of National Socialists/National Activists until it was also banned in 1983.

Although Kühnen died in mid-1991, he left behind a network of similar neo-Nazi groups that relied on **cellular** structures to elude penetration and suppression by German authorities. Kühnen reputedly also masterminded the strategy of building up support for the neo-Nazi movement in Germany by exploiting widespread antiforeigner resentment against guest workers and immigrants fleeing Eastern European countries in the post-Communist era.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC). The ANC, founded in 1912, is the oldest and largest black nationalist political party in South Africa and was the leading group there in the struggle against apartheid. From 1912 to 1961, the ANC was a purely political movement, but following the 20 March 1960 massacre of some 69 demonstrators by South African police in Sharpeville, it was banned by the South African government. The political apparatus of the ANC went into exile while Nelson Mandela (1918–) and other ANC leaders remaining in South Africa created the armed wing of the ANC, **Umkhonto we Sizwe**, to carry out limited violence against the South African regime to gain redress of grievances. As Umkhonto we Sizwe has used indiscriminate **bombings** of civilian areas and has **targeted** white farmers as well as South African military and security forces to attain its political agenda, it could be properly classified as a terrorist group. Accordingly, the U.S. Department of Defense 1990 publication *Profiles of Terrorist Groups* listed the African National Congress among the terrorist groups operating in Africa. Other observers and institutions, viewing the ANC in the context of South African apartheid and state repression of its black and colored citizens, argued that the African National Congress should be considered a legitimate political group and were therefore reluctant to classify it as a terrorist group; consequently, the U.S. Department of State Office for the Coordinator for Counterterrorism did not include the ANC among its listing of the major terrorist groups.

It should be noted that the legitimacy of the ends sought by the African National Congress and the heinous nature of the apartheid it fought are matters logically distinct from the questions of the legitimacy of the tactics elected by the ANC to achieve its ends and to fight apartheid. The African National Congress, like the Sinn Fein of Ireland, can be regarded as a primarily political entity, while its armed wing, like the Irish Republican Army, may be studied as a military phenomenon and assessed accordingly. Therefore, the terrorist actions attributed to the ANC are analyzed under the heading of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The African National Congress obtained a majority of votes for the National Assembly of the transitional South African regime on 26–29 April 1994, which in turn elected ANC leader Nelson Mandela president on 9 May 1994. The ANC again won a majority vote in the 2 June 1999 National Assembly elections and then elected Thabo Mbeki president and successor to Mandela, who chose not to run for reelection. The ANC has therefore been the governing party in South Africa since the first truly democratic elections were held in 1994.

During this period, however, the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission conducted a review of the acts of terrorism by both the former apartheid regime and the various nonstate and antistate groups, including actions by the ANC. On 29 October 1998 the Commission published findings in a 3,500-page report that revealed the extent of the previous apartheid regime's involvement in **state terror** against opponents of the regime, including members of the ANC, as well as the ANC's own involvement in terrorism directed against its opponents, both in the apartheid government and in rival opposition groups, and its use of repression against its own members and other black South Africans. The ANC was cited for torturing and executing prisoners in its military camps in Angola, for targeting civilians as well as members of the military forces, and for failure to control the violence of its own activists. During the postapartheid era, sporadic violence has continued between supporters of the ANC and those of rival parties, such as the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party.

Following the 1994 and 1999 elections, the ANC controlled seven of the nine federal provinces of South Africa. After the dissolution of the conservative and Afrikaaner-based New National Party in 2004, members of that party effectively merged with the ANC, which won control of West Cape Province and KwaZulu-Natal Province after the 2004

elections. Meanwhile, the ANC's ties with the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions have grown strained. The ANC has been criticized lately, among other things, for its benign policy toward the government of Zimbabwe despite its human rights abuses, and also for corruption. Although President Thabo Mbeki had to dismiss Jacob Zuma from his position as deputy president of South Africa, Zuma remained deputy president of the ANC. On 18 December 2007, Zuma was elected president of the ANC. He later won the 6 May 2009 national presidential election and on 9 May 2009 was sworn in as president of South Africa.

AIR INDIA FLIGHT 182 BOMBING. On 23 June 1985, Air India Flight 182, a Boeing 747 carrying 307 passengers and 22 crew members en route from Montreal to New Delhi, disintegrated at 30,000 feet and 180 miles off the west coast of Ireland. All those aboard perished, most of them naturalized Canadian citizens of Indian origin. The same day, luggage from an Air India flight originating in Vancouver, British Columbia, exploded at Tokyo's Narita airport, killing two Japanese baggage handlers. Most experts familiar with these incidents concluded that Flight 182 contained a radio **bomb** similar to the one reconstructed from remains of the bomb that exploded at Narita airport.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police learned that two Sikhs had checked in bags at Vancouver to be transferred to Flight 182 in Montreal, but neither of them later joined that flight. Credit for bombing the Air India flight was claimed in the name of the Dashmesh Regiment, a group of **Sikh militants**.

On 10 February 2003, Inderjit Singh Reyat pleaded guilty to 329 counts of murder in a plea agreement that gained him a five-year prison sentence in exchange for his testimony against two other Sikhs accused of the bombing, namely, Ripudaman Singh Malik, a wealthy Canadian businessman, and Ajaib Singh Bagri, a mill worker from Kamloops, British Columbia. Reyat had already served 10 years in a British prison on conviction for his role in the deaths of the two baggage handlers at Narita airport. The trial of Malik and Bagri began in April 2003 before the Vancouver Superior Court, the prosecution alleging that both men had conspired to destroy the flight to avenge in part the desecration of the Golden Temple by Indian troops in 1984. The death of a key witness weakened the prosecution's case, and both men were declared not guilty on 16 March 2005.

AIR TRAVEL SECURITY. Airline traffic has been an attractive **target** for terrorist attacks since the early 1960s, with two main types of attacks: airplane **hijackings**, with or without a barricade hostage situation, and **bombings** of airliners in flight. Airline traffic has become increasingly more attractive as a target for terrorism since more Americans fly internationally than any other nationality, making up 40 percent of passengers worldwide, while a significant portion of international air traffic is routed through the United States. Other nations, particularly in Western Europe and Israel, whose nationals have been frequently targeted, also have found threats to their air carriers to be a great problem.

Bombings directed at airliners are relatively cost-effective compared to bombing attacks directed at stationary structures, such as buildings or commercial installations, and tend to be nearly completely lethal to their targets. The bombs that destroyed **Air India Flight 182**, **Pan Am Flight 103**, and **UTA Flight 772** were much smaller than the bombs used to damage the Murrah building in Oklahoma City, the World Trade Center in New York, and the **Khobar Towers** in Saudi Arabia; whereas the number of those killed in those ground bombing attacks was exceeded by the number of those that survived those attacks, in every one of the cited airliner bombings, not one passenger or crew member survived. Also, whereas the bombings of fixed physical structures have left sufficient forensic evidence to allow possible identification of the attackers, the physical evidence of an aerial bombing tends to be strewn over a large geographical area or else can be lost entirely, as in the case of the Air India bombing, which occurred over the open seas, making identification and detection of the perpetrators much more difficult. Unlike ground-based physical structures, it is virtually impossible to harden airplanes so that they can survive a bombing, and even a minor explosion in an airplane in flight may be sufficient to ensure catastrophic failure of the plane.

In the decade of the 1960s, hijacking—or “skyjacking” as it became popularly known—was the main form of terrorist attack on air traffic. After three hijackings of American airliners to Cuba in 1961, President John F. Kennedy commissioned an interagency task force with finding ways to prevent “air piracy,” as hijacking became known. Most of the more than 200 hijackings occurring during the 1960s, of which 80 involved American carriers, were carried out by

people seeking political **asylum** in other nations or else criminals seeking to hijack a plane to a remote destination in order to evade capture within their own country. Few of these situations involved hostage-barricade incidents on the ground. Countermeasures taken by nations whose airlines tended to be targeted frequently included initiatives like the **U.S. Sky Marshal Program**, begun in 1970, in which armed U.S. marshals were allowed to fly undercover on selected flights; the use of profiling and preboarding interviews of passengers intending to fly on Israel's El Al airline; and intensified screening of passengers and luggage carried out in British, French, and German international airports. Such programs have been publicized in order to deter would-be hijackers. In 1972 the U.S. government required X-ray screening of luggage, and passengers and others were required to pass through metal detectors before being allowed into the boarding areas in airports. As a result of these measures, hijackings decreased from 33 percent of the terrorist acts in 1968–1969 to about 7 percent in the 1970s to about 4 percent in the 1980s. While hijackings accounted for about 10 percent of terrorist incidents during the 1990s, this was due, in part, to the fall in the absolute numbers of terrorist incidents worldwide.

The sanctions placed on nations giving hijackers **sanctuary** have lessened the numbers of possible destinations for would-be hijackers, and the strict security measures at most airports in most developed nations have rendered hijacking more a phenomenon limited to underdeveloped nations with minimal airport security. Moreover, France, Germany, Great Britain, Israel, the United States, and more recently, Peru, have developed hostage-rescue response capabilities that put hijackers intending to hold hostages on an airport runway at a distinct disadvantage.

With the denial of opportunities for hijacking, most terrorism against airliners has turned to the more deadly form of bombing airliners in flight. Since 1985, approximately 1,000 passengers and crew members have been killed by bombs planted on airliners. Although luggage and carry-on items can be X-rayed, this does not ensure detection of all bombs. In 1986 Nizar Hindawi arranged to have a briefcase carried onto an El Al airliner, in which the explosive material had been coated evenly throughout the interior of the baggage, making it virtually undetectable to X-rays. Most explosive materials can be detected by neutron-activation screening devices,

but these are relatively expensive and do not reliably detect Semtex, a sophisticated pliable explosive developed by the former Communist Czechoslovakian regime, which sold massive quantities of it to the Libyan regime of **Muammar Qaddafi**.

Following the Pan Am Flight 103 bombing, President George H. W. Bush established a White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security, charged with evaluating weaknesses in air travel security and making recommendations for improving air travel security. Two reports were issued, the first in May 1990 and the second in September 1996. While the Commission recommended increased funding for airline security by \$430 million when the Federal Aviation Reauthorization Act of 1996 (Public Law 104-264) was signed into law by President Bill Clinton on 9 October 1996, it actually authorized \$1.097 billion for various antiterrorist security measures, of which \$190 million would go to the Federal Aviation Administration for upgrading airport security.

The following international conventions and treaties pertain to terrorist and other threats to air travel security: the 1944 Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation, Annex 17, which set international standards for safeguarding civil aircraft; the 1963 **Tokyo Convention** on Offenses and Certain Other Acts Committed On Board Aircraft; the 1970 Hague Convention for the Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, which has become the basis for antihijacking laws passed in the United States and other nations; the 1971 **Montreal Convention** for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Aircraft; and the 1988 Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Aviation, which supplements the 1971 Montreal Convention.

After the worst hijacking incident yet, involving the simultaneous hijacking of four U.S. passenger flights that were used in the **suicide attacks** against the **World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001**, President George W. Bush announced on 27 September 2001 that 4,000 National Guard troops would be mobilized to assist in security at the 420 commercial airports within the United States. He also proposed plans to increase federal oversight of training, performance, and job benefits for the 28,000 workers who screen passengers and baggage. On 19 November 2001 the U.S. Congress passed the Aviation and Transportation Security Act (Public Law 107-71, U.S. Code Title 49, Chapter 1, sec. 114-145) that created the Transportation Security Administration (TSA), responsible

for screening of passengers and luggage upon entering the boarding areas of U.S. airports.

Following the 9/11 Commission Report's finding in 2004 that air travel security and other transportation security had not improved sufficiently since 2001, the U.S. Sky Marshal Program began to undertake measures to employ more sky marshals in casual attire. Following the **British-U.S. flights bomb plot** of August 2006, the Federal Aviation Administration banned bottled liquids and gels, with the exception of infant formulas, from being taken aboard planes in carry-on luggage.

AL AQSA MARTYRS' BRIGADE. *See* AQSA MARTYRS' BRIGADE, AL.

AL BANNA, SABRI KHALIL. *See* BANNA, SABRI KHALIL AL.

AL DA'WA. *See* DA'WA, AL.

ALEX BONCAYAO BRIGADE (ABB). Name of a **death squad** unit of the Communist Party of the Philippines that has been active since the mid-1980s. It is believed to have carried out more than 100 **assassinations**, in particular the 21 April 1989 shooting of U.S. Army Colonel James Rowe while he was driving to work in Manila. It is one of several "Sparrow Squads," specialized death squads within the **New People's Army**, the armed wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

AL FARAN. *See* FARAN, AL.

ALFARO VIVE CARAJA ORGANIZATION (AVC). The Alfaro Vive Carajo ("Alfaro Lives, Damn It!") Organization was a non-state, Ecuadorian **revolutionary** group that sought to overthrow "oligarchic and imperialist" institutions and to force the withdrawal of foreign interests from Ecuador. The AVC received material aid from the **M-19** group in Columbia and possibly from Nicaragua, Cuba, and Libya.

Founded in the late 1970s, this group surfaced in August 1983 with the theft of the swords of the early 20th-century Ecuadorian revolutionary and national hero, Eloy Alfaro. In May 1984 the group **bombed** the U.S. embassy compound in Quito. In October 1984 it seized the Costa Rican embassy to protest the **extradition** of AVC

leader Rosa Cardenas. On 16 October 1985 it seized the Mexican embassy, telexing messages to other Latin American countries condemning the severing of diplomatic relations between Ecuador and Nicaragua and denouncing U.S. support for the **contras**. In May 1986 it **kidnapped** a Constitutional Court member, who was later freed after a negotiated surrender. In April 1987 it bombed a police station in Quito.

At its height the AVC had 200 to 300 members and financed itself primarily by bank robberies. The AVC exploited its activities as a means to gain publicity for its cause, once even seizing a radio station in February 1986 to broadcast a propaganda tape celebrating its third anniversary. Due to the death of its leader in 1986 and the killings and arrests of its rank and file in 1986–1989, accomplished largely by **death squad** activity conducted by security forces, the organization lost its strength and is apparently defunct.

AL FATAH. *See* FATAH, AL.

ALIANZA APOSTÓLICA ANTI-COMMUNISTA (AAA). The Anti-Communist Apostolic Alliance was a guerrilla group under Spanish **state sponsorship** with the limited aims of suppressing leftism and separatism. The AAA conducted attacks on Basque separatists of the **Basque Fatherland and Liberty** group within the Basque regions of Spain and France and bombed both the Catalan Center in Madrid and the Catalanian paper *El Papus* in Barcelona in 1977. In January 1977, two AAA gunmen killed four prominent leftist lawyers in Madrid. The arrest of these gunmen led to more convictions of other AAA activists. The activities of this group ceased in the early 1980s.

ALIEN TORT CLAIMS ACT. Also known as the Alien Tort Statute (28 U.S. Code s. 1350), this obscure section of the Judiciary Act of 1798 allows U.S. citizens or foreigners to sue foreign people for civil damages in U.S. district courts for personal damages suffered in violation of the law of nations or of a treaty law of the United States. In the case *Forti v. Suarez-Mason* (1987), Argentinean nationals sued retired General Carlos Guillermo Suarez-Mason, who was a principal in carrying out the Argentinean junta's **Dirty War** against suspected leftists, for damages resulting from their family members suffering degrading treatment and being tortured, arbitrarily detained, falsely

imprisoned, assaulted, and raped; for the plaintiffs' emotional distress; and for having caused the "disappearance" of the mother of one of the plaintiffs. The Northern U.S. District Court of California ruled that the plaintiffs could sue only for the causes of torture, arbitrary detention, and summary execution, as these were the only causes recognized under the "law of nations" at the time of enactment of the Statute. In the case of *Ortiz v. Gramajo* (1995), the federal district judge Douglas P. Woodlock ruled that a former Guatemalan general, Hector Gramajo, was obliged to pay a nun, Sister Ortiz, of the Ursuline Order, \$7.5 million for damages due to her being kidnapped, raped, and tortured during interrogation by Guatemalan soldiers under Gramajo's command who had accused her of collaboration with leftist insurgents.

These cases are unusual since it is unlikely that the authors of the Statute contemplated that foreign nationals would seek redress of grievances in U.S. courts for human rights abuses committed outside the United States. On the other hand, human rights advocates view this as an important avenue for U.S. citizens to seek redress of grievances for damages caused by state repression abroad or for damages caused by state-sponsored terrorist groups. Therefore, in *Doe v. Rafael Saravia* (2004), the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of California found **ARENA** head of security Álvaro Rafael Saravia liable for damages to the family of Salvadoran Archbishop Óscar Romero under the Statute. The most recent U.S. Supreme Court ruling on the statute was *Sosa v. Alvarez-Machain* (2004), upholding the prior Supreme Court decision in *United States v. Alvarez-Machain* (1992), which did not allow foreigners illegally abducted by U.S. agents from foreign jurisdictions into the United States for trial here to use the Alien Tort Claims Act to sue the U.S. government for **kidnapping**. This finding strengthens the ability of the U.S. government to engage in forms of **rendition** other than formal **extradition**. On 18 April 2007 Chinese dissidents Wang Xiaoning and Yu Ling began a lawsuit against the Internet service provider Yahoo Inc. in the U.S. District Court for Northern California, invoking the Alien Tort Claims Act to recover damages from Yahoo for having provided the Chinese government with information used to prosecute them.

ALIENATION. Among the possible psychological causes for people being attracted to political violence or terrorism is the phenomenon of alienation, meaning that the people or group view the nation-state

entity, or the political system or constitution, or particular policies or actions by the government as illegitimate or as harmful to their own interests. The **relative deprivation theory** held that people would resort to civil protest or political violence when concrete social, economic, or political privileges were withdrawn or denied to them that they had come to expect as rights. Generally this approach downplayed the role of political **ideology** or of nonmaterial values as being a sufficient cause for civil unrest.

The research of Ted Gurr examined the effects of long-term and short-term political, social, and economic deprivation on civil unrest in 114 nation-states but also examined the effects of the presence of effective governmental institutions, the impact of foreign support for internal dissidents, the impact of government repression of dissent, and also the role of perceptions of state legitimacy by the people of the nation-state. Edward N. Mueller also studied the relative impact of deprivation variables and psychological variables on civil unrest in selected nations. The findings of Gurr and Mueller demonstrated that the public's perceptions of government legitimacy have an influence on levels of civil unrest independent of the effect of economic, social, or political deprivation. To the extent that individuals and groups believe that they are members of a national community and that their governmental system is just, they will be less inclined to resort to political violence to gain redress of grievances. To the extent that they view themselves as part of a separate ethnic-national community or else view the state as oppressive, they will be more inclined to participate in secessionist activities or **revolution**. These studies do not address the specific effect of alienation in causing terrorism or certain forms of terrorist behavior.

Jerrold M. Post used the notion of alienation to account for the formation of different types of terrorist groups as well as different internal organizational forms in his study "Rewarding Fire with Fire: Effects of Retaliation on Terrorist Group Dynamics" (*Terrorism* 10 [1987]: 23–36). According to Post's analysis, members of **anarchistic leftist terrorist** groups tend to be people who are alienated from their parents' value systems, including their parents' identification with the political system. By contrast, the members of **ethnonationalist terrorist** groups identified strongly with their parents' values and "the world of their fathers," but their parents are alienated from the nation-state due to their identification with a separate national iden-

tity. Because anarchistic leftists reject the hierarchy and authority of their parents, they tend to chose a **cellular organization** with little hierarchical structure, whereas ethnonationalists accept hierarchy in their political front and military wings and accept subordination to authorities within their nationalist and separatist organizations. In either case the alienated group has some set of alternative values to which it subscribes, which provide a political **ideology** or guide to action.

ALPHA 66. Anti-Castro Cuban exile group centered in Miami, Florida, made up mainly of Cubans of African descent. Alpha 66 planned raids on Cuba and **bombings** of Cuban interests abroad but was foiled in a plan to conduct a raid on Cuba when one of its operatives, Francisco Avila Azcuy, turned out to be a double agent, both for Cuban intelligence and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and provided information sufficient to convict seven members for violating the Neutrality Act. Cuban authorities claim that Alpha 66, in tandem with other anti-Castro exile groups, has been responsible for 15 bombings since 1994, when another Alpha 66 operation was foiled by U.S. authorities.

AL QA'EDA. *See* QA'EDA, AL.

AL QA'EDA IN IRAQ. *See* QA'EDA IN IRAQ, AL.

AL QA'EDA IN THE ISLAMIC MAGHREB. *See* QA'EDA IN THE ISLAMIC MAGHREB, AL.

AL SA'IQA. *See* SA'IQA, AL.

AL TAHRIR AL ISLAMI. *See* TAHRIR AL ISLAMI, AL.

AMAL. Amal (Arabic, meaning “hope,” also the acronym of Afwaj al Muqawama al Lubnaniya, Lebanese Resistance Detachments) is a political and paramilitary **Islamic fundamentalist** organization representing the Shi'a of Lebanon. Although a nonstate actor, Amal has a political infrastructure and gained territorial control over large areas of West Beirut and southern Lebanon during the early phases of the Lebanese civil war that began in 1975. After the 1978–1979 **revolution** in Iran, Amal enjoyed some support from the Iranian revolutionary government. After 1982, however, Iran began to form the rival **Hezbollah** militia under its sponsorship and Amal turned to Syrian sponsorship instead.

Since Amal sought to change the terms of power in Lebanon in favor of the Shi'a by setting aside the 1946 "national covenant" between Lebanon's Christians and Sunni Muslims, it may be considered a revolutionary actor. Yet it has neither sought to exclude other confessional groups from participation in Lebanese politics nor sought to create a full-scale Islamic state in Lebanon after the Iranian model. For these very reasons, more militant Amal members deserted Amal for the splinter group **Islamic Amal**. Most of these defectors were absorbed later into Hezbollah, a Shi'ite militia created under Iranian **state sponsorship** that sought to establish an exclusively Islamic state in Lebanon.

While Amal is indigenous to Lebanon, it was founded by an Iranian clergyman, Musa Sadr, who arrived in Lebanon in 1957 and established the "Movement of the Deprived" in 1974 to help the Lebanese Shi'a gain political power. With the outbreak of civil war in 1975, Musa Sadr authorized the creation of a military branch, which properly was the organization called Amal. The Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon in 1978 and continual Palestinian-Israeli clashes in the largely Shi'ite south of Lebanon increased the Shi'as' acceptance of Amal as representing and protecting their community. The subsequent victory of an Islamic revolution in Shi'ite Iran also bolstered the confidence of Lebanon's Shi'a and their support for Amal.

Amal's relationship with Iran's revolutionary government was initially friendly but deteriorated rapidly. With the disappearance of Imam Musa Sadr during a visit to Libya in August 1978, Amal's leadership passed into the hands of more secular nationalistic Shi'ite politicians, who had less sympathy for the ideal of creating a theocratic Islamic state in Lebanon. Also due to the enmity that had grown between the Lebanese Shi'a and Palestinian guerrillas operating in the south of Lebanon, Amal, in effect, welcomed the 1982 Israeli invasion in the naive hope that Israeli forces would shortly leave and return the south of Lebanon to Shi'ite control. Iran's diplomatic overtures to Libya also antagonized Amal members who believed that the Libyan leader **Muammar Qaddafi** was responsible for Imam Musa Sadr's disappearance. The falling out between the Iranian government and Amal as well as the defection from Amal of its more militant members led Iran to sponsor the creation of the Hezbollah militia, which absorbed much of the strength of Amal's following.

Amal's notoriety as a terrorist group stems largely from a mistaken association between it and the rival Hezbollah, which carried out a highly visible campaign of vehicle bombings, **assassinations**, and **kidnappings** against U.S. and other western targets in Lebanon. By late 1988 Amal had carried out 18 notable terrorist actions affecting non-Lebanese nationals, including a major bombing, a **hijacking**, and six kidnappings. By contrast, Hezbollah from 1982 until late 1988 had carried out 137 noteworthy terrorist acts, including 38 bombings, 26 kidnappings, four hijackings, seven assassinations, and six rocket attacks. Amal's role in assuming custody of the hostages taken in the hijacking of TWA Flight 847 in 1985 likewise was secondary to that of Hezbollah in planning and carrying out the original hijacking. Following the TWA Flight 847 incident, open warfare erupted between Hezbollah and Amal. Amal afterward accepted Syria as its main foreign sponsor in place of Iran.

After the end of the Lebanese civil war in October 1990, with the defeat of **Phalangist** forces by the Syrian-backed forces of Lebanese President Elias Hrawi, Amal joined forces with Hezbollah in a campaign of harassment and attrition against Israeli forces and allied South Lebanese army forces in the south of Lebanon. Nabih Berri, the secular politician who succeeded Imam Musa Sadr as leader of Amal, mended fences with Iran to the extent that he met with Iranian Foreign Affairs Minister Kamal Kharrazi and Majlis Speaker Ali Abkar Nateq-Nouri on 15 September 1997 in Tehran, where he declared that southern Lebanon would become "Israel's Vietnam." On 28 August 1997 Israeli forces seeking a preemptive strike at Hezbollah and Amal positions instead became trapped in the Wadi Hujjar canyon by cross-fire from Amal and Hezbollah units. When the Israeli Golani Brigade called on their artillery to give them cover to enable a retreat, the barrage instead ignited the dry scrub forest on the hillside, creating a firestorm that burned three of their members to death. On 6 September 1997, when 16 members of the Israeli naval commando unit, Shayetet 13, attempted a preemptive strike at Hezbollah positions in the village of Ansariyah, midway between Sidon and Tyre, they were again surprised by Amal and Hezbollah units waiting in place that had already rigged a roadside bomb to ambush the Israeli unit. Supported by units of the Lebanese army, the joint Amal-Hezbollah units killed 11 of the Israeli team in what was considered to be the worst defeat Israel had suffered in southern Lebanon since 1985.

Since 1990, Amal has consistently supported Syria's military and political presence in Lebanon and also has allied itself with Hezbollah in conflicts with other Lebanese groups. Nabih Berri was elected speaker of parliament in 1992, 1996, 2000, and 2005. Recently Amal has held 14 of the 128 seats in the parliament. In the 2006 Israel-Hezbollah war, Amal volunteers fought alongside Hezbollah members; eight Amal members were reported to have been killed in this conflict.

'AMAL. The Islamic Action (“‘Amal”) Organization was one of a number of Shi'ite **Islamic fundamentalist** groups within Iraq that sought to overthrow the former Ba'thist government in that country. Despite the similarity between the transliteration of its Arabic name and that of the Amal group in Lebanon, these are different organizations having no direct ties with one another. The 'Amal group was independent of the **al Da'wa** group in Iraq, which is the largest of the Shi'ite Muslim fundamentalist groups in Iraq. Both organizations have become affiliated with the umbrella group known as the Supreme Assembly for the Islamic Revolution of Iraq, created in 1982 and headquartered in Tehran, Iran. Since 2003 the umbrella group has been known as the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq and is the largest party in the Iraqi United Alliance that has governed since the 15 December 2005 election established the current Iraqi government.

ANANDA MARG. The Indian Hindu group Ananda Marg (Path of Eternal Bliss) was a nonstate mystical and religious sect devoted to the worship of the Hindu god Shiva and his consort goddess, Kali, both associated with death and destruction, and to the practice of Tantric yoga. Followers of this sect undertook terrorist activities in the period 1975–1978 for the limited purpose of freeing their founder, Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar, who had been imprisoned in India in 1971 for the alleged murder of sect members. This sect comprises a large number of American, Australian, and European followers, both in their home countries as well as in India. These non-Indian followers had engaged in attacks on Indian diplomatic **targets** abroad, giving an international terrorist character to what otherwise might have been dismissed as a rather minor sectarian, domestic Indian phenomenon.

Within India, on 2 January 1975 Ananda Margists killed Narayan Mishra, India's Minister of Railways, in a **bombing**, killing two and

injuring 25 others. In March 1975 they attempted to kill the Chief Justice of India in a grenade attack. On 4 July 1975 the group was banned under the Indian government's declared state of emergency. Although the ban was lifted in 1977, the group carried out a series of bombings against Indian government targets in Australia. On 15 September 1977, an Australian Ananda Margist stabbed the Indian military attaché in Melbourne, and on 19 October 1977 another stabbing attempt was made in Melbourne against an Air India official. In February 1978 they bombed a conference of the Asian and Pacific Commonwealth heads of government being held at the Sydney Hilton Hotel, killing two people. American members of the sect were involved in an assault against an Indian embassy official in the Philippines on 25 March 1978 and were implicated, along with two Australians, in a plot to bomb the Indian embassy in Thailand on 21 April 1978.

After the conviction of Sarkar was overturned on appeal on 4 July 1978, his followers, numbering around 1,000, largely ceased terrorist activities. During his world tour in 1979 to visit gatherings of his disciples, Sarkar was denied entry to the United States due to Ananda Marg's terrorist record. Since Sarkar's death in 1990, Ananda Marg has continued to operate openly in India, principally in the West Bengal region. On 11 March 2004 the Indian Supreme Court upheld a 1987 ban by the Calcutta High Court in West Bengal against the cult performing a ritual dance in public involving the display of daggers, human skulls, and snakes as "repulsive to public taste and morality" and as "bound to cause fear in the mind of the people."

ANARCHISTIC LEFTIST TERRORISTS. Also known as Fighting Communist Organizations (FCOs). During the late 1960s the antiwar protest movement among university students in Europe, Japan, and the United States gave rise to several terrorist groups that defy ready identification as **revolutionary** or **entrepreneurial** terrorist groups. The **Red Army Faction** in West Germany, **Direct Action** group in France, the **Red Brigades** and **Prima Linea** in Italy, the **Communist Combatant Cells** in Belgium, the **Weather Underground** and **Symbionese Liberation Army** in the United States, and the **Japanese Red Army** all rationalized their terrorism in revolutionary leftist terms but ultimately appeared to pursue terrorist violence as an end in itself rather than as a strategy to achieve **revolution**.

These groups could be considered leftist only insofar as they despised capitalism, believed in the superiority of a socialist state, and often spoke in Marxist jargon. For the most part they consisted of **alienated** middle-class youth who subsisted on their support groups or from the proceeds of robberies and **kidnappings**. They were also anarchistic insofar as they limited their purposes to destroying the existing capitalist states rather than building the foundations of some successor socialist state. These groups also became known in Europe as Fighting Communist Organizations, and included, in addition to the five European groups mentioned above, the **November 17** and **Revolutionary Popular Struggle** groups in Greece, the **Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front** in Turkey, formerly known as Dev Sol, the **October First Antifascist Resistance Group**, and the **Popular Forces of April 25** in Portugal.

Many of these groups envisioned themselves as vanguard groups in a world revolutionary movement and sought contacts and working relations with such groups as the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine** (PFLP), which often provided them with training and experience. The Red Army Faction eventually became co-opted by the East German Communist regime while the Japanese Red Army similarly became dependent on the Libyan and Syrian regimes. These groups were characterized by a certain heady romanticism and utopianism that drew forth the scorn of more orthodox Marxist thinkers and activists, who generally criticized such groups as seeking to substitute the volunteerism of vanguard groups for patient construction of class-based revolutionary consciousness. Although the writings of Herbert Marcuse were much admired by such anarchistic leftists, he himself derided their movement as the “pubertarian struggle.”

Because most of the members of these groups rejected their families and class origins or ethnic and religious backgrounds, they were isolated from a community support system that ensured steady recruitment of younger members into their ranks, and therefore the survival of these groups became doubtful. In part for the same reason, **ethnonationalist** terrorist groups and sectarian-based movements, such as **Islamic fundamentalism** and **Identity Christianity**, have supplanted anarchistic leftist terrorist groups as the main source of antistate and international terrorist violence in the 1990s. By the mid-1990s most of these movements had ceased to operate, with the Red Brigades ceasing in 1988, Direct Action being neutralized in

1987, the Communist Combatant Cells neutralized in 1985, and the Red Army Faction issuing communiqués in June and August 1992 and finally in March 1998 announcing its laying down of arms. The November 17 group was smashed by Greek police in 2002, though its splinter group the Revolutionary Popular Struggle claimed credit for a 12 January 2007 missile attack on the U.S. embassy in Greece. Similarly, small splinter groups claiming to be Red Brigades have conducted some minor attacks in Italy since 2000.

ANGRY BRIGADE. The Angry Brigade was a nonstate British group of ultra-leftist university students who adopted more **anarchistic-leftist** ideas in the wake of the 1968 student uprising in France. Their goal of revolutionary anarchism was sought through a series of bank robberies and some 27 **bombings** in the period from 1968 to 1971, including two bomb attacks on the home of Robert Carr, British Secretary of State for Employment. Apparently the group intended these bombings as acts of **armed propaganda** but sought to avoid causing human casualties. The arrest of the so-called Stoke Newington Eight in August 1971 effectively smashed the core of the group and ended its activities.

ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT (ALF). The ALF is a nonstate **entrepreneurial terrorist** group with the limited aim of protecting “animal rights,” specifically by stopping the use of animals as foodstuffs or experimental subjects and also by freeing captive animals. The ALF emerged as one of the more radical animal rights groups when founded in 1978 by Ronnie Lee in England. Its membership now includes several thousand in both Great Britain and the United States.

On 17 November 1984 the ALF announced that it had contaminated Mars candy bars manufactured in Southampton, England, with rat poison to protest the manufacturer’s use of monkeys in tooth decay research. Around 3,000 tons of candy bars were recalled and destroyed, equivalent to a loss of sales of £15 million. The ALF was believed to be responsible for the **arson** of a livestock disease laboratory under construction at the University of California at Davis that caused \$3.5 million in damages. On 3 April 1989 the ALF freed 1,200 experimental rabbits, frogs, and mice from a University of Arizona research lab and then torched the lab as well as the University administration building. On 6 July 1990, British police defused a **bomb** that the ALF had planted in London’s Regent Park.

In the United States, since June 1991 the ALF has **targeted** facilities supporting mink pelt production, beginning with the arson of a mink feed storage barn at Oregon State University. In this act the ALF destroyed the equivalent of 130 years of data on mink fur production. In February 1992 the ALF torched a Michigan State University researcher's office, destroying 10 years of toxicology research data even though the experiments had used animal semen samples rather than direct testing upon live animals.

Although the ALF claims to adhere to a policy of nonviolence, its members often stage attacks under different names, such as the Animal Avengers, and whenever violence is threatened or done to victims, the credit is taken in the name of the Justice Department, which many observers believe is merely another name under which ALF members operate.

About 313 attacks in the United States by animal rights activists have been documented for the period 1977 to 1993, for over half of which the ALF claimed responsibility. Of these cases, about one-half involved minor vandalism of property and one-quarter involved the release of animals, while others involved threats against a person, major property damage, arson, bomb threats, firebombings, and some bomb hoaxes. The main targets have been biomedical research facilities, comprising university, federal, and private research facilities, accounting for 135 of the 313 attacks; other cases included 48 attacks on fur retailers, 43 attacks on private homes, and 33 attacks on sellers of meat products. Due to the number of such attacks and threats to property and lives involved, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) classified the ALF as a domestic terrorist organization in 1991.

More recent ALF incidents include the following: during 1996 ALF activists raided more than 22 mink farms; in January 1996 the Justice Department mailed 65 envelopes to hunting outfitters in British Columbia and Alberta that contained razor blades coated with rat poison; on 30 March 1997 animal rights activists released 10,000 mink from a fur farm in Mount Angel, Oregon; on 4 July 1998 a United Vaccines Research facility in Middleton, Wisconsin, was attacked and 150 ferrets and mink released; on 24 October 1999 animal rights activists vandalized a research laboratory at Western Washington University in Bellingham, stealing several lab animals; in October 1999 a Justice Department communiqué claimed it had mailed over 80 booby-trapped razor blade devices to primate researchers, after

which seven such devices showed up at primate research facilities; in November 1999 about 40 activists invaded a mink farm in South Jordan, Utah, and destroyed about 300 breeding cards and released 20 mink, while the ALF attacked and vandalized the Avian Health Laboratory at the Veterinary College of Washington State University, causing thousands of dollars of damage to the facility.

In December 1999 the ALF became active with the Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) campaign, started in Great Britain against Huntingdon Life Sciences, a biomedical research firm with branches worldwide. The SHAC website published names, addresses, and telephone numbers of Huntingdon staff as well as people affiliated with firms doing business with Huntingdon. The Huntingdon managing director, Brian Cass, was assaulted by three masked men outside his home while other staff have been threatened by animal rights protestors. In 2001 British courts sentenced three SHAC activists to 12-month prison terms for harassment. The SHAC is viewed by some as merely another ALF front while Kelly Stone, director of the group Stop Eco-Violence, believes that the SHAC is a stepping-stone organization by which animal rights protestors are initiated into violent protests and then join the ALF proper.

The SHAC campaign spread to the United States in early 2001 with a break-in of the Huntingdon animal testing facility in Trenton, New Jersey, in which 14 beagle dogs were released. In 2003, from 25 to 31 May SHAC activists embarked on a campaign of harassment of Huntingdon in which the homes of Huntingdon affiliates were plastered with posters of mutilated animals, cars and walls spray-painted with slogans, and threats telephoned and e-mailed to family members. In March 2004, six SHAC activists were arrested for violations of the 1992 Animal Enterprise Protection Act, a law designed to prosecute violent animal rights protests, which had been strengthened with more vigorous enforcement provisions in 2002. In February 2006 these six were tried for vandalizing the home and automobile of a Huntingdon employee, for sending smoke bombs to the offices of two insurance firms doing business with Huntingdon, and for staging a cyberterrorism attack on the Huntingdon computer network.

In addition to physical assaults and vandalism, the SHAC has directed a virtual campaign of harassment aimed at all firms doing business with Huntingdon, targeting investors, banks, and other financial institutions holding Huntingdon stock or bonds. By the beginning of

2001, the British Labour Party pension fund, Barclays, and the Phillips & Drew firm had withdrawn their investments in Huntingdon, putting it in danger of bankruptcy. After Stephens Group, an investment firm headquartered in Arkansas, extended a \$33 million loan to Huntingdon, the SHAC protestors then targeted Stephens Group Chief Executive Officer Warren Stephens and company affiliates. By February 2002 Stephens Group sold its Huntingdon holdings to an undisclosed foreign investor at a \$6 million loss.

On 25 August 2003 ALF activists raided the Roesler Brothers Fur Farm in Sultan, Washington, releasing about 10,000 of the 20,000 mink housed there during predawn hours. Although some 9,000 mink were recovered, about 200 had been killed on nearby highways.

In April 2004 ALF activists in New Zealand claimed to have distributed dozens of bottles of Procter & Gamble shampoo contaminated with ammonia and hydrogen peroxide mixed among uncontaminated bottles in 13 stores across the island nation. The ALF claimed that the contaminants were not sufficient to cause any harm to humans. Animal rights activists alleged that Procter & Gamble was abusing 50,000 animals yearly in product testing experiments. Procter & Gamble also happened to manufacture the most popular shampoo brands in Australia and New Zealand.

On 21 March 2005 an ALF activist, Peter David Young, was arrested in San Jose, California, after being a fugitive for seven years. After a federal grand jury in Wisconsin in 1998 indicted him and another ALF member, Justin Clayton Samuel, for violations of the Animal Enterprise Protection Act, for raiding mink farms in Iowa, South Dakota, and Wisconsin, both men fled rather than appear at their trials. While awaiting **extradition** to Wisconsin, Young was kept in isolation due to his refusal to submit to a tuberculosis antibodies test. Due to his exposure to animals infected with tuberculosis, officials feared he might be a carrier.

The FBI estimated that from 1996 to 2003, ALF and the Earth Liberation Front were together responsible for over 600 criminal acts costing over \$43 million in damages. The FBI lumps animal rights extremists together with environmental rights extremists as being equally “eco-terrorist,” although the goals of the two groups are related but not identical. Other animal rights activists, such as People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals and the University Students Against Vivisection, have criticized the ALF’s activities for drawing the animal rights movement into disrepute. *See also* ECOTAGE.

ANIMAL RIGHTS MILITIA (ARM). The Animal Rights Militia is a more radical British splinter group of the **Animal Liberation Front (ALF)**. While having the same limited aims as its parent group of stopping the use of animals in foodstuffs and experimental research, the ARM has resorted to more violent tactics of direct attacks upon researchers rather than limiting itself to vandalism of research facilities or economic sabotage. In January 1986 the ARM planted **bombs** under two cars and at two homes of four different victims, all involved either in the commercial breeding of animals or in research involving animal subjects. Although the ARM gave prior warnings about its bombs, none of which exploded, the British government regarded this group as a grave public menace at that time.

An ARM activist, Barry Horne, was convicted in 1997 for arson attacks on the Isle of Wight in 1994 resulting in \$6 million worth of damage. Horne embarked on four hunger strikes at different times to spur the ARM to further attacks and died during his last hunger strike in November 2001. In 1998, during one of these hunger strikes, the ARM threatened that if Horne died, they would **assassinate** the head of the Medical Sciences Council, the chair of the animal research office of the British Biosciences Federation, and the owner of Hillgrove Farm, another supplier of experimental animals to Huntingdon Life Sciences. As part of its campaign against Darby Farms, which bred guinea pigs for Huntingdon, in October 2004 the ARM robbed the grave of Gladys Hammond, mother-in-law of Christopher Hall, one of the owners of Darby Farms. Her remains were recovered and returned to her grave only in May 2006 following the confession of one of the perpetrators. In May 2006 four of the perpetrators of this crime were convicted also for the mailing of letter bombs, making threats, vandalism, and conspiracy to commit blackmail and were sentenced to prison terms ranging from two to 12 years.

ANSAR AL SUNNA (AS). Also known as Ansar al Islam before 2003, and as the Kurdish Taliban, and as the Soldiers of Islam, this is a Salafist **Islamic fundamentalist** terrorist group in Iraq dating from before the March 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq that operated originally in Kurdistan and later throughout the rest of Iraq following the invasion. This group carried out terrorist and **insurgent** actions within the Kurdish-controlled areas of Iraq, harassing the authorities of the Kurdish autonomous areas. The AS appears to have been connected to **al Qa'eda** and later to the **al Qa'eda in Iraq** group. The

group core members are apparently veteran “Afghan” Arab volunteers of the **Mujahideen** war in Afghanistan and had ties with Abu Musab al Zarqawi. Inspection of their abandoned camps in Kurdistan revealed they had been experimenting with preparations of **ricin**.

In February 2004 the AS carried out simultaneous **bombings** of the offices of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and of the Kurdistan Democratic Party in Arbil. In December 2004 the AS bombed a U.S. military dining hall in Mosul. The group is believed to have between 500 and 1,000 members, mainly from outside Iraq. Their tactics have included bombings, **assassinations**, and **kidnappings** often followed by executions of hostages.

ANTHRAX ATTACKS. Anthrax is an acute infectious disease caused by the bacterium *Bacillus anthracis*, which affects livestock and humans. It has also been weaponized to serve as a **weapon of mass destruction** by the United States, Russia, and Iraq. Anthrax was used in a terrorist attack within the United States during September–October 2001.

Weaponized anthrax is finely milled to a particle size of five microns or less. This pulverized anthrax is then also treated to neutralize static electric charges that might cause particles to cling together, so making their dispersal more difficult. The milled anthrax is also mixed with silicate powders or bentonite to facilitate aerosol dispersal. While intestinal or subcutaneous anthrax can be fatal, the inhalation form of anthrax is most acute if not correctly diagnosed and treated with antibiotics within 36 hours after exposure. The anthrax used in the U.S. attacks was milled to weapons grade but lacked the bentonite additive known to be used in Iraqi weapons-grade anthrax.

On 5 October 2001, Robert Steves, an employee of American Media, Inc., of Boca Raton, Florida, died of inhalation anthrax. By 15 October it was discovered that an anthrax-contaminated letter had also been mailed to U.S. Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle. Other targets of anthrax-containing letters included the *New York Post*, Tom Brokaw, anchor of NBC news, and Dan Rather, anchor of CBS News. Anthrax contamination was also found at the congressional mail sorting center, the Brentwood general mail facility, which sorts White House mail, and the office of New York Governor George E. Pataki, as well as other post offices in Florida, Virginia, and Missouri. Anthrax contamination was also found at the home offices of the Paki-

stan daily *Jang* as well as in the mailbags of the U.S. embassy in Moscow, Russia. Altogether by mid-November, five people had died from inhalation anthrax and 17 cases of anthrax exposure were confirmed after over 1,000 people had been tested for anthrax infection.

All of the known contaminated letters originated in Trenton, New Jersey, and three letters contained threatening messages. Although these letters were dated 11 September and contained slogans of a militant **Islamic fundamentalist** character, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) regarded these letters as possible decoys to disguise the work of a domestic terrorist or terrorist group not connected with the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**. On 15 October 2001 President George W. Bush requested Congress to appropriate \$1.5 billion to buy antibiotics to treat up to 12 million people.

Although the FBI originally identified one biomedical researcher, Dr. Stephen Hatfill, as a “person of interest” in 2002, he was never charged with any crime. After 2006 the FBI concentrated on having geneticists map the unique DNA sequence of the samples of anthrax recovered as evidence, a process that cost over \$10 million. This research identified the strain as one developed at the U.S. Army Medical Research Institute for Infectious Diseases at Fort Detrick, Maryland, whose administrators in turn identified a Fort Detrick scientist, Bruce Edwards Ivins, as a researcher involved in the study of the strain of anthrax that was used in the attacks. After Ivins was notified by the FBI that he was to be questioned in the case, he committed suicide on 1 August 2008. On 6 August 2008 the federal prosecutors publicly announced that Ivins was the sole perpetrator of the 2001 attacks, as he was the only person known to have created and solely maintained the strain of anthrax used in the attacks. This announcement drew criticism from Ivins’s attorneys, who considered the evidence to be circumstantial and the public announcement as violating the judicial norm of a presumption of innocence in the absence of any trial. Jeffrey Taylor, the U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia, justified this announcement on the grounds that the prosecutors had sufficient evidence to have convicted Ivins and also on the need to bring closure to the victims of the attacks and their relatives.

ANTIABORTION TERRORISM. Controversy over the legalization of abortion since the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Roe v. Wade* in 1973 has led to a large, grass-roots movement of antiabortion groups,

which have sought to pressure state and national politicians to take steps to curtail and even outlaw abortion in all but the most extreme circumstances. Other **tactics** have included protests and sit-ins at abortion clinics, while another, extreme wing of the antiabortion movement has embarked on several forms of violence meant to intimidate abortion providers and to scare away their clients. Such acts of violence have included vandalism, **arsons**, **bombings**, assaults, and **assassinations** and may be regarded as **entrepreneurial** forms of single-issue terrorism.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the federal government used various laws and court rulings to stop antiabortion protestors from blocking access to clinics and from engaging in blatant intimidation of clients and clinic workers. Such laws include the **Racketeer Influenced Corrupt Organization (RICO) Act**, originally passed to outlaw interstate operations of organized crime, as well as the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE), passed in late 1994, which limited the scope of protest activities near clinics. Some extremists in the antiabortion movement reacted by deciding to engage in violent activities aimed not only at the clinics and clinic workers but also in some cases at police and firefighters who have arrived at clinics to respond to their bombings and arsons.

On 10 March 1993, Dr. David Gunn was shot to death outside his Pensacola, Florida, clinic by Michael Griffin, a Christian fundamentalist who was later convicted of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment. On 20 August 1993, Dr. George R. Tiller, owner of a Wichita, Kansas, clinic that had been the object of unruly protests in 1991, was shot by Rachelle Shannon, an antiabortion protestor. Shannon was later convicted for firebombing six clinics in California, Nevada, and Oregon. Tiller was not seriously injured in this attack, but on 29 July 1994, Paul Hill, a former Presbyterian minister, shot to death Dr. John B. Britton along with his bodyguard, also at a clinic in Pensacola. Hill, who was the first person to be tried under the FACE Act for this killing, was found guilty of murder and sentenced to death. Hill was executed on 3 September 2001. In August 1994 federal marshals were sent to guard a dozen clinics, including the Pensacola clinic, which had immediately hired a new doctor to replace the one slain by Hill.

On 3 August 1994 the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) began an investigation of the extreme antiabortion movement that included

people such as the Rev. David C. Trosch, a Roman Catholic priest who was teaching his followers that the killing of abortion providers was “justifiable homicide,” as well as Michael Bray, a former member of the **Army of God** (AOG) who had served prison time for bombing clinics in 1984, to determine whether the upsurge in antiabortion violence was due to a criminal conspiracy. Antiabortion violence spread to Canada, where Dr. Garson Romalis, a doctor who performed abortions, was shot by a sniper in his home in Vancouver, British Columbia, on 8 November 1994. On 31 December 1994 John Salvi III attacked the Planned Parenthood Clinic in Brookline, Massachusetts, opening fire with a semiautomatic rifle. Because of the clinic’s security arrangements, no one was hurt, but Salvi proceeded to the PreTerm Clinic, where he killed two attendants and injured five people in the waiting room. Salvi was convicted of murder in 1996 but shortly afterward committed suicide. By the end of 1994, death threats against abortion providers had occurred at 25 percent of the clinics throughout the United States; during 1995 threats continued and five clinics were burned in San Francisco in the period 15 February to 2 March. Although the lethality of attacks was increasing, the total numbers of violent incidents had been falling since the FACE Act, with a total of 3,429 acts in 1993, 1,987 in 1994, 1,815 in 1995, and fewer than 400 in 1996 by September 23. By January 1996 the U.S. Justice Department continued to search for a conspiracy but anonymous officials stated that they had found no evidence of conspiracy so far.

In 1997 the most serious antiabortion bombings yet were claimed in the name of the Army of God in Atlanta. On 16 January 1997 there were two bombings at the Atlanta Northside Planning Services abortion clinic and another at the Otherside Lounge, a bar frequented by lesbians. The first bomb at the Northside clinic injured no one, but when police and firefighters arrived, a secondary bomb exploded that injured six people, including two FBI special agents and an agent of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF). The intended purpose of the secondary bomb was to kill first responders. This was the first time in 30 years that bombers used a secondary device with the intention of killing or maiming first responders. The bombs at the Northside clinic were made with 10 to 20 sticks of dynamite and showed a sophistication not ordinarily seen from amateur bomb makers. Earlier in January 1997 two firebombings of clinics in Tulsa turned out to be the work of a juvenile.

The first fatality from an abortion clinic bombing occurred at the All Women Health Care Clinic of Birmingham, Alabama, on 29 January 1998 when a bomb that exploded at opening time killed a security guard, Robert Sanderson, who was also an off-duty police officer, and severely injured the clinic's head nurse, Emily Lyons. In February 1998 the FBI named Eric Robert Rudolph as the main suspect in this bombing, putting him on the Ten Most Wanted List. On 31 May 2003 Rudolph was arrested for the clinic bombings in Atlanta and Birmingham, and also for the **Olympic park bombing** of 27 July 1996. On 6 April 2005 Rudolph pleaded guilty to all charges and on 18 July 2005 he was sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of Robert Sanderson; he was convicted on 21 August 2005 for the bombings committed in Atlanta.

Five sniper attacks occurred in Ontario and western New York, one killing Dr. Barnett A. Slepian of Buffalo, New York, on 23 October 1998 and the other crippling Dr. Hugh Short of Ancaster, Ontario, on 10 November 1998. Other sniper attacks occurred in Rochester, Ontario, in October 1997; Winnipeg, Manitoba, in November 1997; and the earlier attack in Vancouver in November 1994.

Because of the zealous religious motivation of many of the anti-abortion extremists and the continuing controversy over the abortion issue in the United States and Canada, it is likely that lethal instances of antiabortion terrorism will continue in the future. The outbreak of antiabortion violence in 1993 had the effect of raising the security costs for clinics from \$3,000 to as much as \$100,000 a year, with \$50,000 a year being typical for clinics in metropolitan areas.

On 6 May 1999 the FBI charged James C. Koop, a roving antiabortion protester, with the murder of Dr. Slepian. Koop was arrested in France on 29 March 2001 in Dinan, Brittany, and later **extradited** to the United States in June 2002. Koop was convicted for Dr. Slepian's murder on 9 May 2003 and sentenced to prison for a term of 25 years.

On 5 December 2001 Clayton Lee Waagner was arrested by the FBI. Waagner was believed to be responsible for over 250 mailed death threats to abortion clinics throughout the United States, many of which threatened **anthrax** attacks and which were signed in the name of the Army of God. It should be noted that Dr. George R. Tiller, the Wichita abortion provider who had been the object of an assassination attempt in August 1993 but not seriously injured, was later killed on 31 May 2009 while serving as an usher during a church

service in Wichita. The suspect caught later that same day was an anti-abortion activist, Scott Roeder, who was charged with first-degree murder on 2 June 2009.

ANTICOMMUNIST SECRET ARMY. The Ejército Secreto Anticomunista (ESA) was a state-sponsored, repressive organization aimed at silencing leftist dissent and activism in Guatemala that operated largely as a **death squad**. The ESA emerged in 1977 during a period when the leftist guerrilla movement was reconsolidating its forces. The ESA involved members of the Guatemalan security forces who participated in assaulting and killing students at San Carlos University. The ESA published death lists of leftist intellectuals and labor leaders and forced many left-wing politicians to flee Guatemala. On 8 December 1978 the ESA listed 10 people on a death list, including Miguel Cifuentes, a leader of the Central American Tobacco Company Union. After four others on the list had been killed, Cifuentes left for Canada to avoid **assassination**. The ESA is also thought to have been responsible for the **bombing** of the Soviet Tass News Agency office in Guatemala City in 1988. In 1998, after several hundred Cuban doctors arrived in Guatemala to help in relief efforts following Hurricane Mitch, the ESA issued death threats against Cuban relief workers, drawing condemnation from President Alfonso Portillo.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE. The Anti-Imperialist International Brigade was a nonstate, revolutionary leftist group that was a front for the **Japanese Red Army (JRA)**, set up to carry out retaliatory strikes against the United States for its April 1986 bombing of Libyan targets.

ANTITERRORISM AND EFFECTIVE DEATH PENALTY ACT OF 1996 (AEDPA). Public Law 104-132, signed by President Bill Clinton on 24 April 1996, gave federal law enforcement agencies new powers with which to counter domestic and international terrorists. It permits blocking fund-raising by groups for terrorist causes abroad. It increases the power of the national government to exclude people affiliated with groups designated as terrorist organizations from entering the United States, limits use of **political offense exception** claims by suspected terrorists to avoid deportation or **extradition**, and bans U.S. aid to nations that provide military assistance to **terrorist states**. The act also enhanced the standing of U.S. citizens

to sue foreign nations for terrorist acts against U.S. citizens abroad under the **Alien Tort Claims Act**.

AEDPA authorized \$1 billion to be spent over a four-year period to strengthen law enforcement efforts against terrorism and increased federal penalties for engaging in international terrorist activities within the United States.

The constitutionality of AEPDA was challenged on the grounds that it restricted the rights of defendants to file for successive writs of habeas corpus without a declaration of a state of emergency, as required by Article I, Section 9, Clause 2 of the U.S. Constitution. However, in *Felker v. Turpin* (1997), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unanimously that these limitations on successive appeals did not violate the right of habeas corpus.

ANTITERRORIST LIBERATION GROUPS. The Grupos Anti-terroristas de Liberación (GAL) was a group under Spanish **state sponsorship** that acted largely as an anti-Basque **death squad**, killing **Basque Fatherland and Liberty** (ETA) members and other prominent Basques within Spain and France. Spanish police comprised much of the membership of this group, who in turn recruited, financed, and directly aided hit men to **assassinate** as many as 37 Basques in France during the period 1983–1987.

In November 1984 the GAL killed a popular Basque leader, Santiago Brouad, and in September 1985 killed four Basques in France. GAL members were well-equipped killers who were provided with surprisingly good intelligence about the whereabouts of ETA members. Within France alone the GAL killed over 20 ETA members and suspected sympathizers during the 1980s. After the GAL officially disbanded in 1987, French authorities became less willing to grant political **asylum** to ETA refugees and carried out more **extraditions** of ETA members wanted on terrorism charges in Spain.

In 1991 two GAL members were tried and convicted for attempted murder. In 1994 two Spanish police officers, José Amedo and Michel Domínguez, were sentenced to a total of 108 years for ordering and carrying out **kidnappings** and murders of suspected ETA members. During 1995 the Spanish Supreme Court investigated allegations that Prime Minister Felipe González had authorized these secret death squad activities, but by November 1996 the court ruled there was insufficient evidence to warrant his prosecution. The controversy

surrounding González's alleged involvement cost his Socialist Party the parliamentary election in March 1996.

AQSA MARTYRS' BRIGADE, AL (AL AQSA). The al Kata'ib ash Shahoda al Aqsa, also known since 11 November 2004 as the Brigades of Shahid (Martyr) Yasir Arafat, is a Palestinian **ethnonationalist** group associated with **al Fatah** dedicated to carrying out **assassinations, suicide bombings**, and rocket attacks on Israeli soldiers and settlers. The group originated following the outbreak of the second **intifada** in September 2000 and takes its name from al Aqsa Mosque, located on the Temple Mount, where the intifada erupted following the visit of Likud Party leader Minister Ariel Sharon to that site. Originally al Aqsa limited its attacks to Israeli soldiers and settlers in the West Bank and Gaza, but beginning in early 2002 it began **targeting** Israeli civilians and tourists within Israel proper. Although **Yasir Arafat** denied any direct control over al Aqsa, Israel claimed to have evidence of al Fatah's financial support of the group and arrested al Fatah leader Marwan Barghouti in April 2002 on murder charges arising from the attacks carried out by al Aqsa. On 18 December 2003 al Aqsa was admitted to the Fatah Council, and in June 2004 Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas admitted that al Aqsa was part of al Fatah. Al Aqsa claims to have staged some of its bombings in cooperation with **Hamas** and **Islamic Jihad** of Palestine.

Some of the more remarkable al Aqsa bombings include the following: the 2 March 2002 bombing in Jerusalem killing 11, which led the U.S. Department of State to designate the group as a Foreign Terrorist Organization. Al Aqsa carried out the 5 January 2003 attack on a southern Tel Aviv bus station that killed 22 people and the 29 January 2004 attack on a bus line 19 in Rehavia, Jerusalem, that killed 11. In January 2002 a female al Aqsa member carried out a suicide bombing, the first use of a female volunteer by any of the Palestinian terrorist groups. On 10 July 2006 Reuters reported the existence of an all-female brigade unit that claimed responsibility for seven bombings in 2000–2006 that killed 37 people and injured 250.

ARAB LIBERATION FRONT (ALF). The Jabha al Tahrir al Arabiya, or Arab Liberation Front, was an Iraqi-sponsored Palestinian militia group numbering about 500 militants. While this group's purported goal was to establish an independent Palestinian state, the Iraqi

government created it in 1969 mainly to extend its influence within the Palestinian movement and within Lebanon. This has brought the group into conflict with other groups in Lebanon enjoying Syrian **state sponsorship**, such as **Amal**. Apart from its role in Lebanon, the Front has conducted some armed raids into Israeli territory. This group helped form part of the **Rejection Front** in 1974 opposed to the peace overtures of **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** Chairman **Yasir Arafat** and was originally led by Abdul Rahim Ahmad, one of Arafat's critics. Currently the ALF is led by Rakad Salam, imprisoned by Israel, while it gained a seat (now held by Mahmud Ismail) in the PLO Executive. This group, which used to be supported by the Iraqi regime under Saddam Hussein, has been largely inactive since the 1990s and is not currently listed as a Foreign Terrorist Organization by the U.S. Department of State, nor is it listed as a proscribed terrorist group by either the European Union or the United Nations.

ARAFAT, YASIR (1929–2004). Given name, Abdul-Rahman Abdul-Rauf Arafat al Qudwa al Hussayni, aka Abu Ammar, Yasir Arafat was the head of the **al Fatah** group from the early 1960s and was concurrently chairman of the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** from February 1969. Although his official biography stated his birthplace as Jerusalem, Arafat was actually born in Cairo, Egypt, into a Palestinian family reputedly related to the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Mohammed Amin al Husseini, who played a key role in organizing and leading Palestinians against the Israelis during the first Arab-Israeli war. Arafat studied engineering at Cairo University in the 1940s and 1950s, where he met other Palestinians such as Khalil al Wazir and Salah Khalaf, who become cofounders of al Fatah with Arafat in 1957, originally a secret group that surfaced in 1959.

Following the defeat of the Arab states in the 1967 war, al Fatah undertook guerrilla warfare with Israel, and its popularity, together with that of Arafat, grew among the Palestinians, allowing Arafat and other guerrilla leaders to take over control of the PLO in 1969.

Arafat survived a number of challenges to his preeminence in the leadership of the PLO. In 1974 leftist and pro-Syrian groups, which coexisted with al Fatah within the framework of the PLO, formed a **Rejection Front** in protest to Arafat's willingness after the October 1973 war to adopt diplomatic initiatives on behalf of the Palestinians rather than relying on armed struggle. Although al Fatah was respon-

sible for the terrorist actions committed by the **Black September** group, in 1974 Arafat committed al Fatah to abstaining from terrorist actions outside the borders of the former Mandate of Palestine, a declaratory policy not always observed in practice, as shown by the activities of the al Fatah-controlled **Hawari** group and **Force 17** group. In 1982 the Israeli army forced the PLO and Arafat out of Lebanon, although both returned in 1983. In 1983 Syria instigated a revolt against Arafat among extremists within the PLO, including some members of al Fatah, and he was again forced to flee from Lebanon when his new base in Tripoli was besieged by PLO mutineers.

Arafat used the opportunity afforded by the first **intifada** in 1988 to shift the attention of PLO leaders and subgroups from their intramural quarreling to adopting a common strategy. The 19th Palestine National Council, held in Algiers in November 1988, vindicated Arafat's approach with an implicit endorsement of the right of Israel to exist alongside a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and by adopting a resolution renouncing the use of terrorism outside the borders of the former Mandate of Palestine. While Arafat explicitly denounced the use of terrorism, he regarded subsequent armed struggle within Israel and the occupied territories of the Gaza Strip and West Bank as a form of **insurgency** rather than terrorism. With his signing of the 13 September 1993 peace accord with Israel on behalf of the PLO, Arafat renounced such further insurgent or terrorist activity within Israel proper or the occupied territories. In 1994 both Arafat and the late Yitzhak Rabin became joint recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts in establishing the peace settlement.

Following the peace accord, the Palestinian Authority (PA) established its initial headquarters in the West Bank city of Jericho and opened offices in Gaza. On 20 January 1996 elections were held throughout the areas controlled by the PA for the 88-seat Palestine Council, with Arafat's slate winning 88 percent of the vote. On 12 February 1996 Arafat was sworn in as president of the Palestinian Authority. On 14 December 1998, in the presence of U.S. President Bill Clinton, Arafat presided over a meeting of the Palestine National Council, with 500 of its 650 members present, which voted to ratify the PLO Central Council's 10 December 1998 decision to rescind the specific clauses in the PLO Charter calling for the destruction of the State of Israel.

Following the collapse of the 2000 Camp David summit between President Clinton, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, and Arafat and the outbreak of the second intifada on 28 September 2000 following Likud Party leader Ariel Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount, Arafat assumed a more intransigent stand toward Israel. In turn this swung Israeli public opinion toward the more hard-line Likud position, leading to the Likud victory in the February 2001 election. In April 2001 Prime Minister Sharon ordered Israeli Defense Forces to besiege Arafat in his Moqataa compound in Ramallah in order to humiliate and undermine him. Arafat remained a virtual prisoner in this compound for most of the next three and a half years.

On 6 May 2002 the Israeli government released documents purportedly seized by Israeli Defense Forces in Arafat's compound proving that he had funded the **al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade**, which had engaged in **suicide bombings** against Israelis despite al Fatah's alleged cessation of support of terrorism. Throughout the administration of George W. Bush, the U.S. government avoided contact with Arafat and on 18 July 2004 President Bush declared publicly that he regarded Arafat and al Fatah as obstacles to peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

On 24 October 2004 Arafat fell ill with what was first thought to be influenza. On 29 October 2004 he was flown to France and admitted to the Percy military hospital outside Paris, where physicians diagnosed his condition as idiopathic thrombocytopenic purpura, a rare blood disorder. Later Arafat fell into a coma and died on 11 November 2004. Israeli authorities did not permit his burial in East Jerusalem, as his will had requested, so he was interred just outside his compound in Ramallah on 12 November 2004. Israeli media alleged Arafat had died of AIDS, while Palestinian and other Arab media asserted that he had been poisoned somehow by Israel.

Upon Arafat's death the PA presidency passed to the Palestine Council speaker, Rawhi Fattuh. In PA presidential elections in January 2005, the former PA prime minister Mahmoud Abbas was elected president. In the January 2006 Palestinian legislative elections, however, **Hamas** beat the al Fatah party, leading to a cessation of U.S. and Israeli aid to the Palestinian Authority and also to what amounted to civil war between Hamas and al Fatah.

ARENA. The Alianza Republicana Nacional (Republican National Alliance) is a Salvadoran right-wing political party that formerly sponsored, or directly engaged in, repressive violence against Salvadoran

leftists. On 28 March 1982 ARENA won a plurality of the seats in the Constituent Assembly elections, and its leader, Roberto D'Aubuisson (1944–1992), was elected president of that body. Due to ARENA's substantial role both in shaping the Salvadoran polity and later in winning the Salvadoran presidency, it cannot be accurately described as being either a nonstate actor or a state-sponsored actor but rather one engaged in **state co-optation**.

With the intensification of leftist guerrilla attacks in the early 1980s, right-wing **death squad** activity soared. In 1982 D'Aubuisson led a coalition of Salvadoran businessmen and rightist politicians in forming the ARENA party, on whose ticket D'Aubuisson made an unsuccessful bid for the presidency in 1984. Many ARENA members, including D'Aubuisson, appear to have been directly involved in death squad activity both before and after ARENA was formed. ARENA itself was believed to have been behind the **assassinations** of political rivals both in the centrist Christian Democrat party and the leftist Democratic Revolutionary Front.

On 19 March 1989 ARENA candidate Alfredo Cristiani won the Salvadoran presidential election, which was preceded by an intensification of death squad activity, rising from an average of 21 deaths per month in 1987 to 30 deaths per month in the first three months of 1988. The rate then fell to 16 deaths per month following Cristiani's election. During the early 1990s, ARENA largely desisted from terrorist activities, having achieved most of its political aims.

On 3 September 2004, in *Doe v. Rafael Saravia*, U.S. District Court judge Oliver Wanger held retired Salvadoran Air Force Captain Álvaro Rafael Saravia liable under the **Alien Tort Claims Act** for the 1980 murder of Archbishop Ósar Romero and ordered him to pay \$2.5 million in compensatory damages and \$7.5 million in punitive damages to the plaintiff, a relative of Romero, who remained anonymous while being represented by the San Francisco–based Center for Justice and Accountability. Saravia had been the chief of security for ARENA leader Roberto D'Aubuisson at the time of the assassination.

ARENA has controlled El Salvador's presidency continuously since the end of the Salvadoran conflict. On 21 March 2004 ARENA candidate Tony Saca defeated the **Farabundo Martí Liberation Front** (FMLN) candidate Shafik Handal by a margin of 57.7 to 35.7 percent, while in the 12 March 2006 national legislative elections, ARENA won 34 seats to the FMLN's 32 seats, although the FMLN actually received about 4,500 more votes for the 84-seat assembly.

ARGENTINE ANTI-COMMUNIST ALLIANCE (AAA). The Alianza Anti-Comunista Argentina (also known as Triple A) consisted of police and security forces that began in 1973 to take the law into their own hands in intimidating and killing leftist politicians, journalists, and intellectuals. The AAA may be considered a nonstate **death squad** precursor to the state-sanctioned death squad terror from 1976 to 1983 known as the **Dirty War**. The AAA would publish notices signed “AAA” listing targeted people who were warned to leave the country. Victims included not only Argentine Communists and left-wing Peronistas but also people of moderate political opinions whose statements or actions incurred the ire of AAA members. The AAA was the creation of José López Rega, an Argentinean astrologer who became an influential confidant of Juan and Isabel Perón before Juan Perón returned to Argentina from Spain in 1973. Rega, also known as El Brujo (the Sorcerer) due to his fascination with the occult, was an ardent rightist who saw no role for the left wing of the Peronista movement once Perón had returned to Argentina.

When several thousand **Montoneros** arrived at Ezeiza airport among an estimated one million who had turned up to greet Perón on his return, they were fired upon by armed thugs recruited by Rega; 13 people perished and over 100 were injured in the cross-fire between the leftist Montoneros and rightist followers of Rega. Following the Ezeiza massacre, the interim government of Dr. Hector Campora resigned on 13 July 1973 and Raul Lasitiri, Rega’s son-in-law, assumed the interim presidency. Between this time and Perón’s reelection as president on 12 October 1973, Rega organized the AAA, which began to attack Montoneros, as well as prominent writers, union members, and priests, whom Rega viewed as leftists. The most prominent victim of AAA was Jose Rucci, the head of the Congress of Workers, on 25 September 1973, an action wrongly blamed on the Montoneros.

Rega was appointed minister of welfare after Perón’s election in 1973, and the AAA operated out of the Welfare Ministry building during the brief presidency of Perón, which ended with his death on 1 July 1974, and during the brief tenure of Isabel Perón, which ended with the military coup of 24 March 1976. Rega succeeded in totally alienating the Montonero movement from Perón, and during this time antigovernment terrorism both by the Montoneros and the **People’s Revolutionary Army** escalated to an unacceptable level. Due to pressure by the military and the remaining leftists within the

Peronista movement, Isabel Perón was forced to send Rega into exile in the form of an ambassadorial appointment to Spain in 1975, after which the AAA effectively ceased to exist. Once the military dictatorship came to power, it took over death squad activity in a much more conscious and brutal manner in the Dirty War.

Rega spent 1975 in Spain and from 1976 to 1982 lived under an assumed name in Switzerland. Following the return of democracy in Argentina in 1983, he became a fugitive moving between Miami, Florida, and the Bahamas until he was arrested on charges of homicide and **extradited** from the United States to Argentina, where he died in 1989 while awaiting trial. On 29 December 2006 a former AAA leader, Rodolfo Almirón Sena, was arrested in Valencia, Spain, on an Argentine warrant charging him with crimes against humanity, including the murders of five prominent Argentinean figures opposed to Perón.

ARMED COMMANDOS FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION (CALN). The Comandos Armados de Liberación Nacional was a Puerto Rican **ethnonationalist** separatist group formed in 1969. The CALN **bombed** five U.S. businesses in Puerto Rico on 14 November 1970 and the San Juan consulate of the Dominican Republic on 23 November 1970. The Puerto Rican police broke up this group, but its members later reorganized themselves and joined with members of another separatist group, forming in 1974 the **Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN)**.

ARMED FORCES OF LIBERATION / FUERZAS ARMADAS DE LIBERACIÓN. *See* FARABUNDO MARTÍ NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT.

ARMED FORCES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION. The Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN) is the name of two unrelated groups:

1. Puerto Rican FALN: This **ethnonationalist** group sought Puerto Rican independence through terrorist attacks in Puerto Rico and the United States. The group was formed from the merger of the remnants of the **Armed Commandos of National Liberation (CALN)** and the Armed Independence Revolutionary Movement in 1974.

The group's first operation was to **bomb** five banks in New York City on 26 October 1974. The FALN concentrated largely on bombing symbolic targets such as banks, corporation headquarters, government

offices, and military installations, usually avoiding harm to life and limb. On 25 January 1975, however, the FALN bombed the Fraunces Tavern, a site close to Wall Street apparently chosen for its symbolic value because George Washington bade farewell to his troops there at the conclusion of the War of Independence. Since the bomb exploded at the height of the lunch hour, four diners were killed and 63 others injured, the first time a FALN bombing had caused fatalities. Afterward, the FALN expanded its **targets** to include department stores and hotels, striking the Chicago area as well as New York and Puerto Rico. Despite a hiatus caused by the arrest of several members in April 1980, the FALN continued its bombing campaign until 1983. The capture of FALN bombing expert William Morales in June 1983 largely ended the bombing campaign on the mainland United States, which had totaled around 160 bombings. The arrest of several FALN and **Ma-cheteros** leaders in Puerto Rico on 30 August 1985 appeared to set the group back, as it has remained relatively inactive since then.

The FALN differed from other Puerto Rican groups in that it included among its roughly 50 members a large number of Puerto Ricans born and raised in the United States. This may explain why it was the only active Puerto Rican separatist group that regularly carried out terrorist acts on the U.S. mainland. The FALN also had the distinction of being one of the few terrorist groups that ever threatened to use nuclear terrorism. In a communiqué published on 21 March 1980, the FALN hinted that it would not hesitate to sabotage nuclear reactors. Such sabotage has never occurred, but the FALN and other groups attacked several non-nuclear energy-related facilities in Puerto Rico, such as power pylons, substations, and even an oil refinery.

On 13 December 1998 Puerto Rico held its second referendum on the question of independence or statehood. Given five choices—statehood, independence, continued commonwealth status, “free association” with the United States, and “none of the above”—the largest share of votes at 50.2 percent went to “none of the above,” with statehood winning 46.5 percent, independence winning only 2.5 percent, and the free association and commonwealth options each receiving less than 1 percent. On 11 August 1999 President Bill Clinton offered clemency to 14 FALN members imprisoned for acts of terrorism, contingent on their renunciation of the use of terrorism. On 7 September 1999, 12 accepted the offer of clemency and were freed while two rejected the offer and remained in prison. The clem-

ency offer drew criticism from Republican members of Congress as well as from members of law enforcement units whose members had been killed or maimed by FALN attacks.

Earlier, on 6 December 1994, Claude Daniel Marks and Donna Jean Wilmott, two FALN members wanted for engineering the 1985 escape of FALN leaders from Leavenworth prison, surrendered themselves to federal authorities in Pittsburgh. Given the low vote for independence in the Puerto Rican referendum and the desperation evident among those FALN members at large who were surrendering themselves to authorities, the Clinton decision to grant clemency to the long-imprisoned FALN members may have been calculated to move the remaining FALN members at large to renounce the use of terrorism.

2. Venezuelan FALN: Younger members of the Venezuelan Communist Party, more attracted to the Cuban model of **revolution**, joined forces with the Venezuelan Revolutionary Movement of the Left (Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionario, MIR), a left-wing faction of the ruling Democratic Action party, to form this Marxist guerrilla group active in the 1960s and 1970s. With Cuban backing, the FALN carried out an urban terrorist campaign and also sabotaged foreign businesses and oil production facilities. The FALN used **kidnapping** and **hijacking** as means to embarrass the Venezuelan government and to create publicity, at one point kidnapping the U.S. Army attaché, Colonel James Chenault, on 27 November 1963 and releasing him after the government freed several imprisoned leftists.

In 1969, after Cuba abandoned support for leftist guerrillas in Venezuela, the MIR broke its association with the FALN to return to legality. The FALN became inactive and its leader, Douglas Bravo (1933–), eventually accepted a presidential pardon in 1979.

ARMED FORCES OF NATIONAL RESISTANCE / FUERZAS ARMADAS DE LA RESISTENCIA NACIONAL. *See* FAR-ABUNDO MARTÍ NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT.

ARMED ISLAMIC GROUP (GIA). The Groupe Islamique Armé is a nonstate **Islamic fundamentalist** group that sought to create an Islamic state in Algeria and took the leading role in the **insurgency** and civil war in Algeria (1992–2000), in the course of which well over 140,000 people were killed. Following the 11 January 1992 Algerian army coup against President Ben Jedid, who had become resigned to an imminent victory by the Islamic fundamentalist **Islamic Salvation**

Front (FIS) in the second round of national elections scheduled for 16 January 1992, the Islamic fundamentalists became divided over how to deal with the military takeover that had blocked their almost certain democratic ascent to power.

While many moderate fundamentalists favored conciliation and dialogue, most of the FIS leaders favored confrontation. The **Islamic Salvation Army** (AIS) emerged from FIS cells that armed themselves to confront the regime violently. However, this appears to have been in response to the emergence of the Armed Islamic Group, whose members were actually more radical Islamic extremists who had derided the electoral approach favored by the FIS. The GIA believed violent confrontation was inevitable and that armed **jihad** was the proper way to establish an Islamic state in Algeria. Most of the GIA members were “Afghans,” that is, Islamic militants who had volunteered to fight with the **Mujahideen** of Afghanistan against the Soviet occupiers. Many of them were deeply influenced by their Iranian and Sudanese supporters, who favored Islamic **revolution** and terrorism as means to establish an Islamic state. On 29 June 1992 President Boudiaf was **assassinated** by one of his own guards, who appeared to have pro-Islamist sympathies. The army generals began repression of the FIS, and the GIA cells went into action, beginning with primitive black powder **bombs** but progressing to the use of car bombs by late 1992.

The GIA sought to bring down the Algerian regime not simply through internal attacks on the government, its troops, and its supporters but also by trying to bring international pressure on the regime. With the support of Iran and Sudan, the GIA embarked on four successive strategies during 1992–1996 to pressure France and other Western governments to withhold material and moral support from the Algerian regime and to force the Algerian state to accommodate them in some externally imposed settlement in their favor. First, in August 1992, they bombed Hoari Boumedienne International Airport, near the Air France ticket counter, killing 12 and injuring 128. This was meant to warn foreign travelers away from visiting Algeria and it also had the effect of making Algerians examine the social program of the FIS more closely and critically.

The second strategy was initiated in May 1993, when the GIA began **targeting** foreign or local journalists for assassination. By the end of 1995, more than 50 journalists had been murdered and often mutilated.

The third strategy began in August 1993 with attacks on French diplomats and citizens in Algeria. After **kidnapping** three French consular officials, the GIA gave the last hostage a scrawled message to deliver upon his release: “Foreigners, leave the country. We give you one month.” The implicit message was that France and other nations that supported the Algerian regime would pay with the blood of their own citizens. By December 1995 the GIA had killed over 100 foreigners, most of them French and none of them American. France retaliated with a crackdown in November 1993, arresting 88 people known to have ties to the FIS.

The fourth strategy was to bring the war home to France. This was done dramatically with the hijacking of an Air France Airbus A300 from Algiers on 24 December 1994, the second anniversary of the invalidated national election. The plane was flown to Marseilles where, after three passengers were murdered, the French Special Forces stormed the plane, killing all four hijackers and freeing the remaining 171 passengers. About 20 sticks of dynamite were found on board with which the hijackers had planned to explode the plane while in flight over Paris, raining plane fragments and human bodies over the French capital.

To bring the war to France more dramatically, the GIA pursued a bombing campaign centered on Paris. On 25 July 1995 a bomb exploded in the Paris Metro, killing seven and injuring 17. The series of bombings that followed injured up to 150 people by October.

The killings, bombings, and massacres involved not only GIA and AIS attacks on government officials, soldiers, and police, but also the targeting of entire villages of Algerian Muslims. It must also be noted that the Algerian government and pro-government paramilitary groups engaged in massive reprisals involving mass executions of jailed militants as well as entire villages viewed as sympathetic to the Islamists. This eight-year insurgency of 1992–2000 recalled the political violence and social division of the earlier Algerian war of independence of 1954–1962. A brief chronology of some of the more notable events follows, which is more of a representative than a comprehensive and complete summary of the violence of this period.

On 27 December 1994 the GIA murdered four Roman Catholic priests in reprisal for the killing of its four hijackers, an action ordered by Abu Abdulrahman Amin, who was the purported *amir*, or commander, of the GIA. During 1995 the GIA exploded at least two

bombs in France, injuring 31 people, and three massive car bombs in Algiers, killing 57 people and injuring more than 359 others.

In 1996 car bombs struck Algiers several times, with one on 11 February killing 17 and injuring 93 and another on 30 November killing 15 and injuring 30. During December the GIA conducted mass slayings in five villages in which they slashed and hacked to death men, women, and children using knives and axes. A total of 82 civilians were killed in this grisly manner in December 1996, which the Algerian press came to call the “month of horrors.”

In 1997 the GIA carried out several mass killings of entire villages viewed as disloyal to the GIA cause. On 24 September 1997, when the Islamic Salvation Army called for a truce beginning 1 October, the GIA disregarded the AIS call for peace and continued its assaults, killing 11 female schoolteachers in a remote town 260 miles southwest of Algiers.

In 1998 another four massacres occurred in the period 7–20 January, killing 98 in total, while a car bomb outside an Algiers café killed 10 and injured 20. In July and December authorities uncovered mass graves of victims of the GIA, one of which contained over 110 bodies.

By 1999, while a few isolated GIA attacks occurred, Algeria was beginning to experience a return to normalcy. On 15 April Algeria elected a new president, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, who convinced some FIS leaders to agree to a national referendum to be held on 16 September to formalize an end to the civil war. Over 5,000 imprisoned militants were released in July. Some have called the civil war from 1992 until 2000, in which over 120,000 people were killed, the second Algerian war; killings by GIA and other aggrieved groups or army units have continued sporadically to the present.

On 13 January 2000, about 600 GIA members surrendered while 1,500 more received amnesty. In February 2002 GIA leader Antar Zouabi was killed, and by October, 1,200 GIA fighters had also been killed by government forces. In February and March of 2003 the GIA held about 32 European hostages but freed 17 of them and negotiated the release of 14 others, although one died in captivity. By 2004 the GIA had been driven out of central Algeria. Islamic Salvation Front leaders Abbassi Madani and Ali Benhadj were released from prison in late 2003 but were banned from participating in politics. Beginning in 1998 the GIA went into decline and has been replaced by the **Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat** (GSPC), which has since become

the strongest Islamic fundamentalist terrorist formation in Algeria. Many militants may have abandoned the GIA for the GSPC due to the latter's declared policy of avoiding the targeting of civilians.

ARMED PROPAGANDA. Armed propaganda, or “propaganda by the deed,” refers to the use of violent force not so much to achieve a tactical objective through the direct physical effects of the action, but rather to focus attention on the symbolic, political importance of the action or to draw attention to the executing group's demands. In its earliest activities the **Basque Fatherland and Liberty** (ETA) group tended to bomb or vandalize Spanish civil war memorials, actions of armed propaganda that had little effect on Spanish domination in the Basque provinces but ones that strongly signaled a Basque rejection of Spanish hegemony.

While campaigns of armed propaganda can be directed toward symbolic, nonliving targets, they can also be more lethal. The **Kurdish Workers' Party** (PKK) used to occupy villages in southeastern Turkey, murder scores of Turkish civilian men, women, and children, and then leave before the Turkish army could arrive on the scene. While the murder of those civilians could hardly serve any military purpose, such events would serve to portray the Turkish army as ineffective in protecting Turkish nationals, who would then be terrorized into leaving those regions claimed by the PKK terrorists as Kurdish lands. Similarly, the 1979 seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehran can be considered an act of armed propaganda meant to demonstrate the powerlessness of the United States to intervene in Iranian affairs.

Armed propaganda is by no means solely a tactic of nonstate terrorist groups. Brilliantly executed **counterterrorism** actions or police raids on terrorist hideouts, orchestrated with favorable mass media coverage, could also be undertaken to produce a psychological impact on insurgent or terrorist groups far out of proportion to the physical effects of the act itself. An action such as the capture by the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) of the Lebanese **hijacking** suspect Fawaz Younis on the high seas is meant not only to bring one suspected terrorist to trial, but also to serve notice to other would-be hijackers that a similar fate could await them, and so to deter them from future hijackings. Ordinarily, when such tactics are being used by counterterrorism forces, they are called psychological operations.

ARMED RESISTANCE UNIT. Pseudonym for the **Revolutionary Armed Task Force**.

ARMED REVOLUTIONARY NUCLEI (NAR). The Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari was an Italian right-wing **revolutionary** terrorist group seeking to overthrow the current constitutional democracy in Italy to replace it with a Fascist-style authoritarian regime. This group appeared in December 1977 when it bombed the Rome offices of the Christian Democratic and Communist parties. In June 1980 the NAR **assassinated** Roman judge Mario Amato, who had been instrumental in uncovering and convicting rightist groups violating Italy's ban on neo-Fascist groups, in particular the NAR. In the period from 1977 to 1981, the group perpetrated at least 25 terrorist acts, and Italian police implicated it in the 2 August 1980 **bombing** of the Bologna train station. On 2 May 1985 some 53 members of the NAR were sentenced to prison for their role in the terror campaign of 1977–1981.

In 1993 the NAR and other similar subversive right-wing groups were officially banned under the Mancino Law. In 1997 Massimo Morsello, the former NAR leader, joined together with Roberto Fiore, the former leader of the radical nationalist Terza Posizione (Third Position) group to create a new **neo-Nazi** organization, Forza Nuova (New Force), to embrace all the radical right to the right of the National Alliance, the extreme right-wing party that escaped the Mancino ban.

ARMENIAN LIBERATION ARMY (ALA). The ALA was a non-state Armenian guerrilla group with the revolutionary goal of restoring formerly Armenian portions of eastern Turkey to Armenian sovereignty. While this group **bombed** Turkish targets in Western Europe in the 1970s, it has since sunk into obscurity.

ARMENIAN SECRET ARMY FOR THE LIBERATION OF ARMENIA (ASALA). ASALA was a formerly Soviet-sponsored, **revolutionary** organization with the triple aims of regaining portions of eastern Turkey claimed as parts of historic Armenia, avenging the Armenians killed by the Ottoman forces during World War I, and forcing the Turkish government to acknowledge responsibility for the events of 1915. ASALA was a Marxist-Leninist organization that also declared its opposition to imperialism. It is suspected that the Soviet Union sponsored ASALA as a means of pressuring Turkey to play a less accommodating role within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. ASALA also received aid from radical Palestinian groups with which it collaborated in Lebanon. Interestingly ASALA, an

anti-American group, has committed only a few terrorist acts in the United States, one being the **bombing** of the Swiss Bank Corporation in New York in May 1982, while a plot to bomb an Air Canada cargo building in Los Angeles was foiled in the same month.

ASALA was founded in 1975 and concentrated on the **assassination** and terrorization of Turkish diplomats to avenge Armenians killed in the pogroms in eastern Turkey. By 1981 it had engaged in at least 40 attacks in 11 countries. By mid-1982 ASALA had killed 24 Turkish officials and had carried out about 100 bombings, including an attack at Ankara airport in August 1982. It also attacked French targets under the name “the Orly Organization” and Swiss targets under the names “October Movement” and “June 9” to punish France and Switzerland for cracking down on ASALA agents traveling under falsified passports. The 15 July 1983 attack on Orly airport that killed seven people reportedly caused a split in the organization due to the disaffection of less militant members over the harm done to the Armenian cause by such “blind” acts of terrorism. One month later ASALA conducted an attack at Esenboga Airport in Ankara, killing nine people and injuring 28, while another assault in the Grand Bazaar of Istanbul killed two people and injured 27 others. The dissident group became known as the ASALA-Revolutionary Movement, while the main group became known as the ASALA-Militant.

As its headquarters were located in Beirut, ASALA suffered some disruption, having been forced to flee due to the Israeli siege and bombardment of Beirut in the summer of 1982. ASALA bombed the French embassy in Lebanon in October 1987. It is believed that the leader of the ASALA-Militant, Hagop Hagopian, was killed on 28 April 1988 by members of his own group. The head of the ASALA-Revolutionary Movement was Monte Melkonian. Melkonian, who served prison time in France from 1985 until 1989, moved first to Iran after his release and then to Armenia following its independence in 1991. He led brigades of the Nagorno-Karabakh Defense Forces against Azerbaijani troops until he was killed in battle in the Azeri village of Merzuli on 12 June 1993.

The power struggle within, and between, the ASALA factions led to a reduction in its terrorist acts beginning in the mid-1980s, although ASALA members were suspected in playing a role in the September 1986 bombing campaign in Paris aimed at pressuring the French government into releasing some three convicted terrorists,

one of whom was an ASALA member. In the early 1980s ASALA also began using the front name of the Armenian Resistance Army. Although ASALA claimed credit for an unsuccessful attack on a Turkish diplomat in Hungary on 20 December 1991, the group has been inactive since 1996. *See also* JUSTICE COMMANDOS OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE.

ARMY OF GOD (AOG). The AOG is a nonstate **antiabortion terrorist** group that has claimed responsibility for **bombings** against abortion clinics, a gay nightclub, and the **Olympic Park bombing** in Atlanta on 27 July 1996. In 1982 a group calling itself the Army of God **kidnapped** an abortion provider, Dr. Hector Zevallos, and his wife, and forced him to tape an appeal to President Ronald Reagan to end legalized abortion. In 1984 a series of 10 bombings of abortion clinics occurred in the Washington, D.C., area, and a sign reading “AOG” was found at the front of one of the bombed clinics. Michael Bray was convicted for these bombings; after serving four years in prison he continues to be active in radical antiabortion activities.

Following Bray’s release from prison, when four antiabortion protestors were arrested during an Operation Rescue sit-in at the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta, one of them turned out to be Shelly Shannon, who was wanted for the attempted murder of Dr. George Tiller. A search of her home by authorities revealed the operations manual of the Army of God, which uses moral theology and casuistry to convince Christians that killing abortion providers is morally justified and that details various ways of halting abortion services, including instructions for building stink bombs made of butyric acid, bombs with C-4, and ammonium nitrate–fuel oil bombs.

The most serious attacks, claimed in the name of Units of the Army of God, were two bombings at the Atlanta Northside Planning Services abortion clinic on 16 January 1997 and another at the Otherside Lounge, a bar frequented by lesbians. The first bomb at the Northside clinic injured no one but when police and firefighters arrived, a secondary bomb exploded that injured six people, including two Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) special agents and an agent of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF). This was the first time in 30 years in the United States that bombers used a secondary device with the intention of killing or maiming first responders. On 21 February 1997 another bomb exploded at the

Otherside Lounge, injuring five people, but this time the secondary device was located and deactivated without harm to life or limb. Following the Otherside bombing, letters in the name of Units of the Army of God claimed responsibility for the bombings and included invective against abortion providers, homosexuals, and federal law enforcement authorities.

On 29 April 1997 an Atlanta Bombing Task Force was established, comprised of FBI, ATF, and Georgia Bureau of Investigation personnel, and on 9 June 1997 this investigation was merged with that of the Olympic Park bombing. Similarities between these bombings and the previous Olympic Park bombing led investigators to the conclusion that all three bombings were the work of the same person, later identified as Eric R. Rudolph, who was arrested in May 2003 and convicted for all three bombings in July and August 2005. *See also* ANTIABORTION TERRORISM.

ARYAN NATIONS. The Aryan Nations was a nonstate, **revolutionary** organization dedicated to the creation of an independent, whites-only homeland in the Pacific Northwest states and to the overthrow of the “Zionist Occupation Government” of the United States. The visible corporate organ of the Aryan Nations was the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, headed by Richard Butler, a minister of the **Identity Christianity** movement. While Butler’s church was headquartered on the Aryan Nations compound outside Hayden Lake, Idaho, “Aryan Nations” referred also to Butler’s umbrella organization, which sought to unite disparate right-wing groups sharing **white-supremacist**, anti-Semitic, or populist **ideologies**, such as the **Ku Klux Klan (KKK)**, American **neo-Nazi** groups, the **Posse Comitatus**, and **The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA)**.

The Aryan Nations achieved this coordination through conferences held at its Hayden Lake compound each year since 1979 and through the creation of the Aryan Nations Net, a computer bulletin board system that allowed members of like-minded groups to share ideas and plans year-round. The Aryan Nations had an outreach ministry to the Aryan Brotherhood, itself a network of white supremacist prison gangs, whose members were recruited into the Aryan Nations upon their release from prison.

While the visible Butler organization itself did not directly participate in terrorist actions, it gave moral encouragement to such groups as the

Posse Comitatus and White Aryan Resistance and has spawned terrorist splinter groups such as **The Order**. By the mid-1980s, the Aryan Nations was estimated to have 150 to 500 members in about 18 states.

Butler denied that the Aryan Nations had any involvement in terrorism or sedition, but in 1987 two Aryan Nations members were convicted on counterfeiting charges and another was convicted for a series of **bombings** in Idaho in 1986 in connection with a plot to terrorize anti-Aryan Nations residents into leaving the Coeur d'Alene area. Butler was acquitted in April 1988 by the U.S. District Court in Fort Smith, Arkansas, of sedition charges arising from the links between the Aryan Nations and The Order, the latter of which had been involved in armed robberies and the deprivation of the civil rights of Alan Berg, who had been **assassinated** by members of The Order. On 19 October 1990, three other Aryan Nations members were convicted for conspiracy to bomb a Seattle gay nightclub.

At its 1990 summer conference, the Aryan Nations featured as one of its speakers John Trochman, who later founded the Militia of Montana. In 1993 Carl Franklin, who had been Butler's designated successor, resigned as security chief for the Aryan Nations due to disagreements with Butler and Louis Beam Jr., former Texas Ku Klux Klan grand dragon, who had been Butler's "Ambassador at Large" and his onetime heir apparent. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, the Aryan Nations grew from having branches in only three states to having branches in 15 other states from 1993 to 1994, which seemed to augur further vitality in the organization despite Butler's advanced age. However, on 7 September 2000 a civil lawsuit against the Aryan Nations, due to an incident in which three Aryan Nations guards manhandled a Native American woman and her son, Victoria and Jason Keenan, resulted in a \$6.3 million judgment against Butler and the Aryan Nations for the role played by both the leader and organization in inciting the guards to malicious injury against the plaintiffs. Acting on behalf of the Keenans, the Southern Poverty Law Center pursued liens against the assets of the Aryan Nations, including its compound, in order to force the organization into bankruptcy, actions that eventually destroyed the group. The Keenans were awarded their monetary damages, which resulted in the bankruptcy of the Aryan Nations and Butler. In the settlement, the Keenans gained title to the Aryan Nations compound; they then sold it to the Carr Foundation, which demolished the buildings in order to create a park.

In January 2002 Butler's newly appointed successor, Ray Redfeairn of Dayton, Ohio, moved the Aryan Nations headquarters to Ulysses, Pennsylvania, where day-to-day operations were maintained by its webmaster, August Kreis. In May 2002, following a quarrel, Redfeairn fired Kreis and moved the group's headquarters back to Idaho, reinstating Butler as nominal leader of the group. Following Butler's bankruptcy, one of his supporters bought him a home in Hayden Lake. In June 2003 Butler hosted the last of the Aryan Nations congresses, which drew around 75 to 100 people. In October 2003 he declared his intention to run for mayor of Hayden Lake but was defeated in the 4 November 2003 election. On 8 September 2004 Butler died of congestive heart failure at his home. Following his death, two factions of the Aryan Nations emerged, one headquartered in Lincoln, Alabama, headed by August Kreis, and the other headquartered in Lexington, South Carolina, headed by Jonathan Williams. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, these remnants of the Aryan Nations are essentially moribund, as many of Butler's former followers have joined other right-wing extremist organizations.

ARYAN RESISTANCE ARMY. Also known as the Aryan Republican Army, the Aryan Resistance Army was an antistate **white supremacist** and **neo-Nazi** group that included some **Aryan Nations** members as well as adherents of **Identity Christianity**. Six men, whom law enforcement officers in Ohio had labeled the "Midwestern bank bandits" for their 22 bank robberies committed before their capture in January 1996, had formed a right-wing underground cell, which they called the Aryan Resistance Army. They had intended to use their robberies' proceeds to fund the violent overthrow of the U.S. government and to kill all Jews. The group had prepared a two-hour training video called "The Aryan Resistance Army Presents: The Armed Struggle Underground" in which they tried to model themselves on **The Order**, led by Robert J. Mathews, who was killed in a shoot-out with agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in December 1984. A search of their hideout in Columbus revealed 13 pipe bombs, seven homemade grenades, assault weapons, bomb-making materials, and FBI and Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) T-shirts and hats, as well as the training video. The group was formed by Mark Thomas, a member of the Aryan Nations who himself took no direct part in the robberies of the group. Cell member Richard Lee Guthrie, who was arrested in January

1996, informed on the other group members and later hanged himself in jail. Police arrested four group members, Pete Langaan, Mark Thomas, Scott Stedeford, and Kevin McCarthy, who were convicted on robbery, conspiracy, and weapons charges in January 1997 and sentenced the following month. With the arrest of Mike Brescia in 1997, all six members of the group had been apprehended.

ARSON. Although most acts of arson are simply criminal acts in which buildings are burned for insurance fraud, personal animosity, random vandalism, or pyromania, arson has been used nonetheless as a weapon by terrorists, whether in the form of arson of buildings or the throwing of firebombs at police, civilians, or property. In July 1998, after nine weeks of hunger strikes by 260 leftists in 33 Turkish prisons, in which three hunger strikers died, a wave of firebombings hit Turkish-owned businesses and centers throughout Germany. German police believed that leftist sympathizers among the two million expatriate Turks living in Germany staged these attacks to pressure the Turkish government to improve living conditions for their imprisoned comrades.

In recent years in the United States, large numbers of church burnings, particularly churches with predominantly African American congregations, have raised concerns that these arsons represent **hate crimes** being perpetrated against racial minority groups, which would be a form of terrorist arson. On 10 October 1996 the United States Commission on Civil Rights stated that church burnings in the southern United States reflected an “alarming rise in racial tensions in society.” A few incidents seemed to confirm this view: on 10 December 1996, two former **Ku Klux Klan** (KKK) members pleaded guilty to charges of having burned the Macedonia Baptist Church in South Carolina in June 1995 in addition to the Mount Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church in Greeleyville, S.C., in June 1995.

However, Deval L. Patrick, the assistant attorney general for civil rights, now governor of Massachusetts, testified before the U.S. House Judiciary Committee on 21 May 1996 that although racism appeared to be a motive in many of the church fires, there was no evidence of any organized regional or nationwide conspiracy behind these burnings.

Since January 1995 the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) had investigated 2,600 fires. On 7 June 1996 the ATF report indicated that five black churches in the south were burned in 1995 and 20 in 1996, out of a total of 47 church fires since 1 January 1995.

Of the remainder, eight fires struck Jewish synagogues while the other 14 involved predominantly white churches. Seven arrests were made in five of the cases involving black churches. Another five fires were cleared as caused by accident and not by arson. On 1 July 1999 two brothers, James and Benjamin Williams, who were arrested for the shotgun slayings of two gay men near Redding, California, were also found to have evidence that connected them with the burning of three synagogues on 18 June in Sacramento. The two brothers had literature from the white supremacist World Church of the Creator and appeared to be involved in the **White Supremacy** movement.

Another case revealed an antireligious rather than racial motivation. On 21 April 1999 one man was indicted for 10 church burnings comprising all seven church burnings in Indiana and the three fires in Georgia under investigation. Jay Scott Ballinger confessed to having started up to 50 church fires in Indiana alone from 1994 to 1998. One fire he set killed a firefighter on 31 December 1998 when the burning roof of the New Salem United Methodist Church collapsed on him. Ballinger was arrested in February 1998 when he had to seek treatment for burns he received while setting fire to a church in Brookville, Ohio, on 7 February 1998. Ballinger's motivation appeared to be rooted in a personal obsession with Satanism and the occult rather than race.

A borderline area between simple criminal arson and terrorist arson is the use of fire-bombs, or Molotov cocktails, by organized street gangs to intimidate, silence, or punish rival gangs or civilians who try to resist gang activities in their neighborhoods. A large-scale study of urban arson conducted by the ATF in 1996 that reviewed arson fires in Chicago, Kansas City, Los Angeles, New Haven, and Philadelphia indicated that 15 percent of all arson in those cities was related to drug trafficking and that one-quarter of these incidents were intended to injure targeted people and not just destroy property.

In 2003 four arson attacks occurred against four places of worship in the San Fernando Valley, California. On 26 April the First Presbyterian Church of Encino suffered \$20,000 in damages. On 5 May a synagogue on Ventura Boulevard serving a predominantly Iranian congregation and a Baha'i Community Center on Genesta Avenue were firebombed. On 6 May the Beth Shalom Temple on Ventura Boulevard was also struck by a Molotov cocktail. In the first three arson cases, bombs consisting of liquid accelerants with a delayed ignition device were used.

On 25 June 2003 the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) alerted law enforcement agencies of an alleged **al Qa'eda** plot to use three to four people to plant timed incendiary devices to start forest fires and rangeland fires in the states of Colorado, Montana, Utah, and Wyoming. In August 2006 Spanish authorities arrested 14 people on suspicion of having deliberately set several of the 100 forest fires devastating the northwestern regions of Spain. An Emergency Response Research Institute alert at that time indicated that Spanish authorities believed these arsons were related to a radical **Islamic fundamentalist** plan to create economic havoc in Western nations.

ASBAT AL ANSAR. Also known as the League of the Followers and as the Partisans' League, Asbat al Ansar is a Lebanon-based Salafist **Islamic fundamentalist** terrorist group seeking the establishment of an Islamic state in Lebanon and generally opposing the secular and Western-oriented culture prevailing in modern Lebanon. The group, believed to be linked to **al Qa'eda**, has **assassinated** religious leaders, **bombed** nightclubs, movie theaters, and liquor stores, and clashed occasionally with **al Fatah** forces at Palestinian refugee camps. In January 2000 the group attacked the Russian embassy in Beirut with a rocket-propelled grenade. In 2002 and 2003 the group bombed several fast-food restaurants. The group's leader, Ahmad Abdulkarim as-Sa'idi, also known as Abu Mahjin, was believed to be connected with **al Qa'eda in Iraq** leader Abu Musab al Zarqawi, and remains at large despite having been sentenced to death in absentia for the assassination of a Muslim cleric in 1994.

ASSASSIN. Term for those who commit **assassination**, but also the name applied to the Isma'ili Fedayin. *See* FEDAYEEN.

ASSASSINATION. The deliberate murder or killing of political or military figures, or of ordinary civilians, for political or criminal or personal ends, assassination is perhaps the oldest and most fundamental of the terrorist tools. The Isma'ili **Fedayeen** attacked high secular and religious authorities of the Sunni Abbasid dynasty using corps of assassins willing to undertake attacks in which the individual assassin was certain to be killed or captured. To counter the awe and respect these bold attacks created among the common people, apologists of the Abbasid dynasty alleged that the attackers were really *Hashshishin*, those acting under the influence of hashish. This term became the source of the word **assassin**.

The term *assassination* has usually been restricted to the murder of high-ranking or prominent personages. Not all assassinations are necessarily instances of terrorism. Many of the assassins of prominent political figures appear to have been driven by complex psychological motives rather than acting to advance a clear-cut political motive or agenda. By contrast, the attempted assassination of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak by **Islamic Group** gunmen during his 26 June 1995 visit to Ethiopia was clearly meant to advance the cause of their group by removing their main enemy. The 4 November 1995 assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin by a member of the **Eyal** group was also meant to punish one considered an enemy by the religious-political tenets of this group.

James F. Kirkham outlined a typology of assassination in the study *Assassination and Political Violence: A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence* (New York: Bantam Books, 1970). Five types of assassination are identified: First, there are opportunistic assassinations whereby political figures or gangsters eliminate potential rivals. Second, there is assassination as a tool of **state terror** to repress dissident groups, a key activity of **death squads**. Third, there are assassinations by antistate **insurgents** or terrorists to destabilize an existing regime. Fourth, assassinations may be used as **armed propaganda** to win public attention to the cause of the assassins. Finally, there are assassinations committed as the result of mental instability on the part of the assassin.

ASYLUM, POLITICAL. Under the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (28 July 1951) and the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (31 January 1967), a bona fide refugee is anyone who flees to another country to avoid persecution due to his or her race, religion, nationality, ethnic affiliation, or political opinion and who cannot secure legal protection from such persecution in the country from which he or she is fleeing. Such a person has the right to request political asylum in the country to which that person has fled. This **political offense exception**, which would grant such a refugee the right to remain in the country to which he or she fled and which would also protect him or her from deportation or **extradition** to the country of origin, may not include serious nonpolitical offenses, such as murder, assault, or participation in acts of persecution against others on account of race, religion, nationality, ethnic affiliation, or political belief. Prior criminal

convictions could bar refugee status unless the supposed offenses were not recognized as criminal by the state granting asylum. During the 1990s the threats of sexual exploitation, discrimination based on sexual orientation, and genital mutilation have also gained ground in some Western nations as legitimate grounds for those seeking asylum.

ASYMMETRIC WARFARE. This refers to warfare, **insurgency**, or terrorism conducted by weak opponents against opponents having advantages of strength in numbers, hardware, and technology in which the weaker opponent seeks to outwit or defeat the stronger opponent by lucid and incisive use of tactics and strategy, resourcefulness, patience and determination, and disregard for conventions of “fair” fighting and warfare.

Asymmetric warfare is also often referred to as fourth-generation warfare. To put this into perspective, the several generations of warfare are reviewed here: First-generation warfare is essentially warfare by *attrition* of the enemy’s force. Second-generation warfare involves *maneuvers* to use better and faster troops and weapons against potentially larger forces. Third-generation warfare involves better use of *command, communications, control, and intelligence*, using psychological operations, and the “soft” power of technology to overcome the “hard” power of an enemy’s troops and weapons. Beyond the fourth generation of asymmetric warfare, there is a fifth-generation model derived from Maoist insurgency doctrine in which propaganda, or information-based warfare, is joined with high technology to demoralize a **targeted** vulnerable government or set of institutions. An example of this is **Sendero Luminoso**’s use of **armed propaganda** to undermine the morale and legitimacy of the Peruvian government.

AUM SHINRIKYO (AUM). The Aum Supreme Truth group is an apocalyptic doomsday cult founded by Shoko Asahara that was responsible for the **Tokyo subway gas attack** using sarin nerve gas on 20 March 1995. Asahara, originally named Matsumoto Chozuo, was born in February 1955 and attended a special school for the blind from which he graduated in 1975. In 1982 he was arrested for selling a counterfeit medicine that he claimed was merely officially unapproved. In 1984 he established his group, originally named Aum Shinsen No Kai and changed his name to Shoko Asahara. After go-

ing to India in 1986 to study yoga and Tantric mysticism, Asahara returned to Japan in 1987 and changed the group's name to Aum Shinrikyo; it received official recognition as a religion in August 1989, giving it tax-exempt status.

The Aum is an eclectic synthesis of Hindu mysticism, Christian **millennialist** and apocalyptic beliefs derived from the book of Revelation, and prophecies taken from the writings of Nostradamus. Asahara was regarded as Christ by his followers, who he claimed numbered about 40,000 worldwide, with 9,000 in Japan alone by the time the Tokyo subway sarin gas attack took place. Asahara claimed to have revelations of an imminent world war that would initiate Armageddon, in which his group would fight and overcome the enemies of Japan, including the United States. Asahara commanded his followers to begin trying to procure nuclear, biological, and chemical **weapons of mass destruction** to be able to fight and win the coming prophesied war.

In November 1989 Tsutsumi Sakamoto, a lawyer investigating allegations of brainwashing on behalf of concerned family members of cult members, was murdered, along with his wife and infant son, by the Aum members. Asahara and 24 of his followers ran for seats in the Japanese House of Deputies in February 1990 but none of them won a seat. The murder of Sakamoto combined with this electoral failure convinced Asahara that the Japanese government was conspiring against him. A siege mentality prevailed in the group, leading it to carry out the sarin gas attack to paralyze the national police headquarters by introducing the gas into the police offices from the subway tunnels running under that building.

Prior to the 20 March 1995 sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway system, the Aum group had attempted on nine occasions to deploy botulinum poison via airborne dispensers against **targets** as varied as the Japanese Diet, the Imperial Palace complex, and housing on U.S. military bases in Japan, without causing even one casualty. After testing the use of its homemade sarin against the Japanese city of Matsumoto on 27 June 1994, killing seven civilians and injuring 150, the sect then deployed the gas in the Tokyo subway system. Until the Tokyo attacks, the Matsumoto authorities had believed the deaths and sicknesses had been the result of some sort of food poisoning epidemic.

Following the subway gas attack on 20 March 1995, in which 12 people died and more than 5,000 were injured, Asahara was arrested

on 16 May 1995, while found hiding in a cubbyhole in one of his group's properties. With the arrest of Asahara and 400 of his followers, who faced charges ranging from **kidnapping**, to illegal production of drugs and weapons, to murder, the Japanese government moved to ban the sect under the Anti-Subversive Law in December 1995. Despite the ban, the sect continued to recruit new members and operate in Japan and abroad in Taiwan. The government decision to ban the group was overturned in January 1997 on the grounds that the cult posed no further danger to society, but it had lost its tax-exempt status in October 1995.

On 28 March 1996 the Tokyo District Court declared Aum Shinrikyo bankrupt as a result of the expenses for the defense of Asahara and his followers on criminal charges and also from the effects of the civil lawsuits filed by those who lost family members or who had suffered disabilities from the subway sarin gas attack. In 1997 the United States declared Aum Shinrikyo a Foreign Terrorist Organization pursuant to the **Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996**. Shoko Asahara and 104 of his followers were tried on several charges arising from the sarin gas attack, the murders of cult members and enemies, and other cult-related activities. In February 2000 the acting leader of the group, Fumihiko Joyu, declared that the group, which had changed its name to Aleph, was reorganizing itself. In the following months Aleph publicly distanced itself from Asahara and the sarin gas attack.

On 27 February 2004 Shoko Asahara was convicted for the murders of 12 people killed in the Tokyo subway gas attack and also for the deaths of 13 other people, including cult members and cult opponents whom he had ordered murdered, and was condemned to death. On 16 September 2006 the Supreme Court of Japan upheld the death sentence against Asahara. The previous day, about 250 Public Security Intelligence Agency officers raided 25 of the cult's offices around the country to preempt any violent reaction to the pending news from the Supreme Court. Prior to Asahara's sentencing, 11 other cult members had also been convicted and sentenced to hang for the sarin gas attacks and other murders.

By late 2006 the renamed Aum Shinrikyo cult had dwindled to about 1,650 members in 13 locations throughout Japan and had about 300 followers in Russia. While the current cult leader, Fumihiko Joyu, claimed that the cult, now known as Aleph, had renounced violence

and the teachings of Asahara, Japanese intelligence officials and experts on Aum Shinrikyo maintain that these changes are superficial and that the cult maintains its allegiance to Asahara and his teachings.

AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY THEORY. This theory, originally proposed by Theodor W. Adorno and others, holds that attraction to right-wing **ideologies** and extremist violence is associated with a specific personality type marked by a paranoid worldview, misanthropy, and rigidity. The authoritarian personality is also held to be ethnocentric and inclined toward racism. Adorno's 1950 work *The Authoritarian Personality*, formerly widely cited as a pioneering study of right-wing behavior and motivations, has lately come to be criticized, both on theoretical and empirical grounds.

Psychological profiling and study of convicted terrorists, whether of the left or the right, has not demonstrated that political extremists generally or terrorists in particular are psychologically abnormal or that they are marked by a unique pathological personality. Second, many of the qualities that the authoritarian personality thesis held to be unique to right-wing extremists can also be observed among some left-wing extremists and terrorists, who often exhibit their own versions of paranoid thinking, authoritarian attitudes, and rigidity. To the extent that such traits are found among committed terrorists, an equally plausible hypothesis would hold that such traits are not so much the cause of the behavior of these terrorists but a consequence of the clandestine lifestyle of committed terrorists on the run, which requires extreme suspicion and caution as well as extreme personal and group discipline to evade arrest while still conducting terrorist operations.

Another empirical objection to this study is that many right-wing extremists among the **militia movement** and other far-right groups in the United States display strong overt antiauthoritarian and even anarchistic attitudes and have proven themselves to be quite flexible in adapting their organizations and tactics to changing social and political environments. While there have been other attempts to find commonalities in the profiles of members of terrorist groups, such commonalities that have been found, such as coming from a broken family, having a juvenile arrest history, or having narcissistic attitudes, are also found among a larger population whose members do not become terrorists, so such traits are useless for explaining why some people and not others become terrorists.

AVANGUARDIA NAZIONALE (AN). The National Vanguard was an Italian right-wing terrorist group founded in 1959 by **Stephano Delle Chiaie**. During the 1960s the group collaborated with other right-wing groups throughout Europe in an umbrella organization known as the Black Orchestra. On 12 December 1969 the group bombed the Banca della Agricoltura in Milan, killing 16 people and injuring 90 others, in an attempt to create a backlash against leftists, whom they tried to frame as the perpetrators. The AN attempted a coup d'état on 7 December 1970 against the Italian government. After Delle Chiaie fled to Spain, another neo-Fascist, Adriano Tigher, attempted to reconstitute the AN but was arrested by authorities for attempting to revive the banned Fascist Party. The remnants of the AN, along with several other far-right groups, merged into the **Black Order** after 1973.

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BAADER-MEINHOF GANG. Journalistic name for the Rote Armee Fraktion, or **Red Army Faction (RAF)**, founded by the German leftists Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof.

BABBAR KHALSA. *See* SIKH MILITANTS.

BALI BOMBINGS. Two separate sets of **bombings** have occurred on the island of Bali, Indonesia, the first on 12 October 2002 and the second on 1 October 2005. Both attacks involved **suicide bombers** and both are believed to have been executed by members of **Jemaah Islamiyah (JI)**, an **Islamic fundamentalist** group believed to be linked to **al Qa'eda**. The first attack used both primary and secondary explosions, resulting in what was to that date the worst mass-casualty terrorist attack in Indonesian history.

The 2002 attacks occurred shortly before midnight local time in the tourist town of Kuta. A suicide bomber detonated the device hidden in his backpack in Paddy's Bar. This caused patrons to rush out into the street, facing the Sari Club, in front of which an explosives-packed Mitsubishi truck exploded, leaving a meter-deep crater. In all 202 people were killed and 209 injured. Australian tourists accounted for the largest group killed, at 88, while 38 Indonesians formed the second-largest group killed; the rest were tourists from Great Britain,

the United States, and various European nations. The bombs had been made with ammonium nitrate, a common fertilizer.

About 32 Jemaah Islamiyah members were charged with complicity in carrying out the bombings. The leader of the JI, Abu Bakar Bashiri, was arrested on 15 October 2004 for conspiracy in connection with the bombings; he was convicted on 3 March 2005 and sentenced to 20 months' imprisonment but was released on 14 June 2006. Three others, Amroz Haji Nurhasynim, Imam Samudra, and Mukhlas, were sentenced to death for their roles in procuring and assembling the explosives while a fourth, Ali Imron, was sentenced to life imprisonment since he had shown remorse during his trial. Twenty-seven others were also tried on lesser charges for their roles in the bombing. One suspect, Abu Dajana, was captured on 13 June 2007, and another, Aris Munandar, remains at large.

The second Bali bombing occurred on 1 October 2005 and involved three suicide bombers. The first two bombs exploded around 6:50 p.m. local time along the Jimbaran beach and the third exploded at 7:00 p.m. in Kuta's town square. Twenty people were killed, including 15 Indonesians (including the three suicide bombers), four Americans, and one Japanese tourist, and 129 people were injured. These bombings were timed to coincide with holidays in the Australian school year, during which thousands of Australian tourists visit Bali. The locations chosen were areas favored by foreign tourists. Indonesian investigators claimed to have found three other unexploded bombs, which differed from the 2002 bombs in that they contained large amounts of shrapnel.

Two suspects included Noordin Muhammad, who eluded capture, and Azahari Husin, who was killed in a shoot-out with police in November 2005.

BANDERA ROJA. The *Bandera Roja* (Red Flag) group (GBR), was a Venezuelan **revolutionary** group, operating independently of any state sponsor, dedicated to achieving a Marxist-Leninist state in Venezuela through armed struggle. The GBR rejected assimilation into peaceful politics and broke with the Venezuelan Revolutionary Movement of the Left (Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria, MIR) in 1969 after Cuba abandoned support for leftist guerrillas in Venezuela. The armed wing of GBR was called the Americo Silva Front.

Like many other guerrilla groups in South America formerly sponsored by Cuba and the Soviet Union, the GBR took to financing

its activities through **kidnapping** for ransom and by extorting protection payments from wealthy individuals and firms. In 1972 the GBR began abducting wealthy businessmen for ransom, kidnapping Caracas industrialist Carlos Domínguez Chávez in a joint operation with MIR activists, and releasing him for \$1 million in ransom. After GBR leaders Carlos Betancourt and Gabriel Rafael Puerta Aponte were captured in 1973, the GBR arranged for both to escape from Caracas's San Carlos prison in January 1975, along with 21 other guerrillas, by means of a 60-meter tunnel that the GBR had dug into the prison, apparently with the cooperation of other leftist guerrillas. In March 1975 the GBR renounced all ties to leftist parties working within the constitutional order and published a death list against 20 prominent landowners.

From 1976 to 1977, the GBR conducted sporadic attacks on military convoys and temporarily captured small towns. After Betancourt was recaptured in 1977, Bandera Roja activity halted. In December 1981 the GBR **hijacked** three domestic flights, demanding the release of Betancourt and other prisoners, but the Venezuelan government rejected those demands. In April 1982 Puerta Aponte was recaptured in a firefight in which 25 militants were killed. Bandera Roja operated mainly in eastern Venezuela and along the Colombian border and had contact with Colombia's **M-19** and **National Liberation Army** (ELN) groups. Membership in the armed wing was estimated at no more than 50.

After May 1994 the group reconstituted itself as simply a left-wing political party, renouncing violence. Following the election of President Hugo Chávez in 1998, the GBR aligned itself with moderate leftists and conservatives opposing Chávez, which led to a split in the party and the defection of several members who supported Chávez. In the 2006 presidential elections the GBR supported the challenger, Manuel Rosales, a political moderate, and itself won only about 0.16 percent of the vote in the National Assembly elections.

BANNA, SABRI KHALIL AL. *See* ABU NIDAL.

BASQUE FATHERLAND AND LIBERTY (ETA). The Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna is a nonstate Basque **ethnonationalist** separatist group that has undertaken terrorist operations to win independence for Euzkadi, the Basque fatherland, consisting of the Spanish provinces of Vizcaya (Basque: Bizkaia), Alava (Arava), Guipuzcoa (Gipuzkoa), and Navarra

(Nafarroa), as well as the French Basque provinces of Le LaBourg (Lapurdi), La Basse Navarre (Baxenabarra), and La Soule (Zuberoa). Due to the general antipathy of France and other European states toward the former regime of Francisco Franco, the French government tolerated the presence of ETA terrorists, who used France as a base and **sanctuary**. Since the return of democracy to Spain in the mid-1970s and the appearance of signs of ETA radicalization of French Basques, France no longer tolerates ETA activities within its territory and cooperates with Spanish authorities to combat Basque terrorism.

The ETA organization enjoyed moral and material support from the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) in training camps in Lebanon, South Yemen, and Algeria. The Cuban and **Sandinista** Nicaraguan governments gave safe haven and training to ETA members. The ETA and **Irish Republican Army** (IRA) also were reported to cooperate with each other. The Colombian **M-19** group and other Latin American guerrilla groups declared their support for the ETA while immigrant communities of Basques in Venezuela and elsewhere also materially contributed to the ETA.

The ETA was an offshoot of the Basque Nationalist Party, known in Spanish as the Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV) and in Basque as the Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea (EAJ). In 1957 the youth movement of the PNV met in Paris with the exiled PNV leadership to persuade them to undertake armed struggle against the Franco regime. Failing in this, many of the PNV youth created the ETA on 31 July 1959. Because most of the other non-Basque anti-Franco groups were Marxist, many ETA members also adopted a Marxist-Leninist **ideology**, whereas the PNV had been, and remains, solidly Catholic and nationalistic. Disagreement over the correct ideological interpretation of the Basque struggle has split the ETA into several factions. The two major factions are the ETA-Militar (ETA-M), which advocates unending armed struggle until full independence is won, and the ETA-Politico-Militar (ETA-PM), which laid down arms temporarily after formal autonomy was granted to a designated Basque region in January 1980.

ETA activities began in 1961 with the derailment of a train carrying Spanish civil war veterans en route to a celebration in San Sebastian. During the 1960s the ETA struck symbolic **targets** by defacing civil war monuments and symbols of Spanish domination. The murder of a Basque in 1968 by the Spanish Guardia Civil led to the first **assassination** by the ETA, of the security chief of Guipuzcoa,

triggering severe regime repression of Basques that in turn further radicalized many Basques. These ETA actions were largely intended as **armed propaganda**, called *ekintzak*, meant to focus attention on the symbolic, strategic, and political importance of the action. The ETA originally showed itself to be very selective in choosing targets and means of attacks and also in taking care to avoid injury to non-combatants; over 70 percent of those killed or injured by the ETA have been members of the Spanish security forces or government. However, in the last two decades the ETA has become less discriminating and more ready to attack civilians and bystanders.

Generally the ETA targeted facilities to **bomb** or people to assassinate that symbolized Spanish hegemony: army and Guardia Civil barracks, government buildings, and Spanish military and political figures. **Kidnapping** for ransom plays a role in financing the ETA; even then victims are chosen not simply for their potential ransom but usually have been figures of consequence who have spoken out against the ETA. Prior to most bomb attacks, the ETA issues warnings to allow civilians a chance to remove themselves from the target area. Yet, as France began cooperating with Spain in 1987 in an anti-terrorist crackdown aimed at Basque separatists, the ETA began a campaign of terrorization against French targets in Spain, including tourist transit and hotel facilities, which has victimized increasing numbers of civilians.

The ETA members, known as *eterras*, are organized into three- to five-member cells known as *comandos*. Most *eterras* are *legales* who may never, or only occasionally, participate in an illegal action. Most live openly but help the *ilegales*, or underground ETA activists, by material aid, communications, information gathering, and the like. The total number of underground activists has been estimated at 200 members, while the total number of *legales* is not known. The *comandos* are activated by the ETA directorate, which historically was in France. Few *eterras* therefore will know who is an *eterra* outside of their own *comando*, which helps protect the ETA against police penetration should the members of one *comando* be arrested and interrogated. Spanish- and French-coordinated counterinsurgency measures during the 1990s have substantially weakened the ETA organization.

From 1961 to 1970 only three deaths resulted from ETA actions. From 1971 to 1975, the year of Franco's death, the ETA caused 31

deaths. From 1976 to 1980, when limited Basque autonomy was granted, the ETA caused 253 deaths. From 1981 to 1985 the figure dropped to around 190, and from 1986 to 1990 the figure fell to around 159. Each year in 1990–1998 witnessed in excess of 50 ETA-caused deaths. Most of the 50 victims killed by the ETA in 1991 were involved in preparatory projects for the Barcelona Olympics, the fifth centennial celebrations of Columbus's voyage, or the Seville World's Fair, since these events were used by Spanish authorities to showcase Spanish social and economic progress since the Franco era. Ironically, as democratization has proceeded in Spain, ETA violence has risen, and as more autonomy has been granted to the Basque region, terrorism by the ETA has increased even further, despite the laying down of arms by ETA-PM.

Figures of people killed by ETA violence vary from source to source depending on whether the actions of certain breakaway groups, such as **Iraultza**, are counted. If only the confirmed actions of the ETA are considered, from 1968 to 2008 the total is just over 800 deaths, but if the actions of other Basque terrorist groups are counted, the figure is in excess of 850 deaths. By the cease-fire of 16 September 1998, the number of deaths attributed to the ETA alone had risen to around 800. By the end of 2003, ETA had killed at least 817 victims, including 478 military or police targets and 339 civilians. A cease-fire went into effect in June 2003 and ended on 30 December 2006.

Some other notable ETA actions are as follows: On 20 December 1973 the ETA assassinated Spanish Prime Minister Luís Carrero Blanco (1903–1973), whose limousine was blown five stories high by the detonation of an explosives-packed 25-foot-long tunnel under the pavement over which he passed daily. On 12 September 1989 the ETA-M assassinated public prosecutor Carmen Tagle in Madrid. During 1993 the ETA carried out four major car bombings, two on 21 June in Madrid, killing seven people and injuring 22 others, and another two on 29 October in Barcelona. The ETA plan to murder King Juan Carlos in August 1995 was thwarted by continuing Spanish and French police anti-ETA cooperation. On 19 April 1995 the ETA tried to repeat its earlier feat of mining a road with explosives, this time to kill José María Aznar, the outspoken anti-ETA leader of the Popular Party, but succeeded only in slightly injuring Aznar and 12 others. On 10 February 1997 the ETA shot and killed Supreme Court Justice Rafael Martínez Emperador. After a government raid

freed two hostages on 1 July 1997, the ETA murdered other hostages, including an Eruma city council member, kidnapped on 10 July and found shot to death two days later, the tenth person to be murdered by the ETA in 1997.

During 1998 the ETA killed six people, in contrast to the 13 killed during 1997, but by 16 September 1998 the ETA declared a cease-fire and asked for negotiations with the Spanish government. On 29 November 1999 the ETA announced it would resume armed operations on 3 December 1999. On 12 January 2000 the ETA assassinated army Lieutenant Colonel Pedro Antonia Blanco García, ending the cease-fire.

On 21 January 2000 the ETA carried out two car bombings in Madrid, killing an army officer and injuring bystanders. On 8 August 2000 the ETA murdered a Basque businessman in Zumaga, José María Korta. On 30 October 2000 the ETA bombed and killed Supreme Court Justice José Francisco Queral Lombardero and his chauffeur, injuring 60 bystanders in the process. The bombing of a public garden on 2 November 2000 failed to kill its intended target, Prime Minister Aznar, but injured two civilians. Then on 21 November 2000, the 25th anniversary of the restoration of the monarchy, a former health minister was assassinated in Barcelona.

On 22 February 2001, a car bombing intended to target Inaki Dubreuil, a Socialist councilor of the town of Ordizia, exploded in San Sebastian, killing two electrical workers there. Then ETA gunmen assassinated Froilan Elespe, a Socialist deputy mayor of the town of Lasarte, on 21 March 2001. Also in 2001, José Javier Arizkuru Ruíz was extradited from France to Spain for his role in the 1995 assassination plot against King Juan Carlos.

The ETA has a political wing, the Basatuna (Unity) Party, also referred to as either Euskal Herritarrok or Herri Batasuna, which was allowed to work openly in Spanish politics from 1978 until 2003. In 1986 this party won 32 percent of the parliamentary votes cast in the three Basque provinces of Navarra, Guipuzcoa, and Vizcaya. In the March 1996 elections, which followed the unsuccessful ETA assassination attempt against José María Aznar, the Popular Party candidate leading in the national polls, this figure dipped to 12 percent but in the October 1998 election, which followed the ETA cease-fire on 16 September 1998, it had improved to 18 percent. In the 2001 elections in the Basque region, the ETA-affiliated Batasuna Party lost six seats

to the Basque Nationalist Party. The fortunes of Batasuna declined due to several judicial investigations into its connection with ETA terrorism and its refusal to disavow armed struggle. On 30 June 2002 the Batasuna Party was banned under the new Law of Political Parties for endorsing political violence. At this time the ETA announced another cease-fire but on 30 December 2006 it broke this cease-fire with a car bombing at Madrid's main airport

Under the premiership of José María Aznar during 1996–2004, the Spanish government took a very hard-line policy toward the ETA, its political party, and other front organizations. Following the **Madrid railroad bombings of 11 March 2004**, Aznar incorrectly blamed these attacks on the ETA. When it became evident that these attacks were instead the work of Islamic militants, the Spanish public's perceptions of blame for the attacks shifted to Aznar for his widely unpopular policy of support for the U.S.-led intervention in Iraq, which resulted in his being defeated in the elections of 14 March 2004. The new premiership of Socialist Party leader José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero initially sought to adopt a more conciliatory line toward the ETA, but the 30 December 2006 ETA bombing of the Madrid airport, which killed two Ecuadorians, led Zapatero to end further negotiations with the ETA.

A car bombing in Bilbao on 10 October 2007 injured the bodyguard of a Socialist Party politician, drawing forth more public rebuke of the ETA by Prime Minister Zapatero. On 1 December 2007 ETA members shot and killed two Spanish Guardia Civil officers who were members of a joint French-Spanish antiterrorism squad that confronted the ETA members in a public area in Capbreton, France, near Bayonne. These were the first fatalities since the 30 December 2006 car bombing at the Madrid airport that ended the previous cease-fire. On 7 March 2008 ETA gunmen murdered a former city council member in the town of Arrasate in the Basque region. On 21 March 2008 a car bombing in Calahorra in the northern region of Rioja resulted in no casualties due to prior warning by the ETA, allowing evacuation of the area.

On 20 May 2008 a French-Spanish joint task force in Bordeaux arrested ETA head Javier López Peña, suspected of having ordered the 30 December 2006 car bombing, along with three other ETA members, Ainhoa Ozaetz Mendiondo, Jon Salaberria, and Igor Suberiola, all involved in the outlawed financial and political support

network of the ETA. Despite this reverse, the ETA tried to carry forward its campaign with several bombings: On 20 July 2008 four bombs exploded at a seaside resort in Cantabria, and on 21 September 2008 two bombs went off, one in Vitoria and another in Ondarroa, the latter injuring seven people. On 6 November 2008 a car bombing at the University of Navarra in Pamplona initially injured 21 people due to the blast but then caused nausea and sickness among 250 other victims due to unknown noxious gases released in the explosion. However, on 17 November 2008 the ETA suffered a substantial blow with the arrest of the ETA military head, Garikoitz Aspiazu Rubina, also known as Txeroki (“Cherokee”) and Leire Lope Zurutuza, both wanted in connection with the murders of the two Spanish Guardia Civil officers killed the previous year and also for their roles in a plot to assassinate King Juan Carlos and in the 20 December 2006 bombing that ended negotiations between the Zapatero government and the ETA.

BEIRUT AIRPORT BOMBING. On 23 October 1983 a truck **bomb** driven by a **suicide volunteer** demolished the building at Beirut International Airport being used as a temporary barracks, killing 241 U.S. Marines, sailors, and soldiers and wounding more than 60. This bombing was one in a series of anti-Western bombings, including the 18 April 1983 bombing of the U.S. embassy in West Beirut; the bombing of the French military headquarters in Beirut on the same day as the Beirut airport bombing, killing 58 French troops and wounding 15; and the 4 November 1983 bombing of the Israeli Defense Forces headquarters in Tyre. All these attacks used suicide drivers, were executed with great precision, and resulted in great damages and loss of life.

According to Lebanese security sources, the truck hit the airport building near a specific pillar where the planners of the bombing had determined the explosion would do the most structural damage and kill the most people. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) estimated that the truck bomb was the equivalent of 12,000 pounds of TNT, making it larger than any conventional bomb used in World War II. The bomb was made of a combination of TNT and hexogen, a highly sensitive and powerful explosive, packed around cylinders of gas to create an air-fuel bomb effect. The sheer cost of this bombing, the quality of **intelligence** about the U.S. forces needed to execute it,

the technical precision needed to build the bomb, and the reluctance of any group to claim immediate responsibility for this act all pointed to **state sponsorship** of the bombing. On 16 February 1985 **Hezbollah**, a militia under Iranian state sponsorship, claimed responsibility under the name of **Islamic Jihad**.

On 4 October 1984, U.S. intelligence agencies identified Hezbollah as the local agent that supplied the suicide driver and Iran as the supplier of the explosives used in the attacks on the Marines and the U.S. embassy. As early as 6 November 1983, an article in the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv* had identified the Iranian ambassador to Damascus, 'Ali Akbar Muhtashami, as having been assigned by the Iranian government to be a liaison with Syrian intelligence in directing terrorist activities through the group that eventually assumed responsibility for the bombing of the U.S. Marines barracks. This article identified Islamic Jihad as being the responsible group, headquartered in Baalbak under tutelage of the **Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps** (IRGC) of Iran.

According to a *Le Monde* report dated 6–7 November 1983, citing an otherwise unspecified “confidential British document,” the principal mastermind of the 23 October operations was one Abu Muslih, actually 'Imad Mughniyah (1962–2008), the commander of the 800 or so IRGC troops in Baalbak. This report stated also that Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Husayn Shaykhulislami, one of the leaders of those students who seized the U.S. embassy on 4 November 1979, visited Damascus twice secretly, once on 16 April 1983 and again on 19 October 1983, that is, each time a few days ahead of a bombing of a major U.S. **target** in Lebanon. The Foreign Ministry of Iran and other officials and representatives of the regime have repeatedly denied any knowledge of, or involvement in, these bombings. On 20 July 1987, however, the former commander of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps, Muhsin Rafiqdust, revealed in an interview to the Iranian newspaper *Risalat* that Tehran had supplied the explosives used in the bombings. The shock of this bombing and the unpreparedness of the Ronald Reagan administration or the U.S. public to face the levels of lethal violence that had become commonplace in the Lebanese civil war led to the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Lebanon in February 1984.

In 2001 several relatives of U.S. servicemen killed in the bombing filed two separate lawsuits against Iran using provisions of the

Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 allowing U.S. citizens to sue state sponsors of terrorism who attack U.S. citizens or properties. On 30 May 2003 the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia ruled on both cases as a single action and found the defendant in the case, the Islamic Republic of Iran, which had refused to answer the court summons issued in 2002, culpable for the bombing and liable to pay compensatory damages to be determined later and to be applied against Iranian assets in **sequestration** since 1980.

BELLIGERENT STATUS. When an army invading another state's territory or an **insurgent** group rebelling against the government of a nation-state seizes effective control over a territory, excluding the military and police forces of the national government being attacked and itself taking over the tasks of providing government and police protection to the civilians in the occupied territory, then the occupying force is said to have belligerent status. In effect, when other nations officially recognize the belligerent status of an occupier, this confers recognition of that occupying power as the de facto government of that territory. Under international law, the belligerent would be held to observe the same limitations on the use of its power over civilians in its jurisdiction with regard to their human rights as would any other sovereign de jure government, subject to considerations of military necessity and humanity. Foreigners traveling within the territory held by the belligerent would be considered obliged to obey the effective laws and regulations being enforced by the belligerent.

In the case of an insurgent guerrilla movement, as soon as other nations recognize its belligerent status this accords a degree of legitimacy on the insurgents, who then possess not only their own government and control over a territory and people, but also the ability to establish effective diplomatic relations with the nations who recognize their belligerent status, which grants them most of the elements needed to be recognized as a bona fide nation-state. The formal recognition of belligerent status by other national governments internationalizes the conflict, making it much more difficult for the government being attacked to reassert control or authority over the territory occupied by the belligerent group. During the 1979–1992 civil war in El Salvador, Mexico and other nations accorded belligerent status to the **Farabundo Martí Liberation Front (FMLN)**, which was viewed by the United States as powerful moral support

for the FMLN. During the Lebanese civil war period of 1975–1982, when **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) forces controlled portions of Beirut and other parts of Lebanon, the U.S. military forces sent to evacuate American civilians from Beirut had to contact the PLO to coordinate the evacuation of U.S. nationals from the Beirut waterfront. Despite the U.S. declaratory policy of not recognizing or dealing with the PLO, this action conferred an effective belligerent status on the PLO.

BENNETT COMMITTEE. Properly known as the Bennett Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Police Interrogation Procedures in Northern Ireland. After Great Britain assumed direct rule over Northern Ireland in 1974, allegations of police brutality and mistreatment of prisoners charged with terrorist offenses created controversy in the British government, particularly the numbers of convictions based on confessions uncorroborated by independent evidence, which seemed to support allegations of systemic use of torture by police interrogators. These practices had also been condemned by the European Commission and European Court of Human Rights. The British judge, H. G. Bennett, was appointed by the British government on 16 June 1978 to chair a commission to investigate these charges and to make appropriate recommendations.

The Bennett Committee report, issued in March 1979, led to regulations that forbade physical or verbal abuse of suspects, banned interrogation during meals or after midnight, required interrogators to identify themselves and police to provide the suspect a sheet outlining his rights under the law, and allowed the suspect to contact a lawyer or relative as well as to have access to a doctor, who could verify whether or not physical abuse had occurred. The Bennett guidelines allowed the suspect to be incarcerated up to 48 hours before being permitted to contact relatives or a solicitor, if the police feared the phone call might be used to tip off comrades before they could act on the basis of information gleaned from the suspect. Many prisoners have complained that they have not been provided with the sheet outlining their rights or that the detectives have not identified themselves during interrogation, but the Bennett report did have the effect of eliminating the more outrageous instances of coercive interrogation procedures. *See also* IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY.

BESLAN SCHOOL SIEGE AND MASSACRE. On 1 September 2004 at 9:30 a.m., at least 30 **Chechnyan** men and women in combat fatigues and wearing explosives-laden belts stormed School Number One in the city of Beslan in the North Ossetian region of Russia. About 1,200 people, including around 800 schoolchildren, grades one through eight, and their teachers and parents, were attending ceremonies marking the beginning of the school year. The attackers identified themselves as the Riyah as-Saliheyn Martyrs' Brigade and were part of the Chechen separatist and **Islamic fundamentalist** terrorists.

During the takeover, about 65 children and one adult managed to hide and later slip away, but the remaining adult hostages were forced to tear up floorboards, revealing previously hidden weapons and munitions. The attackers then killed 20 of the strongest male adults and herded the remaining hostages into the gym, which was about 25 meters (82 feet) long and 10 meters (33 feet) wide, where they remained for the next two days in 90-degree heat and without water or food. The hostage takers rigged the gym with explosives and trip wires, threatening to kill themselves and their hostages if any attempt were made to rescue them. They released one child early on with a list of demands, namely, the release of imprisoned group members caught in an attack in Ingushtia the previous June, contact with the presidents of the Ingushtian and North Ossetian regional governments, and contact with Dr. Leonid Roshal, the pediatrician who had helped hostages in the October 2002 **Moscow theater siege**.

Russian security forces, including Federal Security Bureau (FSB) specialists, local government militia units, and Russian army and special forces units, cordoned off the school grounds and also deployed two helicopter gunships, at least one tank, and several armored personnel carriers to the scene. After former Ingushtian president Ruslan Aushev spoke with the attackers, they released 26 nursing mothers along with at most one child each.

On the second day, their negotiations with Dr. Roshal led only to their refusal to exchange adult hostages for children or to be permitted safe conduct out of the country, and refusal of offers other than the prisoner release that they had demanded. At 3:30 p.m. they fired two rocket-propelled grenades at security vehicles parked too close to the compound.

On the third day at 1:03 p.m., after the attackers permitted Emergency Ministry personnel to approach the building to remove dead

bodies, explosions and gunfire suddenly erupted from the main building. There are conflicting accounts of how this happened, but one account holds that a poorly taped explosive device came undone in the sweltering heat, fell, and detonated, causing the weary hostage takers to open fire. Russian troops responded with an assault on the school and controlled explosions to open holes in the walls to permit the hostages to escape. In fact, many of the hostages were killed either by explosions or by gunfire. By 3:00 p.m. the attack ended with at least 331 people killed, of whom 20 were police, military personnel, and emergency responders, while at least 719 people were injured, of whom 700 were civilians. Only one of the hostage takers was captured alive.

Chechen separatist leader Shamil Basayev claimed credit for having planned and ordered this attack. The Beslan incident shows how the Chechen terrorists had improved their hostage-taking tactics since their 24 October 2002 **Moscow theater siege**: Whereas in the Moscow incident several hostages used cell phones with text messaging to communicate with their rescuers, in the Beslan incident the attackers seized all cell phones and threatened to kill anyone found with one. Whereas in the Moscow siege the female attackers took orders from male attackers and thus failed to detonate bombs when they did not receive specific commands to do so, in the Beslan case females were given command positions. In addition, whereas in the Moscow siege the terrorists began to form human bonds with their captives, in the Beslan case several hostages were killed at the onset to make such empathy impossible. For the same reason, in the Beslan attack they systematically tormented and humiliated their captives. A complicating factor in the Beslan incident is that it appears the hostage takers were also using stimulant drugs to remain awake and to counter any attempt by Russian forces to use fentanyl-based narcotic gases as they had done in the Moscow theater incident. The prolonged effects of these drugs may have contributed to the outburst of violence on the third day of the siege. *See also* CHECHNYAN TERRORISM; KIDNAPPING; and SUICIDE TERRORISM.

BIN LADEN, OSAMA (1957–). Osama bin Laden (full Arabic name: Usama ibn Muhammad ibn Ladin) is a leading financier and organizer of an **Islamic fundamentalist** terrorist network known as **al Qa'eda** and is currently wanted by the United States as the mastermind behind the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks**

of **September 11, 2001**, the **East African U.S. embassy attacks** of August 1998, and the 1995 **Riyadh bombing** of the Saudi National Guard-U.S. Training Center. He also had ties with the group that bombed the **World Trade Center** in 1993 and that plotted a terror campaign against landmark targets in New York City, and with the **Islamic Group** in Egypt, which murdered foreign tourists in the **Luxor Temple Massacre** in November 1997; he has also been tied to the scheme by Ramzi Ahmad Yousef to **bomb** U.S. airliners over the Pacific Ocean and to plots to **assassinate** Pope John Paul II, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, and U.S. President Bill Clinton.

Osama bin Laden, born in Riyadh in 1957, is one of 52 scions of Muhammad bin Laden, a Yemeni businessman whose construction firm amassed him a personal fortune of about \$5 billion. Bin Laden helped run part of the family business and is believed to have inherited \$25 million from his father and to have amassed more wealth from his own management. Prior to receiving business management training at King Abdul Aziz University in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, bin Laden received instruction in Islamic law.

With the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan on 11 January 1979, bin Laden quit his family business to devote himself and his fortune to helping the Afghan **Mujahideen** in their fight against the Soviets. From 1979 to 1984 he was in Pakistan funding the Afghan fighters and building shelters in Pakistan for refugees. From 1984 to 1989 he was in Afghanistan building roads and shelters for the Mujahideen and was involved in actual combat as well. He helped organize the Maktab al Khidamat (Services Office), which recruited devout Muslims from throughout the Arab world to come to Afghanistan to fight in the **jihād** against the Soviets. This organization had recruiting offices not only in the Muslim world but also throughout the West wherever Muslims could be recruited. One such office in Brooklyn was later used by the group that bombed the World Trade Center. After the Soviets left Afghanistan in 1989, the Mujahideen were urged by their Pakistani and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) backers to attack the heavily defended city of Jalalabad. This attack proved catastrophic for the Mujahideen, whose forces suffered heavy losses. Bin Laden, who led his forces in an assault on the airport, was wounded by shrapnel and many of his Arab volunteers were killed. Bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia and resumed his work in the family business.

The U.S.-led deployment of forces against Iraq in 1990–1991 deeply offended bin Laden, as he saw the United States as the supporter of Israel. He also viewed the policy of the Saudi regime of permitting American troops to be stationed in Arabia itself as an affront to Islam because the government of Arabia was also the “Protector of the Two Holy Places,” that is, the Muslim holy cities of Mecca and Medina, which are forbidden to non-Muslims to enter but which bin Laden now viewed as being under virtual U.S. military control. At this point, bin Laden came to view not only the United States as the leading enemy of Islam but also the Saudi family as traitors to Islam. He moved to Sudan in April 1991, ostensibly to undertake his construction business there to help develop a destitute Muslim nation, but by 1994 the governments of Egypt, Algeria, and Yemen were accusing him of financing and training the Islamic fundamentalist groups seeking to overthrow their regimes. The Saudi government revoked his passport and Saudi citizenship and his family has reportedly disowned him.

It is believed that bin Laden helped supply the Somali militias that shot down two U.S. MH-60 Black Hawk helicopters and killed 19 U.S. soldiers during operations in Mogadishu during the second United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) on 3–4 October 1993. Although bin Laden initially had amicable relations with the National Islamic Front ruling Sudan, by 1996 he was asked to leave the country, very likely due to pressure from Egypt, whose president, Hosni Mubarak, survived an assassination attempt during his 26 June 1995 visit to Ethiopia. The would-be assassins were known to have come from Sudan and bin Laden was suspected to have been the instigator of this attack, which sunk Sudanese-Egyptian relations to such a low point that Egypt was threatening war against Sudan.

Bin Laden returned to Afghanistan, although his exact movements and whereabouts from 1996 onward remain a mystery. His base outside Jalalabad, Afghanistan, held about 600 of his followers, who were estimated to number around 5,000 or more in over 25 countries worldwide, including Chechnya, Algeria, Kashmir, the Philippines, Egypt, and Eritrea.

U.S. **counterterrorism** experts began to link bin Laden to anti-U.S. terrorism during their investigations of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing after finding his name along with addresses of his businesses and front organizations among the documents and materials seized from the suspects. His name also came up in the arrest

of Razmi Ahmad Yousef, who had been staying at a safe house in Pakistan owned either by bin Laden or his brother-in-law.

In February 1996 and again in February 1998, bin Laden issued a **fatwa**, that is, an Islamic religious verdict, co-signed by himself; Ayman al Zawahiri, the leader of the Jihad Group in Egypt; Abu-Yasir Rifa'i Ahmad Taha, a leader of the Islamic Group in Egypt; and Shaykh Mir Hamzeh, secretary of the Jammi'at-ul-Ulema religious party of Pakistan, declaring it the religious duty of every individual Muslim to kill Americans everywhere, whether soldiers or civilians, in order to free the holy cities of Islam from the presence of foreign, non-Muslim troops. It should be noted that such religious decrees can only be legitimately issued by a Muslim religious authority of known sanctity, probity, and scholarship in Islamic jurisprudence, and bin Laden is not recognized as being such a scholar.

Among the terrorist attacks that bin Laden is suspected of having directed, or otherwise having been involved in, are the following: the World Trade Center bombing of 26 February 1993, as bin Laden was the patron and protector of Razmi Ahmad Yousef, who was indicted for this act on 11 March 1993; the **Riyadh bombing** of 13 November 1995 that destroyed a Saudi National Guard training center, killing four American military advisers and two Indian government advisers; the **Khobar Towers** bombing in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, on 25 June 1996, in which a powerful truck bomb killed 19 U.S. service personnel and wounded about 300 others; the massacre of 58 foreign tourists and four Egyptians on 17 November 1997 at the Temple of Queen Hatsheput outside Luxor, Egypt; the U.S. embassy bombings on 7 August 1998 in Nairobi, Kenya, killing 291 people and injuring about 5,000, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, killing 10 people and injuring 77; and the assassination attempt against Crown Prince Abdullah of Jordan in June 1993. Bin Laden is suspected of sponsoring the 12 October 2000 suicide bombing on the USS *Cole* at anchor in Aden, Yemen, while his most notorious operation was the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon.

Bin Laden had close relations with the **Taliban**, who took over Afghanistan after 1996. Despite reports of estrangement between him and the Taliban, the latter refused to accede to United Nations (UN) demands to hand over bin Laden; upon the expiration of the deadline to hand him over, attackers believed to be backed by the

Taliban attacked the U.S. embassy and UN offices in Islamabad, Pakistan, on 13 December 1999.

Following the World Trade Center and Pentagon Attacks of September 11, 2001, President George W. Bush demanded on 17 September 2001 that the Taliban hand over Osama bin Laden to U.S. authorities. Following their refusal to do so, the United States initiated Operation Enduring Freedom on 7 October 2001, aimed at destroying the al Qa'eda network and capturing or killing bin Laden. Bin Laden was last seen publicly in mid-December 2001 in the Tora Bora region of Afghanistan. In the years since, bin Laden has appeared in several videotapes exhorting his followers and is believed to be in hiding in the Waziristan area of northwest Pakistan, a region over which the Pakistani government exercises only nominal control, under the protection of local tribal leaders. The Combating Terrorism Center of the U.S Army Military Academy at West Point catalogues and translates purported electronic and written messages of bin Laden and al Qa'eda. The Center possess a letter dated 11 December 2005 from one of bin Laden's deputies directing Abu Musab al Zarqawi, the founder and leader of **al Qa'eda in Iraq**, to send his envoys from Iraq to Waziristan in order to consult with them on actions in Iraq. Assuming this correspondence is genuine and not a deception, it would indicate that bin Laden remains in the Waziristan region of Pakistan.

BLACK BRIGADES. An obscure Kuwaiti Shi'ite **revolutionary** group active in Iraq and Kuwait, possibly a nom de guerre of **Da'wa al Islami** or other groups enjoying Iranian **state sponsorship**. On 11 July 1985, the group attacked a restaurant in Kuwait, killing a high-ranking Kuwaiti security official.

BLACK HAND. In 1911 a splinter group broke away from the Narodna Obrana Pan-Serbian secret society in Bosnia to form the more radical Ujedinjenje ili Smrt, (Union or Death), more commonly known as the Crna Ruka, or Black Hand group. This group, which aimed to undermine Austrian control over Bosnia through acts of terrorism, was covertly supported by the Serbian government, led by Lieutenant Colonel Dragutin Dmitrievich, chief of the Intelligence Department of the Serbian military; many of its members were also Serbian military officers. They recruited from among Serbian youth in Bosnia, many of whom were smuggled into Serbia to undergo

paramilitary training. The Black Hand used secret oaths and gory initiation rituals, and defectors were often murdered. Gavrilo Princip, the **assassin** of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, underwent training with the Black Hand and was supplied by the Black Hand with the pistol used to murder the archduke. With the occupation of Serbia by Austro-Hungarian and German forces in 1915, the royal government of Serbia had removed itself to Thessaloniki, Greece. In May 1917 Dmitrievich was tried for treason against the royalist government and executed, marking the end of the Black Hand group.

BLACK JUNE. Black June was a Palestinian group founded by **Abu Nidal**, a onetime **al Fatah** member who later opposed the **Palestine Liberation Organization's** (PLO's) increasing reliance on diplomacy rather than armed struggle. Black June was an Iraqi **state-sponsored** group with the revolutionary aim of destroying Israel and establishing a Palestinian state by force of arms. Secondary objectives included the use of terrorist coercion against the PLO to punish it for retreating from the use of armed struggle as the primary means for the liberation of Palestine. The Iraqi government also used Black June as a means of maintaining its own influence over the Palestinian movement within Lebanon. Black June was one of a number of different groups founded by Abu Nidal and numbered about 500 members.

Black June took its name from June 1976, when **Phalangist** troops with Syrian backing massacred Palestinian fighters and civilians within the besieged Tal az Za'tar refugee camp. Black June tried to kill the Syrian foreign minister in 1977 but missed him, instead killing a bystander, the visiting United Arab Emirates' minister of state for foreign affairs. Black June has made numerous attacks on PLO representatives and offices abroad. In the period from 1978 to 1979 they killed Sa'id Hammami, the PLO representative in London, 'Ali Yassin, the PLO representative in Kuwait, and Izzidin Qalaq, the PLO representative in Paris, and **bombed** a PLO office in Istanbul in August 1978, killing four people.

Following a truce with al Fatah, Black June turned to attacks on Jewish and Israeli targets. On 3 June 1982 a Black June gunman attacked and injured Shlomo Argov, Israeli ambassador to Great Britain; Israel used that attack to justify its invasion of Lebanon a few days later. On 9 August 1982 Black June made a grenade attack on a Jewish restaurant in Paris and then opened automatic-weapons fire

on the restaurant and on a crowd outside a nearby synagogue, killing six and injuring 27. On 10 April 1983 Black June killed PLO representative Issam Sartawi at a meeting of the Socialist International in Portugal. *See also* FATAH REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL.

BLACK LIBERATION ARMY (BLA). One of the two most violent left-wing nonstate, **revolutionary** groups in the United States during the 1960s, the other being the **Weather Underground**. Born out of the social unrest of the 1960s, the BLA particularly **targeted** law enforcement officers and was responsible for eight killings in the period 1971–1973, including two New York City policemen on 27 January 1972. A crackdown by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) led to arrests of leading members, after which the group’s activities subsided. In the early 1980s remnants of the BLA merged with the Weather Underground to form the **Revolutionary Armed Task Force**, which engaged in a series of **bombings** of federal government and multinational corporation offices as well as an attempted robbery of a Brinks armored carrier in October 1981.

On 2 May 1973, when Joanne Chesimard and two other BLA members driving the New Jersey Turnpike near New Brunswick were stopped for a routine check by two New Jersey state troopers, they shot the troopers, killing one and wounding the other. Chesimard, injured in the gunfire, was arrested when found five miles from the shooting scene. Law enforcement officials considered her the “soul” of the BLA and although the prosecution never proved she had fired on the officers, she was convicted of murder under state law as an accessory and sentenced to prison. On 2 November 1979 she broke out of the state prison in Clinton with the help of three armed men.

In 1984 she fled to Cuba, where she was granted political **asylum** as well as living expenses. Chesimard, who changed her name to Assatur Shakar, gave an interview to a WNBC-TV reporter covering the January 1998 visit to Cuba of Pope John Paul II, in which she maintained her innocence and denounced the New Jersey court system as racist. New Jersey Governor Christine Todd Whitman denounced the interview as “an affront,” raised the reward for Chesimard’s capture from \$25,000 to \$100,000, and contacted U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno and U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to demand that the United States pressure Cuba into **extraditing** Chesimard. In 2005 the FBI placed Chesimard on its list of most wanted domestic terrorists,

offering a \$1 million bounty for her capture. On 11 December 2006 Dave Jones, the president of the New Jersey State Troopers Fraternal Association, led a group of New York and New Jersey police groups in protesting the naming of a community room at the City College of New York by a coalition of leftist student groups as the Guillermo Morales/Assatur Shakur Community Center in honor of Chesimard and William Morales of the **Armed Forces of National Liberation**.

BLACK ORDER. The Ordine Nero was an Italian nonstate, **revolutionary** Fascist group that sought to destroy the democratic government in Italy. The Black Order was the violent successor to the New Order party, which had been suppressed as a proscribed neo-Fascist organization in 1973 and was thought to have had ties to the Italian Social Movement, another neo-Fascist group.

Among its terrorist actions, in 1976 the group **assassinated** Judge Vittorio Occorsio, who had earlier helped ban the New Order. The group targeted left-wing supporters, usually by indiscriminate **bombings** of public places. On 4 August 1974 the group bombed a train on the Munich-Bologna route, killing 12 people. On 2 August 1980 it bombed the Bologna railway station, killing more than 80 and injuring around 200 people. Bologna was **targeted** apparently because of the domination of the city government by Italian Communists.

At its height the Black Order numbered around 300 followers. Following the conviction in 1978 of its leader, Pierluigi Concutelli, for the murder of Judge Occorsio, the group's prominence in the far right was overtaken by that of the Armed Revolutionary Nuclei (NAR).

BLACK PANTHERS. The Black Panther Party was a group founded in October 1966 by Huey Newton (1942–1989) and Bobby Seale (1937–) that promoted a **revolutionary** black **ethnonationalism**. While Panthers sought, among other things, amnesty for all black prisoners, comprehensive welfare benefits for black Americans, and exemption from military service for all black Americans, the notoriety of the group came from its drift into **revolutionary** violence. Like many other radical groups born of the radicalism of the late 1960s, such as the **Weather Underground** and the **Red Army Faction**, the Panthers were revolutionary insofar as they sought to fight what they perceived to be a racist capitalist system but also appeared to be anarchistic insofar as they lacked a clear program for creating an alternative social order.

The appeal for “black power” drew a response from other politically disaffected young black Americans. Among those drawn into the group were Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, and Eldridge Cleaver. By 1970 the group had around 2,000 members in some 61 cities in 26 states, mainly outside the south. Following the 4 April 1968 **assassination** of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., the Panthers advocated arming themselves and conducting military training for their members. Not only were the Panthers viewed by J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and other public officials as being a subversive organization, but many of the Panther leaders also had criminal records and had in some cases jumped bail. This created a situation in which armed conflict between the group and the police was unavoidable. In June 1969 a gunfight erupted between the Sacramento police and the Panthers in which 13 policemen were wounded before the Panthers fled their headquarters.

During the period 1967–1972, about 2,000 Panthers were arrested while 20 others were killed in shoot-outs with police, other Panthers, or rival revolutionaries. In 1969 William Lee Brett **hijacked** a plane bound for New York from San Francisco to Cuba, where he was granted **asylum** and remained until his death in 2006. Cleaver (1936–1998), who had jumped bail in November 1968, went first to Cuba, then to Algeria, and then to North Korea, seeking refuge and support for the Panthers. In 1971 he quit the Panthers and in 1977 returned to the United States, where he negotiated a plea bargain with authorities. Although he had become a member of the Nation of Islam before joining the Panthers, after his return to the United States he became an evangelical Christian and joined the Republican Party. While Cleaver lapsed into drug addiction during 1992–1994, he recovered sobriety and worked as a radio talk show host in Miami–Fort Lauderdale before dying in 1998.

By mid-1970 most of the original Panther leadership had either fled the country or gone underground. Brown was arrested in October 1971 on armed robbery charges. Seale was imprisoned for contempt of court, while Newton renounced armed struggle by May 1971. While two hijackings did occur in June and July of 1972 by Panthers and some sympathizers wishing to find asylum abroad, by that time the Black Panther movement had spent itself. On 17 February 1999 Elmer Pratt, known as Geronimo, was released from prison after the Orange County Superior Court overturned his 1968 conviction for robbery and

murder, citing the withholding of critical evidence by the prosecution at the original trial. Brown, who converted to Sunni Islam upon his release from prison, taking the name Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin, moved to Atlanta where he began a community service program to keep inner-city youth off drugs and where he became the leader of the Community Mosque in the West End district in 1985. In March 2000 he became a fugitive suspect following the shooting death of one sheriff's deputy and the wounding of another, both of whom were serving an arrest warrant in connection with a May 1999 traffic violation. In October 2002 he was convicted for the murder and sentenced to life imprisonment; the Georgia Supreme Court unanimously upheld his conviction in May 2004 following an appeal of his sentence.

While the militant image of the Panthers inspired fear in the public, in retrospect Panther violence appeared to be sporadic and reactive rather than a coherent tactic to foment a revolution. Nonetheless the Black Panthers were the predecessors of the **Black Liberation Army**, which in turn, together with remnants of the Weather Underground, helped form the **Revolutionary Armed Task Force**, which continued a campaign of leftist revolutionary terrorism within the United States until 1986. According to Seale, at its height the Black Panthers had 5,000 followers in 48 chapters, of whom 28 were killed in shoot-outs with police, along with 68 members injured and 14 police officers killed. By 2002 at least eight members were still in prison. Seale claims that the Panthers also served over 200,000 schoolchildren hot breakfasts and arranged for over a million sickle-cell-anemia tests.

In 1989 a group calling itself the New Black Panther Party was founded by Malik Z. Shabbaz and advocated anti-Semitic and anti-white extremism. In October 2002 several of the original Panthers, including Seale, David Hilliard, Elaine Brown, and Newton's widow, began legal proceedings against the group for using the original group's name, emblems, and photographs of its members without their permission and also for defaming the name of the Black Panthers by associating them with the hate **ideology** of the new group.

BLACK SEPTEMBER ORGANIZATION (BSO). The BSO was a clandestine group created by **al Fatah** in December 1971 for the limited purpose of avenging the suppression and expulsion of the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** from Jordan during the "Black September" of 1970. On 6 September 1970 the **Popular**

Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) had **hijacked** three airplanes, namely, a Pan American World Airways (Pan Am) flight, a Trans World Airlines (TWA) flight, and a SwissAir flight, all destined for New York, as well as a British Overseas Air Company (BOAC) flight destined for London on 9 September 1970. While the Pan Am flight was diverted to Cairo, the other three were diverted to Dawson's Field in Jordan. On 12 September 1970, after releasing the roughly 400 passengers, the PFLP **bombed** the three aircraft. On 16 September 1970 King Hussein declared a state of martial law and ordered the Jordanian army to attack the Palestinian forces and expel them from the kingdom. In the course of the fighting that followed, the Palestinians suffered enormous losses and their survivors were expelled to Lebanon. As al Fatah held a declaratory policy of not involving itself in the domestic politics of Arab nations, yet planned to kill King Hussein and those who shared responsibility in carrying out his orders, it was essential that al Fatah be able to maintain a plausible deniability of responsibility for the BSO. In actuality, the scope of **targets** of the BSO grew to include Israeli, U.S., and other Western targets, while their attacks rivaled those of the PFLP in ferocity and media impact. During its period of activity from 1971 to 1974, the BSO was run by Salah Khalaf (aka Abu Iyad), one of **Yasir Arafat's** closest deputies.

On 28 November 1971 the BSO **assassinated** Jordanian Prime Minister Wasfi al Tall in Cairo. The BSO tried, but failed, several times to assassinate King Hussein. The most notorious BSO action, however, was its attack on the Israeli team at the 1972 Summer Olympics in **Munich** in which all 11 Israeli hostages and five of the eight terrorists, along with one German bystander, were killed in a shoot-out with West German police. On 29 October 1972, BSO members hijacked a Lufthansa plane and forced West German authorities to release the three surviving BSO gunmen from the Munich attack in exchange for the lives of the Lufthansa hostages. On 16 September 1972 the BSO also mailed out 64 **letter bombs** to Israeli and non-Israeli Jewish targets, most of which were intercepted and deactivated, but some of which succeeded in killing Israeli diplomats, other Jews, and some postal workers. On 1 March 1973 BSO gunmen seized the Saudi Arabian embassy in Khartoum, Sudan, and murdered U.S. Ambassador Cleo A. Noel Jr., the U.S. chargé d'affaires, and a Belgian chargé d'affaires.

From 1971 to 1974 the BSO carried out at least 34 noteworthy actions, including 16 **bombings**, 11 assassinations, three hijackings, three **kidnappings**, and a rocket attack on the U.S. embassy in Beirut. On 5 September 1973 Italian police foiled a BSO plot to shoot down an El Al airplane with two SAM-7 Strela antiaircraft missiles. Israel, whose citizens and diplomats abroad had become the primary targets of the BSO assassination and letter-bombing campaigns, undertook covert and overt operations to quash the BSO. Israeli Wrath of God operatives began killing BSO operatives in Cyprus and Europe, while the Israeli Defense Forces launched a raid on Beirut on 10 April 1973 in which they attacked the BSO headquarters, killing 17 terrorists, and destroyed the BSO letter-bomb factory.

Despite al Fatah's desire to conceal its connections with the BSO, the arrests of a BSO agent in Jordan and another in France produced evidence linking the two organizations. Although the BSO was dissolved by al Fatah in December 1974, many former BSO operatives then joined either the PFLP or Abu Nidal's **Fatah Revolutionary Council**. The murder of Israeli diplomat Yosef Alon in December 1975 in Washington, D.C., was once believed to be the work of local proxies acting on behalf of Black September. From 1981 to 1987 about 17 actions were claimed in the name of the BSO, but these were most likely the work of **Abu Nidal** operatives.

In 1996 Mohammad Oudeh (aka Abu Daoud), the mastermind of the Munich Olympics attack, was allowed by Israeli authorities to attend a PLO leadership meeting in the West Bank, where he stayed, establishing a law practice in Ramallah. After he published his autobiography in France, in which he acknowledged his role in the Black September attack at the Munich Olympics, German authorities issued an arrest warrant for him in June 1999. Upon receiving word of this, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu ordered Oudeh, who was in Jordan at the time, barred from returning to the West Bank and also canceled his VIP pass, which was issued to PLO officials to permit them unhindered passage through Israeli checkpoints in the West Bank. For many Palestinians and Israelis, this incident raised the question of whether this action violated an understanding of amnesty implicit in the 1996 Israeli government decision to allow former PLO terrorists to return to areas under Palestinian Authority control.

BOER ATTACK FORCE. The Boere Aanvals Troepe is a South African antistate group made up of Afrikaaners disaffected with the postapartheid regime. Among their demands are an autonomous homeland for white South Africans, government recognition of the Christian faith, release of all right-wing political prisoners, and lower fuel prices. This group claimed responsibility for two **bombings** on Christmas Eve 1996 in a crowded shopping area of Worcester, a town 90 miles north of Cape Town; one homemade pipe bomb was planted near a supermarket and another near a pharmacy, which together killed four people, three of them children, and injured dozens more. On 5 January 1997 another three bombings claimed by this group occurred in Rustenburg, located northwest of Johannesburg, one at a newly remodeled mosque at about 1:15 a.m., wounding two guards there. At 3:00 a.m., two bombs struck, one at the Marikana Post Office about 13 miles east of Rustenburg and another at a liquor store in Olifantsnek, a suburb of Rustenburg.

The Afrikaaner Resistance Movement (AWB), led by Eugene TerreBlanche, disclaimed any knowledge of this group. Hours after the attacks in Rustenburg, police arrested two white men, Christian Harmse and Pierre Jacobs, at a roadblock when explosives were discovered in their car. Jan van der Westhuizen was arrested in February 1997 for involvement in the Worcester bombings and since then the group has been inactive.

BOMBINGS, BOMBERS. Bombs are among the top two weapons of choice for terrorists, the other being automatic weapons. Bombing is also used extensively for merely criminal purposes, whether for murder, revenge, **arson**, or as a diversionary tactic. Whether a bombing is a terrorist act or not depends on whether the bomber(s) intended to achieve some political objective with it and to use the bombing as part of their communication of demands and threat fulfillments to the society they are **targeting**. Since no credit is claimed for most of the bombings that occur, most apparently are done for merely criminal purposes. In some of the most famous cases of serial bombers, such as George P. Metesky, the infamous “Mad Bomber” who terrorized New York City from 1940 to 1956, and Theodore Kaczynski, the **Unabomber**, who terrorized the United States from 1978 to 1995, the motives of the bomber appear to have been rooted in personal grudges but articulated and rationalized in political terms.

While there are a great variety of bombs for specialized purposes, a few types are favored by terrorists, namely, vehicle bombs, **letter/parcel bombs**, and small bombs designed to destroy airplanes in flight, which have been infrequently used but always with great lethality when successful. Bombs are attractive to terrorists for a number of reasons. First, they cause high loss of life and casualties, creating terror when civilians are being randomly targeted, which gets the desired media coverage and attention to the terrorists and their demands. Second, they usually can be deployed in such a way that the terrorist planting the device can escape injury or arrest. Finally, they are relatively easy and inexpensive to prepare. **Suicide bombings** are a special case and generally more lethal because the suicide bomber can deploy the bomb to achieve maximum lethality and usually can detonate it before others have a chance to evacuate or to disarm the bomb. Moreover, the willingness of bombers to kill themselves along with a large number of victims is itself especially dramatic, shocking, and frightening to the general public, and especially problematic for law enforcement and security forces, who ordinarily can count on the terrorists' will to live to deter them from attacking or else as a bargaining chip in, for example, hostage-barricade situations.

It is believed the **Narodnaya Volya** group in Tsarist Russia was the first terrorist group to employ bombing in a systematic terrorist campaign. Oddly enough, although the members of this group frankly admitted to being "terrorists," they wanted to bomb only those people whom they viewed as major political or police functionaries of the Tsarist regime, and they took great pains to avoid killing or injuring bystanders. By contrast, the terrorists of the late 20th century, such as in the **World Trade Center bombing** and the **Oklahoma City bombing**, wanted to maximize the killing of innocent people at the scene.

Bombs typically consist of an initiator, a primary charge, and a main charge. The initiator consists of some sort of percussion or electronic device, set off either manually, by remote control, or by a timer or some sort of motion-sensitive or barometric device. The primary charge usually consists of a low-grade explosive that is unstable but of relatively low yield, such as black powder, smokeless gunpowder, nitro starch, or nitrocellulose, while the main charge is a high-quality explosive such as nitroglycerin, ammonium nitrate, Compound B, C-3, C-4, TNT, or Semtex. There is also an intermediate class of high-yield initiators such as lead styphnate and lead azide. The high-

yield explosives, also known as detonating explosives, are generally stable at ordinary temperatures and require the low-grade explosives for detonation.

The effects of bombings on victims are classed as primary, secondary, and tertiary. Primary effects include trauma to internal organs caused by the shock wave of the blast traveling through body tissues. Secondary effects include laceration or concussion caused by flying shrapnel or other objects propelled by the explosion. Tertiary effects include injuries caused by people falling or being knocked against the ground or other objects by the explosion.

Improvised explosive devices (IEDs) consist of munitions that are rigged with a primary charge and initiator for attacking passing vehicles or people on foot. In the Iraqi **insurgency** against U.S. and other allied forces, insurgents have used cellular telephones as electronic initiators for their IEDs. Vehicle-borne improvised explosive devices (VBIEDs), consisting of a truck or car packed with explosives and driven by a suicide volunteer against a target, or parked and detonated remotely, have proven to be perhaps the most deadly and destructive form of bombing.

BRITISH-U.S. FLIGHTS BOMB PLOT. On 9 August 2006 British police conducted 69 raids in London, Birmingham, and Buckinghamshire and arrested 24 people suspected of plotting to **bomb** in-flight aircraft bound from Great Britain to the United States using liquid-based explosives that were nondetectable using current bomb and explosives detection technology. The explosives were to be peroxide-based liquids that would be carried on board concealed as sports drinks and which would be primed by the mixing of reagents, followed by their detonation. Triacetone triperoxide (TATP) has been identified as the most likely explosive. Once it is produced by mixing the reagents, it is easily initiated by shock, heat, fire, or electrical charge but is a relatively low-yield explosive.

Seven flights were **targeted**, namely, Air Canada's Flight 865 to Montreal and Flight 849 to Toronto; American Airlines' Flight 91 to Chicago and Flight 131 to New York; and United Airlines' Flight 959 to Chicago, Flight 931 to San Francisco, and Flight 925 to Washington, D.C. The attacks were to have occurred around 16 August 2006 and were intended to destroy all seven airplanes en route over the Atlantic Ocean, to make forensic analysis of the debris impossible.

Had the attacks been successful, it is estimated that at least 1,500 people would have been killed.

Of the 24 suspects originally arrested, only eight were charged with conspiracy to commit murder and conspiracy to bomb aircraft. The suspects were all British men of Pakistani origin, including Abdullah Ahmad 'Ali, 27, believed to have been the cell leader in Great Britain; Mohammad Gulzar, 27, believed to have been the group's supervisor and link to supporters in Pakistan; Assad Sarwar, 28, believed to have been the group's explosives expert; and Tanvir Hussein, 27, Umar Islam, 30, Arafat Waheed Khan, 27, Ibrahim Savant, 27, and Waheed Zaman, 24. Rashid Rauf, another suspect believed to have been supervising the operation along with Gulzar, eluded arrest in Britain but was detained after fleeing to Pakistan; he apparently was set free by his police escorts on 15 December 2007. On 15 December 2007, U.S. and Pakistani officials claimed that Rauf was killed on 22 November 2008 by a predator drone unmanned aerial vehicle, a claim that his family denied.

Shortly after the plot was exposed, the U.S. Homeland Security Secretary, Michael Chertoff, stated that this plot appeared to have been an **al Qa'eda** operation. The director of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), Lieutenant General Michael D. Maples, had testified before the U.S. Senate in 2007 that both 'Ali and Sarwar had made several trips to Chaman in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan bordering Afghanistan, where they were believed to have met with senior al Qa'eda personnel, while Rauf and Gulzar were believed to have been the main operational supervisors on behalf of al Qa'eda. During the raids police seized bomb-making equipment and computers and storage media with over 6,000 gigabytes of memory. The men had bought a flat in London for \$271,000 in cash, which is believed to have come from al Qa'eda. The plot was exposed by an undercover agent. The trial began on 3 April 2008 and ended on 8 September 2008 with the convictions of 'Ali, Sarwar, and Tanvir on charges of conspiracy to commit murder but no convictions on the charges of conspiracy to bomb aircraft in flight. While Mohammad Gulzar was acquitted of all charges, the other seven defendants also confessed to seeking to create a public nuisance over plans to distribute their martyrdom videos, which were to have been released upon the bombings of the airplanes. None of the eight defendants admitted to the charge of

seeking to bomb aircraft. During the trial the prosecution did not present evidence of involvement by al Qa'eda.

This bomb plot recalled the 1995 “Oplan Bojinka” of al Qa'eda operative Ramzi Yousef, who was collaborating with the **Abu Sayyaf Group** to bomb 10 U.S. airliners en route from the Philippines to the United States. In particular the plans had in common the elements of simultaneous multiple attacks, the targeting of airplanes, and the use of bomb-making materials being smuggled aboard and assembled in flight.

The exposure of this plot led to temporary cancellations of Britain-U.S. flights, to a heightened **aviation security** alert, and to new Transportation Security Administration regulations forbidding carry-on liquids or gels, excepting prepared infant formulas. British Airlines alone claimed to have suffered £40 million in losses due to canceled flights and an additional £100 million due to costs imposed by the new baggage-handling requirements.

BROOKLYN BOMBING PLOT. Acting on a tip from an Arabic-speaking informant, on 31 July 1997 New York police raided a Brooklyn apartment, shooting two men before either of them could detonate several pipe **bombs** amid other bomb-making materials. Two days before this raid, a note had been mailed to the U.S. Department of State warning of a series of attacks unless **Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman** and Ramzi Ahmad Yousef, along with Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, a **Hamas** leader jailed in Israel, were released. At the raided apartment, police found a draft of the same note.

The two men, Gazi Ibrahim Abu Mezer and Lafi Khalil, had two pipe bombs assembled, made with black powder and loaded with nails as shrapnel; each bomb could have killed targets up to 25 feet away within an enclosed space. They were apparently planning to bomb the Atlantic Avenue subway station and a commuter bus; the presence of toggle switches on the bombs and lack of any timer or remote detonating device suggested that the two men were planning **suicide attacks**. The two men, both Palestinian, had entered and remained in the United States in violation of immigration law, Abu Mezer having falsely claimed Israeli persecution to seek **asylum**, and Khalil having a bogus alien registration document. Neither man was found to have any known connection to Hamas or other Islamic militant groups. Abu Mezer was convicted of conspiracy to use a **weapon**

of mass destruction on 23 July 1998, while Khalil was acquitted of charges relating to the bombing plot but convicted for possession of a forged immigration document.

The 9/11 Commission Report of July 2004 specifically mentioned the illegal entry of Abu Mezer into the United States from Canada as an instance of the ease with which terrorists were able to enter the United States.

BURN SYNDROME. Term describing the condition in which a terrorist, spy, or smuggler involved in a covert activity becomes obsessed with the idea that he or she is being observed and his or her actions being exposed. This compulsive fear leads the person to behave or to speak in a suspicious manner that then tends to lead to the person being exposed and apprehended. Such excessive nervous behavior helped to tip a U.S. immigration agent on 14 December 1999 to arrest an Algerian, Ahmad Rassam, for smuggling explosives from Canada, which exposed an **al Qa'eda** plot to **bomb** Los Angeles International Airport as well as other **targets** in North America and Europe during upcoming millennium celebrations.

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CABINDA LIBERATION FRONT-CABINDA LIBERATION FORCES (FLEC-FAC). Cabinda is the oil-rich enclave of Angola separated from the rest of the country by the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire) on both banks of the Congo River from its estuary inland. During the Angolan civil war between the forces of **UNITA** (União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola) and those of the Angolan government, which had continued intermittently since Portugal gave independence to its former colony in 1975, there has also been separatist violence by antigovernment forces in the Cabinda enclave that seek independence from the rest of Angola.

During 1990 the Frente para a Libertação de Enclave de Cabinda (FLEC) **kidnapped** 13 French oil workers, several Congolese workers, and two Portuguese aid workers, who were all held hostage but later released unharmed. In 1992 FLEC kidnapped three Portuguese construction workers and two French citizens, as well as attacking

Chevron buses used to transport workers. In the most serious incident that year, in December, FLEC murdered three Angolan employees of Chevron. In February 1993 FLEC kidnapped an officer of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission, who was released unharmed three weeks later. In May 1993 forces of FLEC and UNITA reportedly joined together in an attack on the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, which is managed by Chevron International of America, and took several Portuguese workers hostage. In January 1995 FLEC took credit for a mortar attack on the Chevron administration building in Malongo. On 8 February 1997 FLEC and the Forças Armadas de Libertação (FAC) kidnapped and threatened to kill two forest workers, one Malaysian and one Filipino, whom they accused of spying for the Angolan government. On 23 March and 22 April 1998 FLEC-FAC kidnapped three Portuguese construction workers. On these occasions FLEC-FAC issued warnings to all foreign companies to leave Cabinda to deprive the Angolan government of the oil revenues it needed.

One breakaway faction of FLEC, calling itself the FLEC-Renovada, signed a separate peace accord with the Angolan government in August 2006 that has been denounced by the parent FLEC-FAC body.

CARLOS (1949–). Carlos, “the Jackal,” whose true name was Ilich Ramírez Sánchez, was a Venezuelan-born terrorist who became briefly notorious in the mid-1970s before sinking into obscurity. Born into a middle-class but Communist family, Sánchez was named in honor of Lenin. Later he went to a Cuban youth camp and ultimately attended Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow but was expelled in 1971 for frivolity. Others maintain that he was really recruited as a Soviet intelligence (KGB) agent and that the expulsion was faked to maintain his cover.

Using the nom de guerre “Carlos,” Sánchez went to Paris, where he took command of a **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine** (PFLP) cell in the early 1970s. He is believed to have made an **assassination** attempt on 31 December 1973 against Marks and Spencer magnate Teddy Zieff, who was injured but not killed due to a gun malfunction. Carlos was implicated in terrorist **bombings** of three pro-Israeli newspapers and an attempt to destroy an El Al airliner at Orly airport in 1975, but is best remembered for his role in the **OPEC Siege** at the OPEC Secretariat headquarters in Vienna on

21 December 1975 in which he held 11 OPEC oil ministers hostage and collected a massive ransom from the governments of Iran and Saudi Arabia, reportedly over \$50 million.

After that episode he dropped out of view. For some time it was speculated that he was either dead or else had become a trainer of terrorists in Libya or Syria. In 1983 a group calling itself the **Organization for the Armed Arab Struggle** surfaced, reportedly under Carlos's leadership, and carried out the bombing of a Paris-Toulouse train, the Capitole, in March 1982, and the bombing of a train station in Marseilles in December 1983, apparently to put pressure on the French government to release his lover, Magdalena Kopp, a **Red Army Faction** (RAF) member serving a jail sentence in France on a conviction for illegal possession of firearms and explosives. After some brief activity, this group also subsided into obscurity.

In the 1980s Carlos settled in Damascus, Syria, where he was reunited in December 1985 with Kopp, whom he then married. He remained in Syria under the protection of President Hafiz al Asad until December 1993, when French officials learned of his whereabouts and began to press for his **extradition**. The Syrian government, which was finding its association with terrorist groups an embarrassment, forced him to leave. Carlos apparently spent time in Yemen before deciding to move to Sudan. He was arrested by Sudanese officials on 14 August 1994 and handed over to French officials. It seemed the governments of both Syria and Sudan viewed Carlos as an anachronistic misfit and saw political advantages with the West in helping to turn him over since he was no longer a useful asset for their current political agendas.

Carlos boasted of having been responsible for killing 83 people in the 1970s and 1980s, although French authorities considered him a suspect in terrorist attacks in which 15 people were killed and over 200 injured in France alone. For a long time the mass media wrongly associated him with the **Black September Organization** (BSO) attack on the Israeli Olympic team in 1972, and he was rumored to have been linked to more than 30 other major terrorist actions. Most of this was part of a myth that Carlos himself helped spin, but upon his arrest most terrorist experts, among them Brian Jenkins, stated that his significance had been greatly exaggerated and that he was often a mediocre and bungling terrorist. After a 10-day trial, he was sentenced on 24 December 1997 to life imprisonment for murdering three people in 1975, namely, two

Paris police officers and the PFLP terrorist who had become an Israeli informant, Michel Moukharbel. On 16 January 1999 he was cleared of a charge for a bombing in 1974. In 1999 Austria was seeking to extradite Carlos to face charges stemming from the OPEC siege.

Carlos wrote a series of articles published in *Le Monde*, apparently in violation of French corrections policies limiting his correspondence with the outside world, that were released in June 2003 as a book co-authored with journalist Jean-Michel Vernochet, *L'islam révolutionnaire* (Revolutionary Islam), in which he praised **Osama bin Laden** along with the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**, rationalizing **Islamic fundamentalist** terrorism in the name of class warfare. Carlos claims to have converted to Islam following his conviction in 1997. In 2005 he filed a complaint with the European Court of Human Rights, claiming his long years of solitary confinement constituted a violation of his rights, but the Court dismissed his complaint, which he began appealing in 2006. Carlos is currently serving his sentence in Clairvaux prison.

CELLULAR ORGANIZATION. To protect themselves from penetration and also to maintain control over members, most terrorist groups opt for a cellular organization. Cells are groups of three to 10 members headed by one leader. Rudimentary terrorist organizations such as the **Symbionese Liberation Army** (SLA) by default have a cellular structure, but in the case of larger organizations having hundreds of members, such as the **Basque Fatherland and Liberty** (ETA) group, the cellular organization protects the entire organization from penetration. Whereas the ordinary bureaucratic organization is pyramidal, hierarchical, and transparent, the cellular system is better described as a circular, or “solar,” system, whose links to other cells or parts of the organization remain hidden.

Within each cell, the ordinary members may know one another but have no knowledge of the existence of other cells or of their members and have no link to the rest of the organization except through the cell leader. Cell leaders, in turn, may have no other link to the rest of the organization except through group leaders subordinate to a central operations committee. In the event members of one cell are captured and interrogated, they can reveal only what they know of their own cell. Even that knowledge can be limited through the use of false names among the group members, while the cell itself

may adopt a distinctive name to mask its relationship with the parent organization.

The circumstances under which terrorists operate perhaps ensure that only those organizations having cellular structures can continue to survive for long. The **Irish Republican Army** (IRA) originally conceived of itself as a regular army and so produced general orders, official handbooks, rules, and records of courts-martial and had the hierarchical command structure of a regular army. The need of clandestinity to protect the organization from penetration by informers or the confessions of captured members forced the IRA to adopt a cellular structure.

It should be noted that many or even most cells in a terrorist organization may be merely support groups that do not directly execute terrorist activities. Their members may run businesses or operate safe houses that provide support to people whose identities and about whose activities they may know nothing.

The “sleeper cells,” or autonomous leadership units, are cells that remain inactive for a long period to infiltrate a nation or an organization, but which may become active after a certain time when they have achieved access to a critical facility. Following the **World Trade Center bombing** the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) began to suspect that Middle Eastern **Islamic fundamentalist** groups had been setting up such sleeper cells within the United States to activate at some later, critical time.

Apart from cells in a networked structure, there are also cases of free-floating “phantom” cells, which are independent entities fed by an environment of **ideological** extremism. The Symbionese Liberation Army was one such free-floating cell that fed off the currents of left-wing extremism and antiwar activism in the 1970s, whereas Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, who fed off the environment of antigovernment extremism and prejudice found among right-wing extremists in the 1990s, may be considered a right-wing variant of the free-floating cell.

Many **ethnonationalist** groups maintain parallel political front and military wing structures. The political front is a relatively transparent, hierarchical organization that can serve as a legitimate political party or interest group if conditions allow, yet it also has a shadow military organization, organized on a solar cellular basis, which is linked to the leaders in the political front by some “chain network,” a series of personal links so that authorities may not easily track the connections between the political and military wings. In the event the authorities

crack down on the political front and arrest all known leaders, the military wing can swing into action on the basis of contingency orders to retaliate for the seizure of their leaders and to pressure for their release. *See also* NETWAR; NETWORKS; ORGANIZATION OF TERRORIST GROUPS.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY HEADQUARTERS ATTACK. On 25 January 1993 a lone gunman walked up to a line of cars waiting to enter the headquarters compound of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in Langley, Virginia, and opened fire with an AK-47 machine gun, killing two CIA employees—a communications worker, Frank Darling, and an analyst, Lansing Bennett—and injuring two other CIA workers and one telephone repairman. The gunman, a Pakistani immigrant named Mir Aimal Kansi, seemingly acted alone and was motivated by anger over U.S. influence in Pakistan, U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East, and the treatment of Palestinians by Israel. Kansi was born into a well-to-do family in Quetta, which borders Afghanistan and which was a center for a \$3 billion CIA paramilitary operation supporting the anti-Soviet **Mujahideen**. A specialized Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) **counterterrorism** team arrested Kansi in Pakistan on 17 June 1997 and returned him to the United States, where he was tried in a Virginia state court on murder charges and sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of Bennett. On 14 November 1997 Kansi received a sentence of death for the murder of Darling because he had shot him twice, first in the back but then once more in the head, which the jury believed demonstrated excessive brutality. Kansi was not tried under U.S. federal antiterrorism statutes because he apparently acted alone.

Following the conviction of Kansi, gunmen in Karachi, Pakistan, opened fire, killing four American workers from a Texas oil and gas company, along with their driver, in apparent retaliation for the court ruling. On 14 November 2002, Kansi was executed by lethal injection in a Virginia state prison.

CHECHNYAN TERRORISM. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, one of the strongest challenges to the territorial integrity of the successor Russian Federation has come from **ethnonationalist** and **Islamic fundamentalist** extremists seeking independence for the Chechen Republic from Russia. Chechnya is one of

several enclaves of non-Russian Muslim ethnicities in the Caucasus region, an area which already experienced separatist ethnic strife in the Nagorno-Karabakh war between Armenia and Azerbaijan in the period 1988–1994, as well as the secessionist movement among the Abkhazian Muslim minority in Georgia. A successful secession of the Chechnyan region would have grave implications for the rest of Russia, in which Muslim ethnic minorities are estimated to number around 18 million and in which several other non-Russian minorities exist.

In 1859 the Muslim regions of the northern Caucasus, including Chechnya and Dagestan, were incorporated into the Tsarist empire after decades of fighting and resistance. During 1944–1953 a mass deportation of Chechens to Central Asia was ordered by Joseph Stalin due to alleged Chechen wartime collaboration with the Nazi invaders. On 6 September 1991 a retired Soviet air force general, Dzhukar Dudayev, led a coup against the regional government and declared Chechnya's independence. After Russia adopted its new constitution on 12 December 1993, its new government refused to recognize Chechen claims to independence. From 11 December 1994 to 27 May 1996, the Russians fought to reassert control over Chechnya, but weak political and military direction led to high Russian casualties and repeated humiliations of Russian troops at the hands of Chechen militias and guerrillas. The fighting concluded with a peace agreement that allowed increased autonomy for Chechnya and an interim Russian role in security affairs but which fell short of the recognition of independence sought by Chechen nationalists and fundamentalist extremists.

During and following the disastrous Russian 20-month campaign of 1994–1996, a number of terrorist attacks involving **assassinations, bombings, kidnappings, and suicide attacks** were carried out by Chechen militias, including many on foreign contract workers, humanitarian workers, and missionaries, as well as against Russians and moderate Chechens. On 14 June 1995 a Chechen rebel leader and extremist, Shamil Basayev (1965–2006), seized 1,000 hostages at a hospital in the Russian town of Budyonnovsk. After four days of fighting, Russian troops retook the hospital at a cost of 150 lives, but the rebels escaped with about 100 hostages. On 4 December 1995 a bombing of the Russian administration building in Grozny killed 11 people and injured more than 60. On 9 January 1996 Chechen rebels

attacked a hospital in Kizlyar, Dagestan, and seized over 3,000 hostages. A week later, Chechen rebel sympathizers **hijacked** a Black Sea ferry bound from Trabzon, Turkey, to Sochii, Russia, holding 165 passengers and crew hostage but releasing them shortly thereafter.

Following the tentative peace between Russia and Chechen rebel leaders, more terrorist attacks continued, with six Red Cross workers being murdered on 17 December 1996, leading to a suspension of Red Cross efforts in Chechnya. On 28 April 1997 a bomb struck a train station in Pyatigorsk, in southern Russia, killing one person and injuring 11 others, for which Chechen militants were blamed. In July 1997 British relief workers were kidnapped but then released by militants after more than 14 months in captivity. In October 1997 Hungarian relief workers were kidnapped but were released by militants eight months later. On 3 October 1998 four British telecommunications workers installing a cellular telephone system were kidnapped by rebels; when Chechen security forces tried to rescue them, all four were beheaded on 7 December.

Part of the continuing violence was directed not only at foreigners working within Chechnya but also against Chechen security officials, as well as Russian troops and border police in nearby Dagestan. These attacks appeared to be part of a power struggle between nationalist Chechens, who favored more conciliatory relations with Russia, and more radical fundamentalists intent on sabotaging the negotiations with Russia as well as pushing the interim Chechnyan government further in the direction of an Islamic state. Although Dudayev, who was killed by Russian missiles on 25 April 1996, and his successor as Chechen president, Aslan Maskhadov, were primarily nationalists for whom Islam was but part of the Chechen national identity, many other Chechen factions sought to create a more Islamic fundamentalist state.

One of the main rebel fighters, Shamil Basayev, acted as a virtually independent warlord and was willing to side with more extreme Islamic fundamentalists to enhance his own power within Chechnya. Basayev had helped Abkhazian Muslim secessionists in Georgia in 1992–1993, and in post-1996 Chechnya he sided with fundamentalist extremists led by Khattab, a Jordanian of Chechen descent and Afghan war veteran, who was a promoter of the Wahhabi sect of Islam. Khattab was later killed in a Russian ambush in March 2002. On 10 June 1997, after denouncing Wahhabism in a sermon, a prominent Grozny

mullah, Hasanbek Yakhyayev, was murdered by an Islamic militant. On 16 July 1998 Chechen security forces began fighting Wahhabi fundamentalists in Gudermes, the second-largest city in Chechnya.

Several terrorist acts appeared to have been aimed at sabotaging negotiations between Russia and more moderate Chechen leaders. On 19 March 1999 a powerful bombing in Vladikavkaz, in the Ossetia region of Russia, killed 58 and injured 100. On 21 March 1999 Chechen President Maskhadov survived a car-bomb assassination attempt, reportedly the fifth attempt on his life, which apparently was carried out by Chechen extremists. In fact, these attempts by extremists to push the Chechen government in the direction of increased Islamization were partly effective. At the same time that Russia had abolished its death penalty to comply with European Union human rights standards, Chechnya officially imposed death sentences for violations of Islamic law and televised these executions.

In August 1999, matters came to a head when the Chechen Wahhabi extremists, led by Basayev, provoked attacks in Daghestan in an attempt to create a "Russian-free zone" or corridor under Chechen control from Chechnya to the Caspian Sea. Unlike Chechnya, in which the Chechens are the predominant nationality, neighboring Daghestan has over 30 national groups, including non-Muslim minorities, few of whom had aspirations for greater autonomy from Russia. Within three weeks Russian forces regained most of the disputed Daghestani villages, and Basayev and his followers were forced to withdraw to Chechnya. On 9 and 13 September 1999, two major bombings destroyed apartment complexes in Moscow, killing more than 32 in the first attack and more than 76 in the second attack. In Volgodonsk, on 16 September 1999, another apartment-complex bombing killed 18. A total of five such bombings took place within Russia during September 1999, killing 243 people and injuring 1,742 others, for which credit was claimed by anonymous telephone calls stating that the bombings were in retaliation for Russian air strikes in the Daghestan campaign. Some Russian sources alleged that **Osama bin Laden** had been involved not only in support for the Chechen Wahhabis but also in backing the bombing campaign within Russia. Although several Russian émigrés later asserted that the Russian government had itself carried out the Moscow and Volgodonsk bombings, nonetheless the Russian Prosecutor-General's office declared the investigation closed on 30 April 2003.

On 1 October 1999 Russia began what has been described as its “second Chechnyan” war, ostensibly to destroy terrorist training camps and to root terrorism out of the Caucasus region. Some observers believe that the government of Boris Yeltsin was deliberately playing up Russian national feelings and resentments over the disastrous 1994–1996 war to create a mood of national unity and support for his government that would help his electoral coalition in the 19 December 1999 parliamentary elections. In fact, both the alleged Chechen bombings within Russia occurring that autumn and the second offensive late in 1999 were to help Boris Yeltsin’s successor, Vladimir Vladimirovitch Putin, to bolster his image as a hard-line defender of Russian nationalist values prior to the presidential elections in Russia. In late December 1999 Russian troops had succeeded in occupying much of Chechnya and captured Grozny on 6 February 2000 following a two-month siege. In the Russian presidential election of 26 March 2000, Putin won a majority of 53 percent, an electoral mandate achieved in part by public perceptions of his effectiveness in suppressing the Chechen revolt.

The main external support for the Chechen extremists appears to come from the estimated 15,000-strong “Afghans,” those Islamic veteran volunteers who came from outside Afghanistan to help the **Mujahideen** fight the Soviet occupation in that country and who have since then dispersed throughout the Muslim world, seeking to promote Islamist **insurgencies** elsewhere, including Chechnya. However, the Islamic Republic of Iran, which found itself at odds with the Sunni Wahhabi-dominated “Afghans” and with the Wahhabi-dominated **Taliban** regime in Afghanistan, had its own geopolitical reasons to support Russia in its attempts to contain the spread of Wahhabi-style fundamentalism in the Caucasus region. Azerbaijan, with its more secularized society and predominantly Shi’ite Muslim culture, has not shown itself inclined to support the Chechens in this conflict with Russia. Georgia, however, which earlier had suffered from a Russian-backed secessionist movement among the Abkhazians, in effect gave passive support to Chechen rebels by allowing them to use the Pankisi Gorge area as a staging area for attacks within Russian territory and by allowing them to set up offices in Tbilisi. Russia later accused Georgia of supplying the Chechens with some of its 146 or so Igla shoulder-held anti-aircraft missiles.

On 9 May 2002 a remotely detonated antipersonnel mine exploded during a Victory Day parade in Kaspyisk, in the Daghestan region of Russia, killing 41 people, including 17 children and 18 members of the military band in the parade, and injuring 130 other bystanders. On 19 August 2002 Chechen rebels used an Igla ground-to-air shoulder-fired missile to down a Russian military Mi-26 transport helicopter in Grozny, killing all 119 onboard. On 20 August 2002 a bombing of an apartment complex in a northeastern district of Moscow destroyed all four stories of the middle section of the complex, killing eight residents. On 26 September 2002 about 300 Chechens crossed into Ingushetia from the Pankisi Gorge area in Georgia in an attack on Galashki in which 80 of the attackers were killed along with 14 Russian soldiers. Russia accused Georgia of supplying the Igla missiles to the Chechens, which allowed them to destroy several Russian helicopters in the next three years, and demanded the **extradition** of 13 Chechens wanted for attacks within Russia. On 4 October 2002 Georgia extradited five of them and held the remaining eight in prison.

During the evening of 23 October 2002, about 42 Chechens, of whom 19 were females, seized more than 800 hostages in the **Moscow theater siege**. On 26 October 2002, when Russian forces surrounding the theater heard gunfire erupting, they incapacitated the attackers and hostages with narcotic fentanyl gas, which unfortunately killed 127 hostages along with 33 of the attackers. Credit for the attack was claimed by Basayev.

On 30 October 2002 Russia pressured Denmark into arresting Akhmad Zakayev, an ambassador-at-large for the Chechen nationalist rebels, but whom Russia accused of involvement with the attacks led by Basayev. Denmark released Zakayev on 5 December 2002 for lack of evidence that he was involved in terrorism. On 31 October 2002 Russia demanded the extradition from Qatar of Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev, an associate of Basayev who had fled Chechnya when Russia besieged Grozny in 1999, accusing him of complicity in Chechen terrorism and also alleging he was tied to al Qa'eda. Although Qatar declined to extradite him, both Georgia and Azerbaijan yielded to Russian demands to close the offices of Chechen separatists in their territories. On 13 February 2004 Yandarbiyev was killed by a bomb hidden in his car when he was returning from Friday prayers in Doha, Qatar. Two others in the car were killed, and his 13-year-old son was badly burned and injured. Later, on 30 June 2004, a Qatar court convicted

two Russian agents, Anatoly V. Belashkov and Vasily A. Bogachyov, for this bombing and assassination. On 27 December 2002 two bomb-laden vans driven by suicide bombers struck the main governmental building of Chechnya's Russian-supported government, killing 40 and injuring 70. On the same day French security forces arrested four Arabs with ties to Chechen rebels and to al Qa'eda for their involvement in a plot to bomb the Russian embassy in Paris.

On 23 March 2003 a referendum held in Chechnya affirmed the Chechen people's willingness to remain an integral part of the Russian Federation. On 12 May 2003 a truck bomb with the equivalent of one ton of TNT driven by suicide volunteers demolished government buildings in Znamenskoye, Chechnya, killing 59 people. In the first five months of 2003 there were at least 111 attacks by Chechen terrorists, with a surprising number using female suicide bombers, referred to by the Russia media as *shahidki* (female martyrs, singular: *shahidka*), also known as "black widows." On 5 July 2003 two female suicide bombers attacked a rock 'n' roll concert at Tushino airfield outside Moscow, killing 16. On 27 July 2003 another female suicide bomber killed one person in Tsatsan-Yurt, in Chechnya. Shamil Basayev claimed to have dispatched more than 36 female suicide bombers. In the period 2000–2005, about 16 attacks involved female participants. On 2 August 2003 a truck bombing of the military hospital in Mozdok, North Ossetia, killed 35. On 5 December 2003 a suicide bombing of a commuter train in Yessentuki, in the Stravropol region, using the equivalent of 20 pounds of plastic explosives, killed 42 passengers and injured 150. On 9 December 2003 a suicide bombing of the National Hotel, just off Red Square, killed five and injured 13.

On 6 February 2004 a suicide bombing by a female Chechen in a Moscow subway station killed 39 and injured 130. On 9 May 2004 a bombing during Victory Day celebrations at Dynamo Stadium in Grozny killed Chechen President Akhmed Kadyrov. On 21 June 2004 a Chechen raid on the Ingushetian town of Nazran by 200 militants resulted in the virtual seizure of the city from Russian control for over a day, during which 97 people were killed and 105 injured. The rebels looted government buildings of weapons and explosives and then left the city. On 13 July 2004 the acting president of Chechnya, Sergei Abramov, narrowly escaped assassination when a bomb exploded at a construction site he was inspecting. On 24 August 2004

two Russian civilian airliners that had departed from Moscow were bombed in midflight: Volga Avia Express Flight 1303, a Tupolev-134, crashed near Buchalki, 100 miles south of Moscow, en route to Volgograd, with all 43 aboard killed; Sibir Airlines Flight 1047, a Tupolev-153, en route to Sochii, crashed near Rostov-on-Don, killing all 46 aboard. The bombers were two Chechen women feigning pregnancy who had been waived inspection by security men, who later were charged and convicted for having accepted bribes to allow them on board. Analysis of the wreckage confirmed that the high-yield explosive hexogen had been used in the in-flight bombings. On 31 August 2004 another female suicide bomber attacked the Moscow subway, killing nine and injuring 50, for which credit was claimed in the name of the Islambouli Brigades of al Qa'eda.

The most infamous attack by Chechen terrorists was the 1–3 September 2004 **Beslan School siege and massacre** in which over 800 students of Public School No.1 in Beslan, North Ossetia, were seized as hostages by at least 30 militants, of whom four were women. Like the **Moscow theater siege**, the hostage takers planted explosives throughout the gym in which over 800 students in grades one through eight were being held. They demanded the release of fellow combatants seized in neighboring Ingushetia and threatened to kill themselves and their hostages if their demands were not met or if a rescue was attempted. After 53 hours, in which Russian security forces had barricaded the hostage takers, explosions erupted, and a confused situation ensued in which 335 people, mainly children, were killed and 719 others injured. Only one of the hostage takers was captured alive. Shamil Basayev claimed credit for this operation, which galvanized censure of the Chechen leader throughout the world. On 8 September 2004 the Russian government set a bounty of \$10 million each for the capture or killing of Shamil Basayev and Aslan Maskhadov. Maskhadov was later killed during a raid by Russian security forces on 8 March 2005.

Russian authorities protested the 2 August 2005 airing by the American ABC television network of an interview with Shamil Basayev, and the Ministry of Defense press office broke off ties with ABC. The most ambitious Chechen attack was launched on 13 October 2005 upon Nalchik, the capital of the Kabardino-Balkaria region in the Caucasus, involving an attempt to seize aircraft in order to carry out an attack similar to the **World Trade Center and**

Pentagon Attacks of September 11, 2001, but the attack was foiled by Russian security forces. Some 100 to 150 militants attacked multiple targets in Nalchik, with 100 people killed, of whom 60 were terrorists. Unlike the Moscow theater and Beslan attacks, on this occasion Russian security forces appeared to have very good prior **intelligence** and were able to thwart the attackers, whose ranks apparently included larger numbers of ill-prepared Chechen recruits. One reason that Russian intelligence was improving was due to the war-weariness of Chechens, who were appalled by the Beslan attack as well as by the use of women as suicide bombers, and who also did not sympathize with the Wahhabi brand of Islam being imposed by Basayev and his associates. The increasing numbers of non-Chechen fighters in Basayev's forces also seems to reflect his declining ability to attract Chechen recruits.

On 10 July 2006 Russian security forces, relying on improved intelligence and cooperation with the non-Russian population of the Caucasus regions, ambushed Shamil Basayev in Ingushetia and killed him. President Putin awarded special medals of military merit for all security forces involved in the killing of Basayev. Since the death of Basayev, the Chechnyan insurgency has appeared to be in decline, although isolated terrorist attacks continue: From 10 July to 14 September 2006, there were 19 minor attacks in the Caucasus region, with most of the attacks occurring in Daghestan and Ingushetia, and only occasional attacks in Chechnya and Ossetia. These attacks included one **arson** of a government building in Grozny, 11 armed attacks, and seven bombings, with totals of only six fatalities and 10 injuries. Only three of the attacks had claims of responsibility, one in the name of the Kata'ib al Khoul, an Ossetian group, and the other in the name of the Daghestani Shari'ah Jama'at, which had collaborated with Basayev during his ill-fated 1999 incursion into Daghestan. The lack of spectacular raids involving hundreds of rebels and the lack of any apparent operational reach into central European Russia following the 2005 Nalchik raid seems to confirm the decline in the Chechnyan terrorist movement since the elimination of its small cadre of competent leaders.

CHICAGO CONVENTION. Same as the Convention on International Civil Aviation. *See* AIR TRAVEL SECURITY.

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY. *See* IDENTITY CHRISTIANITY.

CHRISTIAN-PATRIOTS DEFENSE LEAGUE (C-PDL). The

C-PDL was a nonstate group of right-wing survivalists who sought to create a **militia** and fortified encampments to preserve white, Christian Americans against a coming Communist invasion and racial war. Although the group's aims appeared to be limited by the remoteness of the imagined future holocaust, insofar as the group formed part of the network of **white supremacist** and anti-Semitic groups, such as the **Aryan Nations** and **Ku Klux Klan**, it held the same **revolutionary** goals of resisting and destroying the U.S. government, or what such circles refer to as the "Zionist Occupation Government."

Despite the similarity in names, the C-PDL was not directly related to the **Identity Christianity** preacher Wesley Smith's Christian Defense League; rather, it was the brainchild of John Robert Harrell, "Johnny Bob," a former mausoleum salesman who devoted himself to the Identity Christian message after experiencing an apocalyptic vision during an illness in 1959. Convinced that a Jewish conspiracy was leading to a Communist invasion of the United States as well as to a racial war, Harrell sought to train militia to defend a Mid-America Survival Zone. He became an associate of Robert dePugh, founder of the **Minutemen**, and became a frequent contributor to the Minutemen's tabloid *On Target*.

Harrell gave refuge to a Marine who had gone AWOL after embracing the Identity creed, and in August 1961 federal agents overran Harrell's fortified Louisville, Illinois, estate, where they found four underground two-man bunkers and stockpiles of food and ammunition. Harrell and his followers did not resist arrest, and Harrell was sentenced to four years in prison for harboring a federal fugitive and on various tax evasion charges. After dePugh was imprisoned in 1968 on a conspiracy conviction, Harrell created four organizations to fill the void left by the defunct Minutemen. The religious organization was the Christian Conservative Church of America, which teaches a synthesis of Christianity, nationalism, anti-Semitism, and anti-Communism; the political branch was the Christian-Patriots Defense League; the military branch was the Citizens Emergency Defense System, a private militia; and the fundraising branch was the Paul Revere Club. One could be a member of the religious branch without having to belong to the other branches, while members of the military and political branches were not required to believe in the group's Identity Christian doctrine so long as they otherwise supported its white supremacist and anti-Semitic agenda.

The C-PDL operated a 220-acre compound beside the Mark Twain National Forest, near Licking, Missouri; a 55-acre paramilitary training facility near Flora, Illinois; and a “survival base” near Smithville, West Virginia. The group hosted an annual Freedom Festival in Flora in which survivalist and Identity groups conducted weapons workshops and held Identity doctrine speeches and seminars. In recent years the group has ceased to be active.

CHUKAKU-HA. Also known as the Japan Revolutionary Communist League, Chukaku-Ha (“central core” or “nucleus faction”) was a Japanese **revolutionary** Marxist group that originated from a 1957 split in the Japanese Communist Party and that has sought to overturn Japan’s constitutional system and monarchy. Chukaku-Ha was the largest faction out of the 23 factions that made up the Japanese New Left movement as well as the largest militant domestic opposition group in Japan. The group’s anti-imperialist position was expressed in frequent protests against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, while its rejection of the Japanese corporate state was concretely expressed in its frequent attacks on the construction of the New Tokyo (Narita) International Airport and against the subway and railroad mass-transit systems.

Even though Chukaku-Ha could be considered typically leftist because of its membership in the Japanese New Left and its stated objectives and ideals, this group should also be considered anarchistic insofar as its program seemed more intent on destroying the existing Japanese corporate state than on building an alternative socialist state. Chukaku-Ha was not known to have any foreign **state sponsorship**. Almost all of its activities have taken place within Japan, and its base membership of 3,500 members supported 200 or so full-time activists. Among the full-time activists were members of the Kansai Revolutionary Army, the group’s covert active measures group that actually carried out most of the group’s terrorism.

The group relied on the use of homemade but sometimes surprisingly sophisticated incendiary **bombs**, flamethrowers, mortars, and rockets. Most of its **targets** have been property, whether the headquarters of the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party, the national railroad system, U.S. Armed Forces facilities, the Imperial Palace grounds, or government offices. Of 41 major incidents from 1984 to 1991, about 19 involved **arson** using incendiary bombs and devices and 10 involved the use of crude mortars and rocketlike devices;

there were also eight assaults and beatings, two bombings, one act of sabotage, and one murder. The group has used mass rallies of its general membership as feints to draw police attention away from actual targets. During one of the frequent clashes at the construction site of Narita airport, throngs of Chukaku-Ha members armed with Molotov cocktails rushed a police barricade and created a small riot. While police concentrated on holding back the demonstrators, the Chukaku-Ha covert operations specialists burglarized the control tower of the airport, entering through underground service corridors, and smashed much of the computer equipment there.

Actions included the 19 September 1984 assault on the headquarters of Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party, in which a truck with a flamethrower device was driven into the side of the building, gutting six of its nine floors. Meanwhile, the same group exploded a bomb near the Israeli embassy. On 25 March 1986 group members launched three of their homemade rockets at the Imperial Palace and another three at the U.S. embassy. On 4 May 1986 they launched five rockets at Akasaka Palace, where the economic summit of the seven major industrialized powers was being held. The rockets flew 3.5 kilometers and landed within 550 meters of their target. Because of the coincidence of this attack following the U.S. bombing raid on Libya, some observers speculated a Libyan connection, but Chukaku-Ha had been engaged in a spree of rocket launchings that year even before that raid. On 23 February 1991 the group fired rockets upon U.S. Navy housing outside Yokohama. Most of these rocket attacks have caused little damage and no harm to life or limb due to the missiles' inaccuracy. Other attacks included a bombing of the UN Technology Center in Osaka on 7 July 1993, which caused but minor damage. On 9 July 1993 the group fired four rockets at the U.S. Army base at Camp Zama during the G7 Summit in Tokyo, none of which caused any apparent damage.

On 15 November 1995, just a week before President Bill Clinton was due to be in Tokyo, small bombs were discovered attached to power lines of the U.S. military base at Sagami-hara, near Tokyo. One bomb exploded, causing only minor damage. While no group claimed responsibility, Chukaku-Ha was suspected as it had threatened to disrupt the Asian Pacific Economic Council meeting being held in Osaka during 13–19 November. On 1 June 1998 Chukaku-Ha claimed responsibility for attacks on three buses in Matsudo used for transportation to Narita airport, and on 23 January 2001 Chukaku-Ha

claimed responsibility for the bombing of the home of an official of Narita airport in which the garage and a car were damaged. Neither incident caused any injuries or fatalities. On 2 October 2001 a pipe bomb damaged the car of a Chiba prefecture government official whose work was connected with Narita airport. While no responsibility was claimed, Chukaka-Ha was suspected of being the perpetrator. Since 2001 the group is not known to have carried out any other attacks. In recent years, the following of the group appears to have declined but the current numbers of supporters and active members are not known.

CIA HEADQUARTERS ATTACK. *See* CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY HEADQUARTERS ATTACK.

CINCHONEROS POPULAR LIBERATION MOVEMENT. The Movimiento Popular de Liberación (MPL) was a **revolutionary** group under Cuban and Nicaraguan **state sponsorship** seeking to overthrow the Honduran government and to oppose the interests of the United States in the region. Its own **ideology** represented an eclectic blend of Marxist-Leninist and populist notions. The MPL was the armed wing of the People's Revolutionary Union, a splinter group of the Honduran Communist Party that appeared in 1980. Their informal name, Cinchoneros, is derived from the nickname of Serapio "Cinchonero" Romero, a Honduran peasant leader supposedly executed in the late 1800s.

The group's activities included **bombings** and **kidnappings**. While it largely financed itself through bank robberies and kidnapping for ransom, the MPL was suspected of receiving training, arms, logistical support, and funds from Cuba. Salvadoran **Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front** (FMLN) guerrillas reportedly trained Cinchonero forces within Honduras and participated with them in kidnapping operations. The **Sandinista** government allowed Cinchonero guerrillas **sanctuary** in Nicaraguan territory and had used them as auxiliary forces in fighting the **contras**.

On 24 March 1980 five Cinchoneros **hijacked** a Honduran Airlines 737 to Managua, Nicaragua, to force the release of 15 Salvadoran leftists imprisoned in Honduras. The hijacked plane was flown to Panama before the captive passengers and crew were finally released. On 17 September 1982 they took 105 hostages at an economic conference at the Chamber of Commerce in San Pedro

Sula, killing one guard and injuring two businessmen in the takeover. When their demands for the release of imprisoned comrades were not met, they traded the hostages for safe passage to Cuba. From August 1983 to March 1985, the group bombed U.S., Honduran, and Costa Rican business and airline offices in retaliation for these countries' military cooperation against the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. On 17 July 1988 the group claimed credit for an attack in San Pedro Sula in which some U.S. service members were wounded. On 25 January 1989 the group killed the former head of the Honduran army, General Gustavo Álvarez Martínez.

From late 1984 onward, the group appeared to withdraw into a period of reorganization. Little is known about its leadership, while its membership has been estimated to consist of, at most, about 200 combatants. Following the cutoff of Sandinista aid to the group, the leadership signed a peace agreement with Honduran government officials in March 1991. On 23 December 2004, when members of the Mara Salvatruchas (MS-13) gang attacked a bus in Chamalecon City, killing 28 passengers and injuring 12, they left a note in the name of the Cinchoneros Popular Liberation Movement, threatening President Ticardo Maduro and the speaker of the Honduran National Congress, Lobo Sosa, along with other politicians who were advocating a crackdown on MS-13 and other gangs.

CLARA ELIZABETH RAMÍREZ FRONT (CERF). The Frente Clara Elizabeth Ramírez was a splinter group that broke away in 1983 from the Popular Liberation Forces, one of the five major groups united into the **Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front** (FMLN). As such, it had essentially the same **revolutionary** objectives that the FMLN held at the time the group separated, that is, to overthrow the Salvadoran government and create a revolutionary state in El Salvador after the Nicaraguan model. Due to its defection from the FMLN, however, it cut itself off from Cuban or Sandinista backing.

CERF consisted of 10 to 20 well-trained urban guerrillas, who succeeded in preventing infiltration by security forces. CERF concentrated on **assassinations** and **targeted** in particular U.S. military personnel and advisers as well as Salvadoran military and police officials. Its record was short but deadly: On 23 May 1983 CERF shot Lieutenant Commander Albert Schaufelberger (U.S. Navy), deputy commander of the U.S. military advisory mission in El Salvador.

On 17 November 1984 CERF assassinated the security supervisor of the U.S. embassy, who was a Salvadoran national. On 7 March 1985 CERF shot and killed Lieutenant Colonel Ricardo Cienfuegos, chief Salvadoran military spokesman, at a downtown San Salvador health club. On 23 March 1985 CERF followed up with the assassination of General José Alberto Medrano, founder of **ORDEN** and patron of extreme right-wing groups and politicians.

On 19 June 1985 the Central American Workers' Revolutionary Party, a member group of the FMLN, publicly machine-gunned off-duty U.S. Marines and other patrons sitting in a sidewalk café in the Zona Rosa district, killing four and wounding nine others. The Salvadoran government responded with intensive **counterterrorism** operations that, in addition to capturing the responsible culprits, crippled but did not totally destroy CERF. Until the end of the Salvadoran conflict on 1 January 1992, CERF struggled to rebuild itself through recruitment efforts among university students, but with the end of the conflict this group was disbanded.

CNN SYNDROME. Sometimes shorted to “CNN-drome,” the term refers to the Atlanta-based Cable News Network (CNN) channel, which revolutionized news coverage by having 24-hour satellite and cable-fed news. This term was coined by Lieutenant Colonel David Bradford (USAF) to identify the effect of instant coverage of provocative major news events, such as terrorist attacks, in stampeding decision makers and the public into reactive statements and actions. Insofar as terrorists seek to exploit media coverage of their actions to pressure governments through psychological manipulation of the **targeted** audiences that are following the news as it unfolds, the CNN effect becomes a **force multiplier**, greatly magnifying the impact of terrorism. It also has the unfortunate effect of driving public opinion and policy makers into reacting before a careful marshaling and analysis of evidence can be completed. Thus, the chance remark by a person interviewed near the **Oklahoma City bombing** site that he had seen “a Middle Eastern-looking man” driving away from the scene of the bombing prompted both a flurry of false news media leads about purported Muslim or Middle Eastern terrorists and also a regrettable wave of anti-Arab and anti-Muslim bigotry and hostility among many Americans.

COLOMBIAN COCAINE CARTELS. These criminal syndicates are considered terrorist threats for at least three reasons. First, they are

considered agencies of a purported **narco-terrorism** threat; second, there is a growing concern about the convergence of **organized crime** with terrorism in the post-cold war era, and these groups are the clearest examples of such a convergence; and finally, the Colombian drug cartels have carried out **entrepreneurial terrorist** actions to eliminate leftist groups that have interfered with their operations as well as to co-opt and intimidate the national government of Colombia, which has been under U.S. pressure to eradicate the cocaine and opium drug trade within its borders. Researcher Robert Filippone studied in depth the structure and mode of operations of these cartels and presented his findings in the article “The Medellín Cartel: Why We Can’t Win the Drug War” (*Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 17, no. 4 [October–December 1994]: 323–44), some of which are summarized here.

The Medellín and Cali groups are not true cartels in the strict economic sense but rather two extended mob families that together have supplied as much as 80 percent of the world’s cocaine and sold about \$20 billion worth per year to markets in the United States and elsewhere, bringing about \$2–\$4 billion back to Columbia each year. The Medellín group alone accounted for about 60 percent of this trade in 1987 and had about 120,000 full-time employees, of whom 2,000–3,000 were stationed in the United States. Carlos Lehder Rivas, a member of one of Colombia’s cocaine-exporting families, promoted the creation of an expanded cocaine market in the United States, earning over \$1 million in profits from one air shipment. After eliminating Cuban rivals in Miami during 1978–1979, the cocaine-producing families of Colombia agreed to share this market in a cartel-like arrangement, rather than fighting among themselves. The actual organization joining these families was finalized due to the hostage-taking activities of the **M-19** leftist guerrillas, a common enemy against whom they could unite. In December 1981 the heads of these three leading cocaine-producing families contributed \$7.5 million each to establish their own security force and antileftist **death squad**, known as **Muerte a Secuestradores (MAS)** (Death to Kidnappers). Thus, the Medellín cartel became in effect a powerful entrepreneurial terrorist group able to strike at **targets** both within Colombia and throughout the world.

Under the triumvirate of Carlos Lehder, Jorge Ochoa, and Pablo Escobar, the Medellín cartel consisted of 17 other “families” that each carried out tasks of importing coca leaf, processing and refining

cocaine, and then smuggling and distributing the finished product within the United States according to the specialties of each organization. Each family was made up of related family groups, as well as neighbors, childhood buddies, and long-established friends. Those involved in the actual production and distribution of cocaine were organized into **cellular** groups to protect the others. The cocaine cartels employ over one million people in the Andean nations of Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia and in Brazil. The biggest buyers of coca leaf are cartels, who buy up most of the crop, offering the local farmers 3 to 15 times the legal price set by the government. About 55 percent of the coca leaf required by the cartel comes from Peru and Bolivia.

With their \$2 billion-a-year cash flow from the United States, the drug lords have been able to spend lavishly within Colombia at no harm to their own wealth and have gained reputations as providers for poor neighborhoods, employers of unemployed (and unemployable) young men of the slums, and benefactors of both communities and churches. In its battle for legitimacy with these cartels, the Colombian government has been unable or unwilling to provide many of the basic amenities and social services required by a modernizing nation. By means of this “narco-philanthropy,” the cartels have co-opted parts of the state, civil society, and even the church. This narco-philanthropy is merely one tactic in an overall strategy of **state co-optation**. There have been three parts to this strategy. First, murder: The Medellín cartel has specialized in the use of murder and violence to further its goals. Its antileftist paramilitary force, Muerte a Secuestradores, has in turn created over 180 urban death squads and execution squads to deal with those instances of honest and brave judges and police officers who have resisted the blandishments or threats of the cartel. Often these killings have been conducted in broad daylight in front of scores of witnesses to broadcast the event as much as possible, using extremely gruesome methods, such as dismemberment by power chainsaws. Apart from politically motivated **assassinations**, the MAS terror forces also specialized in debt collection and lab security.

A few of the more spectacular operations of the cartels are cited here: In 1984 Justice Minister Lara Bonilla was assassinated by cartel hit men. In 1986 the head of the Anti-Narcotics Police was killed as well as the anticartel editor of the Bogotá daily *El Espectador*, for

which a bounty of over \$1 million was paid to the killer. In 1988 the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) thwarted a cartel plan to assassinate Mayor Ed Koch of New York City and the local Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) chief for their efforts to neutralize cartel members there.

Second, corruption: The Cali cartel has specialized more in the use of bribery and corruption, although it also has resorted to murder when other means have failed. With the low salaries of judges, police officers, and army officers, this is the most cost-effective means of neutralizing state intervention against the cartel. Through a mixture of bribery and intimidation, the cartels induced the Colombian Congress to amend its constitution to prohibit **extradition** of accused cartel members to the United States. During 1995 the United States received disturbing reports that the Cali cartel had financed Colombian President Ernesto Samper Pizano's election and had bought off the judicial system, which imposed short sentences on convicted cartel members while refusing to confiscate or impound the wealth and assets created through the illicit drug trade.

Finally, **state co-optation**: The cartel has managed to penetrate the Ministry of Justice, the National Police and Anti-Narcotics Police, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and even has gained access to classified cable traffic of the U.S. embassy in Bogotá. Often DEA agents and Colombian antinarcotics police arrive at remote labs only to find that they have been evacuated and most cocaine removed long before their arrival, thanks to the **intelligence** efforts of the cartels. The cartels were willing to pay informants over three times what the DEA would offer its informants; moreover, those who were suspected of being double agents faced cartel retaliation of torture and murder, whereas the DEA's sanctions against treacherous informants were more restrained.

There was evidence of collusion, which some have referred to as narco-terrorism, in the early 1980s between drug traffickers and leftist guerrillas, who shared a common enemy in the Colombian government. This relationship was problematic at best, probably more on the level of mutual extortion than cooperation. By the late 1980s, the drug traffickers began attacking the leftists in earnest. On 11 October 1987 Jaime Pardo Neal, a leader of the **Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia** (FARC)—associated Patriotic Union (UP) Party, was killed by agents of a major drug trafficker. On 22 March 1990

traffickers also assassinated UP presidential candidate Bernardo Jaramillo Ossa at Bogotá airport and on 26 April 1990 killed M-19 presidential candidate Carlos Pizarro León-Gómez. Ironically, both candidates had opposed **extradition** of narcotics traffickers to the United States. The MAS was also suspected of perpetrating the January 1989 killings of 12 members of a judicial commission investigating death squad activity in Colombia.

One of the Medellín drug cartel's terrorist organizations, the Extraditables, was formed to pressure the Colombian government to desist from its campaign to end cocaine production and smuggling in Colombia. The group was formed in reaction to the late 1989 Colombian government crackdown on the Medellín cartel and was intended to prevent the extradition of key drug kingpins to the United States. By the end of 1989, the Extraditables had carried out 200 bombings, killing 261 people and injuring more than 1,200. On 27 November 1989 the group bombed in midflight Avianca Airlines Flight 203, a Boeing 727 airplane, killing all 107 passengers and crew aboard reportedly just to kill five police informants on the plane. On 6 December 1989, a truck bomb loaded with at least one-half ton of dynamite was exploded by the group outside the Bogotá police headquarters, killing more than 60 people and injuring more than 250. On 15 December 1989, however, Colombian police ambushed and killed Jose Gonzalo Rodriguez Gacha, the major Medellín cartel leader at the heart of the Extraditables.

On 13 June 1990 the mastermind behind the Extraditables' bombing campaign, Juan Jairo Arias Tascoon, was killed in a firefight with police while another leader, Gustavo de Jesus Gaviria, was likewise killed fighting the police on 11 August 1990. Pablo Escobar Gaviria surrendered to Colombian authorities on 19 June 1991 on the condition that he be allowed to build his own luxurious prison and to maintain his own bodyguard. After his escape from captivity in late July 1992, Escobar was responsible for more than 60 car bombings in Bogotá during 1993 in an effort to coerce the Colombian government to relax its pressures on him. Finally on 2 December 1993 Escobar was tracked down and killed by Colombian police.

Once the rival Cali cartel had filled the place formerly occupied by the Medellín cartel in the cocaine trade, it generally relied more on bribery to co-opt the Colombian government than using recourse to violence, but would still use its death squads against informants and undisciplined underlings.

During the 1990s the fortunes of the cartels slipped, due to U.S. pressure on the Colombian government to take more effective steps to shut down cartel operations and also due to the resurgence of FARC, which has resumed control over many of the regions in which coca is grown and processed. During 1995 the Colombian government of President Ernesto Samper Pizano undertook a campaign to cripple the financial, security, communications, and administrative structures of the cartel, in the course of which the three Orejuela brothers who ran the Cali cartel were arrested. Following this blow to the main leadership of the cartel, the distribution network within the United States reacted to the leadership vacuum by a power struggle and infighting, which led to more than 20 killings and abductions between branches of the Cali apparatus in New York City.

The Colombian government passed a **freezing of assets** and seizure law on 12 December 1996 that would enable it to confiscate the roughly \$76 billion in assets of the cartels as well as 9.9 million acres of land acquired by the drug lords. Colombia amended its constitution again in December 1997 to allow extradition of suspected cartel drug dealers to the United States, but the amendment was applicable only to those charged with crimes committed after that date. In the meantime, FARC had made a comeback, occupying over 40 percent of Colombia and taking over much of the coca cultivation and processing themselves to fund their **revolutionary** agenda.

On 7 September 2001 Fabio Ochoa Vasquez, the former right-hand man of Pablo Escobar, was extradited to the United States for his role in smuggling cocaine into the United States and for his involvement in the 1986 murder of a DEA informant. On 28 May 2003 Ochoa was convicted in U.S. District Court in Miami on two counts of conspiracy to possess and to distribute cocaine in the United States. In November 2002 a Colombian judge ordered the release for good behavior of two Cali cartel leaders, Miguel Rodríguez Orejuela and Gilberto Rodríguez Orejuela, who had been imprisoned in 1995 for a 15-year term.

Although the Medellín and Cali cartels were considered defunct by 2002, other groups, including FARC and the **Self-Defense Forces of Colombia**, moved into the cocaine drug trade. On 7 March 2002 a federal grand jury in Washington, D.C., indicted seven people, including three FARC leaders, for organizing shipments of cocaine from Colombia to the United States in order to obtain cash, weap-

ons, and other military hardware for FARC. One of the three FARC commanders named in the indictment was Tomás Molina Caracas, who headed the FARC 16th Front in eastern Colombia. In September 2002 Carlos Castaño, the leader of the Self-Defense Forces of Colombia, along with four other members of the group, was also indicted on drug-related charges. On 13 November 2002 the second-highest FARC leader, Jorge Briceño Suárez, along with eight other FARC members, was charged with drug trafficking. As late as 2004, about 40 percent of Colombia's best agricultural land was held by drug traffickers, including both left-wing and right-wing paramilitary groups. Following a three-year operation, U.S. DEA and Colombian antinarcotics police arrested Pablo Rayo Montana, head of his own drug-smuggling operation, along with \$70 million in properties, ships, and warehouses. As of 2006 there remained about 41 other private cocaine traffickers sought for extradition by the United States.

COMMITTEE FOR SOLIDARITY WITH ARAB AND MIDDLE EASTERN POLITICAL PRISONERS (CSAMPP). The Comité de soutien avec les prisonniers politiques et arabes et du Moyen-Orient was the cover name for a pro-Iranian Lebanese **cellular** group that engaged in an anti-French bombing campaign for the limited end of pressuring the French government to release Georges Ibrahim Abdallah, the leader of the **Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Factions** arrested in France in 1984 for his group's attacks on U.S. and Israeli diplomats. During 8–15 September 1986 the CSAMPP carried out four **bombings** in Paris; each bombing incident was followed by the release of a communiqué in Beirut claiming responsibility by the CSAMPP. On 25 October 1986 the CSAMPP bombed an Italian diplomat's car in Beirut, causing the diplomat minor injuries. In total the CSAMPP was responsible for 14 incidents claiming six lives and injuring 171 people. This bombing campaign proved an embarrassment to French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, whose inauguration ceremony was overshadowed by a CSAMPP bombing that killed two people and injured 28 others. Eventually Chirac gave in, notifying the CSAMPP through Hilarion Capucci, the Greek Catholic prelate with ties to the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** and Syrian government, that the French government would find a way to release Abdallah when his case came to trial or at least to impose a relatively light sentence. When this later came to light, in late November 1987, it

exposed the conservative Chirac to withering criticism within France from the opposition Socialist Party, and when Abdallah was convicted and sentenced, the magistrates ignored the prosecutor's recommendation of a 10-year prison sentence, imposing instead a sentence of life imprisonment. Later evidence revealed Iranian **state sponsorship** of the CSAMPP. The 1987 arrest in Frankfurt, Germany, of Mohammed Ali Hamadei, one of the **Hezbollah** members involved in the **hijacking** of Trans World Airways Flight 847, led in turn to identification and arrest of the CSAMPP mastermind, Fouad Ben Ali Saleh, who in 1992 was convicted in France for having directed the 1986 bombing campaign and sentenced to life imprisonment.

"COMMON-LAW COURTS." So-called common-law courts are self-appointed pseudo-legal bodies created by members of the **Freemen** movement, itself a subgrouping within the radical-right private **militia movement** and related "organic constitutionalist" and tax-protestor groups. The common-law court movement appears to have originated with members of the **Posse Comitatus** tax-protestor group. Another group active in the 1980s that has since been disbanded, the so-called Committee of the States, centered in Mariposa County, California, constituted itself as the Committee of the States provided for in the Articles of Confederation, which was little more than a standing committee of the Continental Congress empowered to make decisions as needed when the Continental Congress was not in session. The group proceeded to send "constructive notices" to Internal Revenue Service (IRS) and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents, U.S. marshals, and others, advising them to cease and desist their duties on pain of death.

The current so-called common-law courts similarly hold their own proceedings and file bogus liens against members of federal law enforcement bodies and others whom they consider to be enemies. Even if these liens are not genuine, they still have the very real effect of ruining the credit histories of those targeted. These courts base their rulings on an eclectic and selective collection of documents, including the Bible, the Magna Carta, the Articles of Confederation, the Bill of Rights, and also whatever effective or abrogated statutes they choose to follow or those dicta of federal courts that they find useful to their cause. The **Freemen** of Montana considered themselves to be a common-law court. Although they refused to regard

U.S. currency as legal tender, since it is not backed by a gold standard, they arrogated to themselves the right to forge fake letters of credit to defraud others.

Such groups often serve lien documents and summonses on authentic-looking embossed paper, thus intimidating unwary victims into paying fines not legally owed to anyone. Another group promised the unsuspecting that for \$300 they could file papers entitling a person to reclaim all taxes ever paid to the federal government. Members of these groups have also forged for themselves fake police identification papers and badges. Because of these practices of issuing false letters of credit and fraudulent financial instruments and filing bogus liens, as well as these groups' connection with armed extremist groups of the far right, the FBI has classified them as a threat to national security.

The movement faded into relative obscurity following the arrests and convictions of the Freeman of Montana and the **Republic of Texas** members in 1997, both of which had used common-law court tactics to harass and defraud their victims. In part, the decline of the movement can be attributed to the increase in media coverage of this movement and a corresponding increase in state and local legislation defining the issuance of false liens as a form of racketeering. One of the few remaining current active advocates of the common-law courts is Elder Burk-Hale, whose organization, the Fully Informed Grand Jurors Alliance, maintains an office in Ringgold, Georgia, and a website but which is otherwise largely inactive.

COMMUNIST COMBATANT CELLS (CCC). The Cellules Communistes Combattantes was a nonstate Belgian **anarchistic leftist** group active from 1984 to 1985 that engaged in **bombings** to protest against the “Americanization” of Europe, capitalism, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) alliance. The CCC did not enjoy any **state sponsorship** but briefly formed an alliance with the **Red Army Faction (RAF)** and **Action Directe (AD)** that was known as the Anti-Imperialist Armed Front to coordinate their actions against governments of nations in the NATO alliance. Unlike RAF and AD, however, the CCC tended to pick symbolic and strategic **targets** for bombings and to target property rather than human life, using the terrorist event as **armed propaganda** for publicizing its own specific issues or causes rather than as direct military tactics

to achieve revolution. Two firefighters were killed as an unintended result of a bombing attack in May 1985, while a security guard was wounded by a bombing in November 1985.

CCC activities consisted solely of bombings against international corporate offices, banks, and NATO facilities. Out of 14 major bombings by the CCC, six were directed against offices of large U.S. and international firms, such as Litton Data Systems (2 October 1984), Honeywell (8 October 1984), Motorola (21 November 1985), and Bank of America (4 December 1985); six others were directed against NATO facilities, such as several points along a NATO fuel pipeline (11 December 1984), a NATO support facility (15 January 1985), and the NATO Central Europe Operating Agency in Versailles, France, inflicting very minor damage (6 December 1985). The remaining two attacks were against the Belgian Employers Association building in May 1985, in which two firefighters died, and one of the central offices of the Belgian police.

In late December 1985, police arrested Pierre Carette, the founder and leader of the CCC, along with three of his followers. These four were convicted on 14 January 1986 for the attempted murder of the security guard wounded in a series of bank bombings conducted on 5 November 1985, effectively ending this organization. Although Carette had been sentenced to life imprisonment, he was freed on 23 February 2003, whereas the other three had already completed their sentences.

COMPREHENSIVE TERRORISM PREVENTION ACT OF 1995.

This was a legislative bill that eventually led to the **Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996**. In February 1995 President Bill Clinton proposed the Omnibus Counterterrorism Act of 1995, an antiterrorism bill meant to address concerns raised by the **World Trade Center bombing** in 1993. One week after the **Oklahoma City bombing**, the president submitted a revised version of the bill to the Senate on 26 April 1995. In response, Senators Bob Dole and Orrin Hatch introduced their own antiterrorism bill, the Comprehensive Terrorism Prevention Act, which was passed in the Senate after only four days of debate on 7 June 1995. Debate on this bill stalled in the U.S. House of Representatives, in part due to concerns raised over alleged federal abuses of power in the Branch Davidian and Ruby Ridge affairs. A final conference-bill version was approved on 19 April 1996, the first anniversary of the Oklahoma City bomb-

ing, and President Clinton signed into law the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act on 24 April 1996.

CONFISCATION/IMPOUNDMENT OF PROPERTY. See FREEZING OF ASSETS/ SEQUESTRATION.

CONTAGION EFFECT. Tendency for notorious acts of violence or terrorism to inspire imitations of the original act, also sometimes called “copycat” crimes by law enforcement officials. Because of the association of the contagion effect with mass media coverage of terrorism or other acts of violence, this phenomenon is also referred to as the media effects theory. Typically, an event, such as the **Oklahoma City bombing**, will be followed by numerous bomb hoaxes or small-scale **bombings** carried out by people who viewed the media coverage of the original event. Similarly, the Columbine High School killings of 20 April 1999 were followed by a number of smaller-scale high school shootings and threats of massacres. In a free and democratic society it is impossible to forestall whatever contagion effect is caused by media coverage of a terrorist act. Although antistate terrorists often have been dealt exemplary punishments, including public execution, in undemocratic societies such as Iraq under Saddam Hussein and Iran, this seems, if anything, merely to romanticize and glorify further the figure of the antistate terrorist in the perceptions of those attracted to this activity.

Those who have proposed the **physiological model** of attraction to terrorism have noted that when susceptible individuals are exposed to graphic news coverage of terrorist events or to other scenes of violence, they experience a release of adrenalin and noradrenalin triggered by the **fight-or-flight response**, which in turn triggers the release of pain-killing endorphins. For the susceptible individual this creates a feeling of power and euphoria, which he or she will try to recapture by reenacting the terrorist action.

CONTRAS. The *contras*, short for *contrarevolucionarios*, (counterrevolutionaries) were the armed groups that began fighting to overthrow the **Sandinista** (FSLN) regime that seized power in Nicaragua in 1979. Initially they were trained by Argentinean military advisers, enjoyed safe haven in Honduras and Costa Rica, and obtained private financial support from Cuban and Nicaraguan exiles. The Argentineans withdrew their advisers from Honduras in 1982 following the collapse

of the military junta after its defeat in the Falklands war. Beginning in October 1982, the contras were put under U.S. **state sponsorship**, which provided Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) advisers along with military and humanitarian aid. Due to an ongoing and inconclusive political debate between the Reagan administration and the U.S. Congress, U.S. military aid was cut off in 1984, resumed in 1985, but was again cut off after the revelation of the Iran-Contra affair in late 1986.

To fulfill a condition for receiving future U.S. aid, on 12 June 1985 the contras united in an umbrella organization, the Unidad Nicaragüense Opositora (UNO, Unified Nicaraguan Opposition), which comprised the following groups:

1. The Fuerza Democrática Nicaragüense (FDN, Nicaraguan Democratic Force), formed out of the September 15th League, the National Liberation Army, and the Nicaraguan Democratic Union, the latter group originally made up of ex-Sandinistas and other opponents of the Somoza regime. This group numbered some 18,000 to 22,000 members and was led by Adolfo Calero, former head of the Nicaraguan Conservative Party. Of the top 56 FDN leaders, about 13 were former National Guardsmen and about 26 were former Sandinistas. These forces were based in Honduras and fought in the north of Nicaragua.

2. The Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias Nicaragüenses (FARN, Nicaraguan Revolutionary Armed Forces), numbering 1,000 fighters led by a former Sandinista, Fernando “El Negro” Chamorro, who had fought Somoza since 1960. FARN was based in Costa Rica and fought in the south of Nicaragua.

3. The Kus Indian Sut Asla Nicaragua Ra (KISAN, or United Indigenous Peoples of Eastern Nicaragua), an alliance of Miskito, Sumo, and Rama Indians and also English-speaking black Creoles, numbering some 4,000 fighters who fought in the northeastern region of Nicaragua.

4. The Coordinadora Opositora Nicaragüense (CON, Nicaraguan Opposition Coordinator), was not an armed group but rather the political front organization of political parties, business organizations, and trade unions in exile.

Another contra group was the Alianza Revolucionaria Democrática (ARDE, the Nicaraguan Democratic Alliance), numbering 3,000 fighters based in Costa Rica and led by Alfonso Robello Callejas, once a member of the post-Somoza junta, and Edén Pastora Gómez, former

leader of the Sandino Revolutionary Front and Sandinista hero. ARDE did not join UNO largely due to the opposition of Edén Pastora to certain of UNO's leaders. Pastora quit the contra struggle in 1986. In May 1987 UNO merged with the Southern Opposition Bloc of Alfredo César to form the Nicaraguan Resistance, while KISAN was reorganized as Yapti Tasba Masraka Aslika Takanda, or YAMATA, the Miskito Indian acronym for United Nations of Yapti Tasba (Sacred Motherland), separate from the Nicaraguan Resistance command.

Instances of terrorization of the civilian population by the contras and of mistreatment of FSLN prisoners have been documented, in itself hardly surprising given the bitterness that existed between the FSLN and their opponents and given the large proportion of contra fighters who lacked both education and the discipline of previous military training. Public debate over U.S. sponsorship of the contras focused on the questions of whether such instances of terrorism were part of a deliberate policy to suppress popular support for the FSLN regime, rather than random cases, and if so, whether the United States aided, abetted, or otherwise encouraged such systematic terror. A CIA-sponsored Spanish-language training manual produced for training the contras in techniques of armed propaganda, entitled *Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare*, has often been cited as evidence of a systematic contra terror campaign inspired by U.S. advisers. This manual was presented by the FSLN in its briefs to the International Court of Justice as evidence of U.S. support of contra terror, but key cited passages were ambiguous. Quite apart from any deliberate systematic terrorization by the contras, with or without U.S. sponsorship, the record of the rank-and-file contras' respect for human rights remained, in the words of a former contra political officer, "depressing and testified to a lack of political discipline" (Rogelio Pardo-Maurer, *The Contras: 1980–1989: A Special Kind of Politics* [New York: Praeger, 55]).

Another, more substantial problem connected with the contras were the arrangements made by U.S. National Security Adviser Admiral John Poindexter and his aide, Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, to sell arms to the Iranian government, both to secure the release of U.S. hostages held in Lebanon and to generate revenues independent of congressional approval to support the contra military effort. Apart from the issue of violating congressional restrictions on funding for the contras, there remained uncertainty as to whether the Reagan

administration was violating its own executive orders banning arms sales to Iran, having itself earlier certified Iran as a state sponsor of terrorism, and whether the arms-for-hostages arrangement violated long-standing U.S. declaratory policy barring the payment of ransom for hostages. The private supply network also had the effect of releasing Calero's FDN, which alone controlled these secret funds prior to the reorganization of UNO, from the necessity of having to reform itself, and its human rights record, to conform to the standards demanded by the U.S. Congress as conditions for its support for the contras.

Before 1982 the FSLN had dismissed the contras as a minor nuisance, but after the contras **bombed** two bridges spanning the Coco and Negro rivers on the Honduran border on 14 March 1982, the FSLN declared a state of emergency the next day. This state of emergency was not lifted until 16 January 1988. In August 1985 the contras suffered reverses in the battlefields as the FSLN army acquired Soviet Mi-24/5 helicopter gunships as well as Mi-17 troop transports. Within two years, by March 1987, the tide turned when the FSLN army lost several Mi-24 helicopters to the contras' U.S.-supplied Red-Eye anti-aircraft missiles and failed to secure the Bocay region in northern Nicaragua against contra infiltration. By October 1987 the contras had severed the Rama road connecting Managua to the Atlantic coast and maintained their offensive for the rest of the year. Shortly after U.S. aid to the contras lapsed on 29 February 1988, the FSLN army invaded Honduras to capture the contras' headquarters, a move countered by President Ronald Reagan's deployment of 3,000 U.S. paratroopers to Honduras on 15 March 1988 and Congress's humanitarian aid package of \$17.7 million for the contras on 31 March 1988.

Under the pressure of its Central American neighbors, the Sandinista regime finally agreed to a truce and talks with the contras. While the talks began on 23 March 1988, the FSLN negotiators temporized so that the contras would exhaust their recently received U.S. aid and lose their bargaining position. While this strategy succeeded in diminishing the fighting capability of the contras, political unrest within Nicaragua and the continuing diplomatic pressure from neighboring Central American states forced the FSLN to agree to democratization. Following the U.S. presidential election of 1988, the contras were supplied only with sufficient nonlethal aid to maintain them pending the results of the elections the FSLN had agreed would be

held in Nicaragua in February 1990. Following the Sandinista defeat by the election of Violeta Chamorro as president, the contras began their demobilization, which was completed on 25 June 1990.

About 20,000 former contras were settled in the northern town of Quilalí; most of the rest settled in the 26 counties along the northern mountainous region where their forces had been most active during the civil war. Although most contras laid down their arms after the election of Chamorro as president in 1990, afterward some rearmed, claiming the government had not honored promises made to them prior to their disarming. Although the United States has given more than \$2 billion in aid to Nicaragua, with some of it earmarked to help resettle the contras and to extend special aid to those who became physically disabled in the course of the war in Central America, many former rebels were claiming in 1996 that this aid had not reached them.

COUNTERTERRORISM. The term *counterterrorism* is often used to cover two different sets of policies to oppose terrorism. *Antiterrorism* refers to efforts to deter, contain, and punish terrorism by means of domestic law enforcement, incident response and containment, and education, while *counterterrorism* specifically refers to military and **intelligence** efforts to prevent or contain or to retaliate against terrorism. Generally, antiterrorism deals with terrorism as a form of criminality within a domestic context, whereas counterterrorism deals with terrorism more as a national security challenge transcending national boundaries and jurisdictions. By acting on intelligence about an impending terrorist attack, the **targeted** nation-state can deploy elite counterterrorist military units to strike at the terrorists and their bases before they launch their operation. These counterterrorist measures involve terrorist preemption, meaning undertaking proactive and offensive initiatives against the terrorists or their bases to forestall planned terrorist actions. Between antiterrorism prevention and counterterrorist retaliation or preemption, there are also actions and policies aimed at dealing with terrorist events in progress, which can be described as crisis management or situation (or events) management. Counterterrorism in its widest sense covers defensive antiterrorism, reactive counterterrorism, and offensive preemptive counterterrorism, as well as management of continuing terrorist events.

Two major problems face governments, private firms, and individuals seeking to develop a counterterrorism policy and strategy. First,

as the incidence and scope of terrorist activities appeared to multiply rapidly during the latter part of the 20th century to the present, most government and private responses have been reactive in nature rather than proactive. Second, it has been extraordinarily difficult to create an effective unity of effort among the various agencies and groups involved in countering terrorist threats. Based on their growing experience of terrorist attacks and events as well as their experience in trying to fight terrorism, the United States and other liberal democracies have been working toward more proactive policies involving a greater unity of effort, not only between the judicial, police, military, diplomatic, and intelligence agencies that must deal with terrorism, but also between these governments, whose nationals have been frequently attacked by terrorists.

On the legal and police front of counterterrorism, the United States and other liberal democracies have enacted several laws, some in fulfillment of their mutual treaty obligations, to prevent **hijackings**, **bombings**, attacks on diplomats or embassies, **assassinations**, hostage takings, or conspiracy to commit such actions or to support groups involved in such actions. Part of prevention on the part of various national and local police agencies has involved the use of counterterrorist simulations, not only to train law enforcement and military officers how to react to a hostage crisis or **bomb** threat, but also to train government civilian employees, who are the likely targets of such threats, to know how to avoid such situations or else how best to survive such situations. **Target hardening** has involved new designs for federal office buildings and parking lots to make it more difficult for car bombs to be effectively used against them.

Outside the United States, antiterrorist policies have included issuance of travel advisories for U.S. travelers when there is a threat assessment for a particular region or period of time. The Diplomatic Security Service develops threat assessments, provides security for diplomats or other personnel, and seeks to harden embassies and other diplomatic stations to protect them from bombings or other attacks. The U.S. State Department has also developed a watch list for members of known or suspected terrorist groups to prevent or to deter them from entering the United States. Diplomatic responses to acts of terrorism have included placing economic sanctions on nations known to promote terrorism or that harbor terrorists, including promoting multilateral sanctions through the United Nations or the **Group of Eight** nations.

Military counterterrorism efforts are limited within the United States by the Posse Comitatus Act, which prohibits the use of military force for the functions of ordinary police work within the United States, except in a few narrowly circumscribed situations. Use of the U.S. military for counterterrorism outside the United States has also been limited by Executive Order 12333, which prohibits unlawful **assassination** of individuals for political purposes. The qualification of “unlawful” does allow the military to strike at individuals during legitimate military operations, since this is a form of warfare against combatants permitted by the laws of war. Legitimate military operations are considered to include such things as the 15 April 1986 U.S. Air Force bombing of Libya in retaliation for the bombing of the LaBelle Discothèque in Berlin by Libyan agents. For such counterterrorist operations to be effective, they must be used with restraint with minimal impact on innocent bystanders in order to preserve the legitimacy of the counterterrorist operation.

The United States has several special military counterterrorist response units, including the Delta Force and the Naval Special Warfare Development Group (formerly known as SEAL Team Six), which engage in regular training and terrorist simulations, and which have been effectively deployed on certain known occasions. Similarly, Great Britain has its Special Air Service (SAS) counterterrorism units while Germany has its Grenzschutzgruppe-9 (GSG-9) units used in special operations against terrorists. Due to the secretive nature of the operations by such elite response teams, very often their successful operations are not publicized in order not to compromise the tactics and intelligence gathering that have proven to be essential.

THE COVENANT, THE SWORD, AND THE ARM OF THE LORD (CSA). The CSA was a nonstate religious, **revolutionary** group that developed out of a fundamentalist Christian commune in the Arkansas Ozarks from 1978 to 1985. The CSA was the military wing of the Church of Zarephath-Horeb, a commune founded and led by a former Disciples of Christ minister, Jim Ellison, who eventually led his following to adopt the teachings of **Identity Christianity**, an amalgam of fundamentalist Christianity with **white-supremacist**, anti-Semitic, and populist **ideologies**.

Ellison’s commune, first organized outside Elijah, Missouri, from 1970 to 1976, was originally **millennialist** rather than political

and intended to shelter its members through the tribulations of the apocalyptic end times, which they believed were at hand. In 1976 the commune relocated near Bull Shoals, Arkansas, and in 1978 Ellison embraced the Identity Christianity creed and affiliated his group with the **Aryan Nations**. The commune created its own militia, The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord, set up an automatic-weapons shop, and ran a survivalist-commando training camp used by survivalists and members of groups affiliated with the Aryan Nations. The gun shop supplied the modified MAC-10 machine gun later used by **The Order** to **assassinate** Denver radio talk-show host Alan Berg. The commune also ran a press that marketed Identity Christianity literature.

In August 1983 CSA members firebombed the Metropolitan Community Church in Springfield, Missouri, and a Jewish community center in Bloomington, Indiana. In November 1983, CSA members robbing a Texarkana pawnshop murdered the owner, believing him to be Jewish. In June 1984 a CSA member, Richard W. Snell, killed a black Arkansas state highway patrolman. Later Snell was convicted for the murders of the Texarkana pawnbroker and the Arkansas highway patrolman and sentenced to death. Apparently his execution on 19 April 1995 was one of the reasons that Timothy McVeigh planned to **bomb** the Murrah Federal Building in **Oklahoma City** the very same day. Following the crackdown by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on The Order in December 1984, the FBI captured David Tate, an Order member, en route to the CSA compound. On 23 April 1985 a combined force of FBI commandos, Missouri and Arkansas state police, and National Guardsmen stormed the CSA compound. After two days of negotiations, CSA members besieged within the compound surrendered themselves along with the wanted Order members Randall Evans and Thomas Bentley. Jim Ellison was arrested and convicted on racketeering charges and also for conspiracy to manufacture, possess, and distribute illegal firearms.

When raided by the FBI, Zarephath-Horeb held around 200 men, women, and children. Since 1982 the commune had gone into decline. As the commune proved unable to support itself economically, Ellison had sanctioned car thefts and robberies to make mortgage payments on the commune property. Claiming to obey special divine revelations, Ellison also began to practice polygamy, taking followers' wives to be his own. These practices disgusted many members who left Ellison

during the last three years of Zarephath-Horeb's existence. Convicted of racketeering and weapons violations in 1985, Ellison later became a state's witness in the federal sedition trial of other right-wing extremist leaders held at Fort Smith in 1988. After serving his sentence, he remarried, taking as his new wife the granddaughter of Richard G. Millar, the head of the Elohim City sect, whose members also adhere to the millennialist and Identity Christian doctrines followed by Ellison and others in the U.S. white separatist movement.

Following the Oklahoma City bombing, which McVeigh had timed to coincide with Snell's execution, investigators and reporters sought to find some material link between McVeigh and the CSA but found no evidence of a direct connection.

CROATIAN NATIONAL RESISTANCE. Also known as the Croatian Freedom Fighters, this was a nonstate group that sought Croatia's independence from Yugoslavia. This group carried out seven terrorist actions against Yugoslavian diplomatic and commercial targets abroad, causing one death and three injuries. Its most spectacular action was the 10 September 1976 **hijacking** of Trans World Airlines (TWA) Flight 355, a Boeing 727, en route from New York to Chicago, which the five hijackers diverted to Newfoundland, from there to Iceland, and ultimately to Paris with all of its 81 passengers aboard. In addition, the terrorists had planted a **bomb** in Grand Central Station whose location they would only reveal after authorities published communiqués of the group. After authorities complied and the bomb's location was revealed, one policeman, Brian J. Murray, was killed and another wounded when they tried to deactivate it. The group claimed to have several such bombs, which they displayed during the hijacking and which they threatened to explode if their demands were not met. In reality the devices they displayed were made only of Silly Putty and the only actual bomb was the one left in New York. After they learned that the bomb in New York had exploded and killed a policeman, the hijackers surrendered in Paris.

While the leader of the hijackers of TWA Flight 355, Zvonko Busic and his wife, Julienne Busic, were both convicted on U.S. federal charges of air piracy and murder in May 1977 and sentenced to life imprisonment, Julienne Busic was released from prison on lifelong parole in 1989; her husband was released from prison in July 2008 and sent to Croatia. Busic briefly escaped from prison on 16

March 1987 but was quickly captured two days later. Following Croatia's winning of independence from Yugoslavia in 1991, Julienne Busic was appointed by President Franjo Tudjman to the diplomatic post of adviser to the Croatian ambassador to the United States, Petar Sarcevic. This appointment of a convicted terrorist to a diplomatic post within the United States drew protests in December 1994 from the New York Patrolmen's Benevolent Association as well as from Kathlyn Murray, the widow of the police officer killed by the bomb in Grand Central Station in 1976.

From 17 March 1980 to 4 July 1982, the group carried out five bombings in the United States. On 17 March 1980 the U.S. office of a Yugoslavian bank was bombed; on 3 June 1980 the home of the acting Yugoslavian ambassador was bombed. A pipe bomb also exploded at the Manhattan New York State Supreme Court on 23 January 1981, for which prior notice was given by the group. On 4 July 1982 a travel agency office was pipe-bombed in Astoria, New York, while on the same day New York City police defused a bomb set at the Yugoslavian Airlines office. None of these incidents caused any injuries. Since Croatia won its independence in 1991, this group has ceased to operate.

CUBAN-AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION (CANF). The CANF was incorporated as a nonprofit lobbying group on 6 July 1981 by Jorge Mas Canosa, a leader in the anti-Castro Cuban exile community and a veteran of the failed Bay of Pigs intervention. Several of its members were implicated in a plot to **assassinate** Cuban President Fidel Castro while Luis Posada Carrile, one of the closest personal associates of Canosa, publicly admitted to directing a terrorist **bombing** campaign within Cuba.

Before Canosa died in November 1997 from lung cancer, members of the inner circle of the CANF made a deathbed promise to him that they would assassinate Castro. The plot was to shoot Castro with a long-range assault rifle as he disembarked from his plane on Margarita Island in Venezuela, the site of a regional summit. On 27 October 1997 the U.S. Coast Guard boarded the cabin cruiser *Esperanza* off the coast of Puerto Rico and discovered a secret compartment containing two .50-caliber Barrett assault rifles, along with ammunition, which turned out to be registered to Jose Francisco Hernandez, who had succeeded Canosa as president of

the CANF. The 46-foot-long cabin cruiser belonged to Jose Antonio Llama, a member of the CANF board of directors. Llama was indicted on 25 August 1998, along with the four other Cubans and one other man, for using an American motor vessel for criminal purposes, making false statements to a customs official, smuggling weapons, and plotting to assassinate an “internationally protected person.”

Meanwhile Posada had been working with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in efforts against Communist insurgents throughout the Caribbean region until a falling-out with his handlers in the 1970s. He was believed to have been responsible for the bombing of Cubana Airlines Flight 455 from Barbados on 6 October 1976, which killed all 48 passengers and 25 crew members. The passengers included the entire Cuban national fencing team, most of whom were teenagers. During April 1997 he then directed a bombing campaign against tourist hotels in Cuba. By striking at the tourist hotels, Posada hoped to diminish this source of income for the Castro regime and also to undermine the regime’s apparent stability and invulnerability, as these hotels were very well guarded. During 1994–1997 a total of 16 bombings struck Cuba. The five non-Cuban amateurs recruited by Posada who carried out these attacks were arrested during the summer of 1997; two were convicted of terrorism by a Cuban court and sentenced to death. In the summer of 1998 Posada gave a very detailed account to interviewers at a secret location in the Caribbean of his activities against the Castro regime and freely admitted to having masterminded the terrorist bombings in Cuba but denied that the CANF played any role in it.

On 17 November 2000 Posada, along with three others, was arrested in Panama City in possession of 200 pounds of explosives and charged with plotting to assassinate Fidel Castro, who was due to visit Panama. In August 2004 Posada and his fellow plotters were pardoned by Panamanian President Mireya Moscoso.

On 13 April 2005 Posada, who had been earlier arrested on charges of illegally entering the United States, requested political **asylum**. While he was not granted formal asylum, he continued to be detained by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement on the grounds that he represented a danger to the community. On 28 September 2005 a U.S. court denied Venezuela’s request for the **extradition** of Posada due to the threat of possible torture in that country.

CUBAN NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (FLNC). The Frente de Liberación Nacional Cubana was a nonstate Cuban émigré group with the **revolutionary** goal of overthrowing the government of President Fidel Castro in Cuba. It was one of the six main anti-Castro Cuban exile groups in the United States, the others being **Alpha 66**, Brigade 2506, the **Cuban-American National Foundation**, the Cuban Nationalist Movement, and **Omega-7**.

The FLNC was active mainly in the late 1960s and early 1970s and engaged in assaults and **bombings** against people or institutions perceived to be pro-Castro. The group had ceased to function by the 1980s, due to the diminished hopes among the Cuban exile community that Castro's government would ever be overthrown.

CYBERTERRORISM. *See* INFORMATION WARFARE; INTERNET; NETWAR.

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DAL KHALSA. *See* SIKH MILITANTS.

DASHMESH REGIMENT. *See* SIKH MILITANTS.

DATA MINING. This term refers to the process of automatically searching large volumes of data to select desired information according to some criteria. Due to the increasing use of the **Internet** and other telecommunications by terrorist and extremist groups, data mining of open-source **intelligence** (OSINT) materials might allow **counterterrorism** intelligence analysts to identify patterns of **networks**, threat indicators, and operations characteristic of terrorist groups and their sponsors. A related topic that is easily confused with data mining is that of electronic eavesdropping of suspected terrorists. While data mining could be used to select out telephone calls suspected of carrying terrorist communications, the actual eavesdropping itself would be covert surveillance rather than data mining as such.

An example of data mining in counterterrorism efforts was the Able Danger program, begun in October 1999 by the U.S. Special Operations Command to use data mining of open-source information together with classified information in order to identify individual members of terrorist cells, specifically with regard to **al Qaeda**.

Although Curt Weldon, the vice chair of the U.S. House of Representatives Homeland Security Committee, claimed in 2005 that the Able Danger project had identified Mohammad Atta, the operational leader of the **World Trade Center and Pentagon Attacks of September 11, 2001**, along with the other **hijackers** before those attacks had occurred, the U.S. Defense Department denied that Able Danger had in fact identified the 9/11 hijackers before the attacks. *See also* FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE ACT.

DA'WA, AL. The Hizb al Da'wa al Islamiyya, or Islamic Call Party, is a Shi'ite **Islamic fundamentalist** party founded in Iraq by radical junior Shi'ite clergymen who sought to overthrow the secular Ba'thist regime in Iraq to create an Iranian-style Islamic republic. This group is currently the largest coalition partner of the governing United Iraqi Alliance. Iraq's population is nearly 60 percent Shi'ite, whereas the former governing Ba'thist party was predominantly Sunni; however, most of the Shi'ite religious leaders in Iraq come from families that either originated in Iran or else have intermarried with Iranian clerical families, thus undercutting the nationalistic credentials of potential Shi'ite leaders. While this party is one of the oldest radical Shi'ite political parties, having been founded in 1968–1969 at the latest, it had to accept Iranian **state sponsorship** after having been virtually eradicated within Iraq by severe state repression, which ended only with the overthrow of Saddam Hussein by a U.S.-led invasion in April 2003.

Beginning in 1974, the Iraqi regime responded to Shi'ite unrest in the shrine cities of Karbala and Najaf by executing five Da'wa leaders and another eight in 1977 when riots broke out again. Following the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979, the Iraqi regime put the pro-Khomeini Ayatollah Muhammad Baqir al Sadr under house arrest to deprive Iraqi Shi'ite fundamentalists of the rallying point of his charismatic **leadership**. Shortly after an Islamic Liberation Movements conference in Tehran in early 1980, an "Islamic Liberation Movement of Iraq" proclaimed its existence in Europe and named the confined Ayatollah Baqir al Sadr as its leader.

Da'wa activists joined with other anti-Ba'thist guerrilla fighters and, with Iranian material and moral support, undertook attacks on police stations and Ba'thist party offices. On 1 April 1980 Da'wa members aided by Iranian revolutionaries attempted to **assassinate** Tariq 'Aziz, who was the de facto head of government as Saddam

Hussein retained the position of prime minister even though he had also become president of Iraq. Reprisals included making Da'wa membership a capital offense, the expulsion of over 15,000 Shi'ites suspected of pro-Da'wa sympathies, and the summary execution of Ayatollah Baqir al Sadr and his sister during the week following the assassination attempt. In what amounted to a declaration of war, **Ayatollah Ruhallah Khomeini** responded to the news of al Sadr's execution by issuing a decree of **takfir** on 18 April 1980 against Saddam Hussein and the Ba'thist regime of Iraq and calling on the Iraqi Armed Forces to overthrow their Ba'thist rulers. By the end of 1980 more than 500 Da'wa members had been summarily executed in Iraq, although assassinations of government officials and sabotage against the Iraqi military continued even after the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war in September 1980. Al Da'wa reportedly attempted to assassinate Saddam Hussein once on 8 July 1982 in Jubail, an al Da'wa stronghold, and again in 1987. On 5 November 2006, following a three-month-long trial, Saddam was found guilty of the murders of 148 villagers of Jubail who had been executed in reprisal for the 1982 assassination attempt, and he was executed on 30 December 2006.

Members of the al Da'wa group have joined **Hezbollah** in Lebanon and formed cells in other Arab lands, particularly Kuwait, where they have received arms and explosives through Iranian diplomatic offices. The spiritual leader of Hezbollah, Sheikh Muhammad Hussein Fadlullah, was a former member of a Lebanese branch of the al Da'wa Party. At least three of those involved in the 12 December 1983 attempted truck **bombings** against the U.S. and French embassies in Kuwait were al Da'wa members who claimed also to be **Islamic Jihad** members. On 25 May 1985 an al Da'wa member attempted to assassinate the Emir of Kuwait in a **suicide bomb** attack. The **kidnapping** of U.S. citizens in Lebanon began in earnest after the conviction of the 17 perpetrators of the Kuwait City truck-bombing attempts. The **hijackers** of TWA Flight 847 on 14 June 1985 and of Kuwait Airlines Flight 422 on 5 April 1988 also included release of the convicted truck bombers among their demands. During the 2 August 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, prison authorities there released the remaining 15 convicted bombers, the other two having already completed their sentences. These and other al Da'wa members participated in the partisan resistance against the Iraqi occupiers of Kuwait. Later, al Da'wa members aided by Iranian **Islamic**

Revolutionary Guards attacked Iraqi troops in Basra during the later stages of the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

In Iran, former al Da'wa Party members appeared to form the nucleus of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), originally named the Supreme Assembly for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, an umbrella group of Iraqi Shi'ite dissident groups formed under Iranian auspices in early July 1982 as a government-in-exile of a future Islamic republic in Iraq. SCIRI was headed by Ayatollah Baqir al Hakim, son of Muhsin al Hakim, a native Iraqi religious leader claimed by al Da'wa members as the founder of their party. After Ayatollah al Hakim was killed by a car bombing on 29 August 2003, allegedly by the **al Qa'eda in Iraq** group, he was succeeded as leader by his brother, Abdul Aziz al Hakim. SCIRI formed contingents of anti-Saddam Iraqi émigrés to fight alongside Iranian troops in the Iran-Iraq war, known as the Badr Brigades, and also collaborated with antiregime Kurds in the northern war fronts within Iraqi territory.

Although SCIRI attempted to unify al Da'wa and other Iraqi Shi'ite groups under its standard, the main body of the al Da'wa Party remained aloof and maintained its own separate organization. The split between SCIRI and al Da'wa was due to SCIRI's subscribing to Ayatollah Khomeini's position that the government of an Islamic state must be led by a qualified Shi'ite jurisprudent of Islamic law whereas al Da'wa followed the position of its former leader, Ayatollah Baqir al Sadr, that the Islamic state should be controlled by the Muslim people at large (the ummah), with the role of the religious scholars limited to giving advice and guidance. Another splinter group, the Islamic al Da'wa Party–Iraq Organization, also emerged during the Iran-Iraq war. SCIRI controlled the Badr Corps (Arabic: Munazzamat al Badr), also known as the Badr Brigades, a militia having a strength estimated between 4,000 and 10,000 and which has been accused of **death squad** activities against Iraqi Sunnis as well as against Shi'ite Muslims who violate Islamic norms by drinking alcohol or engaging in illicit sexual behavior.

During the 30 January 2005 legislative elections, the al Da'wa Party, SCIRI, the Islamic al Da'wa Party, and the followers of Muqtada al Sadr, the son-in-law of the martyred Ayatollah Baqir al Sadr, along with smaller Shi'ite parties and independents, ran together as a coalition named the United Iraqi Alliance (UIA), which received

the endorsement of Ayatollah al Uzma Ali al Sistani, the most influential Shi'ite religious leader within Iraq. The UIA won the largest plurality of the popular vote, 48.2 percent, and gained 140 of the 275 seats in the Iraqi National Assembly. This coalition was headed by the leader of the al Da'wa Party, Abdul Aziz al Hakim, and al Da'wa Party spokesman Ibrahim al Jaafari became the prime minister of the transitional Iraqi government. Following the ratification of a new Iraqi national constitution on 15 October 2005, new legislative elections were held under a revised electoral system that gave more than proportional weighting to votes from Sunni and Kurdish areas. In the subsequent 15 December 2005 election, the UIA won only 130 of the 275 National Assembly seats but retained the largest plurality. Within the UIA, al Da'wa held 13 seats, SCIRI and its Badr Organization held 36 seats, the Sadrists held 29 seats, the Islamic al Da'wa faction held 12 seats, the Islamic Virtue Party held 15 seats, and allied independents held 25 seats. The deputy leader of the al Da'wa Party, Nouri al Maliki, became prime minister on 20 May 2006.

DEADLY FORCE. Term used among U.S. law enforcement authorities to refer to the lawful use of force, including possible maiming or killing, required to constrain lawbreakers or people whose actions pose a threat to the lives, liberty, or property of others. The authorization to use deadly force is subject to rules of engagement, and every case of killing or maiming as a result of deadly force is subject to review to ensure that human life is not taken arbitrarily and that only the minimum force necessary is used to achieve the objectives of law enforcement. Deadly force incidents in which suspects or innocents are killed arbitrarily or unnecessarily undermine the legitimacy of law enforcement efforts and create a climate of public fear and distrust of authority, which in turn undermines the basis of freedom and openness essential for a democratic society.

As examples of deadly force incidents involving avoidable and unnecessary deaths, some have cited the Philadelphia police's firebombing of the sectarian-political MOVE group's headquarters in May 1985 that resulted in the deaths of six adults whom the police had sought to arrest, along with five children, and the destruction of 61 homes that left 250 people homeless. Other instances of uses of deadly force that now appear to have been unnecessary and misguided include the siege of Randy Weaver's family at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, in Au-

gust 1992, resulting in the death of his son and wife, and the siege and burning of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, in April 1993 that resulted in 84 deaths, including four agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) and 27 children in the compound. The extreme cynicism and distrust that the last two incidents provoked hampered passage of antiterrorism legislation proposed in 1995 following the **Oklahoma City bombing** intended to allow federal agencies new authority for wiretapping, to expedite the deportation of illegal aliens suspected of terrorism, and to limit death-row appeals of convicted terrorists. These cases of purported abuse of deadly force led the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to review and revise their rules of engagement in deadly force situations to avoid repeating such incidents. These reforms are credited with the more peaceful resolution of the FBI siege of the **Freemen** of Montana group in June 1996 and the later siege of the **Republic of Texas** militants in 1997.

DEATH SQUADS. Death squads are military, paramilitary, or irregular forces sponsored by a regime or political group to engage in violent repression against a population to prevent it from supporting the opponents of the regime or group. The term “death squad” is believed to have originated in the 1960s in Brazil, where off-duty policemen formed *Esquadraos de Morte* to kill off criminal elements. These spontaneously generated vigilantes were later co-opted by the Brazilian military regime to kill off dissidents.

The most frequently cited instances of death squads have been those sponsored by right-wing regimes in Central and South America to suppress leftists and suspected leftist sympathizers through **kidnapping**, torture, and murder. Human rights organizations particularly faulted Guatemalan security forces for campaigns of **state terror** in the 1970s and 1980s involving the use of death squads that terrorized not only leftists but also many innocents, particularly Indians, in areas of rural **insurgency**. Among the more notorious of these groups were the **White Hand** group and the **Anticommunist Secret Army**. By the conclusion of the 29 December 1996 peace settlement between the Guatemalan government and leftist insurgents, official figures stated that between 130,000 and 140,000 people had been killed, but Roman Catholic human rights groups put the figure of dead closer to 150,000, while 50,000 who disappeared have not been

accounted for. As late as August 2002, mass graves were being found and exhumed, including one in Rabinal, a city of 60,000, in which as many as 800 people were believed to have been buried following death squad executions.

El Salvador had death squad activity during the 1970s, involving such groups as the rural militia **ORDEN**. This group was declared disbanded in November 1979, but in fact its members appear to have entered newer death squads such as the **White Warriors' Union** and the **Maximiliano Hernández Martínez Anti-Communist Brigade**. From 1979 until 1982, killings by Salvadoran death squads sometimes exceeded 800 people each month and included among their victims Archbishop Oscar Romero y Galdamez, killed on 24 March 1980, and four American church workers on 4 December 1980. On 28 March 1998 the four Salvadoran ex-soldiers convicted for this crime stated that they had killed the nuns on orders from their military superiors. The families of the slain nuns filed wrongful death lawsuits against the commanding officers of the four guardsmen on 12 May 1999. This death squad activity created much controversy regarding the Reagan administration's support of the Salvadoran transitional regime against the **Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN)** leftist insurgency, since it was clear that many of the leaders and members of the death squads were themselves members of the Salvadoran military and police. By the mid-1980s, however, the murder rate had dropped to less than 100 killings per month and by late 1988 was about 16 killings per month, a figure that may be accounted for by ordinary murders rather than death squad activity.

Currently in Colombia, paramilitary groups, such as the **Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC)**, Colombia Without Rebels, and several neighborhood vigilante groups, have been involved in killing suspected rebels, leftists, migrant workers, and vagrants. What Colombians refer to as "social cleansing" accounted for as many as 2,000 murders in the period 1988 to 1993. One of the most notorious AUC actions was the 18–19 February 2000 attack on the town of El Salada in the eastern Colombian state of Bolívar, in which around 70 people were murdered over a two-day period for supposed collaboration with left-wing guerrillas. The AUC also robbed and raped others in the town of roughly 1,300, whose remaining citizens fled in terror. In Peru a retired Peruvian general indicated in December 1996

that the Peruvian government had revived an infamous military death squad, La Colina, which had targeted university teachers and students suspected of supporting the **Sendero Luminoso** (SL) insurgents.

Examples of death squads can also be found outside Latin America. Many of the Ulster Protestant militias, such as the **Red Hand Commandos** and the **Ulster Volunteer Force**, have been accused of acting as anti-Catholic death squads. South Africa's military Civil Cooperation Bureau was closed on 31 July 1990 following revelations that it had sponsored death squad activities. In Turkey a government scandal in December 1996 revealed that the Turkish government had been hiring members of drug-dealing gangs to kill suspected dissidents as well as Kurdish clan members to provide "village guards" to kill off Kurdish separatists. Turkey had previously suffered from death squad activity between leftists and rightists that led to a military takeover in 1980 to restore order and political stability.

While death squads are usually state-sponsored groups, in cases where the state is relatively weak a marginally stronger political group or economic elite could sponsor its own death squads without having to rely on the state. Such was the situation in El Salvador following November 1979, when a weak transitional government was unable to control its own security personnel involved in death squads that were financed and run by Salvadoran oligarchs opposed to agrarian and social reforms. Likewise, the Medellín **Colombian cocaine cartel** formed its own death squad, **Muerte a Secuestradores**, to kill off leftist guerrillas who had been interfering in the smugglers' operations.

Although the term "death squad" has usually been used only to describe right-wing terror groups, there are leftist regimes and groups that have sponsored their own death squads. In El Salvador, the **Clara Elizabeth Ramírez Front** acted as a selective hit squad while the People's Revolutionary Army, one of the groups within the **Farabundo Martí Liberation Front**, was used to kidnap and murder officials of the Salvadoran government. In the Philippines the Communist **New People's Army** has been using death squads known as Sparrow Squads to murder Philippine government and military authorities as well as U.S. service members. The Peruvian Maoist group Sendero Luminoso has also engaged in selective and systematic murder of its opponents. In Turkey, prior to the military coup and crackdown of September 1980, right-wing death squads,

such as the **Gray Wolves**, and left-wing death squads, such as the **Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front** (formerly known as Dev Sol) and the **Turkish People's Liberation Front**, were operating simultaneously.

Death squads seem to function best as repressive tools when their targets are limited to the leaders of the opposing groups. Once death squad activity becomes random, killing not only opposition followers but also the usually politically uninvolved public, then the latter group becomes more politicized and emboldened to resist the sponsors of the death squads.

Moreover, once death squads cease to be sponsored by a state or party, they sometimes revert to becoming freelance entrepreneurial killers. Such was the case with the members of the disbanded **ORDEN** group in El Salvador, and such is the case with Brazilian police officers today, many of whom have reverted to vigilante actions against petty criminals and homeless street children.

Death squad activity has also become more visible in the Middle East and Africa. Since the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, death squad activity has appeared among the various Kurdish, Shi'a, and Sunni groups, each seeking to consolidate control over portions of Iraq. After the election of a Shi'a-dominated Iraqi government in early 2006, the Baghdad police and security forces became Shi'a-dominated and allegedly have tolerated death squad activities aimed at driving Sunnis out of Baghdad neighborhoods. Both the **Badr Brigades** associated with former **al Da'wa** Party members and the **Mahdi Army** of Muqtada al-Sadr, in particular, are suspected of death squad activity.

In Darfur, in western Sudan, the Janjaweed, armed gunmen of nomadic Arab groups, have been involved in death squad activities directed at non-Arab African farmers in the region. Beginning in 2003 the Sudanese government began using the Janjaweed as counterinsurgency forces against black Africans in the western regions suspected of disloyalty to the central government. In the succeeding years, they killed up to 100,000 civilians and have displaced tens of thousands of villagers as well as destroying their homes and farms.

DELLE CHIAIE, STEPHANO (1936–). Italian neo-Fascist terrorist and founder of the **Avanguardia Nazionale**. This group carried out a **bombing** campaign from 1969 to 1973. It merged with the **Black**

Order, which in turn produced the **Armed Revolutionary Nuclei** group responsible for the 2 August 1980 bombing of Bologna's main railroad station. These groups have been affiliated with each other, and with similar right-wing extremists outside Italy, through the Black Orchestra, originally masterminded by Delle Chiaie.

Delle Chiaie himself had fled to Spain in 1970 following an abortive right-wing coup d'état attempt in Italy in which he participated. In Spain, Delle Chiaie became active in **state sponsorship of death squad** activities directed against members of the **Basque Fatherland and Liberty** group. Following Francisco Franco's death in 1975, Delle Chiaie reportedly moved in 1976 to Latin America, where he collaborated with the former right-wing military regimes in Argentina and Chile in their internal campaigns to suppress domestic leftists and other political opponents. Following his involvement in an abortive coup attempt in Bolivia in 1980 and the fall from power of his right-wing state sponsors in Argentina, Delle Chiaie went into hiding. He is alleged to have helped the Chilean and Argentinean government-coordinated campaign against dissidents in exile, known as Operation Condor, and was also accused of involvement in the 30 September 1974 **assassination** of the Chilean exile General Carlos Prats González in Buenos Aires.

On 27 March 1987 Delle Chiaie was arrested in Caracas, Venezuela, and **extradited** to Italy for trial for his suspected involvement in the Piazza Fortuna bombing of 1969; however, he was acquitted of this charge in 1989. In December 1995 Delle Chiaie gave testimony before an Italian magistrate against Enrique Arancibia Clavel, a Chilean agent, for his role in the murder of Prats. Clavel was later convicted on 24 August 2004 for this murder after Argentina repealed the amnesty laws passed following the overthrow of the military junta in 1982.

DEMOCIDE. *Democide* is a term devised by political scientist Rudolph J. Rummel to encompass the various forms of mass killings of people by governments, usually by their own sovereign state. Democide is defined as the murder of any person or people by a government, whether by **genocide**, **politicide**, or mass murder. Genocide is the killing of people for, among other things, their ascriptive group membership, such as race, ethnicity, religion of parents, language, or culture. Politicide is the murder of individuals or groups of people due

to their politics or for purposes of political expediency. Mass murder is the indiscriminate killing of any person or group of people by a government. Democide and each of its components can be viewed as examples of **state terror**, whether the killings are accomplished by regular armed forces or by irregular militias or mercenaries. Rummel presents persuasive statistics to argue that democide, rather than warfare or nonstate terrorism, has been the leading cause of death by political violence over the last 100 years. The results of Rummel's initial research were published under the title "War Isn't This Century's Biggest Killer," in the 7 July 1986 issue of the *Wall Street Journal*, in which Rummel determined that democide was directly responsible for over 169 million human deaths in the 20th century as opposed to only 35.6 million deaths due to the direct effects of warfare. As of May 2005 and after having reviewed more than 8,000 documents, including many released only since 2000, Rummel revised the democide total for the 20th century upward to 262 million deaths, over six times as many as were killed by the direct effects of warfare.

DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE (DFLP). The DFLP is a Palestinian Marxist-Leninist guerrilla organization and **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** member that advocates the creation of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It also advocates **revolutionary** working-class struggle throughout the Arab world as part of an international anti-imperialist and anticapitalist revolution but has limited its own use of armed struggle or terrorism to achieving the independent Palestinian state. The DFLP was formerly supported by Libya and South Yemen while its major **state sponsor** was Syria; however, the DFLP lost Syrian support when it refused to join the Syrian-sponsored **National Salvation Front** in 1987. Since then the DFLP has tried to limit its dependence on any external sponsors. DFLP members received Soviet training and Cuban aid and are believed to have had contact with the **Sandinistas**.

The DFLP was born out of a division between extreme leftists and Pan-Arabists within George Habash's **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)**. This factionalism escalated to armed clashes in Amman, Jordan, during February 1969 until **al Fatah** intervened, recognizing the breakaway leftists as a group separate from the PFLP. Until August 1974 the group was known as the

Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The DFLP members are Marxist-Leninists who reject the chauvinistic Pan-Arabism of the PFLP in favor of socialist internationalism and who also reject the use of international terrorism. The DFLP believed terrorist or guerrilla actions should be conducted only within Israel and the occupied territories, a position that al Fatah adopted in 1974 and that eventually was declared official PLO policy on 15 November 1988 at the 19th Palestine National Council (PNC) meeting. The DFLP also preceded al Fatah in diplomatic initiatives, making contact with Israeli socialist internationalist counterparts such as the Israeli Matzpen group in 1970, but later opposed any negotiations with Likud-led governments in Israel. The DFLP pioneered in 1973 the idea of the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which al Fatah also later adopted.

During the 1970s the DFLP carried out several attacks within Israel, usually involving **kidnapping** of hostages or **bombings**. Their most notorious action was the 15 May 1974 assault on the Israeli town of Ma'alot in which three DFLP terrorists took 90 schoolchildren hostage, to be released in exchange for freeing 23 Arab prisoners as well as Kozo Okamoto, the **Japanese Red Army** terrorist who had participated in the Lod airport massacre on 30 May 1972. When the negotiations broke down, the Israeli troops stormed the dormitory, but not before the terrorists machine-gunned the children, killing 16 outright and injuring 70 others, five of whom later died. Seven other Israelis, two of them Arabs, were also killed and 69 injured in the course of this action. This massacre prompted Israeli air force retaliatory strikes against Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon believed to have been the bases of the attackers. A similar attack took place in Beit Shean on 19 November 1974 in which all three attackers were killed along with four Israelis. In July 1977 and March 1979, the DFLP carried out several bombings in public markets and on buses. In January 1979 a DFLP terrorist team tried to repeat a hostage taking at Ma'alot but was intercepted by a routine Israeli military patrol. After 1982, DFLP actions within Israel consisted of grenade and small firebomb attacks throughout Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip, but after 1988 DFLP actions were limited to small border raids.

The importance of the DFLP derives more from its swing votes within the PLO than from its declining record of terrorist activities.

DFLP support was essential for al Fatah to rally the votes needed to have the PNC accept UN resolutions 242 and 338, contingent on creation of a Palestinian state in the occupied territories, in the 19th PNC meeting held during 12–15 November 1988. The deputy head of the DFLP, Yasir Abdul Rabbo, led the first PLO delegation to meet officially with U.S. diplomats following President Ronald Reagan's authorization of direct U.S.-PLO talks on 14 December 1988. In 1991 the DFLP split into two factions, with the original leader, Nayef Hawatmeh, leading a faction opposed to **Yasir Arafat** and Abdul Rabbo leading the pro-Arafat faction. This split reflected the general dissatisfaction within the PLO over the slowness and indirection of efforts on the diplomatic front.

On 24 September 1995 the DFLP denounced the agreements reached between Israel and the Palestinian Authority on expanding Palestinian self-rule. Hawatmeh boycotted the 22 April 1996 meeting of the PNC convened in Gaza to reconsider Article 15 of the PLO Covenant, which declares it a duty "to purge the Zionist presence from Palestine." Nonetheless, on 8 February 1999, at the funeral of King Hussein of Jordan in Amman, Israeli President Ezer Weizmann shook hands with Hawatmeh, and on 22 April 1999 Yasir Arafat met with Hawatmeh in Cairo for the first time since the Oslo Accords were signed in 1993 to begin talks aimed at reuniting the DPLF with the rest of the PLO.

The DFLP had about 1,000 followers in the early 1970s and perhaps as many as 2,000 on the eve of Israel's invasion of Lebanon in the summer of 1982. Currently its two factions together may have about 500 followers. In 1999 the U.S. State Department removed the DFLP from the Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOs) list due to its lack of activities during the preceding two years. Although no longer designated as an FTO, the DFLP remains subject to restrictions on fund-raising activities and to **freezing/sesquestration** of its assets in the United States due to an executive order signed by President Bill Clinton in January 1995 aimed at groups that threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process.

From the September 2000 outbreak of the second **intifada** until late 2005, the DFLP confined its military activities to those territories still occupied by Israel. The influence of the DFLP within Palestinian society was weakened due to Yasser Abd Rabbo splitting from the main organization to form the Palestine Democratic Union, which seeks a negotiated political settlement with Israel.

In the 2005 Palestinian Authority presidential elections, the DFLP candidate, Taysir Khalid, won only 3.35 percent of the vote. In the 2006 Palestine Legislative Council elections, the DFLP formed a joint list with the Palestine Democratic Union and won two of the 132 seats. There have been no new elections for the PLO's Palestine National Council or Executive Committee since 1988 and so the DFLP remains the third-largest faction within the PLO.

Since 2000 the DFLP has carried out several attacks that have been coordinated with other Palestinian groups. The most deadly recent attack, claimed by the DFLP and coordinated with al Fatah, was the 16 July 2002 attack upon Israeli soldiers in a bus at the entrance of the Immanuel settlement in the West Bank, in which nine people were killed and 16 injured. The DFLP claimed responsibility for an attack coordinated with **Hamas** involving the firing of two missiles on the Kissufim Crossing into the Gaza Strip, in which no casualties were reported. From 23 June to 20 August 2006, the DFLP conducted no fewer than seven attacks against Israeli targets coordinated with other Palestinian groups, all of which involved bombings or rocket attacks but none of which caused deaths or injuries. Four of these attacks were coordinated with the **al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade**, one with the Popular Resistance Committee, one with Hamas, and another with al Fatah. While three of these attacks were on border stations between Gaza and Israel, the other four were rocket attacks on the Israeli city of Sderot, which lies within Israel proper, representing a deviation from the DFLP declaratory policy of only attacking Israeli targets within Gaza or the West Bank. The sudden increase in DFLP attacks in the summer of 2006 was probably spurred by the need for the organization to maintain some visibility during a period of increasing competition and conflict between the more visible Hamas and al Fatah.

DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ARABISTAN (DRFLA). Originally a Marxist-Leninist splinter group of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Ahwaz (PFLA), both organizations appear to have been Iraqi **state-sponsored** groups ostensibly seeking the independence of the largely Arab-inhabited regions of Khuzistan Province in southwestern Iran.

In reaction to a long-standing dispute with Iran over sovereignty of the Shatt-al-Arab estuary, the Iraqi government began in 1960 to support irredentist Arab claims to Iran's Khuzistan Province on the

eastern banks of the disputed waterway by supporting the PFLA. With the signing of the 1975 Algiers Accord in which Iraq ceded its previous claims over the entire waterway, jurisdiction of which would be divided between the two nations, Iraqi support of the PFLA **insurgency** ceased.

The Democratic Revolutionary Front for the Liberation of Arabistan emerged from the remnant of the PFLA, which once again acquired Iraqi support following the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1978–1979 and the outbreak of hostilities between Iraq and Iran in September 1980. The DRFLA emerged into the limelight with its seizure of the Iranian embassy in London from 30 April–5 May 1980, in which six terrorists held 26 hostages. Commandos of Great Britain's 22nd Special Air Services Regiment executed a daytime assault on the embassy in which five terrorists and two hostages were killed. Within Khuzistan Province, which became a major battleground between Iranian and Iraqi troops, the DRFLA played little effective role in supporting the Iraqi invasion or in harassing Iranian troops.

DEPORTATION. *See* EXTRADITION.

DEV SOL. *See* REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S LIBERATION PARTY/FRONT.

DIPLOCK COURTS. Special antiterrorism courts established in Northern Ireland to address the problem of intimidation of juries in cases involving members of Irish nationalist or Ulster Protestant paramilitaries or people charged with terrorist offenses of a political nature. Jury trials seemed impractical because the jurors would acquit defendants either out of sympathy for the defendant's political cause or out of fear of reprisal. Lord Diplock headed a commission to review the judicial process in cases involving terrorism in Northern Ireland; its report, issued in December 1972, recommended the use of a single judge to determine matters both of fact and of law.

Unlike the nonjury trials that were later initiated under the **suppergrass** system in 1981, in the Diplock court trials the defendant would enjoy the right to face and cross-examine his accusers. These trials were public, and the defendant would have legal counsel and the right of appeal. The standard of conviction remained guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. Defense counsels could petition the Brit-

ish attorney general to “certify out” cases that were claimed not to involve terrorist offenses; these cases would then require jury trials. In 1995 alone, 932 of 1,234 such applications were granted. Of the 418 cases not removed from Diplock courts, the rate of conviction for those who pleaded not guilty was only 40 percent. Whenever judges found a defendant guilty in the Diplock courts, they were required to provide a written opinion to explain their reasoning, and the verdict could then be appealed. In this way those charged with terrorist offenses would continue to enjoy rights of due process despite the lack of a jury.

Following the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, prosecutions in the Diplock courts fell to about 60 each year. The Northern Ireland Office announced on 1 August 2005 that these courts would be phased out and in August 2006 announced that the courts would be abolished by July 2007.

DIPLOMATIC INVIOLABILITY. According to statistics of the Office for Combating Terrorism of the U.S. Department of State, diplomats, their families, and others attached to them have increasingly become favored **targets** of terrorist attacks. In 1975 over 30 percent of terrorist attacks were directed at diplomats; in 1980 this figure rose to 54 percent. Several of these attacks have involved hostage-barricade situations, such as the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehran on 4 November 1979 or the **Peruvian Japanese embassy hostage crisis** in Lima, Peru, on 17 December 1996, while others have involved **bombings** with great loss of life, such as the 18 April 1983 bombing of the U.S. embassy in West Beirut and the 7 August 1999 **East African U.S. embassy attacks** that took place simultaneously in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

To implement the New York Convention (the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Internationally Protected Persons, Including Diplomatic Agents, adopted on 14 December 1973), Title 18 of the U.S. Code was amended on 8 October 1976 to make attacks upon, or threats against, diplomats within the United States a federal felony and to allow its enforcement by whatever federal, state, or local agency is needed, whether civilian or military. Following the U.S. embassy seizure in Tehran, the UN Convention Against the Taking of Hostages was adopted on 17 December 1979 and ratified by the United States on 4 September

1981. The Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1985, sections 2001 and 2002, amended chapter 55 of Title 18 to make any **kidnapping** with an international dimension involving threats against life, limb, or liberty a crime subject to federal jurisdiction.

In essence this allowed the United States to claim the right to arrest anyone involved in taking any U.S. citizen hostage, whether or not that victim was a U.S. diplomat, or whether the crime took place within or outside the borders of the United States, and allowed U.S. authorities to arrest suspects even outside of the borders of the United States. Ordinarily the United States would try to demand the **extradition** of such suspects, but the propensity of terrorists to seek **sanctuary** in nations not disposed to extraditing them to U.S. authorities made this extreme assertion of extraterritorial jurisdiction seem necessary even though such **rendition** may appear to violate the sovereignty of such nations.

The other issue involves cases of diplomatic immunity in which diplomatic status is abused to shelter terrorist agents from the law or else abuse of this status by the diplomats themselves to carry out terrorist activities. Following the end of the October 1985 **hijacking** of the *Achille Lauro*, the four **Palestine Liberation Front** (PLF) hijackers, who had been joined by PLF leader Abu Abbas, had left Egypt on an Egyptian airliner, intending to fly to Tunisia, when U.S. fighter jets forced the plane to land at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Air Force base at Sigonella in Sicily. Over U.S. objections, the Italian authorities allowed Abu Abbas to go free on the grounds that he had an Iraqi diplomatic passport. Similarly, Libyan diplomats abused their status on 17 April 1984 when they opened fire on Libyan protesters in St. James Square, London, killing one British police officer. In such cases the national government whose territory and citizens have been attacked has the option of declaring the diplomats persona non grata, requiring them to leave, or even of downgrading diplomatic ties with the other nation or subjecting it to economic boycott and sanctions. **Group of Eight counterterrorism cooperation**, beginning with its London declaration of 1984 and the Tokyo declaration of 1986, has coordinated measures among the member states to punish nations that abuse diplomatic immunity, in particular Libya, by agreeing not to admit any diplomat declared persona non grata in any one of their nations and also to embargo the sales of arms to nations abusing diplomatic immunity.

Currently the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations and Optional Protocol on Disputes of 1961 is understood to protect the people, personal baggage, papers and documents, and vehicles of accredited diplomats, either of nation-states or of specific United Nations offices, from search or seizure by the police or other security forces of the nations to which those diplomats are accredited, whether at points of entry into the country or elsewhere within the nation. This immunity has been abused by the diplomats themselves and by third parties, in order to facilitate terrorism or other offenses against human rights, through the smuggling of weapons, explosives, and sometimes even of kidnapped people within diplomatic baggage or vehicles. The Vienna Convention, in article 37, section 2, allows an inspection of diplomatic baggage when “there are serious grounds for presuming that it contains articles not covered by the exemptions . . . or articles the import or export of which is prohibited by the law. . . . Such inspection shall be conducted only in the presence of the diplomatic agent.” The one other good-faith exception allowing searches of diplomatic baggage that has become commonly accepted is the inspection of luggage being boarded onto aircraft.

While the original language of the convention seems to have been directed against the smuggling of contraband goods by diplomats, there also have been several instances involving use of diplomatic baggage to support terrorists or to enforce state repression. In 1984 British authorities freed a Nigerian political émigré, Umaru Dikko, from diplomatic luggage being shipped from Great Britain to Nigeria; he had had been kidnapped and drugged by Nigerian agents in order to be brought back to Nigeria. This incident led Great Britain to expel two members of the Nigerian High Commission and resulted in severance of diplomatic ties with Nigeria lasting two years. Following the killing of a British constable by gunfire from the Libyan People’s Bureau in 1984 British authorities invoked the **right of self-defense** in order to search the diplomatic office for weapons. In January 1991 Philippine officials expelled Iraqi diplomats as *persona non grata* after intercepting weapons and explosives being transported by them in diplomatic baggage. In December 2007 Israeli security forces intercepted explosives being smuggled into the Gaza Strip in a truck supposedly transporting humanitarian aid under UN auspices. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have similarly invoked their right to self-defense to require the opening of diplomatic baggage from Iran and

Libya, although they customarily allow the diplomat to be present when these searches are conducted.

A more controversial violation of diplomatic immunity involved the raids within northern Iraq in January 2007 by U.S. forces occupying an Iranian consulate and arresting its diplomats on charges of supporting **insurgents** in Iraq. This led not only to Iranian protests but also protests by members of the Iraqi government, to whom the Iranian diplomats had been accredited, that Iraqi sovereignty was being violated as well. A discussion of the legal difficulties involved in countering terrorism while seeking to uphold norms of diplomatic immunity is found in a position paper by New York University law professor Ithai Apter, *International Immunities and Fighting Terrorism: Should Diplomatic, Consular and UN Immunity from Searches Prevent Conducting Security Checkups in Border Crossings, Roadblocks and Airports?* (http://works.bepress.com/ithai_apter/1).

DIRECT ACTION (AD). Action Directe was a group of French **anarchistic leftist** terrorists active from 1 May 1979 until February 1987. Its name derives from a statement made by the group outlining its anarchistic program: “[We will] wreck society through direct action by destroying its institutions and the men who serve it.” The AD divided itself into two wings, one specializing in international **targets**, which has deliberately killed and maimed people connected with Western European business or military defense, the other striking domestic targets but usually in such a way that human life would not be taken, for example, by **bombing** buildings after closing hours.

An analysis of 35 noteworthy actions committed by the AD from 1979 to 1987 shows that 17 of these involved **bombings**, killing at least five and injuring at least 58 others; eight involved **assassination** attempts, half of them successful; five involved armed attacks with automatic weapons; and the remaining five involved theft, threats, and arms smuggling.

Bombing targets have included the European headquarters of the World Bank (4 June 1982); the European Space Agency (2 August 1984); and the officers’ club at the Rhein-Main U.S. Air Force Base, which was car-bombed, killing two and wounding 19 others (8 August 1985). Successful assassinations included the killing of French General René Audran (25 January 1985); Georges

Besse, chairman of Renault (17 November 1986); and an American serviceman, murdered to get his car to be used in the Rhein-Main car-bombing attack.

The Rhein-Main attack is one of the few in which the AD crossed borders to carry out its operations; it was also done in partnership with the **Red Army Faction**, which may account for its more calculated brutality. On 21 February 1987, four AD members were arrested outside Orleans for the murder of Georges Besse, namely, Joëlle Aubron, Georges Cipriani, Nathalie Ménigon, and Jean-Marc Rouillan. In November 1987 Max Frerot, the AD's bombing expert, was also arrested. All members were eventually convicted for the murders and bombings and sentenced to life imprisonment. Joëlle Aubron was released in June 2004 after being diagnosed with lung cancer and later died. The organization appears to have been ended with these arrests and convictions.

DIRTY BOMBS. See WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

DIRTY WAR(S). *La guerra sucia* was the name used to describe the Argentinean military junta's campaign of **state terror** to annihilate leftist guerrillas, politicians, students, unionists, and intellectuals, which lasted from 24 March 1976 until the fall of the military junta in 1983. The junta began a massive **death squad** campaign using the police and military forces to arrest tens of thousands of Argentines, who were tortured to death in prisons and their bodies dumped into river estuaries, the sea, or unmarked graves. Other Latin American nations also had their own versions of dirty wars while several of the "southern cone" nations of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay set aside nationalistic antagonisms in order to cooperate in covert operations against leftist groups seen as a common threat. Following the election of President Vicente Fox in Mexico in 2000, investigations began into Mexico's own dirty war against leftist opponents and student protestors.

Within Argentina alone it is estimated that between 9,000 and 10,000 people perished or disappeared in the junta's so-called process of national reorganization. The campaign was principally directed against leftists and enjoyed some support from middle-class, conservative Argentines exasperated with the violence of the **Montoneros** and similar leftist terrorists. The dirty war allowed no formal process of documentation or defense of those considered enemies of the regime

and was particularly directed at those not already in official custody, for whom there would be no arrest record once they entered the ranks of the “disappeared.” After careful review of forensic evidence and the testimony both of surviving leftists and military officials, the Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas (CONADEP), the Argentine National Commission on Disappearances, determined the figure of the disappeared to be around 9,000, an estimate that was later raised to about 10,000, which accords surprisingly well with the totals of lost comrades given by surviving members of the Montoneros and the **People’s Revolutionary Army (ERP)**.

On 20 August 2002 the U.S. State Department released over 4,000 documents produced at the U.S. embassy in Buenos Aires on the Argentinean dirty war in response to requests from officials in Argentina, Spain, and Italy wishing to investigate disappearances of their citizens and to prosecute those responsible for human rights abuses. On 10 July 2002 an Argentinean judge ordered former military dictator General Leopoldo Galtieri and 30 others arrested for their roles in the dirty war.

In August 2003 the national legislature of Argentina overturned the amnesty laws of 1986 and 1987 passed after the downfall of the military junta in the wake of the failed Falklands war as well as overturning the pardons issued by President Carlos Saúl Menem after 1989. These amnesties and pardons had been meant to dissuade military leaders from launching another coup d’état in order to avoid prosecution for their roles in the dirty war. Among those arrested following the repeal of the amnesty was General Antonio Domingo Bassi, a former junta member also wanted in Spain on charges of crimes against humanity filed by judge Baltazar Garzón. In June 2003 the Supreme Court of Mexico allowed the **extradition** of former Argentinean junta member Ricardo Miguel Cavallo to Spain on genocide charges.

Beginning in 1975 Argentina coordinated its efforts to crush leftist opponents abroad with five other Latin American regimes also confronting leftist insurgencies, namely, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay, in Operation Condor. Each regime assisted the police of other regimes in hunting down wanted leftists in each other’s jurisdictions, as well as targeted **assassination** of dissidents outside their joint jurisdictions, in effect aiding each other in each regime’s own version of a dirty war. Earlier, in 1974,

Chilean agents had assassinated General Carlos Prats González, the army commander under President Salvador Allende who resigned his commission and went into exile in Argentina rather than join the military junta, by a bomb placed inside his car outside his home in exile in Buenos Aires. A former Chilean intelligence agent, Enrique Arancibia Clavel, was arrested in January 1996 on charges of having arranged the bombing. Similarly, the former chief of Chile's military secret police, General Manuel Contreras Sepulvade, was convicted in May 1995 for the 21 September 1976 assassination of Orlando Letelier, the former foreign minister of the Allende government, who was also killed by a bomb in his car outside his home in Washington, D.C. These actions can be viewed as extensions of the dirty war of Chile against its enemies beyond its national boundaries.

U.S. diplomatic documents released in October 2002 revealed that U.S. officials had been aware that Operation Condor was being directed at leftist dissidents of those countries in exile. Although U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had ordered U.S. diplomats on 23 August 1976 to convey official "deep concern" over Operation Condor to the governments involved, this order was rescinded on 20 September 1976 by a senior State Department official in charge of Latin American affairs for fear that the message would antagonize Chilean President Augusto José Ramón Pinochet and the other heads of state. The next day, former Chilean foreign minister Letelier and Ronni Moffitt, an American associate, were both killed by a bomb rigged into the ignition system of Letelier's car.

In early 2003 the Mexican government permitted the publication of a history text, *History of Mexico: An Analytical Approach*, by Claudia Sierra Campuzano, that described the government crackdown on student protestors that occurred on 2 October 1968 at Tlatelolco Plaza in which army troops fired on thousands of protestors, allegedly killing hundreds, followed by the arrests and persecution of student leaders. At that time the students had been protesting the bulldozing of tenement housing undertaken to build the site for the Mexico City Olympics in 1968. The government cracked down on the protestors and at that time acknowledged at most about 40 deaths. The official campaign against leftists continued during the next 15 years but was never officially acknowledged until the presidency of Vicente Fox.

In November 2001 President Fox ordered a special prosecutor, Ignacio Carrillo Prieto, to investigate the Tlatelolco massacre and some 275 other killings carried out by the government. On 5 November 2003 the Mexican Supreme Court ruled that some 74 former government officials could be investigated and prosecuted for the dirty war campaign. In December 2003 the special prosecutor's office undertook investigations of the dirty war campaign that ran from the 1960s to the 1980s in which some 650 leftists disappeared during a security crackdown, one that was particularly fierce in the state of Guerrero. In February 2004 the former head of the secret police, Miguel Nazar Haro, was arrested for the alleged torture and murder of a student leftist leader, Jesús Piedra Ibarra, who disappeared in 1975 following his arrest. In July 2004 the special prosecutor ordered the arrest of former President Luis Echeverría, who in 1968 had been the interior minister in charge of the crackdown at Tlatelolco, on charges that he, two aides, and three military officers had murdered student protestors in 1971. However, on 31 August 2004 the Mexican Supreme Court dismissed the charges.

DISAPPEARANCES. See DIRTY WAR(S); GUATEMALAN NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY UNION.

DOUBLING. Psychological term describing the splitting of the self into two functional wholes, one being the original personality and the other "part-self" being another personality capable of acting independently from the main personality. With regard to terrorist recruitment and training, the process of the indoctrination of the recruit, the demonization of the enemy or enemies of the terrorist group, and the constant training in the use of arms and rehearsing of planned attacks produces a new "terrorist personality" capable of carrying out attacks and killing **targeted** victims automatically and with little or no sense of hesitation or remorse. The condition was first described by Robert Jay Lifton in his book *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (New York: Basic Books, 1986).

DOUKHOBORS. Also known as the Sons of Freedom, or Freedomites, the Doukhobors, whose name is actually Russian for "spirit wrestlers," are members of a Russian Christian sect who immigrated to Canada in 1899. They comprise a nonstate communal religious group that adheres to a radical ideal of freedom and antiauthori-

tarianism, rejecting both secular and religious hierarchical authority. A long-standing Doukhobor ritual meant to demonstrate the Doukhobors' radical freedom, even from their material possessions, has been the periodic communal burning of all their worldly goods. In the course of this ritual, performed in early spring, participating Doukhobors would ultimately strip off their garments to burn as well, until all participants were naked. Like the Amish, the Doukhobors deny the authority of the government to send their children to public schools but, unlike the pacifistic Amish, the Doukhobors have used **arson** and **bombing** of public property as a means of protesting and resisting Canadian federal and provincial government intervention in their lives.

There are about 20,000 Doukhobors in Canada, of which some 2,500 are the more radical Sons of Freedom, located mainly in eastern British Columbia, who have been responsible for most Doukhobor terrorism. The first recorded protest of Doukhobors occurred in Saskatchewan in 1929, when many burned their homes in protest at the provincial government's requiring their children to attend public schools. Most of the terrorist acts by Doukhobors occurred in 1961–1962, although incidents occurred as late as 1972, and consisted of burnings and bombings directed at other Doukhobors, businesses, railroads, power pylons, and government buildings. In the period from 1960 to 1985, Doukhobor violence accounted for 38.3 percent (130 events) of all terrorist incidents in Canada and was second only to Québécois separatism (166 events) as the largest source of political terrorism in Canada. Although some have described this violence as being religiously motivated, and therefore presumed to be nonpolitical, it is clear that the religious doctrine of independence from all external authority also implies a rather thoroughgoing political anarchism as well as legitimizes instrumental **revolutionary** violence. While Doukhobor terrorism has greatly subsided, its future demise is not a foregone conclusion.

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EARTH LIBERATION FRONT (ELF). An **entrepreneurial** terrorist group founded in 1992 in Brighton, England, by radical members of the Earth First! environmental movement, the ELF advocates using

“economic sabotage to stop the exploitation and destruction of the natural environment.” While having an international reach (it has operated in the United States, Canada, Greece, and Great Britain), the ELF does not seem to have a command structure of any sort, whether domestically or internationally, and is regarded in most jurisdictions as a domestic problem. In March 2001 the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) classified the ELF as the top domestic terror threat. While claiming not to **target** human life or limb, the ELF has committed more than 1,200 acts of vandalism and **arson** in the United States, causing more than \$200 million in damages. Historically, efforts were directed against timber companies and enterprises that exploited animals, but recently the group has targeted suburban sprawl with several attacks on condominiums and luxury homes in rural settings as well as the firebombing of dealership lots of sport utility vehicles (SUVs) for sale.

The ELF has claimed credit for several attacks on property from 1998 to 2008, with 5 attacks in 1996, 5 attacks in 1997, 7 attacks in 1998, 3 attacks in 1999, 11 attacks in 2000, 34 attacks in 2001, 11 attacks in 2002, 21 attacks in 2003, 7 attacks in 2004, 13 attacks in 2005, and 6 attacks in 2006. Following a lull during 2007, on 3 March 2008 the ELF was reported to be responsible for using incendiary **bombs** to destroy four multi-million-dollar homes in Echo Lake, Washington State, costing \$7 million. In many of these attacks, in which targets have involved possible animal rights issues, such as attacks on mink farms and horse stables, responsibility has been claimed jointly by the ELF and the **Animal Liberation Front**.

A sampling of actions for which the ELF has claimed responsibility follows: On 28 October 1996 a U.S. Forest Service vehicle was firebombed at the Detroit Ranger District office in the Willamette National Forest in Oregon, causing \$15,000 in damages. On 29 November 1997 the ELF released 400 horses of the U.S. Bureau of Land Management and then burned the stables, feeding troughs, and other equipment, causing damages of \$474,000. On 19 October 1998 the ELF attacked a Vail ski resort, torching a restaurant, a picnic area, and a utility building, and vandalizing four ski lifts, with damages totaling \$12 million. On 1 November 2002 the ELF vandalized 25 SUVs at a dealership in Richmond, Virginia. On 25

December 1999 ELF burned a Boise Cascade office in Monmouth, Oregon, with damages of \$15,000. On 21 July 2000 the ELF destroyed thousands of poplar trees being grown at the U.S. Forest Service research station in Rhinelander, Wisconsin, on the pretext that the trees were being bioengineered, causing damages of \$1 million. On 11 September 2005 the ELF vandalized about 12 large machines at a public landfill in West Old Town, Maine, causing damages in excess of \$10,000.

In many of these attacks, ELF activists also left extensive spray-painted graffiti with obscenities and slogans denouncing U.S. corporations, private property, and, beginning in 2003, the U.S.-led war in Iraq.

EAST AFRICAN U.S. EMBASSY ATTACKS. On 7 August 1998 the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, were struck by near-simultaneous truck bombings believed to have been carried out by members of **Osama bin Laden's al Qa'eda** group. The attack in Dar es Salaam involved a gasoline truck that exploded as it entered the embassy compound, killing 10 Tanzanians, seven of whom were embassy employees, and injuring 77 others, one of whom was an American. A few minutes later, at 10:30 a.m., a truck bomb in Nairobi was exploded outside the U.S. embassy. After being denied entry by a guard to the front parking lot of the embassy, which would have positioned the bomb close to the ambassador's office, the terrorists drove the truck to the rear entrance of the building where one terrorist threw a grenade at parked cars, causing the guard to flee. When the bomb exploded there, it killed 291 people and injured more than 5,000. Twelve U.S. citizens were killed and six injured in this attack, while the remaining casualties were mainly Kenyan citizens.

After the U.S. government obtained information implicating Osama bin Laden in the attacks, President Bill Clinton issued Executive Order 12947 on 20 August 1998 adding bin Laden and his key aides in the al Qa'eda organization to the list of known terrorist groups and ordering the **freezing** of their financial assets in U.S. banks and other properties. On the same day, the United States launched cruise missiles at three al Qa'eda bases outside Khost in Afghanistan and an Al Shifa pharmaceutical plant in Sudan originally thought to have been associated with bin Laden.

On 28 August 1998 the United States issued indictments against Mohamed Rashed al Owhali and Mohammed Saddiq Odeh on charges of conspiracy to commit terrorism, use of **weapons of mass destruction**, and 12 counts of murder, one for each of the U.S. citizens killed in the blast. Al Owhali had originally been designated to be a **suicide volunteer** in the Kenyan bombing but instead fled from the truck just before it was due to explode while the other man, called Ahmad the German, died in the blast. Al Owhali was arrested later while trying to obtain medical help for his injuries sustained from the blast and handed over to the United States by Kenyan officials. The second suspect, Odeh, was arrested and questioned by Pakistani officials after arriving in Karachi, Pakistan, on a flight from Nairobi the day of the bombing. After three days he was returned to Kenya and detained there and handed over to U.S. officials two weeks later.

On 4 November 1998 a federal grand jury in Manhattan returned a 238-count indictment charging Osama bin Laden for the bombings of the two embassies and conspiracy to commit other acts of terrorism against U.S. citizens abroad. The United States offered awards of \$5 million each for information leading to the arrest or capture of bin Laden or of his chief aide, Muhammad Atef. On 16 December 1998 five more suspects were named in indictments, and another suspect, Mamdouh Mahmud Salim, was extradited from Germany to the United States on 21 December 1998. Two other suspects were arrested in the United States, Wadih el-Hage on 19 September 1998 in Texas, and Ali A. Mohamed, a former U.S. Army sergeant assigned to Special Forces in the period 1986–1989, in California on 11 September 1998. Several other suspects were identified and arrested overseas while a few, including bin Laden and Atef, remained at large. Atef was later killed in Afghanistan in a U.S. air strike in 2001.

While this bombing drew forth the most extensive investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in its history to that time, in which the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) as well as Kenyan, Tanzanian, and Pakistani authorities participated, it also drew attention to the failure of selective efforts of hardening of U.S. diplomatic facilities overseas, in which security upgrading of the embassies in Kenya and Tanzania had been neglected in favor of **target** hardening of facilities elsewhere deemed to be at high risk.

On 20 October 2000 Ali A. Mohamed testified that bin Laden had ordered him to scout out U.S., British, French, and Israeli targets in Nairobi, including the U.S. embassy. The trial of four bombing suspects began in March 2001, and on 29 May 2001 a U.S. federal court convicted Khalfan Khamis Mohamed, of Tanzania, and Mohamed Rashed Daoud al Owahli, of Saudi Arabia, for conspiracy and murder for their roles in assembling and delivering the truck bombs used in the two attacks. The court also convicted Mohammed Sadiq Odeh, a Palestinian, and Wadih el-Hage, a naturalized U.S. citizen from Lebanon, for conspiring to kill Americans around the world. On 11 June 2001 al Owahli was sentenced to life imprisonment. On 18 October 2001 Odeh, a Jordanian al Qa'eda member, Khalfan Khamis Mohamed, and el-Hage were also sentenced to life imprisonment.

On 22 June 2006 the United States identified three at-large suspects believed to be hiding in Somalia, namely, Fazul Abdullah Mohamed, Saleh Ali Saleh Nabhan, and Abu Taha al-Sudan, and requested the Islamic Courts Union, an insurgent group in control of much of Somalia at that time, to arrest them. These suspects were also believed to have been involved in the 2002 attacks on an Israeli-owned hotel in Kenya. In October 2006 the FBI confirmed that Muhsin Musa Matwalli Atwah, also known as Abdel Rahman al Mahajir, who had been indicated as one of the coconspirators responsible for the embassy bombings, had been killed in April 2006 during a Pakistani air strike against rebels in north Waziristan.

EAST TURKESTAN ISLAMIC MOVEMENT (ETIM). An **Islamic fundamentalist** Uighur group that seeks independence of China's western Xinjian-Uighur Autonomous Region, also known as East Turkestan, and is believed to be linked to **al Qa'eda**. Chinese authorities blame the group for several car **bomb** attacks in Xinjiang in the 1990s and also for the **assassination** in 2002 of a Chinese diplomat in Kyrgyzstan. Some members of the ETIM have admitted to training with al Qa'eda. The ETIM was placed on the U.S. Terrorist Exclusion List in August 2002, allowing the **freezing** of its funds in the United States, while the U.S. State Department declared in 2005 that the group had links to al Qa'eda and the "international jihadist movement." Some analysts believe that the ETIM and the **Islamic Movement of Turkistan** both seek to create a Pan-Turkish Islamic

state embracing Turkish-speaking peoples from Turkey through Central Asia and including the Xinjiang-Uighur region.

ECOTAGE. A name used by environmentalist terrorists to describe their own nonstate political violence with the limited objective of combating what they view as antienvironmental actions and policies, whether by private or public agencies. The term *ecotage*, or monkeywrenching, is meant to emphasize that these terrorists **target** property rather than people, which they believe distinguishes their violence from terrorism proper; they also use the term *eco-defense*. Critics of environmental extremism have used the term *environmental terrorism* to cover a wide range of groups, actions, and causes, such as Earth First! environmental activists, Sea Shepherd, and Greenpeace antiwhaling and anti-seal hunting activists, and animal rights activists such as the **Animal Liberation Front**.

Properly speaking, environmentalist terrorists are those groups involved in monkeywrenching, or sabotage, activities directed at logging, ski-resort development, and the like. It can be argued that the agenda of the animal rights groups is not essentially environmentalist as such; certain actions conducted by these groups, such as the release of lab animals or mink into the wild, is arguably antienvironmental insofar as certain of these animals are often exotic to the environment into which they are released and may well carry diseases and parasites into the local ecosystem that would harm native species. Despite this, several ecotage attacks have been carried out jointly in the names of both the **Earth Liberation Front** and the Animal Liberation Front. The Sea Shepherd and Greenpeace groups represent groups that have combined environmentalism and animal rights activism since they are seeking to preserve whales, dolphins, and seals within the context of their existing habitats.

The term *monkeywrenching* gained currency with Dave Foreman's 1985 book *Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching*, which gives step-by-step procedures for tree spiking (putting metal or ceramic spikes into trees to make them unprofitable as lumber), spiking devices for flattening the tires of off-road vehicles, destruction of bulldozing and logging equipment, destroying traps, vandalizing billboards and unoccupied cabins and condos, and tying up corporate 800 numbers with automated computer phone-ins, among other things.

Violent activism by environmentally oriented groups appears to have been increasing in response to a decline in the environmental movement's effectiveness in conventional interest-group activism. According to *North American Research*, which tracks crimes against property in the United States and Canada, there were about six instances of environmentalist sabotage of private development in 1986 whereas by 1998 there was an average of 300 such crimes a year, with much of the increase occurring in the period 1995–1998. While the Federal Bureau of Investigation prevented four planned acts of sabotage by the EMETIC (Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy) group in Arizona in 1989, environmentalist-related violence accounted for six of the 21 officially designated domestic acts of terrorism in the period 1987–1990. In October 1998 environmental activists, calling themselves the Earth Liberation Front, set fires at a Vail ski area under expansion, destroying three major buildings and damaging four chairlifts. Outside the United States the Greenpeace group attempted in July 1995 to sail the Rainbow Warrior II into the French nuclear testing grounds at Mururoa Atoll in the South Pacific in response to the renewed nuclear testing planned by the French government, one instance of environmental activists becoming more active not only in the United States but also in other countries.

EJÉRCITO REVOLUCIONARIO DEL PUEBLO (ERP). See FARABUNDO MARTÍ NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT.

EMERGENCY PROVISIONS ACT (EPA), NORTHERN IRELAND. In 1973 Great Britain instituted special guidelines for search, arrest, and interrogation procedures involving suspected members of the **Irish Republican Army (IRA)** and related groups, suspected members of Protestant paramilitary groups, or others suspected of terrorist activities. These Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Acts, revised in 1987, 1996, and 1998, allowed army and police in Northern Ireland to conduct searches without warrants using the standard of reasonable suspicion, which is less than the probable cause standard required by the Fourth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Amendments in 1987 added the reasonable suspicion requirement to allow judicial review of police actions, whereas prior to 1987 police and army units needed only orders from their superiors to conduct searches. Amendments in

1996 created the **Diplock courts** allowing trial without jury of terrorist suspects. Under the original act, suspects could be held and interrogated for a maximum of three days, but the subsequent **Prevention of Terrorism Acts** allow detention and interrogation of suspects up to seven days where a stronger probable cause exists that the suspect is involved in terrorism. Prior to the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, Northern Ireland security forces conducted more than 100,000 searches under the EPA, yielding more than 10,000 illegal firearms and almost 100 tons of explosives. Some critics believe that these extensive searches have alienated more of the Catholic population in Northern Ireland and increased recruits to the IRA.

The 1998 revision of the EPA on 8 April 1998 extended the act for another two years and required either audiotaping or videotaping of police interrogation of suspected terrorists, to allay allegations of police brutality and other violations of the rights of suspects, and also repealed those sections that previously allowed executive internment of suspects without charges.

In 2000 the British parliament passed the **Terrorism Act** repealing the EPA and previous Prevention of Terrorism Acts that had been limited in their application to Northern Ireland. The new law contains a much more specific definition of terrorism, and the scope of the new law covers the entire United Kingdom rather than just Northern Ireland. It contains a list of Proscribed Groups, including not just Northern Irish Republican and Ulster Loyalist groups, but also other **ethnonationalist** and **Islamic fundamentalist** groups, and is similar in content to the U.S. State Department's list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations. The new act originally allowed for detention without charges of suspects for 48 hours but in 2006 was amended to allow detention up to 28 days. Section 44 allows the Home Secretary to allow warrantless searches of people or vehicles in designated areas, while Section 58 makes the collection of information in order to facilitate or plan a terrorist attack an offense punishable by up to 10 years' imprisonment. As of 11 August 2006, some 1,047 people had been arrested under the act; 158 of these were then prosecuted under the act, while another 174 were prosecuted for nonterrorist offenses.

ENTEBBE HIJACKING. On 27 June 1976, Air France Flight 139 from Tel Aviv to Paris, carrying 246 passengers and 12 crew

members, was **hijacked** out of Athens by seven members of the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine** (PFLP) to Benghazi, Libya, where the plane was refueled. From there it flew to Entebbe airport, Uganda, where the hijackers were aided by Ugandan troops in guarding the hostages. The hijackers demanded the release of 53 terrorists held in French, Israeli, Kenyan, Swiss, and West German jails, including Kozo Okamoto, the sole surviving terrorist involved in the May 1972 Lod airport attack. Throughout the hostage seizure, the Ugandan dictator, Idi Amin, fully supported the terrorists.

By 1 July 1976 the terrorists had released nearly all non-Jewish and non-Israeli hostages, leaving 103 at Entebbe. On 2 July the Israeli cabinet decided upon Operation Thunderbolt, a plan to send Israeli commandos to Entebbe to rescue the hostages. On 4 July 1976 the Israelis rescued all but four of the hostages; three were killed by the cross-fire at the rescue scene, while another passenger, Dora Bloch, age 75, was absent, having been hospitalized in Kampala. The rescuers killed all seven of the terrorists and about 20 Ugandan soldiers, while the Israeli officer leading the rescue, Yonatan Netanyahu, who was the brother of Binyamin Netanyahu, the future prime minister of Israel, was the only Israeli soldier killed in the attack. The Israelis destroyed 11 Ugandan air force MIGs to prevent any attempt to interfere with the rescue mission on its return to Israel.

Following the rescue, the hostage who had been left behind, Dora Bloch, was reportedly murdered and her body burned, while Idi Amin carried out a widespread purge and executions of Ugandan officials charged with guarding Entebbe airport and the hostages.

ENTREPRENEURIAL TERRORISM. This category consists of instances of terrorism and terrorists having much more limited aims that do not fit into either the category of **state terrorism**, meant to preserve an existing socio-political status quo, or of **revolutionary terrorism**, meant to change that status quo in part or in whole. Entrepreneurial terrorism consists of single-interest terrorist causes, such as **antiabortion terrorism** attacks on clinics and doctors who provide abortion services, animal rights terrorism involving vandalism and destruction of fur shops or research facilities, or attacks on medical and biological sciences researchers. It can also cover such things as terrorist activities sponsored by criminal syndicates, such

as the **Colombian cocaine cartels**, to pressure or co-opt the governments opposing such criminals.

The term *entrepreneurial* is used to designate this third category, since very often the limited end(s) being sought are merely the profits the group can extract from either extortion or from the sale of its terrorist abilities to whatever buyer, or else a limited policy goal that the policy entrepreneurs of a specialized interest group are seeking. Sometimes a revolutionary group that is never able to achieve its original goals may become entrepreneurial, an example being the **Inner Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**, which began as a nationalist society in 1900 but had degenerated to becoming a criminal-for-hire hit squad by World War II.

This term, however, is also used in this dictionary to refer to terrorist groups that are essentially single-interest groups or criminal enterprises. Thus, groups like the **Animal Liberation Front** or the **Ananda Marg** cult, which each sought only a very limited and specific goal, quite apart from changing or maintaining a socio-political status quo, are also considered entrepreneurial insofar as they are absorbed in the marginal gain or loss of their limited ends. Another example concerns **hijacking**. Hijacking to gain passengers as hostages with which to put pressure on a government to comply with political demands could be either a revolutionary or, if the group is a state-sponsored proxy, a state terrorist act. Hijacking a plane merely to escape to a desired country could be considered an entrepreneurial act.

ENVIRONMENTALIST TERRORISM. *See* ECOTAGE.

EOKA. The Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) was a Greek Cypriot **ethnonationalist** revolutionary group dedicated to winning Cypriot independence from Great Britain and uniting Cyprus with Greece. This group also had Greek state support from 1971 to 1974. Beginning on 31 March 1955 up to 1958, EOKA conducted anti-British terrorist **bombings** and **assassinations** throughout Cyprus. In 1958 the British granted Cyprus independence, but under a constitution that recognized and protected the rights of the island's Turkish minority and allowed the British to maintain control over certain military bases, conditions that blocked the unification with Greece that EOKA had sought.

As the original EOKA-Alpha, disbanded in 1960, had failed to achieve reunification, it was reactivated as EOKA-Beta and tried to force the issue of unification during the period 1971–1974 after the EOKA founder, George Grivas, returned from Greece assured of Greek military support. EOKA-Beta engaged in terrorism against the Turkish Cypriots and played a role in the 15 May 1974 coup d'état overthrowing Cypriot President Archbishop Makarios. This prompted Turkey to invade Cyprus and to impose a de facto partition of the island into Turkish and Greek zones.

Frustrated over a perceived U.S. tilt toward Turkey in these hostilities, EOKA-Beta instigated an anti-U.S. riot on 19 August 1974 at the U.S. embassy compound in Nicosia, Cyprus, in the course of which EOKA-Beta sharpshooters **assassinated** U.S. Ambassador Roger P. Davies and his secretary. While six EOKA-Beta suspects were tried for this murder, only two of them were convicted, the rest having been released on legal technicalities, while the Greek Cypriot community regarded their respective sentences of five and seven years' imprisonment as outrageously severe. Evidence emerged during the trial that EOKA-Beta had penetrated the Greek Cypriot national guard as well as the civilian government, while the lenient behavior of the Cypriot judiciary also suggested EOKA-Beta **co-optation** of the state. EOKA-Beta announced its dissolution in 1978, having failed in its goals and having lost the sponsorship of the Greek military junta, which was overthrown following its failure to resist the Turkish invasion and partition of the island.

ETHNIC CLEANSING. *See* ETHNONATIONALIST TERRORISM; GENOCIDE.

ETHNONATIONALIST TERRORISM. A form of **revolutionary** terrorism by antistate ethnic groups to achieve independence or secession, autonomy, redefinition of the existing nation-state, or unification with another state, or else a form of **state terrorism** aimed at ethnic cleansing, or **genocide**, of unwanted inhabitants within a disputed territory. Another term for antistate ethnonationalists is *nationalist separatists*.

Ethnonationalist conflicts have increased markedly during the latter part of the 20th century with the end of the cold war, as various ethnic groups have sought independent nation-state status.

According to findings by Ted Robert Gurr, presented in an address to the April 1994 convention of the International Studies Association, during the period 1987–1994 there have been more than 50 serious ethnopolitical conflicts under way in which more than four million people have perished and at least 26 million people been displaced. Most of these conflicts have involved civil wars, **insurgencies**, or war between states, but much of the **low-intensity conflict** associated with ethnonationalist causes has involved terrorism by antistate groups or state terror against targeted minorities. The **Irish Republican Army** and the **Basque Fatherland and Liberty** groups are examples of antistate ethnonationalist terrorists. The anti-Hutu genocides conducted in Rwanda and Burundi in 1994 and the ethnic cleaning directed against Albanians that occurred in Kosovo in 1998–1999 are examples of state ethnonationalist terrorism.

EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION OF TERRORISM. This regional convention, which came into force on 25 October 1978, seeks to reduce the use of the **political offense exception** in cases of terrorism involving planning or carrying out air piracy, attacks on diplomats or other “internationally protected persons,” **kidnapping** or **hostage taking**, use of explosives to harm life or limb, or being an accessory to any of these actions. The convention allows a state to refuse **extradition** if it has reason to believe a suspect is truly being persecuted for his or her race, religion, nationality, ethnic affiliation, or political opinion. In cases where extradition is refused, Article 7 of the Convention requires that the state refusing jurisdiction must submit the case for prosecution to its own competent authorities. Until 22 May 1989, Ireland had refused to sign the convention, claiming that it violated the right of political **asylum** implicit in Article 29 of its constitution. Ireland’s accession to the Convention was enabled by the amendment to the Suppression of Terrorism Act of 1978 (Order 1989) that specified that the criminal actions described in the convention that required the extradition of suspects were not to be regarded as being of a political character.

EUROPEAN NATIONALIST FASCISTS (FNE). The Faisceaux Nationalistes Européens was a French neo-Fascist group that sought to harass and intimidate Jews, North Africans, and black

Africans to force them to leave France. This organization is the direct successor of the Fédération d'Action Nationale Européenne (FANE), the Federation for National European Action, a group founded in 1966 by French Fascists and anti-Semites. In 1980 anti-Semitic violence crested in France, with 122 incidents of **arson** and violence directed against minority group members as well as 66 threats and acts of violence. In September 1980 FANE was banned by the French government for its role in promoting two violent incidents. FANE members were suspected of **bombing** the Rue Copernic synagogue in Paris on 4 October 1980, killing four and injuring 12, but this terrorist act turned out to have been the work of Palestinian terrorists. Despite the ban on FANE, its members immediately reconstituted themselves as the European Nationalist Fascists (FNE). The FNE installed as its head Robert Petit, director of the Vichy regime's Center for the Study of the Jewish Question.

Following the spate of anti-Semitic incidents that forced the banning of FANE, the French authorities seemed to avoid investigating the activities of the FNE. French Jewish organizations and the secretary-general of the French detectives' union in 1980 believed that at least 150 national police officers were members of this, and similar, neo-Fascist groups. Some sources claimed that one-third of the FNE's membership was made up of police officers. If true, this would represent an example of penetration and **co-optation** of the state by a subversive terrorist organization. In recent years, much of the membership of the FNE has defected to Jean-Marie Le Pen's **National Front** party while other members have been attracted to the more radical Nouvelle Résistance (National Resistance), which combines anti-Semitism with a quasisocialist nationalism and hostility toward the United States and Israel, along with moral support of the regimes of Libya and Iran.

EUZKADI TA ASKATASUNA. *See* BASQUE FATHERLAND AND LIBERTY.

EXTRADITABLES. *See* COLOMBIAN COCAINE CARTELS.

EXTRADITION. Cases of extradition, exclusion, or deportation of aliens on the grounds that they have been accused of terrorist offenses are governed by international conventions and national laws to protect

the rights of due process of such people. The two main international conventions are the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (28 July 1951) and the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (31 January 1967). These define as a refugee anyone who flees to another country to avoid persecution due to his or her race, religion, nationality, ethnic affiliation, or political opinion and who cannot secure legal protection from such persecution in the country from which he or she is fleeing. Under such circumstances, even if the refugee has entered the signatory nation illegally, that nation cannot deport the refugee back to the country from which he or she fled.

This protection from deportation to the nation of origin is incorporated in the United States Refugee Act of 1980. U.S. authorities can resort to exclusion or deportation in the case of illegal aliens whose claim of persecution is doubtful, but the choice of exclusion can apply only to immigrants who are not yet legally admitted to the jurisdiction of the United States. Those immigrants who have entered the land or maritime borders of the United States but not yet reported to an Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) inspection station can be considered subject to exclusion. The difference is that in deportation proceedings the burden of proof is on the government to prove that the alien is worthy of deportation. By contrast, in exclusion proceedings the burden of proof is on the alien, with the exception being returning resident aliens, to establish his or her admissibility. In cases where the alien would face “a well-grounded fear” of certain persecution for the grounds cited earlier, the **political offense exception** would establish admissibility. One significant difference in the outcome of a deportation or exclusion proceeding is that if exclusion is indicated then the alien must be returned to the country of origin, whereas if deportation is determined then the alien may choose to which country to go.

Prior to the 1993 **World Trade Center bombing**, the U.S. State Department maintained lists of known and suspected members of foreign terrorist organizations who were to be excluded from admission to the United States. In the event that such people actually entered the United States, to avoid deportation they often relied on the claim under the political offense exception that they would face persecution in their homelands. In the wake of the convictions of the World Trade Center bombers, the **Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996** and the Illegal Immigration Reform and

Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 were passed to restrict the use of the political offense exception claim.

In some cases, nations have refused to extradite people suspected of terrorism when the country seeking extradition has a death penalty for conviction for the alleged offense but the country from which extradition is being sought subscribes to the principle that capital punishment is a violation of human rights. Under such circumstances, the legal principle of *aut dedere, aut judicare* is applicable, that is, the country refusing extradition must prosecute the person whom they refuse to extradite under the relevant antiterrorist treaties and conventions to which that country subscribes. The passage of the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act by the United States has made it more difficult to seek extradition of suspected international terrorists from Canada and members of the European Union due to the rejection of capital punishment by those nations. Similarly, the **European Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism** has allowed for more expeditious extradition of suspected terrorists by reducing the scope of the political offense exception.

EYAL. Hebrew acronym of Irgun Yehudi Lohem (Jewish Fighting Organization), this is believed to be a splinter group of the banned **Kach** organization, a radical Jewish group founded by the late Rabbi Meir Kahane, also founder of the **Jewish Defense League**. The founder of Eyal is reputed to be one Avishai Raviv, whom some Israeli sources believe was actually an undercover Shin Bet (General Security Services) informant. Eyal came to public attention with the **assassination** of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin by Yigal Amir, a member of the Eyal group, on 4 November 1995. Amir regarded Rabin as an enemy of the Jewish nation due to his role in promoting the Israeli-Palestinian peace process and rationalized his right to kill Rabin as his being a “pursuer” under Mosaic Law who was allowed to hunt down and kill one who had killed other Jews. Eyal was previously known only for having vandalized the property of Arabs in Hebron and for threatening left-wing Israeli politicians and vandalizing their property.

A notebook seized from an Eyal activist from the Jewish settlement of Kiryat Arba, near Hebron, revealed internal instructions for Eyal members. All members were given aliases and passwords to

prevent them from revealing identities of other group members under interrogation and also to prevent infiltration of the group. According to this notebook, the Eyal had four sections: an intelligence section with 15 members, a communications section with eight members, a handlers section, and a control center. Eyal members are required to practice firing handguns and an Uzi submachine gun at least twice a year as well as to receive training in first aid, navigation, sabotage, scouting, street fighting, and surveillance. Following the assassination of Count Bernadotte on 16 September 1948 by a member of **LEHI** (Fighters for the Freedom of Israel), the Israeli government issued Law and Administration Ordinance 5708-1948: Emergency Regulations for the Prevention of Terrorism, which was written to empower the new Israeli government to outlaw LEHI and which was largely based on the British Mandatory Administration's Defence (Emergency) Regulation of 1937 meant to prosecute the Arabs during the 1936 Arab anti-Jewish riots and subsequently used to prosecute Jewish terrorists. This law has been applied in recent times to prosecute members of the Kach and Kahane Chai groups as well as members of the Eyal group.

On 11 September 1996 Yigal Amir, his brother Haggai Amir, and Dror Adani were convicted for conspiracy to assassinate Yitzhak Rabin and to attack Palestinian Arabs. Yigal Amir apparently had formed a subgroup within Eyal that he led, and he apparently had planned to assassinate Rabin on two previous occasions, once at a Yad Vashem (Holocaust Memorial) ceremony on 22 January 1995 and the other time at the dedication of a tunnel on 11 September 1995, but was unable to do so due to the cancellation of the prime minister's appearance for the first ceremony and his inability to approach the prime minister on the second occasion. On 19 December 2001 the Israeli Knesset passed a bill to prohibit any presidential pardon for Yigal Amir.

After the Rabin assassination, it was learned that the founder of Eyal, Avishai Raviv, was actually an undercover Shin Bet agent assigned to infiltrate right-wing Jewish extremist groups. Raviv was dismissed from Shin Bet, which denied that Raviv's actions had been part of a covert operation against Jewish extremist groups. On 25 April 1999 Raviv was indicted for failure to prevent the assassination of Rabin but was acquitted by the Jerusalem Magistrates Court on 31 March 2003.

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FALSE-FLAG TERRORISM. Terrorist acts that are committed by one group, which then attributes the action to another group in order to throw investigators off track, are referred to as instances of “false flag” terrorism. This term has also been used when national governments falsely attribute terrorism to a group in order to justify retaliation against a specific group or military intervention against a nation accused of having been the **state sponsor** of an action against the nation making the false-flag accusation. Following the Pan American World Airways (Pan Am) Flight 103 **bombing**, credit for the bombing was claimed in the name of the **Guardians of the Islamic Revolution**, a pro-Iranian group. In retrospect this appears to have been a false flag by Libya to throw off investigators that was all the more plausible, since the USS *Vincennes* had accidentally shot down Iran Air Flight 655 on 3 July 1988.

After a series of five apartment bombings within Russia in September 1999 killed more than 300 people, the Russia mass media reported that credit for these attacks had been claimed by **Chechen terrorists** whose leader, Shamil Basayef, denied any Chechen responsibility. After the secessionist Chechen republic refused to **extradite** those whom Russia claimed were suspects in the apartment bombings, Russia invaded Chechnya on 30 September 1999, initiating the Second Chechen War, in which Russia reimposed its control over the republic. Critics of the Russian government, then headed by President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, such as the émigré Russian tycoon Boris Berezovsky and the defector Alexander Litvinenko, a former Russian intelligence officer, both claimed that the Federal Security Bureau, or Russian **intelligence** service, had itself carried out the bombings to create a pretext for the invasion of Chechnya. If true, this would be an example of the second form of false-flag terrorism. Similarly, critics of the administration of U.S. President George W. Bush claim that it exploited false associations of the regime of Saddam Hussein with **al Qa’eda** and its **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001** in order to justify the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003.

FARABUNDO MARTÍ NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT. The Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) was an umbrella group uniting several leftist guerrilla groups that sought to

create a Marxist **revolution** within El Salvador following the **Sandinista** model in Nicaragua. The creation of this united front of all major leftist guerrilla groups was a condition imposed by Fidel Castro for Cuban **state sponsorship** of the Salvadoran leftist **insurgency**. In addition to Cuban state sponsorship, the FMLN received arms, **sanctuary**, and other material assistance from the Sandinista government of Nicaragua prior to 25 February 1990 and afterward continued to receive arms sporadically from units of the Sandinista People's Army. The five groups comprising the FMLN are listed here:

1. Fuerzas Populares de Liberación (FPL, People's Liberation Forces), founded in 1970, was the oldest of the armed guerrilla groups. The FPL had its stronghold in Chalatenango Province in the mountains bordering Honduras. While the FPL had 1,500 to 2,000 regular guerrilla fighters, it also had "urban" guerrilla fronts that were responsible for much of the antigovernment terrorism in El Salvador's cities following 1977, including intimidation of voters during the March 1978 municipal elections and the machine-gun murders of 12 prominent citizens, including Carlos Alvaro Castillo, the chancellor of the National University, and Rubén Alfonso Rodríguez, a former president of the National Congress. On 28 November 1979 the FPL **kidnapped** South African Ambassador Archibald Dunn, whom they later murdered. An urban front of this group was responsible for the first killing of an American official by an FMLN group when it **assassinated** Lieutenant Commander Schaufelberger, the deputy commander of the U.S. Advisory Group in El Salvador, on 25 May 1985. From April 1980 to November 1984 the FPL carried out seven attacks on U.S. **targets**, including three attacks on the U.S. embassy, using light antitank rockets and two assassinations of U.S. embassy personnel. Apart from its urban terrorist campaign, the FPL has on occasion committed atrocities against civilians in rural areas, such as the massacre of 22 civilians in Santa Cruz Loma in 1985.

This group suffered from some internal quarreling, leading to the murder of the second-in-command, Melinda Anaya Montes (aka Comandante Anna María), in the FMLN Managua office at the hands of other FPL members. This reportedly led the founder of the FPL, Cayetano Carpio (aka Marcial) to take his own life on 6 April 1983.

2. Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP, People's Revolutionary Army), founded in 1972, was the strongest FMLN guerrilla organization, having 2,000 combatants. This group operated largely

in Morazán Province and other areas in eastern El Salvador but had very little involvement in political front organizations in the cities, having preferred a rural military strategy over political negotiations. Its leader, Joaquín Villalobos, was a brilliant and ruthless tactician. The ERP followed a policy of **kidnapping** and murdering local mayors and other functionaries of the Salvadoran government and has committed numerous atrocities against peasants suspected of collaboration with the government. As in the case of the FPL, instances of intramural terror have occurred in the ERP. The murder of ERP member Roque Dalton, a Salvadoran intellectual and world-renowned poet, at the hands of comrades within the ERP for an alleged **ideological** offense created much scandal within the Salvadoran left and among their sympathizers abroad. The excessive brutality and ideological rigidity of the ERP under Villalobos's leadership led many observers to dub him the "Pol Pot of Central America."

While most of the ERP's terrorism has been both repressive and revolutionary, directed internally at domestic targets, it has also struck at some international targets. On 4 February 1980 ERP gunmen attacked the Guatemalan embassy with automatic weapons fire. On 25 March 1980 the ERP bombed the International Telephone and Telegraph office in San Salvador. On 16 September 1980 the ERP fired five Chinese antitank rockets at the U.S. embassy, causing damage but no injuries.

3. Fuerzas Armadas de la Resistencia Nacional (FARN, Armed Forces of National Resistance) was formed in 1975 partly in reaction to the ERP's excessive use of terrorism and brute force. By contrast, FARN concentrated not only on guerrilla operations with its 1,000 guerrillas but also on infiltrating and influencing the legal labor, student, and human rights organizations active within Salvadoran society. Virtually no major terrorist incidents have been attributed to this group. In addition to eschewing purely terrorist actions, FARN differed from other members of the FMLN in stressing Salvadoran nationalism rather than Marxism in its political platform and program.

4. Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores Centroamericanos (PRTC, Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers) actually began in Costa Rica in 1976 as a regional movement but was most active in El Salvador. Its armed wing was known as the Armed Forces of Revolutionary Popular Liberation, numbering some 500 combatants.

The PRTC compensated for its small numbers by some audacious terrorist actions, including the 19 June 1985 Zona Rosa massacre in which four off-duty U.S. Marine embassy guards, two private U.S. citizens, and seven Salvadoran civilians were machine-gunned to death at a sidewalk café in the Zona Rosa district of San Salvador. The perpetrator, Nidia Díaz, was captured but freed on 24 October 1985 in exchange for the kidnapped daughter of Salvadoran President José Napoleón Duarte.

5. Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación (FAL, Armed Forces of Liberation) was the armed wing of the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCES). While numerically small, having around 500 combatants, it was of great importance to the FMLN during the Salvadoran civil war due to its close connections with the Soviet and Cuban leadership. Its leader, Shafik Handal, served as the FMLN spokesman in formerly Communist countries and also played a role in creating support networks in non-Communist countries, including the United States. Its urban guerrillas on 10 September 1985 kidnapped Inez Guadalupe Duarte Durán, daughter of the then Salvadoran President José Napoleón Duarte. Both she and another kidnap victim, the Civil Aviation Director, Colonel Omar Napoleón Avalos, were released along with 33 kidnapped mayors and municipal officials on 24 October 1985 in a prisoner exchange between the FMLN and the Salvadoran government.

While the Salvadoran transitional regime was often criticized for its human rights abuses due to its failure to suppress the operation of right-wing **death squads**, the FMLN also was guilty of human rights violations in conducting its rural insurgency and urban terrorist campaigns. By 1986 the United Nations report on human rights in El Salvador noted that the FMLN was guilty of increasing human rights violations whereas the Salvadoran government's record had improved substantially.

Prior to 1980, the constituent groups of the FMLN believed in the theory of prolonged popular warfare. With the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua in July 1979, the leftist guerrillas already active were encouraged to redouble their own efforts at revolution. On 15 October 1979, a reformist coup ousted the ineffective and corrupt President Carlos Humberto Romero and sought to implement badly needed social and economic reforms to forestall a Nicaraguan-style revolution in El Salvador. The leftist rebels, not to be deterred from their

own goals, rejected conciliation with the new junta. Meanwhile, the transitional government had its own problems with rightist military and police officials who sought to preempt a leftist insurgency there by using **death squads** to kill off as many supporters of the guerrillas as possible.

The leftists unified their military command in November 1979 as a precondition to receiving Cuban aid. In May 1980, the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (Dirección Revolucionaria Unificada, DRU) was established in Havana to be the decision-making body for the entire FMLN. In January 1981 the FMLN attempted a “final offensive” against the major cities of El Salvador in which they were defeated by a Salvadoran army resupplied with U.S. military aid. FMLN retreated to the rural areas, and from 1982 until 1983 its numbers of combatants grew from 2,000 to 12,000 until it was engaging the Salvadoran army in battalion-sized engagements. At the same time, the FMLN was engaged in systemic sabotage of the economic infrastructure and intimidation of the rural population.

By 1985 the Salvadoran army had improved to the point that the FMLN was forced to go back to deploying its forces in smaller groups. After November 1986 the leadership and the rank and file of the FMLN began suffering declining morale. FMLN documents captured during that period indicated there was much internal criticism of the ERP and its strategy. In July 1987 the FMLN undertook to rebuild its forces within the cities to foment a popular uprising, a move reflected in increasing incidents of urban terrorism in the following year. The FMLN tried with little success to disrupt the 19 March 1989 elections, which were held in at least 90 percent of the country. Even the Revolutionary Democratic Front (Frente Democrático Revolucionario, FDR), the leftist coalition of parties sympathetic to the FMLN, broke with the FMLN over the question of participating in the elections and ran a candidate in those elections.

The FMLN attempted a second “final offensive” on 16 November 1989, with no greater success. Moreover, the changes under way in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe began to make Cuba, the Sandinistas, and the FMLN seem anachronistic. When Violeta Chamorro was elected president of Nicaragua on 25 February 1990, ending Sandinista domination, future Nicaraguan aid was put into doubt. Negotiations resumed in May 1990 and continued in three rounds until a cease-fire was signed on 31 December 1991. During these

negotiations, a U.S. helicopter carrying three U.S. military advisers was shot down by FMLN forces on 2 January 1991. One crewman was critically injured and died later, but two survivors, Lieutenant Colonel David Pickett and crew chief PFC Earnest Dawson, were murdered by the FMLN. This incident undermined international and regional moral support for the FMLN.

The FMLN and Salvadoran government agreed on 1 January 1992 to end the 12-year civil war in which at least 75,000 people had perished. One agreement reached on 25 September 1991 allowed the armed units of the FMLN to be incorporated under a separate command into the civilian Ministry of the Interior rather than under the Ministry of Defense, therefore allaying the guerrillas' fears for their personal security. While numerous acts of political violence have occurred since January 1992, many of these appear to be individual acts of revenge rather than part of any systematic terrorist campaign. Although the FMLN remained as an armed force until a staged incremental demilitarization was completed, it continues today essentially as a political grouping within El Salvador rather than as a guerrilla or terrorist force.

By the mid-1990s many of the former leaders of the FMLN had made the transition to civilian politics. In April 1995 the FMLN held the second-largest delegation in the Legislative Assembly of El Salvador, and its deputies had offices occupying the third floor of the National Congress building, just one floor down from those of the deputies of the ruling Republican National Alliance (**ARENA**) party. Joaquín Villalobos, the former ERP guerrilla leader, organized another social democratic party independent of the FMLN grouping.

During the 16 March 1997 elections, the FMLN quadrupled the number of city halls under its control, from 13 to 54 out of 210 municipal governments, and nearly doubled its share of seats in the Salvadoran Congress. While ARENA kept 33.3 percent of the votes and retained control of the government, the FMLN won 32.1 percent, giving it 26 deputies to ARENA's 27 deputies in the 84-seat congress. In 1994 the FMLN won 21 seats to ARENA's 39 seats but lost seven seats when former FMLN deputies split off to form another center-left party, which then won only two seats in the 1997 election. On 10 March 1999, when President Bill Clinton addressed the Salvadoran Congress, he was warmly received both by the 26 members of the opposition FMLN party and the 27 members of the ruling ARENA party.

While most of the violence of the civil war is past, there have been a few incidents of political killings that appear to be vengeance killings to settle old scores. On 20 February 1997 a machine-gun attack on an FMLN office in a region 20 miles north of San Salvador killed two FMLN activists. Salvador Sánchez, secretary-general of the FMLN, blamed these on remnants of right-wing death squads.

In the presidential elections of 21 March 2004, the ARENA candidate, Tony Saca González, won the election with 57.7 percent of the vote, while FMLN candidate Shafik Handal placed second with 35.7 percent of the vote. In the 12 March 2006 Legislative Assembly elections, the ARENA party won 34 seats, the largest plurality out of the 84 seats, while the FMLN won 32 seats, although it had polled 4,518 more votes than did ARENA.

In the period 1999–2003 the FMLN split into two groups: the main group followed Shafik Handal and adhered to the FMLN's socialist orientation, while another faction calling itself the Renovadores (Renewal Movement) followed Facundo Guardado, a former FPL leader, who claimed his ideology as being social democratic but who was also willing to accommodate neoliberal economic policies. Following a poor showing in the 2003 legislative elections, the Renovadores faction dissolved itself.

In the period 2004–2005 another split occurred when five FMLN Legislative Assembly members formed the Frente Democrático Revolucionario, using the same name of the FMLN political front from the period of the civil war. Apart from one mayoral candidate, none of their candidates won office in the 2006 elections.

FARAN, AL. See HAKARAT UL MUJAHIDEEN.

FATAH, AL. Al Fatah, the oldest of the Palestinian guerrilla groups (founded in 1957), is the dominant member of the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) and currently also the political party holding the presidency within the Palestinian Authority (PA) in control of the West Bank. The name *Fatah*, the Arabic word meaning “conquest,” is also the reverse acronym of the name *Harakat al Tahrir al Filastiniyya*, meaning “Palestinian Liberation Movement.” Throughout most of its existence al Fatah was led and dominated by **Yasir Arafat**.

The current goals of al Fatah are to seek establishment of an independent, secular Palestinian state on any part of “historic Palestine liberated from Zionist occupation” and to preserve the PLO and the

institutions of the Palestinian Authority (PA) as the sole legitimate representative and governing institutions of the Palestinian people. Prior to 1974 al Fatah aimed to regain all territory of the former British Mandate of Palestine but revised this goal gradually. In 1974 al Fatah declared its intention to cease terrorism outside Israel and the occupied territories. By 15 November 1988, al Fatah had persuaded the 19th Palestine National Council (PNC) to declare its acceptance of the right of Israel to exist as embodied in UN Resolutions 242 and 338, in exchange for Israeli withdrawal from the lands occupied in the 1967 Six-Day War. On 13 September 1993 a peace accord between the PLO and Israel was signed by PLO Chairman Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, allowing mutual recognition and the eventual creation of an autonomous Palestinian government under PLO auspices within the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Although al Fatah formerly received support from both conservative and radical Arab states, it temporarily lost the support it once enjoyed from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and the Persian Gulf emirates when it openly sided with Iraq during the Gulf War of 1990–1991. While the Soviet Union and eastern bloc nations also formerly provided substantial aid, following the collapse of Communist governments in those countries, this source of support ended.

Al Fatah differs from the other Palestinian guerrilla groups within the PLO in insisting on self-determination for the Palestinian people, apart from seeking the goal of Pan-Arab unity. Al Fatah also has sought to prevent itself, or the PLO, from becoming co-opted into the service of any Arab state. Since self-determination also implies self-initiative and independence of action, al Fatah held that the Palestinians needed to undertake armed struggle themselves rather than trusting in the Arab states to deliver them.

Al Fatah's strong resistance against the Israeli army during the latter's March 1968 raid on the al Fatah camp at Karameh, Jordan, boosted the group's prestige in the Palestinian community and encouraged enlistments of young Palestinians into al Fatah's ranks. By July 1968 al Fatah was admitted to the PLO in its fourth Palestine National Council meeting. At the fifth PNC meeting in February 1969, al Fatah took control of the PLO, and the history of the two organizations merged.

From 1969 to 1974, PLO-sponsored terrorism was carried out throughout the Middle East and non-Communist nations against

Israeli, U.S., West European, and Arab **targets**. The government of Jordan was especially singled out for terrorist reprisals due to its crackdown and expulsion of the PLO in September 1970, following the confrontation between King Hussein and the PLO over the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine's** (PFLP) **hijacking** of three airplanes to Dawson's Field outside Amman, and another to Egypt, which were then **bombed** after their 400 passengers had been released. The most notorious Palestinian terrorist group during this period was al Fatah's own **Black September**, which was responsible for the massacre of the Israeli athletic team at the **Munich** Summer Olympic Games in 1972 as well as several other atrocities.

The 1974 renunciation of terrorism was part of a revision within al Fatah of its goals, from seeking the liberation of all of Palestine and replacing Israel by a secular democratic state, to the creation of a separate Arab Palestinian state on any "liberated part of Palestine." This last phrase was understood to mean the West Bank and Gaza Strip following an Israeli withdrawal from those territories. While al Fatah still believed armed struggle was necessary to achieve its goals, it came to view armed struggle as not sufficient in itself without parallel initiatives on the diplomatic front. This revisionism was anathema to the more radical leftists within the PLO, who then sought to sabotage al Fatah's diplomatic initiatives with their own terrorist operations and who also tried to depose Arafat from the leadership of the PLO by both political and military means.

After September 1970, al Fatah and other PLO groups regrouped in Lebanon, from where they staged raids into Israeli territory. Despite securing increased quantities of more sophisticated weapons, including rockets, tanks, and anti-aircraft artillery, the PLO forces have never been able to withstand the Israeli Defense Forces in conventional combat. The large Palestinian presence in southern Lebanon and the tendency of the non-Fatah PLO groups to meddle in Lebanon's internal politics helped precipitate the Lebanese civil war in 1975. This tied up al Fatah and the rest of the PLO, which at various times found itself fighting the Christian **Phalange**, the Shi'ite **Amal** militia, the Syrians, and occasionally even anti-Fatah Palestinians. The Camp David Accords, which excluded the PLO from any role in the peace negotiations, briefly united the PLO in denouncing Egypt and the United States, and opposition to the Camp David agreement became a fixed feature of al Fatah rhetoric and diplomacy.

The Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon and siege of Beirut in the summer of 1982 forced the PLO to remove its forces from Lebanon and to move its administrative offices to Tunis. Although al Fatah troops were moved to Tunisia, Algeria, and South Yemen, they began infiltrating Lebanon again in 1983. An anti-Arafat revolt among al Fatah troops instigated by Syria forced Arafat to leave Lebanon again in 1983. Following the murder by al Fatah agents of three Israeli vacationers in Larnaca, Cyprus, on 25 September 1985, the Israeli air force retaliated with a bomb and missile attack on the PLO headquarters south of Tunis, in which 60 Palestinians were killed and around 100 injured. After that event, al Fatah dispersed its offices and personnel across several countries. One of al Fatah's original founders, Khalil al Wazir, who was Yasir Arafat's second-in-command and chief of the al Fatah terrorist operations unit known as **Force 17** that was responsible for the Larnaca murders, was **assassinated** by an Israeli commando team on 16 April 1988. The Israelis have claimed that al Wazir, known also as Abu Jihad, masterminded the triggering of the first **intifada** uprising in addition to being "an arch-terrorist steeped in blood." Al Fatah lost another of its original founders and ranking members when an assassin of **Abu Nidal's Fatah Revolutionary Council** killed Salah Khalaf along with three other PLO officials on 14 January 1991.

Following the eruption of the Palestinian intifada on 9 December 1987, al Fatah and its opposition within the PLO set aside some of their differences. The 19th PNC meeting in Algiers on 15 November 1988 issued a declaration of independence on behalf of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In this conference the PLO formally adopted al Fatah's long-standing declaratory policy renouncing terrorism outside of the occupied territories and Israel and also declared its acceptance of United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338, contingent on Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories and the establishment of a Palestinian state there. Although Arafat reiterated al Fatah's and the PLO's renunciation of terrorism and recognition of Israel's right to exist before the UN General Assembly on 13 December 1988, in practice this declaration entailed no willingness to denounce terrorist acts committed in the name of the intifada nor subsequent attacks within Israel such as the al Fatah-aligned **Palestine Liberation Front's** raid on the beaches of Tel Aviv on 30 May 1990. Al Fatah further eroded its diplomatic lever-

age and international goodwill for which it had strived so long by openly siding with Iraq in its August 1990 invasion of Kuwait and its defiance of the United Nations. Despite its repeated military failures and intramural frictions with other members of the PLO, al Fatah has maintained its dominant position within the PLO and still accounts for the bulk of the members of the seven security forces that make up the police forces of the Palestinian Authority.

Since the creation of the Palestinian Authority, the al Fatah group has had to contend with challenges to the PLO from the **Islamic fundamentalist** groups **Hamas** and **Islamic Jihad** of Palestine, objections to Arafat's compromises and negotiations with Israel within the PLO from non-Fatah groups, and finally tensions within al Fatah itself. On 18 November 1994 Palestinian Authority security forces opened fire on anti-Arafat demonstrations by Hamas supporters in Gaza, the first time Palestinian police had attacked fellow Palestinians under the new PA. Al Fatah issued a warning to the Hamas and Islamic Jihad groups that they were "crossing the red line" with attacks on the Palestinian Authority and blamed "conspiratorial plans on behalf of foreign parties," apparently referring to Iranian **state sponsorship** of the two Islamic fundamentalist groups. Al Fatah fighters made up most of the 40,000-strong Palestinian police force, which was reorganized in 1995 into an internal security and intelligence force, the elite Presidential Security unit, a coast guard, and a liaison unit for joint Israeli-Palestinian patrols of the autonomous zones. Members of other anti-Fatah factions, such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the **Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP)**, have been arrested by Arafat's security forces for criticizing the 1993 accords with Israel and the continuing negotiations with Israel over implementation of those agreements.

Following the delay in the proclamation of Palestinian statehood in May 1999, members of the al Fatah Party within the Palestinian Authority and the Central Council of the PLO, such as Marwan Barghouti, were growing restive over the slow and tentative pace of the implementation of the accords. Finally, in October 1999, following a serious outbreak of armed fighting between rival clans in Ramallah, Arafat ordered a crackdown on illicit sales and possession of firearms, arresting even some members of his own security forces despite a reported promise by authorities that the weapons of al Fatah members themselves would never be confiscated.

After the outbreak of the second intifada following the 28 September 2000 visit to the Temple Mount by Likud Party leader Ariel Sharon, Israel accused al Fatah of instigating and orchestrating the clashes and violence that continued over several months. It should be noted that various dissident Palestinian groups that have opposed al Fatah, such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad of Palestine, have played roles in instigating such violence independent of any direction from al Fatah. With the development of corps of **suicide bombers** by both Hamas and Islamic Jihad of Palestine, al Fatah sponsored its own suicide volunteer corps, the **al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade**, in order to maintain its own leadership and revolutionary standing with the Palestinians.

Following the death of Arafat on 11 November 2004, Farouk Kadoumi was elected chair of al Fatah. In the Palestinian presidential elections of 9 January 2005, al Fatah endorsed Mahmoud Abbas, who was serving as prime minister of the PA at the time of Arafat's death and who won election as PA president. Ahmad Qurei was then appointed prime minister. In the several local Palestinian elections that followed, the first of their kind to be held in over 30 years, Hamas outcompeted al Fatah in most contested elections, but the electoral process was marred by confusion over the electoral rules and by irregularities at polling places. During the first round of Palestinian municipal and local council elections, held on 23 December 2004 in the West Bank, al Fatah won a majority of seats in 12 councils and Hamas won a majority in seven councils, while there was no clear majority in the remaining seven council elections. In the Gaza elections held on 27 January 2005, Hamas won control of seven of the 10 councils, al Fatah won control of two councils, and the PFLP won the remaining council. The second round of elections were held in the West Bank on 5 May 2005 and in Gaza on 19 May 2005; al Fatah won control of 29 councils, Hamas won control of 20 councils, and independents won in 22 councils, while nine councils were won by coalitions of parties. Third and fourth rounds of elections were scheduled for 29 September 2005 and 15 December 2005, respectively, but in several locations the elections were not carried out. In the first two rounds of elections the block voting system was used, but in the next two rounds the electoral system was switched to a proportional representation-party list system, with the candidates' party affiliations often being unclear. The change in the electoral system rules con-

fused voters, and electioneering and coaching of illiterate voters were clearly evident in the last two rounds, whose results were unclear and bitterly disputed. A planned fifth round of elections was canceled due to increasing strains between al Fatah and Hamas.

The 25 January 2006 Palestinian legislative elections, in which 74.6 percent of eligible voters participated, gave Hamas 74 seats to al Fatah's 45, while the PFLP gained three seats, a DFLP-led coalition gained two seats, and various independents gained eight seats. Al Fatah's decline in seats was probably in part due to disaffection among Palestinians with corruption in the PA but also due to the much better political organization and campaigning by Hamas. The split in power between a Hamas-dominated Palestinian Legislative Council and an al Fatah-dominated Executive led to a series of verbal and physical clashes between Hamas and al Fatah, as well as a cutoff of U.S. and European Union aid to the PA due to the unwillingness of Hamas to recognize the existence of the State of Israel in accordance with the Oslo Accords. In September 2006 al Fatah and Hamas attempted to form a coalition cabinet, but an effective coalition government was not formed and approved by the Palestinian Legislative Council until 17 March 2007, in which Ismail Haniyeh of Hamas would serve as prime minister and the previous Hamas-dominated cabinet would be replaced by an al Fatah-Hamas coalition cabinet.

Beginning on 7 June 2007, fighting broke out between supporters of al Fatah and Hamas in the Gaza Strip, leading to a complete takeover of Gaza by Hamas on 15 June. On 14 June President Mahmoud Abbas dismissed the Hamas-led PA government. Control over the Palestinians was split in two, with Hamas in complete control of Gaza and al Fatah in control of the West Bank. With the authority of the Abbas-led government remaining in the West Bank in doubt, the peace negotiations with Israel came to a virtual halt. On 27 November 2007, PA President Abbas met with President George W. Bush and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert in Annapolis, Maryland, to try to resume the peace process. Although Israel has been a longtime opponent of al Fatah, the split among the Palestinians dating from June 2007 had strengthened Israel's position against the Palestinians. Therefore it would be in the interest of Israel to prevent al Fatah from becoming further weakened and losing control of the West Bank to Hamas, which has become a more dangerous long-term opponent. For its part, the United States has also tried to prevent the further

erosion of al Fatah's power, by, among other things, the State Department attempting in early 2008 to dissuade the family of Aharon Ellis from pursuing a civil lawsuit against the PLO and PA in the Manhattan Federal District Court seeking damages for the killing of Ellis by an al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade suicide-bombing attack on a bar mitzvah in the city of Hadera, Israel, on 15 February 2008.

On 18 January 2008 al Fatah announced that the al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade had been disbanded. A suicide bombing in the southern Israeli city of Dimona was claimed in the name of the al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade on 4 February 2008, but this was found to have been an effort by Hamas to undermine the credibility of al Fatah. On 17 June 2008 Abbas sent a delegation headed by an al Fatah leader, Hikmat Zeid, to Gaza City to try to negotiate a settlement with Hamas to heal the rift among the Palestinian groups.

FATAH AL-ISLAM. The Fatah al-Islam (Conquest of Islam) group is a Sunni **Islamic fundamentalist** group formed in Lebanon made up largely of Palestinian, Saudi, and Syrian militants, many of them veterans of the anti-U.S. **insurgency** within Iraq. The group, which is not related to either **al Fatah** or the **Fatah Revolutionary Council**, first appeared in November 2006 when its members forcibly seized three compounds belonging to another Palestinian militant group within the Nahr al Bared refugee camp located in Tripoli. It was founded and led by Shaker al-Abssi, a Palestinian refugee who was an associate of **al Qa'eda in Iraq** leader Abu Musab al Zarqawi (1966–2006) who, along with al Zarqawi, was accused by the Jordanian government of the murder of U.S. diplomat Laurence Foley, who was shot in Amman on 28 October 2002. The group allegedly has around 150 experienced fighters.

Although the group claims to accept the pro-**jihad** doctrines of **Osama bin Laden**, it has disavowed having any direct link to **al Qa'eda**. Despite its militant Salafist complexion, many observers believed that it was actually backed either by Syria or by Saudi Arabia. Many Lebanese Christian politicians, such as Samir Geagea of the Lebanese Forces party, believed that the group was actually being secretly backed by Syria as a means of undermining the anti-Syrian Lebanese government of Prime Minister Fouad Siniora that came to power in the wake of the February 2005 Cedar Revolution. Although Syria formerly backed the **Hezbollah** Shi'ite militia, that group was

becoming more a proxy of Iranian, rather than Syrian, interests and was becoming too powerful and independent within Lebanon for the liking of the Syrian regime, whereas Fatah al-Islam would be wholly dependent on Syria. Although the Syrian regime has actively opposed similar groups within its own borders, such as the **Muslim Brotherhood**, it has also supported similar groups within Iraq as a means of undermining the former regime of Saddam Hussein. In addition, the instability created by such a group would provide Syria with the pretext of seeking to preserve public safety in order to reenter Lebanon to impose once more its control there.

The group came to world attention on 19 May 2007, when an attempted police raid in Tripoli against Fatah al-Islam members suspected of armed robbery ended with a shoot-out and barricade situation at an apartment used by Fatah al-Islam as an office. While several of the Fatah al-Islam members escaped, the remaining one blew himself up to evade capture. The Lebanese army then blockaded the Nahr al Bared refugee camp, containing more than 30,000 inhabitants, where a battle between army troops and Fatah al-Islam members raged from 20 May 2007 until 2 September 2007. In the course of the gunfire and artillery bombardments, some 222 inhabitants of the camp were killed while the army lost at least 158 troops. The exact number of Fatah al-Islam members killed is not known but it is believed that most of them escaped from the camp, including al-Abssi. After the group's defeat and flight from Tripoli, al-Abssi then lost his leadership position to Abdurrahman Mohammad Awad, who turned away from Syria and toward Saudi Arabia for backing. Although the Lebanese army had ultimately prevailed, the long duration of this siege and the high casualties suffered by the Syrian army exposed the weakness of the Siniora government and its unpreparedness to deal with what was a relatively minor group compared to the standing challenge of Hezbollah.

On 27 September 2008 at least 200 kilograms of explosives packed inside a car was detonated by a **suicide bomber** in Damascus on the road to the city's international airport, killing 17 and injuring 14 others. The blast occurred only 100 meters from a building used by the Palestinian branch of the Syrian military intelligence organization and also on the route used by Shi'ite pilgrims visiting the shrine of Zaynab, the sister of Imam Hussayn. This was the deadliest car bombing in Syria since the 12 February 2008 **assassination** of Hezbollah covert operations leader Imad Mughniyah. Such events are unusual within such a

tightly controlled police state. On 29 November 2008 Syrian television broadcast the confessions of 10 Fatah al-Islam members who claimed responsibility for the bombing, including Wafa al-Abssi, the daughter of Shaker al-Abssi, who claimed that the group was being supported both by Saudi nationals and the al Mustaqbel Party of Sa'ad al Hariri. On 10 December 2008 al-Abssi was ambushed and killed by Syrian security forces outside Damascus.

FATAH REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (FRC). Also referred to by Western intelligence and law enforcement agencies as the Abu Nidal Organization, the Fatah Revolutionary Council was a Palestinian terrorist group founded in 1974 and led by Sabri Khalil al Banna, known by his nom de guerre of **Abu Nidal**, meaning “Father of the Struggle.” This group was once considered the most dangerous terrorist organization in the 1990s and was credited with over 100 major terrorist attacks from 1974 to 1991 that killed 280 and injured more than 600 others. The FRC was an umbrella group encompassing different groups, or at least using different names depending on the **targets**. The FRC was also known as the Arab Revolutionary Council but chose to claim credit for its actions under the names of the Arab Revolutionary Brigades, the Revolutionary Organization of Socialist Muslims when claiming credit for attacks on British targets, **Black June** when claiming credit for attacks on Jordanian targets, the **Black September Organization**, and possibly the Peace Conquerors. Altogether these groups numbered several hundred members. The use of these names helped confuse opponents about Abu Nidal and his group; for example, witness the use of “Fatah Revolutionary Council,” which had no connection with al Fatah, or the use of “Black September” after 1981, when the original organization of the same name had been disbanded seven years earlier.

A former member of **al Fatah**, Abu Nidal broke with both al Fatah and the rest of the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** in 1974 and formed the FRC as an alternative organization. The FRC sought a total nationalist and social **revolution**, not only to destroy Israel in favor of a Palestinian state but also to rid the Palestinians of those whom Abu Nidal regarded as compromisers and reactionaries, and to create a total revolution throughout the Arab world. The FRC enjoyed **state sponsorship** from several Arab states, having been

sponsored by Iraq from 1974 until 1983, then by Syria until 1987, and then by Libya from 1987 until 1997; after a brief limited cooperation with Egypt from 1997 to 1998, the FRC returned to Iraq in December 1998 where it again had state sponsorship until August 2002, when Abu Nidal was killed by Iraqi security forces. These states eventually found that the cost in international opprobrium for aiding and abetting Abu Nidal far exceeded the benefits obtained from sponsoring such a client. Yet a greater concern for them was the irascibility and waywardness of Abu Nidal himself, who remained beholden to no one and was apt to turn against his erstwhile sponsors.

Michael A. Ledeen, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute with expertise in the Middle East conflict and terrorism, has claimed that the Abu Nidal group was in reality a covert action group organized by Yasir Arafat in order to **assassinate** potential rivals within the PLO as well as to carry out terrorist actions for which the PLO would have plausible deniability. This claim is based mainly on the testimony of Ion Mihai Pacepa, the former Romanian intelligence service chief, who defected to the United States in July 1978, and is not accepted by all analysts.

Despite its radical revolutionary rhetoric, the FRC in later years appeared to be pursuing terrorism almost as an end in itself and also showed an **entrepreneurial** willingness to hire itself out without regard to the politics of its patrons. While one-third of its resources came from Arab states, the FRC was also able to derive one-third of its income from extortion and another third from a consortium of businesses throughout the world, many of which might have been legitimate by themselves but all of which functioned as a support network for FRC operations. In many respects, the FRC evolved into an organized crime syndicate, and failed to perpetuate itself after the death of Abu Nidal. During the 1980s the FRC amassed assets totaling about \$400 million through its commercial organizations, but in 1995 many of these assets were sequestered when President Bill Clinton issued an executive order for the **freezing** of the funds being raised within the United States by terrorist groups and front organizations for financing terrorism. Investigations of the Pakistani Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) in 1991 revealed that the FRC had used the BCCI as a front for money laundering and illicit arms transactions.

The more notorious acts of the FRC include the following: An **assassination** attempt was made on the Israeli ambassador to Great

Britain, Shlomo Argov, on 3 June 1982 in the name of **Black June**. On 23 November 1985, EgyptAir's Athens to Cairo Flight 648 was **hijacked** to Malta, where the hijacker, Muhammad Ali Rezaq, shot two Israeli and three American passengers, dumping their bodies on the runway. When Egyptian commandos made a rescue attempt on 24 November 1985, Rezaq escaped, while 58 passengers were shot or burned to death. On 27 December 1985 a massacre of travelers at the Rome and Vienna airports was carried out, killing 18 people and injuring 60 others. The Neve Shalom synagogue in Istanbul was attacked on 6 September 1986, in which two gunmen murdered and mutilated 21 people. As an example of the extreme waywardness and unpredictability of the FRC, the group directed a **suicide** car bomber to strike the Israeli embassy in Cyprus on 11 May 1988, in revenge for Israel's assassination of PLO official Wazir al Khalil, yet is itself suspected of having assassinated another PLO official, Salah Khalaf, along with three other PLO officials, on 14 January 1991.

The FRC was identified as having committed 44 major terrorist acts in the period from 1980 to 1987, including 11 assassinations, seven bombings, and one car bombing. In addition, using the name of the Black September Organization, it carried out 17 more actions in the period from 1981 to 1987, including six assassinations, four bombings, and one car bombing. Using the name of the Arab Revolutionary Brigades, it committed another 15 actions from 1982 to 1986, including six assassinations, five bombings, and one car bombing. Under the name of the Revolutionary Movement of Socialist Muslims, it committed another 11 actions from 1984 to 1985, including four bombings, three **kidnappings**, and two assassinations. Using the name of the Black June group, it committed another five actions from 1981 to 1986, including two assassinations and one bombing. Reports indicated that during the latter part of 1988, Abu Nidal carried out a massive purge of his organization, killing around 160–170 former colleagues suspected of treachery. In July 1998 Abu Nidal was nearly deposed as leader of the FRC by 10 dissidents, but he survived this attempt by co-opting the protection of the Egyptian security service, which placed him under protective detention while deporting the dissidents.

On 15 July 1993, an arrest team of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) caught Muhammad Ali Rezaq, the hijacker of EgyptAir Flight 648, in Lagos, Nigeria, and returned him to the United States

to face trial on air piracy charges. On 17 June 1996 Rezaq's trial began in Washington, D.C., and on 7 October 1996 he was convicted and sentenced to life in prison.

With the death of Abu Nidal in 2002, the FRC has ceased to exist.

FATHERLAND AND LIBERTY. The Chilean group *Patria y Libertad* was organized in 1971 as an antistate covert operations unit, with alleged help from the United States, to oppose the Salvador Allende government in Chile. The leader was an attorney, Pablo Rodríguez Grez, known also as El Jefe. Although the allegation of funding by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) for this group was never substantiated, one of the most active covert operations specialists in the group was a former CIA agent, Michael Townley, who would later arrange for the **assassination** of Orlando Letelier in 1976 as well as the attempted murder of Bernardo Leighton in 1975, among others. At its height the group had 3,500 members, and 20 of them, known as the *Guerrilleros Nacionalistas*, formed the group's central command, led by Guillermo Burnster These and René Claverie Barbet. Fatherland and Liberty had around 50 specialized units with jamming equipment used to disrupt the communications of the national police and army units loyal to the Allende regime.

This group conducted **bombings** and subversive radio broadcasts. Roberto Thieme joined in May 1971 to be in charge of propaganda and soon became the general secretary of the organization. On 29 June 1971 the group attacked the offices of the magazine *La Moneda* and occupied the Defense Ministry building, apparently with the help of Army Commander General Carlos Prats González. The group is also credited with the assassination of Allende's closest aide, Arturo Arraya. On 12 September 1973, the day after the coup that toppled Allende, the group dissolved itself. In 1978 Michael Townley was **extradited** to the United States in connection with investigations of the murder of Letelier and reportedly became a state's witness against other defendants in return for protection in the U.S. Federal Witness Protection Program. In 1980 other members of the group were pardoned in connection with the murder of Arturo Arraya.

FATWA. Arabic term designating a ruling on a matter according to Islamic law issued by a competent specialist on Islamic law, usually known as an '*alim*' (learned man, plural: '*ulama*') or as a *mujtahid*, who is a pious Muslim and not acting in self-interest or under coercion.

The fatwa can be on any matter of Islamic law, from simple and mundane matters, such as how one may determine the correct times for the obligatory prayers, to weighty matters of finance, state, and warfare. Recently the term *fatwa* has been mentioned in connection with the late **Ayatollah Khomeini's** fatwa anathematizing Salman Rushdie and sentencing him to death, and also in connection with **Osama bin Laden's** publication of an alleged fatwa authorizing unlimited warfare against American citizens everywhere by pious Muslims. The specific type of fatwa issued by Khomeini against Rushdie, also called a *takfir*, pronounces a Muslim to have become an apostate and therefore liable to the death penalty according to traditional Islamic law. Ordinarily the person who has been put under this ban can have it lifted by openly repenting of his apostasy and redeclaring his faith in Islam. Militant Islamic groups in Egypt have been using takfirs against opponents recently to destroy the family life of their opponents, since a Muslim wife may no longer have sexual relations with her husband once he has been put under the ban of takfir.

The other alleged fatwa was used to justify the declaration of a state of general jihad as an individual obligation upon every Muslim. Such fatwas may only be issued by a competent religious authority and in the case of jihad, this would require a high-ranking Islamic authority, such as the *rahbar*, or supreme religious leader, in Iran, or perhaps the Sheikh al Azhar in Egypt. The issuance of alleged fatwas by people lacking jurisprudential credentials, such as the fatwas announced by bin Laden, are presumptuous and without credibility.

More recently, on 14 April 2004, the popular Egyptian cleric Yusuf al Qaradawi issued a fatwa declaring that Muslims should boycott American and Israeli goods or services due to Israel's perceived enmity toward Muslims and Arabs and due also to the role of the United States as a principal backer of the State of Israel.

Critics of Iran's government, which has declared that Khomeini's order against Rushdie remains in effect, have pointed out that in Shi'ite jurisprudence any fatwa ceases to be effective upon the death of the person who issued it. Authorities within Iran have countered this criticism by declaring that Khomeini's order against Rushdie was a *hukm*, or special judicial order or injunction, instead of a fatwa, which is a more generic opinion on some question of Islamic doctrine or law. In Shi'ite Islam, while a fatwa ceases to have force once the

scholar who issued the fatwa has died, any *hukm* remains in effect even if the authority who has issued the *hukm* has died.

FEDAYEEN (ALTERNATIVE SPELLING: FIDA'IYIN). Arabic plural of *Fida'i*, also, *Fedayan*, Persian plural of *Fida'i*, “one who offers (self-sacrifice),” that is, one who offers himself sacrificially in a holy struggle. This name has been adopted by at least five different groups in the history of terrorism:

1. The Isma'ili Fedayeen. In the 11th and 12th centuries, Isma'ili Shi'ite activists in Southwest Asia organized corps of **assassins** willing to undertake attacks against Sunni rulers in which the assassin was certain to be killed or captured. To counter the awe and respect these bold attacks created among the common people, apologists of the Abbasid dynasty **targeted** by the Isma'ilis claimed that the attackers were really *Hashshishin*, those under the influence of hashish. This term became the source of the word *assassin*. These Fedayeen continued to operate for over a century, using the mountainous region around Alamut in central Iran as their base of operations, until they were exterminated by the invading Mongol armies.

2. The Fedayan-i Islam. An Iranian terrorist group founded by the Shi'ite junior clergyman Navab Safavi in 1944 to **assassinate** Iranian intellectuals and politicians held to be responsible for the decline of Islam in Iran. The Fedayan began with the dramatic killing of the secularist historian Ahmad Kasravi in 1946 and followed up with the killings of the Minister of Court Hazhir, Prime Minister Razmara, and attempted assassinations of Prime Minister 'Ala and Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi. The Iranian security police later smashed the Fedayan organization in 1956, executing its main members, including Navab Safavi. As late as 1965, however, the assassination of Prime Minister Alam was carried out by a self-proclaimed member of the Fedayan. Following the 1979 revolution in Iran, survivors of the group reconstituted themselves openly as a minor Islamic political party in Iran. Members of this group appear to have been behind the attempted assassination of Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz on 1 April 1980. In November 1998 the Fedayan emerged from years of obscurity by attacking a bus in downtown Tehran with stones and iron rods; some of the 13 American tourists aboard suffered minor cuts from flying glass. The Fedayan then issued a communiqué denouncing the Americans

as U.S. spies and denouncing the government of President Muhammad Khatami for its encouragement of cultural exchanges between Americans and Iranians.

3. The Palestinian Fedayeen. With the rise in Palestinian terrorist and guerrilla attacks on Israel and Israeli targets, the term *Fedayeen* came to be used by Palestinians to designate guerrilla fighters attacking Israel without being exclusively reserved for the fighters of any single Palestinian group. The organizations that sponsor Fedayeen fighters dominate the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) and are known as *tanzimat*.

4. The Fedayan-i Khalq-i Iran. The People's Fedayan of Iran was a Marxist guerrilla group that split from the Iranian Communist Party in 1963. Its members were mainly university students who received guerrilla training in PLO camps in Lebanon and South Yemen. On 8 February 1971 the Fedayan tried to start a guerrilla war against the Iranian government in the forested regions around Siahkhal in Gilan Province, on the Caspian Sea, but were crushed by regular army troops. The survivors of the Siahkhal affair tried then to organize urban guerrilla warfare but accomplished little until the revolution of 1978–1979 gave them the opportunity to participate in street fighting and attacks on police and army barracks. Following the victory of the revolution, the Fedayan's open following grew to include as many as 50,000 adherents. In the face of widespread popular support for the regime of the **Ayatollah Ruhallah Khomeini**, the Fedayan temporized in the mistaken expectation that the situation would ripen in favor of another revolution along Marxist lines. This temporizing cost the Fedayan the support of disaffected Iranian middle-class students and intellectuals, who were attracted instead to the rival Mujahideen-i Khalq, which took a more forthright stand against the clerical regime.

Internal dissent over the group's relationship with the clerical regime led to a split into a minority faction that advocated armed struggle with the regime and a majority faction that continued to temporize. With the crackdown on the Mujahideen in June 1981, other armed leftist groups, such as the Fedayan-i Khalq, were crushed as well. Many surviving Fedayan joined other leftists in an abortive guerrilla campaign in the region of Amol near the Caspian Sea in which, in a curious replay of the Siahkhal affair of the previous decade, they were crushed on 9 November 1981 by army troops and the **Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps** (IRGC).

5. The Fedayeen as Saddam. In 1995 Saddam Hussein established a paramilitary organization to protect his Ba'hist regime. Following the 1991 Gulf War, after the central government had lost control of several Shi'ite-populated provinces, the Iraqi regime instituted the Fedayeen as a covert militia to be able to strike at disloyal Iraqis in the event of any similar rebellions within Iraqi territory or in the event of loss of control of territories due to invasion and occupation. During the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, Fedayeen members did in fact murder Iraqis who were perceived as disloyal or as collaborators. In July 2003, U.S. Army First Armored Division troops found the Fedayeen archives containing personnel files near the Ar Rashid airfield, which led to the capture of key Fedayeen leaders.

FEDERATION FOR NATIONAL EUROPEAN ACTION (FÉDÉRATION D'ACTION NATIONALE EUROPÉENNE). *See* EUROPEAN NATIONALIST FASCISTS; NATIONAL FRONT.

FIGHT-OR-FLIGHT RESPONSE. This is the physiological response of humans and animals to situations of danger involving a number of bodily responses that prepare one either to flee or to confront and fight the source of danger. These include increase in heart rate; increase in blood pressure; blood volume changes; increase in the electroconductivity of the skin due in part to increased perspiration; increased muscular tension; and changes in brain-wave activity reflecting increased alertness. The cardiovascular and respiratory systems operate with greater efficiency and more sugar is released into the bloodstream in preparation for physical exertion. During fight-or-flight episodes, the affected individuals often exhibit feats of strength that they ordinarily could not do or they become unaware of pain from wounds or broken bones. After experiencing these life-threatening situations, people often report that they felt curiously disconnected from their actions, as if they were observing themselves reacting but not controlling their actions in a conscious and deliberative manner. In fact, in the critical moments one is acting almost by reflex and ordinarily deliberative processes appear to be suspended.

The fight-or-flight response may help to explain how individuals are attracted toward political violence and may also explain some of the behavior of terrorist groups. According to the **physiological model** of terrorist **contagion**, susceptible individuals experience a thrill from

watching and from reenacting a violent or dangerous act. By coming out of the fight-or-flight situation safe or victorious, the person then experiences a feeling of well-being and power. Similarly, for many isolated **cellular groups**, their best moments are found in the thick of carrying out an attack, whether a holdup, **kidnapping**, or successful assault. Such groups cope very poorly with prolonged periods of inactivity or routine. The implication for law enforcement and counterterrorism situation managers is that pursuing cellular groups, like the former **Symbionese Liberation Army**, with state-of-siege tactics or confronting terrorists in a hostage-barricade situation with deadlines or ponderous open assaults may prove counterproductive. In the heat of the flight-or-flight situation, the terrorists react quickly, rational deliberation ceases, and they are more apt to carry out their threatened actions.

Instead of putting heat on underground groups, law enforcement may be better advised to maintain a quiet vigilance in the expectation that the boredom of clandestine inactivity will lead terrorist group members to make a mistake and reveal themselves. Similarly, in a hostage-barricade situation, the hostage negotiators and rescue units would be better advised to maintain a quiet siege and let inactivity render the hostage takers torpid and more vulnerable to a sudden, surprise rescue attempt or else more apt to surrender themselves. An example of the former situation would be the rescue attempt in the **Peruvian Japanese embassy hostage crisis** and an example of the latter was the successful conclusion of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) siege of the **Freeman** compound in Montana.

FIGHTING COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS (FCOs). *See* ANARCHISTIC LEFTIST TERRORISTS.

FORCE 17. Name of internal security unit of **al Fatah** formed in the early 1970s, charged with providing personal security for **Yasir Arafat** and other al Fatah leaders, enforcing discipline within the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** by arresting and punishing dissidents and criminals, and undertaking active measures against non-Palestinians threatening PLO interests. Within the PLO, viewed as an extraterritorial government of the Palestinians, Force 17 acted as a tool of repression or **state terror**, while in its operations against non-Palestinians it may be regarded simply as an extension of al Fatah. Force 17 was commanded by Khalil al Wazir until he was **assassinated** by an Israeli commando team on 16 April 1988.

During the early 1970s, Force 17 would regulate the behavior of Palestinian guerrillas in Lebanon to prevent abuses against Lebanese nationals that might jeopardize PLO relations with the Lebanese government. On 17 April 1978, Force 17 arrested about 100 members of **Abu Nidal's Fatah Revolutionary Council**, then backed by Iraq, in southern Lebanon to prevent them from disrupting a cease-fire with the Israeli Defense Forces. In August 1987 and May 1989, two Force 17 commanders were assassinated in feuding between al Fatah loyalists and Syrian-backed dissidents.

Force 17's entry into externally directed terrorism dates from 25 September 1985, when al Fatah agents seized and killed three Israelis in Larnaca, Cyprus, whom they suspected to be agents of Mossad, Israel's national security agency. This occasioned Israel's retaliatory air raid on the PLO headquarters in Tunis on 1 October 1985, in which 60 Palestinians were killed and 100 injured. Afterward Force 17 claimed responsibility for several attacks occurring within Israel: on 2 February 1986, a bus **bombing** in Jerusalem that injured six people; on 17 September 1986, throwing of explosives into the El Al airline's offices in Tel Aviv; on 14 November 1986, a stabbing death of a Yeshiva student in Jerusalem; on 28 June 1987, the bombing of a popular beach near Haifa, injuring a woman and child; and on 27 November 1987, the murder of two agents of Shin Bet, Israel's internal security service, who had their throats slashed. These actions bear close resemblance to the sorts of apparently random, spontaneous attacks occurring within Israel since the beginning of the first **intifada** uprising on 9 December 1987. Israeli authorities have maintained that Khalil al Wazir was actually the mastermind behind the first intifada.

Since the 13 September 1993 peace, Force 17 is believed to have engaged in numerous acts of repression directed at Palestinians. The Palestinian human rights activist Bassam Eid, speaking in London on 29 January 1997, claimed that while he was working with the Israeli human rights group B'tselem in 1996, he had been **kidnapped** by Force 17 members from his Jerusalem home and threatened by them. According to him, arbitrary arrest and torture of Palestinian dissidents by Force 17 had left many of them too frightened to speak out against abuses of power by Yasir Arafat. On 30 June 1997, Force 17 reportedly tortured Nasser Abed Radwan to death in Gaza while he was being detained without charges. A Palestinian Authority (PA)

military tribunal sentenced three of the Force 17 guards to death and the other three to prison terms ranging from six months to five years. In March 1998, Force 17 was involved in a reported in-house purge within the PA of a Palestinian military leader suspected of involvement in a plot to depose Arafat as leader of the PLO and PA.

Under the Palestinian Authority, established in 1994, Force 17 was renamed as the Palestinian Authority Presidential Security Unit and had the mission of protecting Arafat and other PA dignitaries, as well as officiating at ceremonial functions. Israeli authorities have claimed that documents seized during the June 2002 Israeli Defense Forces raid on Arafat's Ramallah compound prove that following the outbreak of the second intifada in 2000, Force 17 became involved in acquiring arms for nonstate Palestinian groups loyal to Arafat, such as the Tanzim and the **al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade**, as well as attacks on Israeli military and police.

Following the death of Arafat in November 2004, Force 17 has reverted to becoming more of an al Fatah security detail than serving as a nonpolitical security force of the Palestinian Authority. After the **Ham**as parliamentary electoral victory in 2005, Force 17 has sided with the PA President and al Fatah leader Mahmoud Abbas against Hamas during conflicts between Hamas and al Fatah. Unlike the Tanzim and al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade, which occasionally have defied or ignored Mahmoud Abbas, Force 17 appears to have behaved more consistently in upholding the authority of Abbas within the al Fatah movement. Because Force 17 has been dominated by al Fatah loyalists, it is not clear that it would remain as the PA presidential security detail if the PA presidency were won by a non-Fatah candidate.

FORCE MULTIPLIER(S). While there are a few basic **tactics** of terrorism, namely, **bombing**, **hijacking**, **arson**, **assassination**, and **kidnapping**/hostage taking, the impact of these operations is enhanced by force multipliers, that is, additional elements that amplify the impact of the terrorist tactic on its intended audiences. The most commonly accepted list of force multipliers includes the mass media, technology, support infrastructure, and the use of **ideology** and/or religion. Mass media coverage of terrorist events brings awareness of the terrorist group and its goals to the wider target audience that the terrorists wish to manipulate. Technology both improves the means of carrying out terrorist tactics and provides terrorists with world-

wide means of transportation and communications to organize their attacks, publicize them, and then disperse to their **sanctuaries**. For example, cell phones can be converted into initiators for improvised explosive devices (IEDs) to be remotely detonated. Support infrastructures allow a division of labor between terrorist leaders, combatants, and those providing logistical support as well as the recruitment and fund-raising needed to keep the terrorist group viable. Finally, there is the role played by ideas, whether religious or secular **ideologies**, that serve as the motivation for the terrorist group and may win it greater support from a wider community sharing the same ideals.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE ACT (FISA).

Also known as Public Law 95-511, this act, found under the U.S. Code, Title 50, Chapter 36, S. 1566, Foreign Intelligence and Electronic Surveillance, permits electronic surveillance of individuals or groups when there is probable cause to believe that these people or groups are providing financial aid, or other material assistance, on behalf of a foreign state or a group furthering international terrorism. The act is also intended to prevent domestic surveillance of U.S. citizens, resident aliens, or firms incorporated in the United States that are not connected to foreign groups or nations. FISA established the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court to issue warrants to federal law enforcement agencies to permit surveillance of suspected foreign intelligence agents within the United States; FISA does not govern U.S. intelligence collection activities outside the United States and its territories. The act also permits physical searches of the “premises, information, material, or property” used exclusively by a foreign power or nonstate group. The **Patriot Act of 2001** amended FISA to allow monitoring of communications with foreign groups that are not sponsored by foreign governments. In 2004, FISA was further amended, in section 1801 b.1.C., to include a “lone wolf” clause to permit surveillance of a non-U.S. person who is engaging in, or preparing to engage in, international terrorism without having a previous connection to a foreign nation or nonstate group.

The National Security Agency (NSA) terrorist surveillance program, whose existence was revealed in 2006 and which conducted warrantless wiretaps of suspected terrorist telephone conversations, involving telephone calls to and from the United States, was ruled illegal in the case of *ACLU v. NSA* on 17 August 2006 by the U.S.

District Court for the Eastern Michigan District. The ruling found that the covert surveillance program violated not only FICA but also the First and Fourth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution. The administration of George W. Bush had argued that warrantless wiretaps for national security reasons were part of the “inherent powers” of the U.S. president’s office and that such warrantless surveillance had been authorized by the Authorization for Use of Military Force resolution passed by Congress following the **World Trade Center and Pentagon Attacks of September 11, 2001**. While many civil libertarians believe that FISA and other wireless surveillance programs implicitly violate the civil rights of U.S. citizens, Judge Richard Posner of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit argued in an article, “A New Surveillance Act” (*Wall Street Journal*, 15 February 2006), that FISA, even with the mentioned amendments, is insufficient for effective intelligence collection to prevent terrorism as it only permits surveillance of known terrorist individuals and groups, whereas effective intelligence gathering must be able to identify previously unknown terrorist individuals and groups.

FOURTH-GENERATION WARFARE. *See* ASYMMETRIC WARFARE.

FRANCIA. The Front d’Action Nouvelle Contre l’Indépendance et l’Autonomie (New Action Front Against Independence and Autonomy) was a nonstate group of French settlers on the island of Corsica with the limited aim of opposing the **National Front for the Liberation of Corsica** (FLNC). The group was formed in 1978 mainly of French settlers displaced from Algeria. In 1979 it conducted about 40 attacks against suspected FLNC members. In August 1980 a leader of FRANCIA, Yannick Leonelli, was arrested.

FRAPH. French acronym for Front Révolutionnaire pour l’Avancement et le Progrès Haitien, or Revolutionary Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti, a state-run **death squad** used to repress enemies of the military junta that overthrew President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1991. When the junta, led by Lieutenant General Raoul Cédras, seized power, it organized the FRAPH movement in 1991 as a death squad for dealing with supporters of Aristide and anyone else who would oppose their rule. FRAPH included various elements including members of the **Tonton Macoutes** of the former ruling Duvalier family.

FRAPH first gained international notice in October 1993 when members of this group prevented the docking in Port-au-Prince of the USS *Harlan*, so helping delay for another year the restoration of President Aristide to power in Haiti by U.S. military intervention. When the junta faced the possibility of U.S. intervention later in 1994, it armed about 30,000 civilians to form a “volunteer” force to complement the 7,000 regular troops of the Haitian armed forces. On 28 August 1994 a close friend of Aristide, Rev. Jean-Marie Vincent, was murdered by these militia members, who were also known as “attachés.”

During the period of military rule from 1991 to 1994, about 5,000 people were killed, mainly by pro-junta death squads of which FRAPH was the largest and most powerful. FRAPH used machetes, **firebombings**, and sometimes grenades to kill individuals or demonstrators opposing the junta. In early October 1994 FRAPH attacked pro-Aristide crowds, killing demonstrators with impunity in full view of U.S. warships in the harbor of Port-au-Prince. Following the FRAPH murder of the deputy mayor of Mirebalais on 4 November 1994, death squad activity by the group appeared to cease.

Debriefing of Haitian refugees who had belonged to FRAPH revealed systematic use of murder and rape against its victims, which new FRAPH members were expected to watch and later to participate in as part of their initiation. Later it was learned that the leader of FRAPH, Emmanuel “Toto” Constant, had actually been a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) informant who continued on its payroll until the spring of 1994, long after his group had organized the October 1993 demonstrations blocking U.S. naval vessels from landing in Port-au-Prince. A review of declassified State Department and Defense Department cables revealed that U.S. defense and intelligence officials had strongly distrusted Aristide and sought to protect their informants within the FRAPH organization in the event of Aristide’s return to power. Shortly after U.S. troops landed in Haiti in October 1994, they raided FRAPH headquarters, seizing over 150,000 pages of documents, which were removed to the United States and never returned to Haiti despite the demands of the Aristide government. Later, Emmanuel Constant, who was found hiding in Queens, New York, was arrested on 10 May 1995 but not deported to Haiti. Following extensive revelations of human rights abuses by FRAPH, the United States eventually declared FRAPH to be a terrorist organization. Relying on the **Alien Tort Claims Act**,

the San Francisco–based Center for Justice and Accountability sued Constant before the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York on behalf of three women raped by FRAPH members, winning on their behalf a total of \$19 million in damages in August 2006. Constant continues to live in the United States, although he has been indicted and prosecuted for mortgage fraud and other felonies unrelated to his previous activities in FRAPH.

On 17 August 2004 a Haitian court acquitted former FRAPH leader Louis-Jodel Chamblain for the murder of Antoine Izméry, a financial backer of former President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. The court also acquitted Chamblain's codefendant Jackson Joanis, former Port-au-Prince police chief, also accused of involvement in the murder of Izméry. Both men remained under arrest pending trial on other murder charges related to FRAPH death squad activities.

FREE SOUTH MOLUCCAN YOUTH ORGANIZATION. The Free South Moluccan Youth Organization, also called the South Moluccan Suicide Commando, was a nonstate revolutionary **ethnonationalist** group that used terrorism to force the Netherlands to pressure Indonesia to restore an independent South Moluccan homeland. During the Indonesian war for independence, the South Moluccans, who had been converted to Christianity by the Dutch, fought on the side of the Netherlands on the understanding that they would afterward have their own independent state. An Indonesian victory prevented the Netherlands from fulfilling this promise and instead the South Moluccan allies of the Dutch were allowed to settle in the Netherlands as refugees. Most of the members of these groups came from a younger second generation of alienated South Moluccans, who lacked any outside **state sponsorship**.

On 2 December 1975 some seven Moluccan youths armed with automatic pistols seized a passenger train in Beilen, taking more than 70 riders hostage and killing one passenger and the train's engineer. The train was besieged by over 1,000 Dutch Marines and police. On the fourth day of the siege, the terrorists killed another passenger after the Dutch government announced its refusal of the group's demands. In the face of the government's refusal to waver and due to the severe cold in the unheated train cars, the terrorists surrendered on 14 December. During the siege, several passengers escaped while several others were released by their captors, particularly elderly or ill passengers.

On 4 December, seven other members of the same group seized the Indonesian consulate in Amsterdam, also taking as hostages several schoolchildren within a classroom in the building. Three consular employees escaped by lowering themselves from the second story, but a fourth fell to his death. By 19 December 1975, all the hostages in this siege were also released.

On 23 May 1977 another passenger train **hijacking** and hostage seizure took place in Assen in which 13 Moluccans seized a train with 85 passengers. This siege lasted 19 days. In addition to calls for Moluccan independence, these terrorists also demanded the freeing of their comrades who had been tried and jailed for the Beilen incident. On 11 June, Dutch Marines stormed the train, killing all the terrorists as well as two passengers who had bolted when the shooting began. On the same day the Assen train was seized, four other members of the group seized a primary school in Bovinsmilde, taking 105 children and six teachers hostage. All of the children and one sick teacher were released by 26 May. Dutch Marines stormed the school on 11 June, seizing the four terrorists and freeing the remaining teachers.

In July 1975 several Moluccans were convicted for conspiracy to **kidnap** Queen Juliana and other members of the Dutch royal family. These incidents provoked anti-Moluccan backlashes among the Dutch population, while the killings of the terrorists also aggravated anti-Dutch sentiment among the exiled Moluccan community. Since these incidents, the South Moluccan groups have ceased to be involved in terrorism.

FREEMEN. Antistate right-wing U.S. domestic extremists opposed to the current monetary, banking, and taxation system who form part of the right-wing extremist movement in the United States associated with the **militia movement**. The Freemen of Montana, who were besieged by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) for 81 days outside the small town of Jordan, Montana, are just one of several groups scattered throughout the United States that call themselves Freemen. Although the media called them the Militia of Montana, these groups were not identical but had overlapping memberships. The Militia of Montana group is led by John Trochman, who played no role in the Freeman siege outside Jordan, Montana.

Various Freemen also call themselves the Preamble People, meaning the “people” mentioned within the Preamble of the U.S. Constitution who “ordained and established” the original seven articles of the Constitution. Their belief is that as the United States, as well as the various state and local governments, derived their authority and sovereignty from the people whose consent created the constitutional order and federalist system, these same people could equally withdraw their consent to be governed by those governmental forms, thus resuming their primordial status as “sovereign American nationals,” which includes only “white Christian men.” The Preamble People are held to be the white, Anglo-Saxon, Christian settlers of the British colonies, or their descendants, while non-white or non-Christian U.S. citizens are merely “Fourteenth Amendment” citizens who have no prior claim to be “sovereign, natural citizens.”

The Freemen hold that income taxes and requirements for driver’s licenses and for Social Security documentation are legally binding on the Fourteenth Amendment citizens but not legally binding on themselves. They also assert that they may remove themselves from the jurisdiction of state and federal authorities merely by filing a declaration with the local county clerk’s office that they are sovereign citizens. Such attempts to ignore or evade legal obligations have led Freemen into confrontation with state and federal authorities, from threats of violence to actual armed conflicts with law enforcement and judicial authorities. When faced with summonses to appear before state or federal courts on charges of tax evasion or bank fraud, Freemen have retaliated by convening so-called **common-law courts** that then issue pseudo-legal documents purporting to be summonses, liens, restraining orders, and the like against county sheriffs and prosecutors as well as against federal officials. Often these proceedings threaten officials with death by hanging if they do not “cease and desist.”

Most of the adherents of the Freemen movement appear to be western farmers or ranchers who have overextended themselves with borrowing to run their farms. The Freemen and **Posse Comitatus** movements were a populist reaction to the economic plight of these small farmers in which adherents convinced themselves that they had been victimized by an unjust economic and political system. These beliefs were often reinforced by anti-Semitic prejudices to the effect that the banking system was being deliberately manipulated by Jewish groups to impoverish white, Christian American farmers. By

rejecting the monetary system as fraudulent, since it was no longer based on the gold standard, the Freeman rationalized their refusals to repay loans or to pay taxes. In a bizarre twist, the Freeman rationalized that as sovereign citizens, not only could they convene their own common-law courts to threaten officials, but they were equally entitled to issue their own paper monetary documents to pay for trucks and farm equipment and the like.

Although a federal grand jury had indicted Freeman leaders LeRoy Schweitzer and Daniel E. Petersen Jr., along with 10 other Freeman, for fraudulent checks and money orders on 19 May 1995, authorities did not move to arrest them immediately for fear that the armed Freeman would fight back and create another Ruby Ridge–style confrontation with likely loss of life and probable public backlash against federal officials. Following these indictments, about 21 Freeman of Montana assembled themselves in a 960-acre wheat farm and sheep ranch outside Jordan, Montana, which had been sold due to foreclosure but which they occupied and then declared to be “Justus Township,” a sovereign jurisdiction independent from the United States.

When Schweitzer and Petersen left the ranch on 25 March 1996, they were arrested by the FBI; the remaining Freeman stayed in the ranch where they were surrounded by FBI teams. The “soft siege” of this compound, lasting 81 days, involved 640 FBI agents and cost about \$7.5 million. On 13 June, after several women and children had left the compound over the course of the siege, the last 16 Freeman surrendered to officials.

Schweitzer and Petersen had given seminars to over 800 people, for \$100 a head, on how to manufacture fraudulent financial instruments. Schweitzer and Petersen had learned the Freeman doctrine and check-kiting techniques from Roy Schwasinger of Fort Collins, Colorado, leader of the “We the People” group, which popularized the Freeman and the “common-law courts” movements. Using what some Montana officials have called paper terrorism, the Freeman would harass law enforcement and tax officials by filing phony liens against their properties and those of their relatives, which often affected their credit ratings.

On 8 July 1998 a federal grand jury issued indictments against nine of the Freeman for banking fraud conspiracy. By March 1996 the Freeman had tried to pass 3,432 bogus checks with a total face value of \$15.5 billion; most were rejected, but up to \$1.8 million worth had

been accepted in the forms of money orders, certified bank checks, comptroller warrants, or lien drafts. On 19 November 1998 these nine members were convicted for conspiracy, bank fraud, threatening federal judges, mail fraud, wire fraud, illegal possession of firearms, and interstate transportation of stolen property. In addition, members of the group had robbed the news crews of the ABC and NBC television networks of their cameras during attempts to interview them.

Apart from the highly publicized Montana siege, other evidence of the impact of the Freeman movement emerged with investigations in 23 states by January 1997 of more than 150 people with Freeman ties involved in similar check-kiting schemes. One of the Freeman arrested at Jordan, Russell D. Landers, was convicted in North Carolina in February 1997 on fraud and conspiracy charges.

In recent years, due to increased media coverage of Freeman activities and scams, this movement has lapsed into relative obscurity.

FREEZING OF ASSETS/SEQUESTRATION. Among the law enforcement powers available to counter domestic and international terrorists are the options of civil and criminal forfeiture used to seize properties, buildings, airplanes, vehicles, or weapons that have been used for criminal purposes. Ordinarily these sanctions have been used to combat drug trafficking but in principle could be applied to punish any form of criminal enterprise, including terrorism.

On 4 June 1993 President Bill Clinton invoked provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Section 212(f), and the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA), known also as Public Law 95-223 (1977), Title 50 U.S. Code, Sections 1701–6, to strengthen sanctions against Haiti dating back to 1991, including freezing the personal assets of specially designated nationals who were acting for or on behalf of the Haitian military junta or who were making material contributions to that regime. On 3 December 1993 the president announced tightened economic sanctions against Libya in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 883 of 11 November 1993, which included a freeze on Libyan government assets held in U.S. banks.

On 23 January 1995, by Executive Order 12947, President Clinton declared a national emergency and invoked his broad powers under IEEPA to block the assets and prohibit transactions of people determined to have committed or present a significant risk of committing

acts of violence that would disrupt the Middle East peace process, and he blocked transactions by U.S. citizens with these foreign persons. Regulations implementing this Executive Order were issued on 2 February 1996 (61 Fed. Reg 3,805 [1996]). This Executive Order blocked the assets of the **Islamic Jihad** in Palestine, **Hamas**, and **Abu Nidal** organizations, among others, as well as assets of various front groups that had been established in the United States for the purposes of gathering funds for such groups under charitable and educational pretenses.

Beyond these Presidential actions, the Congress and president passed the **Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996**, which, in Section 302, forbids fund-raising and other material support for organizations designated as terrorist groups or found to engage in activities defined as terrorist activities under U.S. law and, in Section 303, criminalizes knowingly providing, or attempting to provide, material support to a foreign terrorist group. Section 303 also requires financial institutions to freeze the funds of any person or group involved in funding those terrorist groups.

Following the **World Trade Center and Pentagon Attacks of September 11, 2001**, the administration of President George W. Bush issued Executive Order 13224, allowing the U.S. government to designate and sequester the assets of terrorist individuals or groups that commit, or pose a significant risk of committing, acts of terrorism or else that provide support or assistance to such people or groups. This led to the immediate freezing of assets of more than 60 individuals and firms believed to have ties to terrorist groups. On 7 November 2001 the assets of the al Barakat and al Taqwa financial networks were seized as they were believed to have direct ties to the **al Qa'eda** network of **Osama bin Laden**, the alleged principal behind the September 11 attacks. When an individual or group is designated as a terrorist group or financial sponsor of such a group under Executive Order 13224, the order applies to all subsidiaries, front organizations, agents, and associates of such groups. Whenever a group is designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) by the Secretary of State pursuant to Section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, then all U.S. financial institutions are required to freeze the funds of such FTOs.

In addition to the sequestering of funds of al-Qa'eda front organizations, such as the al-Haramain Islamic Foundation, Executive

Order 13224 was also used on 31 December 2001 to freeze the funds of the Continuity Irish Republican Army and its two front organizations, the Continuity Army Council and the Republican Sinn Fein. On 17 December 2004 the Executive Order was also applied to Khaddafi Abubaker Janjalani, leader of the **Abu Sayyaf group**. By 21 December 2004 the Executive Order had been used to designate 397 individuals and groups as terrorists, or financiers and facilitators of terrorists, and had facilitated the freezing of \$146 millions of terrorist assets. When the United States uses Executive Order 13224 to designate a terrorist or terrorism sponsor, it also makes an application to the UN Sanctions Committee, instituted under United Nations Security Council Resolution 1267, to include the designated person or group on its listing of proscribed terrorist entities.

FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION THEORY. Psychological theory used to explain aggressive behavior. In studies of animal behavior, Ivan Pavlov induced conditioned responses in dogs to respond to a certain stimulus, namely, a circle, in order to obtain food. Whenever the dog responded to the wrong stimulus, namely, an ellipse, it would receive no food. Not surprisingly, the experimental animals learned to distinguish between circles and ellipses. When Pavlov next began to display ambiguous stimuli, such as circles that were slightly flattened at opposite ends or ellipses that were almost circular, some animals responded with whimpering and others with snarling and anger. Frustration theory predicts that an individual will respond with stress and aggression whenever there is an “interference with the occurrence of an instigated goal-response at its proper time in the behavior sequence” (John Dollard et al., *Frustration and Aggression* [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1939]).

Many common-sense explanations of civil unrest or political violence often rely on some version of the frustration-aggression theory, but for this theory to be a more complete and credible explanation of human behavior, it needs to incorporate the notions of expectations, a standard of comparison between an actual and preferred state of affairs, and some notions of just rewards. In this more elaborate form, one moves from a crude frustration-aggression model to a **relative deprivation** model.

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GAL. *See* ANTITERRORIST LIBERATION GROUPS.

GAME THEORY. An interdisciplinary mix of applied mathematics and economics used to model human decision making in various situations. Game theory was one of the byproducts of the multidisciplinary “operations research” of the Allies during World War II to develop the most efficient use of limited resources and most effective strategies and **tactics**. Following World War II the RAND Corporation used game theory in developing the strategy of nuclear deterrence. In game theory, a “game” is defined as an activity involving at least two players who interact in order to achieve certain outcomes. Game theory has been used to model and analyze political campaigning and investment decisions, as well as optimizing wartime tactics and strategies, analyzing criminal behavior, and choosing optimal police investigation and prevention methods. Most conflicts can be analyzed as “zero-sum games,” that is, an interaction in which one side can gain or “win” but only at the expense of the other participant, who “loses.” Studies of conflict resolution seek solutions that can convert zero-sum games into “plus-sum” games, that is, interactions that benefit both parties.

The various forms of terrorism can be analyzed as zero-sum games. For example, if **ethnonational terrorists** succeed in their goal of creating an independent homeland, then the **targeted** nation-state loses territory, power, and prestige. **Counterterrorism** efforts have sought to apply game theory to disrupt the internal organization and morale of terrorist groups. The classical game theory situation of the “prisoners’ dilemma” is used to turn ordinary criminals against each other: two partners in crime may have a rational self-interest in sticking to a common alibi and not testifying against each other, particularly if the investigators lack concrete physical evidence against them. But once the two prisoners are separated and interrogated individually, the investigators can play on each suspect’s distrust that the other suspect might testify against him as part of a plea bargain to get both of them separately to testify against each other. A variant of this game theory tactic was the **supergrass** strategy used by British and Northern Ireland security forces to turn **Irish Republican**

Army (IRA) members against each other by inducing opportunistic IRA suspects to turn into informants or even just to spread suspicion among other IRA members that arrested comrades had been “turned” to create distrust and infighting within the various IRA groups.

More positively, game theory has been the inspiration for many efforts to try to induce terrorist groups to give up the use of political violence in favor of negotiated settlements by convincing the terrorist group that while it would be certain to be the loser in a zero-sum struggle with the targeted government, it would instead have some chance of making at least some limited political gains if it renounced terrorism in favor of negotiation and peaceful political participation. The 1998 Good Friday Agreement, which resolved most of the conflict in Northern Ireland, may be cited as an example of such a conflict resolution approach by which the main following of the IRA was induced to move away from political violence in favor of peaceful political participation. Kenneth W. Stein’s study, *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace* (London: Routledge, 1999), analyzed incidences of success in the Arab-Israeli peace process as being due to the ability of negotiators to create areas of plus-sum cooperation between Israel and Egypt, as well as between Israel and other Arab opponents.

Leonard Greenhalgh’s seminal 1986 work “Managing Conflict” (*Sloan Management Review* 27, no. 4, 45–52), used a game theory model to address how negotiators could seek to resolve conflicts by finding plus-sum areas of cooperation. Although written primarily with commercial litigation and the management of private business firms in mind, much of his conflict-resolution model can also be applied to the analysis and resolution of more purely political conflicts, including terrorism. For example, Greenhalgh emphasizes the need for the parties in conflict to focus on short-term attainable goals benefiting both parties rather than on inflexible “fundamental issues,” the need for both sides to have strong and credible leaders to legitimize negotiated solutions, and the desirability for having a mutually trusted third-party mediator who also has an interest in having the conflict resolved peacefully. In the case of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, during the period from the Oslo Accords of 1993 until September 2000, Israel and the Palestinian Authority appeared able to make progress when they focused on practical issues, such as security cooperation and facilitating daily cross-border traffic between Israel

and the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The shift in emphasis to relatively nonnegotiable issues in September 2000, such as the question of ultimate sovereignty over Jerusalem, pushed the two parties back into violent conflict. In addition, with the death of **Yasir Arafat** in 2004 and the debilitating stroke of Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in early 2006, the replacement of strong leaders with much weaker leaders on both sides arguably has made resolution of this conflict more difficult. According to Kenneth Stein's analysis, the active engagement of the United States and the direct involvement of the U.S. president as mediator always helped promote the Arab-Israeli peace process, which seems to confirm Greenhalgh's conflict resolution model. Likewise, the Greenhalgh model would indicate that relative disengagement in the Arab-Israeli peace process by the United States since 2001, along with the reluctance of the administration of George W. Bush to deal directly with Arafat and the Palestinian Authority, may have contributed to the worsening of this conflict.

GENEVA PROTOCOL OF 1925. See WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

GENOCIDE. *Genocide* usually refers to attempts to destroy a national, ethnic, religious, or racial group by killing off members of the group, instances of which could either be considered **war crimes** or terrorist acts, depending on the identity and motives of the perpetrator. The United Nations Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide declared genocide a punishable offense in 1946 and became effective treaty law in 1951. According to this convention, genocide includes "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, such as: a) killing members of the group; b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; e) transferring children of the group to another group."

In general, when such actions are carried out by the military forces of a recognized **belligerent**, these would be considered war crimes. When carried out by nonstate groups, these actions would be considered terrorist acts and when carried out by a nation-state against its own subjects or citizens, genocide would be considered a form of

state terror. If the object of the genocide is to physically annihilate a group altogether, then it would be considered a form of **democide**, that is, if the group being annihilated is the direct and only ultimate **target** of the action, which is undertaken as an end in itself rather than just to send a message to other potentially targeted groups. If the object of the genocide campaign is merely to remove or exile a group inconvenient to the nationalist or territorial aspirations of the regime, or to send a message to other groups, then such genocide would be a form of terrorism or state terror. The Nazi campaign against the Jews, which was intended to exterminate all Jews worldwide in the event of a German victory in World War II and which was undertaken with great secrecy, is an example of pure genocide as an end in itself. The Nazi liquidation of the Czech village of Lidice in retaliation for the assistance that the villagers gave to the **assassins** of the Nazi governor of occupied Bohemia was meant to warn all potential anti-Nazi partisans against collaborating with the Allies and so is an instance of terrorist genocide.

Ethnic cleansing, a term that became current in the Croatian and Bosnian wars for independence from Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, refers to a limited form of genocide aimed at driving out members of a rival ethnic group so that one's own ethnic group can lay exclusive claim to that territory. When carried out by paramilitary groups or civilians, ethnic cleansing is a form of terrorism and when carried out by regular army units, as in the attempted Yugoslavian "Operation Horseshoe" in Kosovo in late 1998 and early 1999, it could be considered a form of state terror.

GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SYSTEMS (GIS). Counterterrorism operations are increasingly using geographic information systems, global positioning systems, and remote sensing in order to identify terrorist training camps, munitions depots, and hideouts. Geographic information systems are computer programs designed to acquire, store, and analyze data of various sorts that are geographically referenced to the earth. Such data could include the topography and geology of a given terrain, its man-made structures, and even cultural and demographic information about the inhabitants of a given area. In addition, GIS can also incorporate temporal information, such as intercepted communications and changing compositional information (e.g., presence of tents or vehicles) based on remote

sensing technologies such as satellite imaging or unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) equipped with cameras, antennae, or other sensors. In May 2002 the U.S. **intelligence** community informed the U.S. Congress of its plans to employ more advanced and sophisticated remote-sensing and GIS technology to counter terrorist groups and their sponsors.

A case study by Richard A. Beck of the successful application of GIS and remote sensing in counterterrorism was published in 2003 in *The Professional Geographer* (vol. 55, no. 2, 170–79, under the title “Remote Sensing and GIS as Counterterrorism Tools in the Afghanistan War: A Case Study of the Zhawar Kili Region”). The author had noted that the background of video footage of a videotaped message released by **Osama bin Laden** following the **World Trade Center and Pentagon Attacks of September 11, 2001** appeared to be consistent with unique geological features in the Paktia and Paktika provinces in eastern Afghanistan, an observation confirmed by at least two other geologists familiar with the region. The author, who had also conducted extensive fieldwork in the region, was knowledgeable about the cultural geography of the region and the recent history of the **Mujahideen** fighters in that region, and he inferred that the location shown in the Bin Laden footage was most likely the Zhawar Kili cave complex.

The researcher compiled Landsat satellite geological mapping of the northwest Pakistan-Afghanistan border region to identify geological strata in various locations consistent with those seen in the video footage, which was then cross-referenced against more recent and more accurate geological mapping of the same region produced by the Earth Resources Observation Systems (EROS) of the U.S. Geological Survey. This data was then cross-referenced with published National Imagery and Mapping Agency satellite mappings of terrorist camps, which confirmed that the Zhawar Kili complex was consistent with the geological features identified in the video footage. While there were other locations having similar geological characteristics, the author used his own knowledge, and that of other colleagues, about the cultural terrain and of tribal alliances and rivalries to eliminate unlikely refuges for **al Qa’eda** and its **Taliban** allies. This cross-referencing reduced the possible locations to the Zhawar Kili Al-Badr Camp II in Afghanistan and also the nearby Miran Shah Post within the Waziristan region of Pakistan. This information was then forwarded by the

researcher to the U.S. government in late October 2001. Although neither bin Laden nor Ayman al Zawahiri was captured or killed in four subsequent U.S. and allied military operations against the Zhawar Kili cave complex in November 2001 and in January, February, and April of 2002, these operations still led to the elimination of large numbers of terrorists and munitions. The author cautioned that good human intelligence and fieldwork were essential in order to apply GIS and remote-sensing technology effectively to counterterrorism efforts.

Another GIS method useful in ordinary crime prevention that also has antiterrorism applications is “hot-spot analysis,” in which numbers of various types of crimes are mapped in various police jurisdictions to identify not only the likelihood of certain crimes occurring or clustering in specific locations but also how the incidence of such crimes typically varies through a 24-hour cycle. Although hot-spot analysis has been used more routinely for common crime, either in helping to identify serial offenders by the range and timing of their attacks or by providing cost-effective countermeasures in high-crime areas (e.g., closed-circuit television [CCTV] monitoring of department stores or shopping mall parking lots to prevent thefts), these same techniques could be used to identify or deter the attacks on people and property associated with **entrepreneurial terrorism** in the animal rights or antiabortion movements. In fact, recovered CCTV footage proved valuable in identifying the perpetrators and events of the **London subway bombings** in 2005.

GRAY-AREA PHENOMENON (GAP). Term devised by Xavier Raufer, a French sociologist of political violence, to describe the spread of ungovernability in politically unstable nations that has led to other international problems in the post-cold war era. Although many analysts, such as Aaron Wildavsky, Max Singer, and Francis Fukuyama, believed that the post-cold war era would herald a slow but inevitable spread of democratization and free-market economic systems and the development of a vibrant, autonomous civil society in the developing nations of the world, Raufer argued instead that the weakness of the nation-state system in many postcolonial countries, the lack of legitimacy of many of the authoritarian regimes, and the resurgence of **ethnonationalist** and religious fundamentalist movements would create more instability in such states. Large areas of these states would become ungovernable “gray areas” and fall under

the control of terrorist groups, criminal syndicates, or regional warlords, who would use these as bases for activities that would impact neighboring nations as well as the developed liberal democracies.

The takeover of Somalia by regional warlords; the takeover of Afghanistan by militant Muslim religious seminary students, known as the **Taliban**; the takeover of large areas of Colombia either by drug cartels or by leftist groups, such as the **Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia**; and the recent conflicts in Congo and Sierra Leone are examples of such gray-area phenomena. Other regions identified as lawless refuges for terrorists include the 40-mile-long forested Pankisi Gorge in the Caucasus Mountain range within the Republic of Georgia bordering the Russian regions of North Ossetia and Chechnya, which sheltered as many as 1,500 Chechnyan fighters in the period 1999–2002; the Waziristan region in northwestern Pakistan, in which tribes enjoy effective autonomy from central government control; and the Triple Frontier region of Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay, which has become a haven not only for ordinary criminal activities such as smuggling narcotics, illegal weapons, and stolen automobiles but also, according to U.S. Treasury sources, money-laundering operations by the **Hezbollah** of Lebanon, the **Islamic Jihad** of Palestine, the **Islamic Group** of Egypt, and **al Qa'eda**.

Recent increased attention to the GAP has been reflected in the creation of a Failed State Index as a joint undertaking by *Foreign Policy* magazine and the Fund for Peace nongovernmental organization, which uses 12 economic, military, political, and social indicators to rank 148 nation-states in order of their vulnerability to internal conflict and political collapse. These rankings are posted on the *Foreign Policy* website (www.ForeignPolicy.com) and also the Fund for Peace website (www.fundforpeace.org). Another indication of scholarly and policy-making interest in the GAP is the high sales of Thomas P. M. Barnett's book *The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-first Century* (New York: Putnam, 2004), which analyzes not only the existence of a "non-integrating gap" but also political and social implications for developed nations and a set of policy recommendations to reduce instability and conflict.

GRAY WOLVES. The Bozkurtlar formed the university student and youth wing of the Turkish Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi, or National Action

Party, (NAP), a secular Pan-Turkist party of the extreme right wing of Turkish politics. Originally a student group organized in the late 1960s to oppose Marxist-Leninist students in Turkey's universities, once the Gray Wolves were put under the direction of NAP leader Colonel Alparslan Türkeş (1917–1997) in 1976 they turned into a right-wing **death squad**. By 1980 the group was reputed to have committed 694 political murders. In May 1981 the NAP was outlawed but was reconstituted in 1983 under a new name, the Nationalist Task Force; in 1992 it resumed its original name. Since Türkeş became deputy prime minister in a later coalition government that included the NAP, the Gray Wolves may be regarded as having been a quasi-state-sponsored repressive group. According to Daniele Ganser's *NATO's Secret Armies: Operation Gladio and Terrorism in Western Europe* (London: Frank Cass, 2005), Gray Wolves arrested after the 1981 crackdown were released if they would agree to fight members of the **ethnonationalist** groups the Kurdistan Workers' Party and the **Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia** (ASALA).

Türkeş ran two commando-style training camps outside Ankara and Izmir for the Gray Wolves. The group also proselytized younger expatriate workers living in Western European nations. Before being recruited by the Bulgarian secret police, Mehmet Ali Ağca had once been a Gray Wolf member and had murdered a leftist Turkish newspaper editor, Abdi İpekçi, prior to his attempt to kill Pope John Paul II on 13 May 1981. With the imposition of military rule in Turkey in September 1980, the terrorist activities of the Gray Wolves were constrained with the crackdown on all paramilitary and political groups that followed. The group was estimated to have had about 26,000 members in about 80 branches, although Ganser claimed that they had as many as 200,000 members in about 1,700 branches.

In 1992 Alparslan Türkeş visited the newly independent Republic of Azerbaijan to help promote the election of Abulfaz Elchibey, also a Pan-Turkish nationalist, who became Azerbaijan's first non-Communist president but who was overthrown in a coup in June 1993. After the death of Türkeş in 1997, the NAP purged the more violent members of the Gray Wolves so that the party could adopt a more moderate form of nationalism compatible with contemporary European norms. In 2004 the Gray Wolves were blamed for preventing the showing in Turkey of *Ararat*, Atom Egoyan's film about the Armenian genocide.

GROUP OF EIGHT COUNTERTERRORISM COOPERATION.

The Summit Eight (G8, formerly G7) group of major industrialized nations, consisting of Great Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Russian Federation, and the United States, has emerged as one of the major and most effective forums for addressing issues of terrorism, international organized crime and drug trafficking, and regional issues of peace and conflict. The annual forum began as an informal gathering proposed by French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and met first at Rambouillet in 1975 to discuss purely economic and trade issues. Beginning in 1978 the group began to address political issues, in particular, common concerns about terrorism, which initiated increased and more effective **counterterrorism** cooperation among these nations. Summit declarations concerning international terrorism and proposals for joint actions to counter such terrorism were given in Bonn in 1978, Tokyo in 1979, Venice in 1980, Ottawa in 1981, London in 1984, Tokyo in 1986, Venice in 1987, Paris in 1989, Houston in 1990, and Lyons and Paris in 1996. Following the inclusion of Russia in this forum, terrorism was dealt with, among other things, in the communiqués issued at the summits in Denver in 1997 and Birmingham in 1998 and at a counterterrorism conference in Berlin on 17–18 November 1999.

The Bonn meeting declaration of 1978 announced the intentions of the seven governments “to intensify their joint efforts to combat intentional terrorism,” and specifically addressed the problem of **hijacking**. The declaration indicated that these nations would impose an aviation boycott on any such nation that refused extradition or prosecution of hijackers or that refused to return hijacked aircraft. In the Tokyo declaration of 1986, these measures were extended to deal with all forms of terrorism affecting civil aviation.

Following the takeover of the U.S. embassy in Tehran and the seizure of its diplomats as hostages, the Venice declaration of 1980 focused on attacks on diplomats and consular premises and personnel and resolved that each state would “provide to one another’s diplomatic and consular missions support and assistance” in such situations. The London declaration of 1984 and the Tokyo declaration of 1986 were primarily directed toward ending the abuse of **diplomatic immunity** for sponsoring terrorism and were particularly directed at Libya, whose diplomats had used their office in

London to shoot at protestors in 1984 and who were believed to be behind the **bombing** of the LaBelle Discothèque in Berlin in 1986. In the 1986 meeting the Summit group resolved to refuse to export arms to states involved in the abuse of diplomatic privileges and also to reduce the size of, or close altogether, the diplomatic offices of such nations and to deny entry into any of their states to any diplomat having been previously expelled from one of the member states for such abuses. Following the wave of bombings in France believed to have been the work of the **Armed Islamic Group** of Algeria, the **Khobar Towers bombing** the previous month, and the mysterious explosion of Trans World Airlines (TWA) Flight 800 the same month, which was initially thought to have been a terrorist act, the Summit group proposed concrete measures for monitoring use of the **Internet** by terrorist groups and for developing means to track and control the manufacture, sale, transport, and export of explosives and firearms.

In 1986 the Vice President's Task Force on Combating Terrorism stated that "the best multilateral forum for the discussion of terrorism [has been found] to be the Summit Seven." These summit meets have led to effective counterterrorist policies and actions for several reasons. First, unlike the United Nations or regional organizations, the membership includes those nations whose citizens, diplomats, and business interests have been the most **targeted** by terrorists and excludes any of the nations that were main **state sponsors of terrorism**. Second, the informal format of the meetings allowed greater flexibility than was possible in such organizations as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or the Council of Europe, whose agenda are limited by specific mandates. Finally, each of these nations is a source of significant trade, technology, and financial resources and together they dominate a significant portion of the capital and financial resources that are desperately needed by other nations, giving them significant economic leverage over nations that directly sponsor or tolerate terrorism as well as over the trade partners of such nations. This has enabled the Summit nations to coordinate their use of nonmilitary sanctions such as economic embargos and reduction of diplomatic privileges to great effect.

Since 2002 the Summit G8 has persuaded the International Civil Aviation Organization to require all of its member states to adopt

G8 travel document security standards and in 2004 persuaded the International Maritime Organization to adopt the G8 port and maritime security assessment guide. In the 2003 Evian Summit, the G8 established a Counterterrorism Action Group (CTAG) to enable counterterrorism cooperation with, and assistance to, non-G8 nations and to encourage all nations to subscribe to the 12 major counterterrorism conventions. In the 2004 Sea Island Summit, the G8 adopted a Secure and Facilitate International Travel Security Initiative (SAFTI) to increase security of international travel by securing borders and other points of entry, increasing screening of transportation workers, and developing a plan to counter the emerging threat of shoulder-fired antiaircraft missiles known as MANSPADS (Man-Portable Air Defense Systems).

GROUPTHINK. Hypothesis developed by Irving L. Janis about critical errors in strategic decision making, namely, a mode of reasoning used by members of a cohesive and exclusive in-group in which their desire to maintain group cohesion, morale, and unanimity overrides their desire to appraise realistically alternative courses of action. The groupthink syndrome is marked by overestimations of the power, correct opinion, and moral superiority of the group; by closed-mindedness to contrary information; and by intense pressures of conformity within the group.

The groupthink hypothesis can be used to explain the reasoning and strategic and tactical errors made by terrorist groups. The **cellular terrorist group** is the ultimate example of a closed in-group whose members have been indoctrinated to believe in the mission of the terrorist group and in their moral and intellectual superiority over the state or other groups whom they are opposing. The conditions of clandestine existence and of doctrinal conformity within the group provide precisely the sorts of conditions that encourage groupthink. Examples of such disastrous decisions include the decision by the **Red Brigades** to murder Aldo Moro on 9 May 1978 and Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols's decision to **bomb** the Murrah Federal Building in the **Oklahoma City bombing** on 19 April 1995. In each case the perpetrators had convinced themselves that their action would be hailed by the wider public and understood in the same terms that they had used to rationalize committing each action.

Different psychological devices and fallacies come into play in the groupthink syndrome. These include:

Cognitive Bolstering: The group or chief decision maker marshals all of the evidence supporting the predetermined decision but excludes any contrary evidence.

Defensive Avoidance: The group avoids hearing or examining evidence questioning the wisdom of their decision, or by refusing to make a decision that would reverse their course of action, they commit themselves to continue the same course by default.

Entrapment, or the “Sunk-Cost Syndrome”: Once the decided course of action is undertaken, the group refuses to contemplate backing down or not carrying out their threats, usually on the plea that one or more of their comrades lost their life in the action and that therefore changing their decision would mean that the comrade had died in vain.

Stereotyping: An essential part of the groupthink syndrome is the stereotyping of the enemy as being stupid, evil, and incompetent. The terrorists in the grip of groupthink refuse to assess realistically the ability of the targeted state to defend itself, thwart the group’s intended actions, or even defeat them.

GUARDIANS OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION. Name under which credit was taken for the 7 July 1980 **bombings** of the Rome offices of Snia-Technit Corporation and for the 2 October 1987 **assassination** of an émigré Iranian dissident and his son in London. The group is ostensibly a pro-Iranian Shi’ite terrorist group and is believed to be responsible for the murders in 1988 of a former minister of the shah’s government and of a German banker close to the Iraqi war effort.

It is entirely possible that, rather than being merely a nonstate group enjoying Iranian **state sponsorship**, this group is actually an extension of Iranian **state terror** and active measures beyond its borders, using Iranian intelligence and military personnel, rather than an independent organization. In the case of the actual organization **Hezbollah**, the group took care to prevent other people or groups from falsely claiming credit in its nom de guerre of **Islamic Jihad** by issuing its communiqués only to certain news outlets, usually accompanied by some recent photographs of their hostages, thus proving their identity.

In the case of a dummy organization, however, it would be easier for other groups to use that dummy organization's name without facing contradiction from that source. Thus people claiming to be the "Guardians" claimed credit for the bombing of **Pan Am Flight 103** on 21 December 1988, which has been discounted by most experts. Curiously, people claiming to represent Islamic Jihad also claimed credit for the 19 September 1989 bombing of the French **UTA Flight 772** over Niger in which 171 people perished. Currently it is believed that both airplane bombings were conducted by Libyan state operatives, who may have used the names of Iranian-associated organizations to divert attention from Libya's possible involvement.

GUATEMALAN NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY UNION (URNG). The Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca is an umbrella group uniting the three major leftist guerrilla groups and one political party, which formerly sought to create a Marxist **revolution** within Guatemala along lines similar to the **Sandinista** model in Nicaragua, but which now form a left-wing political party following the 29 December 1996 peace accord that formally ended their 36-year-long **insurgency** against the Guatemalan government. The three armed groups are the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres, EGP), the Rebel Armed Forces (Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes, FAR), and the Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms (Organización Revolucionario del Pueblo en Armas, ORPA). In addition, the URNG also contained the Guatemalan Workers' Party (the Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo, PGT). This united front was a condition imposed by Fidel Castro for Cuban **state sponsorship** of the Guatemalan leftist insurgents. In addition to Cuban state sponsorship, the URNG enjoyed the use of **sanctuaries** in Mexico and of arms, safe haven, and other material assistance from the Sandinista government of Nicaragua prior to February 1990. While the three groups maintained an organizational unity, each in fact operated in separate territories and each was sufficiently different from its fellows to merit separate descriptions:

1. Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes (FAR). The Rebel Armed Forces was set up in 1962 by junior officers who had participated in a failed coup attempt in 1960 against a conservative government. The FAR

established itself in a rugged mountainous region in the extreme northeast of Guatemala, close to Belize. The FAR was more of a nationalistic than a Marxist group, but forged ties with leftists to fight more effectively. The FAR conducted six major **assassinations**, including the killing of U.S. Ambassador John Gordon Mein in August 1968, the first time a U.S. ambassador had been murdered in the line of duty. In 1969 the FAR moved some of their forces into Guatemala City, splitting the group's command. In March 1970 they murdered West German Ambassador Count Karl von Spreti. The same month, they **kidnapped** the U.S. labor attaché, Sean Holly, who was released in a prisoner exchange. Guatemalan counterinsurgency efforts aided by the U.S. Army Special Forces pushed back the FAR, which remained inactive from 1970 to 1975.

In 1975 FAR activity resumed in Peten Province with very little activity in the capital until 1979. On 29 June 1983 the FAR kidnapped the sister of President Ríos Montt, who was released in exchange for imprisoned comrades. During this period the urban branch of the FAR specialized in terrorist operations, concentrating on assassinations and kidnappings, while the branch in the northeast tried to fight the Guatemalan army, meanwhile sabotaging economic infrastructure projects and harassing oil exploration camps.

2. Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres (EGP). The Guerrilla Army of the Poor was established in 1975 by a former FAR commander, César Montes, who revived the strategy of conducting simultaneous rural insurgency and urban terrorism. On 15 June 1978 an EGP truck bombing in the capital killed 17 military police, while four other bombings were directed at the Argentinean, Uruguayan, and U.S. embassies, as well as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce office. On 31 March 1982 the EGP also fired RPG7 rocket-propelled grenades at the U.S. embassy. Rural operations were resumed in the northeast areas but also expanded to the northwestern regions bordering Mexico, while a new front was opened in a mountainous area just north of the capital. Much of the rural campaign involved burning of sugarcane fields to bankrupt the large landowners.

In a 10-year period the EGP committed 22 assassinations of prominent people, killing Colonel Elías Ramírez, a former counterinsurgency commander; the Nicaraguan ambassador in October 1978; and also the Army Chief of Staff, General David Barrios, in June 1979. EGP kidnapping victims included the Salvadoran am-

bassador on 29 May 1977 and the foreign minister of Guatemala on 31 December 1977. In October 1979 the EGP kidnapped the president's nephew, who was released only after the government placed EGP political manifestos in paid advertisements in leading Western newspapers.

César Montes initiated contacts with the FAR and ORPA, and other antigovernment guerrillas, to promote forming a common front, which was the prelude to formation of the URNG. The EGP was responsible for at least one massacre of civilians in June 1982 when it reportedly killed 120 people in Chacalte in retaliation for their collaboration with the civilian self-defense patrols, which themselves later turned into **death squads**.

3. Organización Revolucionaria del Pueblo en Armas (ORPA). The Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms was a Guatemalan leftist guerrilla group that enjoyed Cuban sponsorship and collaborated with two other major Guatemalan rebel groups within the framework of the URNG to overthrow the Guatemalan government.

ORPA was formed in September 1979 in Solola Department and, although smaller than the Rebel Armed Forces or the Revolutionary Army of the Poor, it gained the reputation of being the most effective of the Guatemalan groups. In 1984 ORPA forces killed more than 120 Guatemalan army soldiers during a 10-day period. Most of ORPA's area of operations has been in the southwestern region of Guatemala, west of Guatemala City. The leader of the ORPA group was Rodrigo Asturias Amado, also known as Gaspar Ilom.

While ORPA was particularly effective in rural guerrilla warfare, and while most terrorist actions committed by URNG forces were usually carried out by FAR forces, one terrorist incident was clearly the work of ORPA. In November 1988, about 22 villagers were massacred by ORPA in the small town of El Aguacate. Until 1984 ORPA had largely been successful in its own propaganda work and co-optation of the Indian peasants.

Previous Guatemalan counterinsurgency efforts had played into the URNG's hands due to the heavy-handed use of death squads and indiscriminate **state terror** directed at civilians in areas of rural insurgency. Following the 23 March 1982 coup raising Ríos Montt to power, the Guatemalan army undertook a more effective campaign

to secure the support of the peasants, with the result that the URNG lost much ground. Certain of these groups, such as ORPA, began to use the same retaliatory tactics against suspected civilian collaborators that previously had been the hallmark of Guatemala's state-sponsored right-wing death squads.

After the January 1996 election of Álvaro Arzú Irigoyen, the Guatemalan government moved quickly to establish talks with the URNG aimed at ending the civil war, returning the rebels to civilian life, and resettling the hundreds of thousands of Indian peasants driven from their homes by the civil war. At that time it was estimated that 100,000 people had been killed, and that 40,000 had disappeared, presumably killed by rightists or leftists, and about one million had been displaced out of a population of 10.5 million.

On 19 October 1996 the government suspended talks with the URNG due to the revelation that the deputy commander of ORPA, Rafael Valdizón Núñez ("Commander Isaias"), had ordered the kidnapping of Olga Alvarado de Novella, the 84-year-old invalid matriarch of a prominent Guatemalan family, two months earlier. The URNG disavowed Valdizón's action in late October after removing him from his command and apologized to the Alvarado family. On 4 November 1996 the URNG ordered a complete cessation of all activities of **armed propaganda**, and by 10 November 1996 talks had resumed. On 11 November 1996 both sides agreed to sign a peace accord on 29 December 1996. Beginning on 4 December 1996, the government and the URNG signed three agreements aimed at ending the fighting, reducing the armed forces, and reintegrating former URNG fighters and displaced peasants back into Guatemalan civil society. On 18 December 1996 the National Assembly passed a comprehensive amnesty law that drew much criticism from human rights groups. On 29 December 1996 the principal leaders of the URNG and members of the government's Peace Commission signed the Accord for a Firm and Lasting Peace.

By March 1997 demobilization of the Guatemalan armed forces began, which were to be reduced from 46,000 to about 40,000 soldiers who were to be redeployed along the borders of the nation. About 3,600 former rebels as well as 1,600 followers were to be resettled in eight camps around the nation. The URNG turned in

few of its weapons, apparently out of concern that certain of the military forces as well as powerful landowners would not respect the peace settlement and might attack the resettled rebels and peasants.

On 25 February 1999 the Historical Clarification Commission, a truth commission set up by the United Nations as part of its effort to supervise the 1996 peace accord, presented its report, which estimated that more than 200,000 people had been killed and that held the Guatemalan government responsible for 90 percent of the 42,000 documented human rights violations, of which 29,000 had resulted in deaths or disappearances. Copies of this report were given to representatives both of the Guatemalan government and of the URNG, which had become an official political party within Guatemala. In the 7 November 1999 congressional elections, the URNG won nine of the 113 seats in the Congress of the Republic while its presidential and vice presidential candidates, Álvaro Colom Caballeros and Vitalino Similox, won 12.3 percent in the first round of elections. As the URNG presidential candidate team placed third, the URNG did not qualify for the 26 December 1999 presidential runoff election.

GUERRILLA FORCES OF LIBERATION. The Guerrilla Forces of Liberation was an obscure Puerto Rican independence group that claimed credit for a series of **bombings** that occurred in Puerto Rico on 25 May 1987, the day King Juan Carlos and Queen Sophia of Spain visited the island. Five pipe bombs exploded with minimal damage and no injuries. Three others were defused and another exploded en route to a demolition center. The caller claiming credit stated that the bombings were a protest against "colonialism." As the group was previously unknown, the "Guerrilla Forces of Liberation" may have been a nom de guerre for another known organization.

GUEVARA, ERNESTO "CHE" (1928–1967). A revolutionary, a guerrilla leader, and the close aide and friend of Fidel Castro, Che Guevara was also a theorist of **revolutionary** warfare who became idolized by sympathizers worldwide following his death at the hands of Bolivian counterinsurgency forces. His work *Guerrilla Warfare* advocated the use of terrorist violence to create intense fear, including the **assassination** and mutilation of local notables who refused

to collaborate with the revolutionaries. Guevara left Cuba in 1965 to try to foment revolution in the Congo. In December 1966 he entered Bolivia where he tried unsuccessfully to launch a peasant revolt. Guevara was captured on 8 October 1967 and executed the next day by U.S.-trained Bolivian counterinsurgency forces. Latin American revolutionaries have since then accepted Guevara's *Guerrilla Warfare* as a basic textbook on revolutionary warfare.

In November 1995 Bolivian General Vargas Salinas revealed the location of Guevara's body, whose burial along with six of Guevara's executed comrades he had overseen on 11 October 1967, at a location over which was built the airstrip of Vallegrande. After Guevara's execution, his hands had been cut off by Argentinean agents so that his identity could be verified by his fingerprints, already in possession of the Argentinean police, and a death mask was also made. Both the amputated hands and death mask were later taken to Cuba by a defector, the former Bolivian Interior Minister, Antonio Arguedas. Although the Bolivian government in 1967 originally wanted the remains of Guevara to be lost so that the guerrilla could not be posthumously honored, in June 1997 the Bolivian government authorized a forensics team to search the Vallegrande airstrip so that the remains of the guerrillas could be exhumed and returned to their families. On 1 July 1997 these remains were unearthed and identified and on 17 October 1997 the remains of Che Guevara were buried in a mausoleum at the Guevara monument in Santa Clara, Cuba, in a ceremony attended by Fidel Castro, Guevara's widow Aleida March, and his children.

GUILT TRANSFER. Guilt transfer refers to the ability of terrorists to distort public debate about the terrorists' political ends and particular demands by shifting public perception of the onus of responsibility from the terrorists themselves to others, either to their victims or the governments against which the terrorist actions are being directed. Guilt transfer is also achieved when public discussion shifts from the illegality or immorality of the terrorists' actions to discussion of the supposed historical and social "root causes" that compelled the terrorists to take such actions, as if the terrorists were themselves the victims and the **targeted** government their tormentor for having allowed the root causes to have occurred at all. The concept of guilt transfer was identified by

Maurice A. J. Tugwell in Chapter 11 of the *Morality of Terrorism*, edited by David C. Rapoport and Yonah Alexander (New York: Pergamon, 1982).

The Maze Prison hunger strikes in Northern Ireland during 1981 provide an example of guilt transfer. Ten convicted **Irish National Liberation Army** terrorists starved themselves to death in protest over the British government's refusal to grant them a special status as political prisoners as opposed to being classified as common criminals. Once the leader of the protestors, Robert "Bobby" Sands, died of starvation on 5 May 1981, a storm of protest rose in both Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland over the British government's alleged mistreatment of these prisoners. Although these prisoners had earlier decided to engage in a "dirty protest" of refusing to shave, bathe, or wear prison clothing, while also smearing the walls and floors of their cells with their own urine and feces, these self-imposed conditions were also cited by critics of the British government as evidence of mistreatment of the prisoners. Also, terrorist attacks by the **Irish Republican Army** and by other Irish Republican groups intensified, including several murders of the guards of Maze Prison.

The crisis of the American hostages held captive in Lebanon during the period 1983–1991 provides another illustration. During the earliest phase of these **kidnappings**, the U.S. public's anger was directed against the shadowy kidnappers and their sponsors. Over time, however, as the U.S. public finally acknowledged the intransigence of the kidnappers and the inability of the United States to take military steps to free the hostages, its perceptions of where the onus of responsibility lay shifted instead to the U.S. government, which was expected to "do something" even if this entailed some appeasement of the terrorists' demands. In time, the families and friends of the hostages formed political pressure groups to force such action by the U.S. government.

In the case of the victims of terrorism, guilt transfer means that the victims come to accept the terrorists' claims that they themselves, rather than their tormentors, are responsible for their misfortune. This enables the terrorists to secure the collaboration of their victims in making political statements or revealing information and also makes the demoralized victims less likely to resist the terrorists or attempt to escape. *See also* STOCKHOLM SYNDROME.

GUSH EMUNIM. The Bloc of the Faithful is a Jewish fundamentalist group within Israel that seeks the forcible and permanent annexation of territories occupied by Israeli forces during the 1967 war. It is also known as the Ne'emanei Eretz Yisrael, (Loyalists of the Land of Israel) and had been associated with the National Religious Party, one of the Israeli political parties identified with religious Zionism. The **ideological** and practical origins of the group are given in the article "Gush Emunim: The Tip of the Iceberg," by Ehud Sprinzak, in *The Jerusalem Quarterly* (no. 21, Fall 1981).

Founded in 1974, the Gush Emunim sought to force annexation by forming settlements on the West Bank and through inciting confrontations between Israelis and Palestinians that would force the Israeli state to expel the Arabs. On 13 September 1986 Gush Emunim members rigged a **bomb** to the ignition of the car of the Palestinian mayor of Nablus, Bassam Shaka, who lost both his legs, and did the same to the car of Ramallah Mayor Karim Khalaf, who lost a foot. Gush Emunim activists also incited a Christian **millennialist** zealot from Australia to set fire to Jerusalem's Al Aqsa Mosque, an **arson** attempt that failed. In June 1986, 12,000 members of Gush Emunim, and other Jewish fundamentalist groups, held demonstrations at the Temple Mount, the presumed site of the Second Temple, protesting Muslim control of the site. In clashes with Israeli police, 100 protesters were arrested.

Their **ideology** is a blend of extreme **ethnonationalist** right-wing Zionism and pietistic millennialism, which leads them to believe that the redemption of Israel can only be accomplished once all the lands of the biblical kingdom of Israel are reincorporated into the land of Israel today. Therefore they reject all forms of peaceful accommodation with Arabs within the land of Israel.

Since 1974 Gush Emunim has taken care not to associate itself directly with any national political party, nor does the group maintain membership lists or issue membership cards. Rather, the group engages in the creation of settlements recognized as legal under Israeli law. The members of the group dominate the Council of Settlements that governs the relationship between the various settlements and that coordinates modes of joint action. Thus the group operates much more like an organized interest group rather than a political party as such. *See also* TEMPLE MOUNT OPERATION.

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HAMAS. Hamas, the Arabic acronym for the Harakat al Muqawama al Islamiyya, (Islamic Resistance Movement), is a nonstate, **Islamic fundamentalist** revolutionary Palestinian group devoted to the complete eradication of the State of Israel and creation of an Islamic Palestinian state. Although Hamas is a separate organization from the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**, when the first *intifada* uprising broke out in December 1987, it coordinated its action with the other mainline Palestinian groups against the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Unlike the PLO, which has always advocated a secular Palestinian state and which, since 1988, has indicated its willingness to accept a Palestinian state with a much reduced territory in coexistence with Israel, Hamas regards the entire territory of the former Mandate of Palestine as an “inviolable Islamic trust,” rejects any recognition of the State of Israel, and rejects the idea of a secular state altogether.

Hamas officially announced its existence with the publication of the Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement on 18 August 1988, but in fact it is continuous with the **Muslim Brotherhood**, or Ikhwan, branch that established itself in Palestine in 1946 and that remained active in Gaza and the West Bank after the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. Until 1984 the Ikhwan had concentrated mainly on the education of Arab youth in Gaza and the West Bank and its politics seldom strayed beyond a belief in piecemeal Islamic reformism. On 17 September 1984, however, a leader of the Palestinian Ikhwan in the Gaza Strip, Sheikh Ahmad Yasin, and four other Ikhwan members were convicted of stockpiling automatic weapons and plotting to kill 300 prominent people. Yasin became the spiritual mentor of Hamas. In October and November 1987, the Ikhwan sometimes collaborated and other times competed with both the PLO and the **Islamic Jihad** of Palestine in creating demonstrations in the occupied territories that precipitated the intifada uprising.

The **ideology** of Hamas reflects not only the traditional fundamentalism of the Ikhwan but also the more radical beliefs of the Egyptian Ikhwan leader, **Sayyid Qutb**, as well as the contemporary beliefs of the Egyptian **Munazzamat al Jihad** group that **assassinated** Anwar Sadat. Although predominantly Sunni in its composition, Hamas also drew inspiration from the tactical example of the Islamic revolution

in Iran led by the **Ayatollah Ruhallah Khomeini** in preferring mass involvement through direct popular uprising over piecemeal reformism. It would later finesse its own guerrilla warfare tactics involving corps of **suicide bombers** as well as developing sophisticated electoral campaigning to displace rival groups within the Palestinian movement. Its founding covenant defined the Palestinian struggle as being part of the Islamic religious duty of **jihad** incumbent on all Muslims under Israeli occupation.

While the Hamas covenant solemnly avows the Palestinian identity of the movement, and so disavows any right by the Arab governments to determine the fate of the Palestinians, it also places the Palestinian struggle in a Pan-Islamic context as an obligation demanding the moral and material support of all Muslims, even those outside the Arab nations. Article 27 of the Hamas covenant rejects the secular, nonconfessional platform of the PLO as reflecting the devious influences of “western missionaries, orientalists, and colonialists.”

Hamas derives its autonomy from secular Palestinian nationalists and its organizational strength from the Ikhwan’s control over Muslim educational and religious foundations in the West Bank. During the period of Jordanian administration (1948–1988), the Ikhwan used the authority of the Jordanian Ministry of Religious Endowments to dominate the Arab schools and the appointment of all Friday prayers leaders. The Ikhwan network also took over the collection and disbursement of the religious tithes of the Muslim faithful. Over 50 percent of religious publications in the West Bank came under the control of the Ikhwan. Following the cessation of Jordanian state support, the Ikhwan continued to draw on material support from other official and semiprivate Islamic religious organizations in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf emirates. Hamas eventually accepted Iran’s offers of financial and tactical aid after Hezbollah came to the aid of Hamas militants expelled into southern Lebanon in 1992.

A number of early attacks had been carried out by individual Palestinian Hamas members, usually stabbings of individual Israelis. On 14 December 1990 two Hamas members stabbed to death three Israeli factory workers in Jaffa. Yet for a one-week period beginning 3 July 1992, Hamas clashed with **Yasir Arafat’s al Fatah** group in the Gaza Strip; one child was killed and more than 150 people injured. Hamas opposed al Fatah’s participation in the October 1991 Arab-

Israeli peace talks in Madrid and feared the PLO would accept newly elected Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's proposal for limited Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Hamas began to acquire a greater following after the September 1993 peace settlement and also with the subsequent attempts by Israel to marginalize the role of the PLO. Both the secularized middle-class leadership of the PLO and its leftist opponents had become increasingly inactive and irrelevant to younger Palestinians, while Hamas, Islamic Jihad in Palestine, and similar groups continued to preach and wage direct warfare against Israel.

In October 1992 Hamas leader Muhammad Mousa Abu Marzuk went to Iran to improve relations and get more support. In December 1992 Israel exiled 400 Hamas radicals to Lebanon, where they later claimed to have learned their suicide **tactics** from **Hezbollah**. Suicide **bombings** aimed at civilians began in earnest on 6 April 1994 in the northern town of Afula with an attack that killed nine Israelis and injured 45 others, and another attack on 13 April 1994 in Hadera that destroyed a bus, killing six Israelis and injuring 28. Another suicide bombing on a bus on 19 October 1994 killed 21 and injured 48 along Dizengoff Street in Tel Aviv. On 24 November 1994, for the first time since the Eichmann trial, an Israeli court handed down a death sentence, this time upon a Palestinian convicted for his role in training the suicide bombers who carried out these attacks. According to the leaflets left at these two bombings, Hamas had decided to switch from purely military targets to suicide bombings against civilians in reaction to the 25 February 1994 assault by Dr. Baruch Goldstein, who massacred 29 Muslim worshippers at the Ibrahimi Mosque located at the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron.

Apart from these suicide bombings, Hamas carried out other attacks in 1994, including a **kidnapping** on 9 October of an Israeli Defense Forces corporal, who was killed five days later; a machine-gun attack on pedestrians in Jerusalem's Yoel Salomon Street on 10 October, killing two and injuring others; a drive-by shooting on 27 November that killed a rabbi, Ami Olami, who was traveling near Hebron; and a suicide bombing on 25 December wounding 14 Israeli soldiers.

Hamas activities in 1995 included at least four suicide attacks killing 32 Israelis and injuring around 140 others, leading to an Israeli crackdown that netted 32 Hamas members allegedly connected with those bombings.

On 5 January 1996 Israeli intelligence agents **assassinated** Yahya Ayyash, believed to have been the mastermind behind most of the suicide bombings since October 1994, by means of a booby-trapped cell phone. Hamas retaliated with four suicide attacks from 25 February to 4 March, killing 61 and injuring more than 200 others. This surge in suicide bombings led to an unprecedented three-way meeting of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officials with both Israeli and Palestinian security officials to discuss ways to stop the wave of suicide attacks. After 4 March 1996 there was a lull in Hamas activity that lasted until 21 March 1997.

During 1997 Hamas conducted two suicide attacks, one in Tel Aviv on 21 March and another in Jerusalem on 30 July, killing a total of 20 people and injuring more than 150 others.

On 25 September 1997 Israeli agents attempted to assassinate Khaled Meshal, the Hamas political leader, in Jordan with an unidentified injectable poison. Both Mossad agents involved were captured, and the bungled operation caused the government of Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu great embarrassment at home and a loss of leverage with Arab leaders who had previously supported the peace process. To forestall an Arab backlash, Israel released Sheikh Ahmad Yasin from prison on 1 October 1997, which apparently was also part of a deal to gain the release of its two agents from Jordan. Yasin flew first to Jordan, where he was greeted by Yasir Arafat, then to Gaza on 6 October, where he received a hero's welcome. The release of Sheikh Yasin may also have been calculated to widen a split that had appeared in Hamas's leadership in the hope that Yasin might sanction some form of truce with Israel, but on 22 October 1997 Sheikh Yasin delivered a fiery speech to 3,000 students of Gaza's Islamic University urging Hamas not to end its jihad against Israel. From 19 February 1998 until 25 June 1998, Sheikh Yasin toured several Arab nations, beginning with Egypt where he was supposedly seeking medical care, and then continuing to Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Yemen, Syria, Iran, and Sudan, greatly boosting the status of Hamas in the Muslim world.

During 1998 the Palestinian Authority (PA) found itself at odds with Hamas over the 29 March 1998 death of Muhyiaddin al-Sharif, a Hamas bomb maker, whom Hamas claimed had been killed by the PA as part of a deal with Israel. Israeli authorities had in fact increasingly been calling on Arafat to intervene to prevent Hamas

bomb attacks whenever they had intelligence of such plans. On 29 October 1998 an Israeli army jeep blocked a Hamas suicide bomber attempting to drive a bomb-laden car into a full school bus near the Israeli Kfar Darom settlement in the Gaza Strip. The attempted attack followed the signing of the Wye River Accord, which was due to go into effect on 2 November 1998. In response, Arafat ordered a crack-down that resulted in over 300 arrests; Sheikh Yasin was also placed under house arrest on 29 October 1998 but was later released on 24 December 1998. Despite its threats to retaliate against the PA for this crackdown, Hamas abstained from any attacks during the two-month house arrest of Sheikh Yasin.

During 1999 the level of Hamas violence did not exceed that of previous years, and the movement showed some signs of internal divisions. Although Hamas is not part of the PLO, it was given observer status for the 27 April 1998 meeting of the Palestinian Central Council. The four-member Hamas delegation was led by Sheikh Yasin, but Hamas factions outside of Gaza distanced themselves from this meeting, which was aimed at defining a Palestinian sovereignty in keeping with the Oslo Accords. During this meeting, Yasin attacked the Oslo Accords and urged they be abandoned. On 5 September 1999 two cars exploded almost simultaneously, one in Haifa and the other in Tiberias, killing the would-be bombers and one passerby in Haifa. Although the bombings did not produce casualties as high as previous attacks, the discovery that the four bombers were all Israeli Arabs came as a shock to Israel, whose naturalized Arab citizens had remained largely uninvolved in terrorism. Later it was learned that these men had been recruited by Hamas and had intended to attack passenger buses bound for Jerusalem.

On 31 August 1999 the Jordanian government of King Abdullah ordered the closure of Hamas offices in Amman as well as the arrests of four Hamas officials there, including Khalid Meshal, on the basis of evidence of their involvement in the suicide bombings within Israel, including two others attempted on 5 September. Meshal and others were arrested on 22 September as they disembarked at Amman airport after returning from Iran. Jordan released Meshal on the condition that he immediately leave the country; he has since resided in Syria.

On 4 March 2001 a Hamas suicide bomber carrying a duffle bag killed himself and three Israelis in a crosswalk in Netanya. On 18 May 2001 another Hamas suicide bomber detonated a belt of explosives

within a crowded shopping mall in Netanya, killing five and injuring more than 100, leading Israel to retaliate with F-16 fighter jet attacks on the office of Palestinian security forces in Nablus and Ramallah. On 17 June 2001 Israeli helicopters fired missiles at a farm building in Bethlehem, killing Hamas commanders Omar Saadeh and Taha Aruj, whom the Israelis claimed were planning massive attacks on the Macabiah Games then in progress.

With regard to organization, Hamas operates several charity networks to support schools, clinics, and orphanages in the West Bank and Gaza, and its fund-raising network among Arab communities overseas has also served to mask its recruiting of resources for its armed struggle. In the late 1990s Hamas's operational budget was estimated by Israeli intelligence at about \$70 million a year, 40 percent of which comes from donors in Arab nations, 20 percent from Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, 10 percent from Iran, about 10 to 15 percent from donors in the United States, and the remaining 15 to 20 percent from donors in other countries. In 2003 the U.S. government closed the U.S. offices of the Holy Land Foundation, a major Islamic charity organization, on the grounds that it was a fund-raising front for Hamas, which is classified as a Foreign Terrorist Organization by the U.S. State Department, making financial support for it illegal under the 2001 **USA Patriot Act of 2001**.

Hamas had three sections in the West Bank and one in Gaza. The first and most open level of membership in Hamas consists of the Da'wa groups, which recruit lay Muslims into Islamic activism. This group includes prayer leaders and the 5,000 undergraduates of the Islamic University in Gaza. The second layer consists of the Youth Organization, or Jihaz al Ahdath, founded in 1988, which involves youngsters in demonstrations, rock throwing, spray painting slogans, and distributing leaflets. When members of this group are imprisoned, they undertake to induct other, more hardened youths into Hamas activism. In 1988 Sheikh Ahmad Yasin ordered Hamas to form the Izzidin al-Qassam Brigades, which is its armed wing and which began with about 100 members but peaked to around 7,500 by late 2006. Leadership is decentralized within the West Bank and Gaza, with leaders of cells reporting back to a Hamas leadership that is located outside Israel and the Palestinian territories.

The spiritual leader of Hamas was Sheikh Ahmad Yasin (1937–2004), a Muslim Brotherhood member who founded Hamas in

1987. Although crippled by paralysis since childhood, Yasin was considered dangerous and active by Israel, which sentenced him to life imprisonment in 1989. On 1 October 1997, however, he was released and allowed to return to his home in Gaza. Eventually he was assassinated by Israeli forces on 22 March 2004 as part of its policy of targeted assassinations of key Hamas leaders, meant both as retaliation for Hamas attacks and as a strategy to weaken the organization by killing its leadership. The lay leader was Muhammad Mousa Abu Marzuk, who was imprisoned by the United States in 1995 until released on 5 May 1997. Emad al-Alami, an engineer from Gaza stationed in Damascus, assumed control over Hamas after Marzuk's arrest but was believed unable to control all factions. Mahmoud al Zahar was the civilian political leader in Gaza, though periodically arrested by the Palestinian Authority. Zahar later became the foreign minister of the government of PA Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh in 2006. Another Hamas figure, Abdel-Aziz al Rantisi, eventually became the most prominent political leader in Gaza until he was assassinated by Israel on 17 April 2004. The military leader was Yahya Ayyash, killed by Israel in January 1996, and is believed to have been replaced by Muhammad Dief. Currently the organization is led by Khalid Meshal, who has lived in exile in Damascus since he was targeted for assassination by Israel.

Direct or indirect state support formerly came from Jordan, which allowed transfers of funds from overseas sources to Hamas accounts. Hamas was allowed to operate openly in Jordan until 1999, when the new king Abdullah ordered its office there closed. Syria and Sudan allowed their territories to be used by Hamas and other Islamic militant groups as bases for training. Saudi Arabia and the various Persian Gulf states allowed charities to raise funds for Hamas, while Iran gives funds directly to Hamas and other militant groups, as well as giving these groups offices in Tehran.

After the outbreak of the second intifada in September 2002, Hamas became more active in its campaign of suicide bombings against Israel as well as in its political activism within the Palestinian community, seeking to replace the al Fatah faction of the PLO as the paramount Palestinian resistance group. On 22 July 2002 Israel assassinated Salah Shahade, who was a leader of the al Qassem Brigades. On 8 March 2003 Israel then assassinated Ibrahim al Makadmeh, another al Qassem Brigades leader. Although on 6 January 2004 Hamas offered

Israel a 10-year truce in exchange for Israel withdrawing to its pre-1967 borders, Israel assassinated Sheikh Yasin on 22 March 2004 and later assassinated his successor as leader of Hamas, Abdelaziz Rantissi, on 17 April 2004. Since then Hamas has not disclosed the name of the current Hamas leader in Gaza. On 26 September 2004 Israel used a car bomb in Damascus to assassinate an al Qassem Brigades commander, Izziden Sheikh Khalil. On 21 October 2004 Israel assassinated Adnan al Ghoul, the aide-de-camp of Muhammad Dief, leader of the al Qassem Brigades. As the Hamas 10-year cease-fire offer was never acknowledged by Israel, which continued its policy of targeted assassinations, Hamas continued its attacks on Israeli civilians and soldiers, totaling over 44 attacks in the eight months following the declaration of the cease-fire. On 12 September 2005 Israel withdrew its military forces from the Gaza Strip, and the government of Ariel Sharon evacuated the remaining Israeli settlements in Gaza. From 12 September 2005 until 9 June 2006 Hamas made only five attacks against Israeli targets but also made seven attacks on Palestinian Authority security officials and al Fatah officials.

In the period 2001–2005, Israel had followed the tactic of assassinating key Hamas leaders in the belief that killing off the leadership would paralyze Hamas. These assassinations actually increased recruitment of Palestinian youth into Hamas and into suicide bombings and so Israel discontinued the practice in late 2005. Instead, Israel undertook a new strategy of preventive detention, arresting Hamas leaders and isolating them in detention from contact with the rest of Hamas. In 2005 Israel also quietly desisted from its former practice of bulldozing the homes of suicide bombers after learning that most of the parents of suicide bombers had no prior knowledge of their children's recruitment into these operations. Not only were these bulldozings of homes useless as a deterrent against suicide attacks, they were also a violation of Article 33 of the fourth Geneva Convention forbidding various forms of collective punishment of civilians, which was undermining public support for Israel among Western nations as well as feeding anger and resentment toward Israel among the Palestinians as well as within other Arab nations.

Following the death of Yasir Arafat on 11 November 2004, Hamas shifted its energies to trying to displace the al Fatah faction of the PLO as the main faction controlling the Palestinian Authority.

Hamas boycotted the January 2005 PA presidential election, choosing instead to focus on the January–May 2005 Palestinian municipal elections and the January 2006 Palestinian Legislative Council elections. In both of these, Hamas won much ground at the expense of al Fatah, gaining 74 of the 132 seats in the PA legislature compared to al Fatah's 45 seats. On 17 March 2005 Hamas declared a *tahdiyah*, or informal cease-fire, that lasted 16 months until hostilities resumed in Gaza on 10 June 2006. The *tahdiyah* effectively ended the period of suicide bombings against Israel that had intensified with the outbreak of the second intifada. In the period 1993–2000 Hamas had killed 138 people in suicide attacks, but in the period 2001–2005 Hamas was responsible for at least 52 attacks killing at least 349 people.

In the several local Palestinian elections in 2004 and 2005, Hamas beat al Fatah in most contested elections, although the electoral process was marred by confusion over the electoral rules and by irregularities at polling places. During the first round of Palestinian municipal and local council elections held on 23 December 2004 in the West Bank, al Fatah won a majority of seats in 12 councils and Hamas won a majority in seven councils, while no clear majority won the remaining seven council elections. In the Gaza elections held on 27 January 2005, Hamas won control of seven of the 10 councils, al Fatah won control of two councils, and the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine** (PFLP) won the remaining council. In the second round of elections, held in the West Bank on 5 May 2005 and in Gaza on 19 May 2005, al Fatah won control of 29 councils, Hamas won control of 20 councils, and independents won in 22 councils, while nine councils were won by coalitions of parties. The third and fourth rounds of elections were scheduled for 29 September 2005 and 15 December 2005, respectively, but in several locations elections were not carried out.

The 25 January 2006 Palestinian legislative elections, in which 74.6 percent of eligible voters participated, gave Hamas 74 seats to al Fatah's 45, while the PFLP gained three seats, a coalition led by the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine gained two seats, and various independents gained eight seats. Al Fatah's decline in seats was probably in part due to disaffection among Palestinians with corruption in the PA but also due to the much better political organization and campaigning by Hamas. The split in power between a Hamas-dominated Palestinian Legislative Council and an

al Fatah–dominated Executive led to a series of verbal and physical clashes between Hamas and al Fatah. In 2006, 242 Palestinians were killed in these clashes, while in the first few months of 2007 at least 147 Palestinians were killed in factional fighting. The election of a Hamas government led also to a cutoff of U.S. and European Union aid to the PA due to the unwillingness of Hamas to recognize the existence of the State of Israel in accordance with the Oslo Accords. In September 2006 al Fatah and Hamas attempted to form a coalition cabinet, but an effective coalition government, in which Ismail Haniyeh of Hamas would serve as prime minister and the previous Hamas-dominated cabinet would be replaced by an al Fatah–Hamas coalition cabinet, was not formed and approved by the Palestinian Legislative Council until 17 March 2007.

Following Israel's September 2005 withdrawal from Gaza, there were only five incidents of anti-Israeli attacks by Hamas until 9 June 2006, when a bombing on a Gaza beach that killed eight Palestinian civilians was blamed on Israel. Ensuing clashes led to the kidnapping by Hamas of Israeli Defense Forces Cpl. Gilad Shalit, who was seized on 25 June 2006, to which Israel responded with a military operation on 28 June involving the seizing of 64 Hamas officials, including eight PA cabinet ministers and 20 members of the Palestinian Legislative Council. This fighting was overshadowed by the Israeli-Lebanese conflict during July and August. In September Hamas accepted a *hudna*, or formal cease-fire, with Israel while negotiations for the release and return of Shalit continued.

Beginning on 7 June 2007, fighting broke out between supporters of al Fatah and Hamas in the Gaza Strip, leading to a complete takeover of Gaza by Hamas on 15 June. On 14 June PA President Mahmoud Abbas dismissed the Hamas-led PA government. Control over the Palestinians was split in two, with Hamas in complete control of Gaza and al Fatah in control of the West Bank. With the authority of the Abbas-led government remaining in the West Bank undermined, there was a hiatus in the peace negotiations with Israel until 27 November 2007, when Abbas met with President George W. Bush and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert in Annapolis, Maryland. These negotiations were the first in which the Palestinians participated as an independent delegation and marked the first time that both the Palestinians and Israelis agreed to a two-state solution, a position bitterly opposed by Hamas. Meanwhile, Hamas has become more

diplomatically isolated. Following the dismissal of Haniyah as prime minister by the PA, Egypt, which recognizes the al Fatah-controlled PA government as the sole legal voice of the Palestinians, sealed its borders with Gaza. Saudi Arabia, which formerly backed Hamas, has become less supportive due to fears of growing Iranian influence and political destabilization of the Middle East, and supported the November 2008 Annapolis conference. Following the 10 January 2008 announcement by al Fatah that it was disbanding the al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade, Hamas carried out a suicide bombing in Dimona, Israel, on 4 February 2008 to undermine al Fatah's credibility. Following talks by PA representatives with Hamas leaders in Gaza on 17 June 2008 and following mediation between Israel and Hamas by Egypt, Hamas agreed to a *hudna*, or cease-fire, with Israel, effective 19 June 2008, and also is attempting reconciliation with al Fatah. When the cease-fire lapsed without renewal on 19 December 2008, Hamas began launching rockets from Gaza into Israel. This provoked an Israeli incursion into Gaza beginning on 27 December 2008 that lasted until 18 January 2009, in the course of which at least 13 Israelis and 1,370 Palestinians were killed and an estimated \$2 billion in damages was inflicted on Gaza. The exact numbers of combatant versus noncombatant deaths among the Palestinians remains a matter of disagreement. Although Hamas and Israel declared separate cease-fires on 18 January after the IDF completed its withdrawal from Gaza on 21 January 2009, there have been sporadic rocket attacks on Israel by Hamas to which Israel has responded with air strikes.

HARAKAT UL ANSAR (HUA). The Harakat ul Ansar, or Movement of the Helpers, is an **Islamic fundamentalist** group involved in **Kashmiri separatism**, formed in October 1993 from the merger of the **Harakat ul Mujahideen** and the Harakat al Jihad al Islami. Indian terrorism analysts believe that HUA and the current Harakat ul Mujahideen are the same group. In 1998 many of the 1,000 adherents were split between the Harakat al Mujahideen group and the **Lashkar-e Tayyaba** group, also active in the Kashmiri separatist insurgency. About 60 percent of the active members are of Pakistani or Afghani origin rather than being natives of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir.

On 4 July 1995 the HUA, operating under the name al Faran, **kidnapped** five Western tourists. Until this time all such kidnappings

had been followed by the release of the hostages unharmed. After one of the American captives escaped, village women discovered the body and severed head of a Norwegian hostage on 13 August 1995, along with a note threatening to kill the remaining hostages unless 15 imprisoned comrades were released. In a clash between al Faran and Indian army troops on 4 December 1995, the leader of the al Faran unit was killed and discovered to be an Afghan named Abdul Hamid Turki. After many alleged sightings of the hostages, by May 1996 the Indian army learned the remaining hostages had been killed and tried to locate their remains.

In 1994 HUA member Ahmad Omar Saeed Sheikh kidnapped three British tourists, who were freed in a raid by Indian security forces that led to Sheikh's capture, conviction, and imprisonment. After the 1999 **hijacking** of Indian Airlines Flight IC 814, the passengers being held hostage were traded for his release, along with the release of other leaders of the Harakat ul Mujahideen, who then left for Pakistan. On 12 February 2002 Sheikh was arrested by Pakistani police in Lahore, in conjunction with the 23 January 2002 kidnapping of the *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl. Sheikh was subsequently tried by Pakistan's Antiterrorism Court for his role in the kidnapping and subsequent murder of Pearl and was sentenced to death on 15 July 2002.

The HUA claimed to have militants operating not only in the Indian-controlled portion of Kashmir but also in Bosnia, the Philippines, and Tajikistan.

HARAKAT UL MUJAHIDEEN (HUM). The Harakat ul Mujahideen, or Mujahideen Movement, is an **Islamic fundamentalist** group seeking Kashmiri independence from India. The original HUM was a splinter group that emerged from the Harakat al Jihad al Islami in 1985. In 1993 the group merged with the Harakat al Jihad al Islami of the Afghan **Mujahideen** and adopted the new name **Harakat ul Ansar**. In an attempt to evade the consequences of the Harakat ul Ansar being listed as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) in 1997 by the United States, the group resumed its former name of the Harakat ul Mujahideen. In the wake of the **World Trade Center and Pentagon Attacks of September 11, 2001**, the HUM was also listed as an FTO. That, coupled with an ensuing Pakistani crackdown, led to the HUM also operating under another name, the Jamiat al Ansar.

The HUM has been aligned with the faction of the radical Pakistani political party Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam led by Fazlur Rahman Khalil, a supporter of **Osama bin Laden** who co-signed the **fatwa** issued by **al Qa'eda** in 1998 calling for attacks on the United States and Americans worldwide. Fazlur Rahman resigned as leader of the HUM in mid-February 2000, and his second-in-command, Faruq Kashmiri, assumed leadership of the group

While now a **Kashmiri separatist** group, it has strong ties with Osama bin Laden and the al Qa'eda network dating back to the anti-Soviet Afghan Mujahideen resistance, which was the group's original calling. In the years shortly following the 1993 merger, many of the key leaders were arrested by India, most notably Masood Azhar, the leader of the **Jaish-e Muhammad**. In retaliation for the arrest of Azhar on 24 December 1999, the HUM carried out its most audacious action with the **hijacking** of an Air India A300 Airbus from Kathmandu, Nepal, to Qandahar, Afghanistan. Five men believed to be of Pakistani origin hijacked the Air India Airbus bound for New Delhi and directed it instead to Pakistan, from there to the United Arab Emirates, and finally to Qandahar, where they held 153 passengers and crew hostage, threatening to kill them unless Azhar was released along with several other militants, the body of a slain militant returned to them, and a payment of \$200 million made to the HUM. By 31 December 1999 India agreed to the release of Azhar and two other separatist leaders who were flown to Qandahar, where they and the five hijackers departed, releasing the surviving hostages. One Air India passenger had been killed earlier when he disobeyed the hijackers' orders not to look at them.

At the time, this incident raised many questions about the role of Pakistan, whose government disclaimed any involvement in the incident, and also about the role of the **Taliban** who, while also publicly condemning the hijacking, made no apparent moves to arrest the hijackers after the incident. Also, several passengers indicated that automatic weapons only appeared after their arrival in Qandahar, suggesting that the Taliban supplied these weapons to the hijackers. This incident was one of many that led the U.S. government to consider including Pakistan on the list of state sponsors of terrorism for its continuing support for the HUM. This idea was shelved after Pakistan declared its support for the U.S. campaign against terrorism following the September 11 attacks and placed the HUM under official ban. In

recent years the HUM has been less active, likely due to the fact that it has experienced an exodus of membership to Jaish-e Muhammad, which was formed by Azhar following his release.

HATE CRIMES. *Hate crime* refers to criminal conduct motivated by prejudice, particularly racial, religious, or ethnic prejudice. A criminal act motivated solely by a personal hatred of a given person would not qualify. Hate crime is legislatively defined by specific prejudices against specific protected groups; however, crimes motivated by prejudice are not unique to one group and any group can be the **target** of prejudice. Therefore the murder of James Byrd Jr., who happened to be black, by three young white men who dragged him to his death on 7 June 1998 was a heinous murder motivated by racial prejudice, which qualified as a hate crime. Similarly, the killings of 12 people by Colin Ferguson on 19 December 1993, when Ferguson opened fire on a Long Island Railroad passenger train and killed over 12 people, would qualify as a hate crime since Ferguson, who was black, stated, when asked why he had shot people who were perfect strangers to him, that he hated white people.

Attempts to ban prejudice itself violate the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and therefore “hate speech” codes enacted on many U.S. university campuses have been ruled unconstitutional when challenged in court. “Group libel” laws were used in the 1920s and 1930s to outlaw anti-Semitism and other forms of prejudice, but these were also ruled unconstitutional in U.S. courts. Nonetheless Great Britain, Canada, Germany, and other nations have enacted group libel laws, which are also known as “communal hatred” laws, and have prosecuted people not only for violence motivated by bias but also for the simple propagation of hate-mongering in itself. In the post-Civil War era in the United States, several civil rights acts were enacted to punish attempts by anyone “acting under color [*sic*] of law, or otherwise to deprive any citizen of their civil rights under the U.S. Constitution,” but did so without enumerating specific groups or prejudices; however current federal and state hate crimes statutes define enumerated prejudices, predicate offenses, and substantive offenses.

The Hate Crimes Statistics Act of 1990 (HCSA) defines certain offenses as “predicate crimes,” namely, murder, manslaughter, rape, aggravated assault, simple assault, intimidation, **arson**, and vandalism, and also identifies certain biases, namely, any bias based on the

race, religion, ethnicity or national origin, or sexual orientation of the victim as sufficient ground to designate a particular predicate offense as a hate crime. If a crime incident shows evidence that the offender was motivated in part by one of the biases, then it is presumed to be a hate crime. The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 mandates enhanced sentences for convictions for predicate hate crimes. It should be noted, however, that not only is there no common definition of hate crimes between national governments, there is also no common definition among the U.S. federal and state governments and that as late as 1998 there were 12 states that did not have their own hate crime statutes. By 2006 only five states did not have hate crimes statutes.

Despite much publicity about the supposed prevalence of hate crimes in the United States, they represent a tiny portion of total felonies recorded annually: in 2005 there were 8,380 recorded hate crimes out of a base figure of roughly 12 million felonies. In 2007 the figure had dropped to 7,624 recorded hate crimes.

HAWARI. The Hawari group was the special operations group of the central security and intelligence apparatus of **Yasir Arafat's al Fatah**, the core group within the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**. As such it shared the **revolutionary** goals of its parent group and also was a nonstate actor. Hawari took its name from its leader, Colonel Hawari, a pseudonym for Abdullah Abdulhamid Labib. This group had been operating since 1985, after absorbing several former members of the **May 15 Organization**, including Mohammad Rashid, believed responsible for the **bombing** of a Pan Am jet over Honolulu on 11 August 1982.

The group also operated under the names of Martyrs of Tal al Za'atar and Amn Araissi. In April 1985 Hawari bombed the Rome office of the Syrian state airline and in Geneva bombed a Libyan airline's office and a Syrian diplomat's car. In June 1985 Hawari bombed the Geneva railway station. On 2 April 1986 Hawari bombed Trans World Airlines Flight 840 en route from Cairo to Athens, killing four Americans. In August 1986 a Hawari terrorist team was captured in Morocco plotting to carry out attacks there in retaliation for Morocco's reception of the Israeli leader, Shimon Peres. In March 1987 French police arrested Hawari operatives and seized explosives and firearms, leading to Colonel Hawari's conviction and sentencing by a French court in absentia for

bombing attacks committed in France and elsewhere during the 1980s. On 22 May 1991 Colonel Hawari was killed in an automobile accident while driving from Baghdad to Amman, effectively ending the group.

HAYMARKET BOMBING. On 4 May 1886, while Chicago police were dispersing a crowd of labor protestors who had assembled at Haymarket Square to protest the death of a protestor the previous day when police broke up a strike outside the McCormick Harvester plant, anarchist radicals in the crowd threw a **bomb** at the police, which exploded, killing one officer instantly and fatally wounding six others. Eight anarchists were tried; seven of them were sentenced to death while the eighth was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. On 11 November 1887 four of those condemned were hanged, and a fifth had committed suicide. The sentences of the other two were later commuted to life imprisonment. On 26 June 1893 Governor John P. Altgeld pardoned those remaining in prison after concluding that the original trial lacked an impartial jury and judge.

On 1889 a nine-foot bronze statue of a Chicago policeman was erected on Randolph Street near Halstead Street, near the site of the riot, as a tribute to the slain police. Anarchists attempted to bomb the statue on 24 May 1890. After the statue was moved to Union Park, at Randolph Street and Ogden Avenue, it was vandalized once on 4 May 1903 and later knocked over by a runaway streetcar on 4 May 1928. In 1957 it was moved to the northwest corner of the bridge over the Kennedy Expressway at Randolph Street. In October 1969 and again in October 1970, the statue was bombed off its pedestal, presumably by members of the **Weather Underground** or their sympathizers. Finally, it was relocated in the courtyard of the police academy at 1300 W. Jackson Boulevard.

HEZBOLLAH. Hezbollah is the name of several groups of **Islamic fundamentalist** radicals, many of which are modeled after the original Iranian-sponsored Hezbollah group in Lebanon but some of which are unrelated to these other organizations.

1. Hezbollah in Lebanon: The original Hezbollah organization was founded by Iran in Lebanon during the summer of 1982. This state-sponsored group originally pursued the revolutionary goal of exporting Iran's **Islamic revolution** to Lebanon and creating an exclusively Islamic state there. According to its 1985 manifesto, Hezbollah now limits its aims to expelling Western military forces and those of its

“allies” from Lebanon, to bringing leaders of the **Phalangists** to justice for alleged crimes against fellow Lebanese, and to “inviting” the people of Lebanon to adopt an Islamic government but through their free consent rather than by any coercion. The Hezbollah militia has also sought continually to expel Israeli forces from Lebanon. Despite Israel’s withdrawal from southern Lebanon in 2000, Hezbollah maintains that the Shebaa Farms, a 10-square-mile (25 square kilometer) margin of land abutting the 1967 Lebanese-Syria border within the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights, is part of Lebanese territory, due to a bilateral Lebanese-Syrian accord in 2000, and therefore continues to fight Israeli troops along the borders between the territories occupied by Lebanon and Israel. Until the 1989 Taif Agreement, Hezbollah also opposed the older **Amal** militia. The name Hezbollah, meaning Party of God, is taken from the Koran (Surat al Mujadilah, verse 22) as a term describing the true Muslim believers. It was first used to identify the mass followers of the Imam **Ruhallah Khomeini** in Iran, where the name was applied to organized mobs deployed by the **Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps** (IRGC) and the Islamic Republic Party against opponents of the Islamic Republic in Iran. Once the IRGC units arrived in Lebanon, they gave the same name to the militias they organized there, as was confirmed by the confession of a Lebanese Hezbollah member arrested in Turkey on 10 April 1987.

Hezbollah was established by an IRGC contingent of 2,000 trainers and soldiers dispatched to Lebanon in the summer of 1982, ostensibly to fight Israeli troops there. In fact, the IRGC unit remained in the Baalbak region and began organizing malcontents defecting from the Amal Shi’ite militia. Iran consistently disavowed direct control over Hezbollah, and formal leadership lay in the hands of a Lebanese “Consultative Assembly” consisting of ranking Lebanese clergymen, such as Muhammad Hussein Fadlullah, and key laymen, such as Hussein Musawi. This Consultative Assembly met only infrequently from 1983 until 1987, usually in the presence of either the military attaché of the Iranian embassy in Damascus or the Iranian chargé d’affaires in Beirut. Following the Israeli assassination of Musawi in 1992 and tensions between Iran and Fadlullah, who refused to endorse Khomeini’s idea of Islamic government, the charismatic cleric Hassan Nasrallah was promoted by Iran to become the most prominent public figure in Hezbollah. Since 1985 Hezbollah has been reorganized as a political party in addition to being a militia group and maintains an extensive

social services network for its followers as well as other Lebanese in the areas of southern Beirut and southern Lebanon where it has most of its forces deployed and also its largest concentration of followers.

Using the *nom de guerre* Islamic Jihad, Hezbollah conducted a lethal terrorist campaign against U.S. diplomats and civilians and American, French, and Israeli military contingents in Lebanon. Its vehicle **bombings** include the following major attacks: the 18 April 1983 bombing of the U.S. embassy in West Beirut, killing 61 people; the 23 October 1983 bombings of the U.S. Marine camp at Beirut airport, killing 241, and of the French contingent's headquarters, killing 74 servicemen; the 4 November 1983 bombing of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) headquarters in Tyre, killing 30 servicemen; the 9 September 1984 attempted bombing of the U.S. embassy annex in East Beirut, killing two Americans and 21 bystanders; and the 10 March 1985 car-bomb attack killing 12 Israeli soldiers near Metulla.

Following the withdrawal of U.S. and French multinational units from Lebanon, Hezbollah apparently switched to **kidnapping** and holding of hostages as its preferred tactic for ridding Lebanon of Western influence. Hezbollah masterminded the **hijacking** of Rome-bound Trans World Airlines (TWA) Flight 847 on 14 June 1984 from Greece to Beirut, where one U.S. serviceman found among the passengers was killed. Women and children were released after some time. The 39 remaining American men were held hostage until 30 June. Amal assumed custody of these hostages from Hezbollah but refused to release them until it received assurances that the United States would not retaliate against Lebanon for the hijacking. By doing this, Amal inadvertently confused the situation and ended up drawing most of the immediate blame for the hijacking upon itself, while Hezbollah obtained the main credit for obtaining the release of Shi'ite prisoners held in Israel's Atlit prison. The dissension created by this affair led to an outbreak of fighting between Hezbollah and Amal following the release of the remaining TWA Flight 847 hostages. Syria, which had supported Hezbollah initially as a means of forcing U.S. and French forces out of Lebanon, threw its weight behind Amal and began forcing Hezbollah units out of the Bekaa valley.

In 1985 at least four Americans (not counting the passengers seized in the hijacking of TWA Flight 847), one Swiss, two Britons, three Frenchmen, one Italian, four Soviets, and four Lebanese Jews were abducted. In 1986 some 15 foreigners were kidnapped, and 10

other foreigners were taken in 1987. On 17 February 1988, U.S. Marine Lieutenant Colonel William Higgins, assigned to temporary duty with United Nations peacekeeping forces in Lebanon, was kidnapped and later killed on 31 July 1989. Many of the kidnappings were followed by written messages accompanied by recent photographs of hostages to the Lebanese newspaper *Ash Shira* claiming credit in the name of Islamic Jihad. Another American, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) station chief William Buckley, was also killed in captivity by Hezbollah. Revelations about the Reagan administration's arms sales to Iran in November 1986 further highlighted Iranian control over Hezbollah and prompted Hezbollah to take Church of England envoy Terry Waite hostage on 20 January 1987 as well.

Following the cessation of deals exchanging U.S. arms for hostages, Tehran found little utility in continuing to have Hezbollah seize or hold hostages. The holding of the hostages remained the main reason for Iran's diplomatic isolation following the 1988 cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war. The increase in U.S. influence in the Middle East as a result of the 1990–1991 Gulf War and the weakening of the position of Iran's Lebanese protégés in the face of increased Syrian support for Hezbollah's enemies in Lebanon may have forced both Iran and Hezbollah to release the remaining hostages before the end of 1991.

After the release of Western hostages in December 1991, Hezbollah again resumed car-bombing attacks with the 17 March 1992 bombing of the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires, for which Islamic Jihad once again claimed credit. On 18 July 1994 Hezbollah operatives used an explosives-packed van to bomb the Argentine-Israel Mutual Aid Association (AMIA, Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina) headquarters in Buenos Aires, Argentina, killing 85 people and injuring about 200. On 8 August 1994 an Argentine judge, Juan José Galeano, announced he had evidence linking Iranian diplomats to the bombing. On 2 September 2004 all five of the Argentineans accused in the AMIA bombing were acquitted after a trial lasting three years in which 1,284 witnesses had testified, due to a lack of evidence against the accused.

With the ending of the Lebanese civil war in October 1990, Hezbollah and **Amal** joined forces to harass Israeli and allied South Lebanese Army forces in the south of Lebanon. On 28 August 1997 Israeli forces intending a preemptive strike at Hezbollah and Amal positions instead became trapped in the Wadi Hujjar canyon by cross-fire from

Hezbollah and Amal units. When the Israeli Golani Brigade called on its artillery to provide cover to enable a retreat, the artillery barrage instead ignited the dry scrub forest on the hillside, creating a firestorm that burned three of its members to death. During April 1996 Hezbollah engaged in Katyusha rocket attacks from southern Lebanon into northern Israel, leading to a 16-day exchange of fire in which Israel would respond to Hezbollah rocket attacks with artillery or air force bombing attacks on Hezbollah positions within Lebanon. On 18 April 1996 one such retaliatory attack hit a United Nations refugee center in Qana, Lebanon, by mistake, killing 75 civilians.

On 6 September 1997, when 16 members of the Israeli naval commando unit, Shayetet 13, attempted a preemptive strike at Hezbollah positions in the village of Ansariyah, midway between Sidon and Tyre, they were again surprised by joint Hezbollah and Amal units waiting in place who had already rigged a roadside bomb to ambush the Israeli unit. Supported by units of the Lebanese army, the joint Amal-Hezbollah units killed 11 of the Israeli team in what was considered to be the worst defeat Israel had suffered in southern Lebanon since 1985.

On 28 February 1999 a roadside bomb set by Hezbollah killed Israeli Brigadier General Erez Gerstein, the highest-ranking IDF officer to be killed in the war in Lebanon. In response, the Israeli air force bombed Hezbollah strongholds in Baalbak and three other positions. On 24 June 1999, in retaliation for further Hezbollah Katyusha attacks on northern Israel, the Israeli air force bombed nine targets in Lebanon, including power stations and bridges, and plunged Beirut into an electric power failure. On 16 August 1999 the Hezbollah coordinator for operations in the south of Lebanon, Ali Hassan Deeb, was **assassinated** by two roadside bombs, which Hezbollah blamed on Israel.

With the unilateral withdrawal of Israeli forces from southern Lebanon in 2000, Hezbollah invoked the pretext of Lebanese sovereignty over the Shebaa Farms in the Israel-occupied Golan Heights in order to justify continued attacks upon Israel. Hezbollah again shifted its tactics away from improvised explosive devices to the kidnapping of Israeli soldiers in order to exchange them for Lebanese, Palestinian, or other Arab prisoners held by Israel. On 19 January 2003 Hezbollah militamen shelled an Israeli soldier bulldozing a suspected mine along the Lebanese-Israel border, claiming he had entered Lebanese territory. In retaliation, the Israeli air force bombed two Hezbollah

bases in southern Lebanon. Despite these clashes, Israel concluded a three-year-long negotiation using German intelligence officers to arrange a prisoner swap. On 25 January 2004 Hezbollah released one Israeli businessman and the remains of three IDF soldiers in return for 400 Palestinians, 23 Lebanese, five other Arab nationals, and one German national being held by Israel on terrorism charges. Israel also returned the bodies of 59 Lebanese killed during the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon.

Although in the 1990s it appeared that Hezbollah had been abandoning suicide-bombing tactics, on 12 April 1996 an explosion in an East Jerusalem hotel revealed that Hezbollah had been intending to carry out a suicide bombing within Israel. The would-be bomber, Muhammad Hussein Miqdad, a Lebanese Hezbollah member from the village of Faroun, had flown from Zurich, Switzerland, on 4 April to Tel Aviv using a forged British passport. While molding a kilo of C-4 plastic explosives into a bomb, there was a premature detonation, which left him blind and blew off his lower legs and part of one arm. Although Hezbollah initially denied any knowledge of him, he was later exchanged along with other Hezbollah prisoners for the remains of Israeli soldiers killed by Hezbollah in southern Lebanon.

Although the Miqdad incident revealed Hezbollah was still willing to use its suicide-bomber tactics, for the most part it chose to use roadside bombs to kill Israelis and their allies in southern Lebanon. Typically a parked car or roadside monument would be packed with explosives and triggered by remote control once an Israeli patrol or convoy passed close to it. In Deir Siryan, on 30 January 1997, one such bomb killed three Israeli soldiers and wounded a fourth. The escalation of attacks upon Israeli troops in southern Lebanon by Hezbollah followed its decision to cease Katyusha attacks into northern Israel, a concession that Israel and the United States won through Syria, which was trying to soften its image as a sponsor of terrorist groups as well as preparing for eventual peace negotiations with Israel. Once Hezbollah developed better skills in countering Israeli troops in southern Lebanon, it resumed rocket attacks on Israel in August 1997.

Since 1992, with the rise to leadership of Sheikh Hassan Nasrullah, Hezbollah has developed its own external security organization, which many Western analysts have designated “Hezbollah International” and that they believe to be potentially much more effective and dangerous than the **al Qa’eda** organization. This covert wing is

believed to have been established and headed by Imad Mughniyah, and is involved in **intelligence** gathering as well as criminal entrepreneurial activities, such as smuggling, in order to raise funds for Hezbollah as well as to penetrate other nations by developing links both to criminal and other terrorist groups abroad. After Imad Mughniyah was assassinated on 12 February 2008 by unknown individuals, he was succeeded by Jamil al-Haj Saleh, who himself was assassinated on 25 August 2008, also by unknown actors.

In addition to its military activities, Hezbollah has promoted itself as a major social and political actor within Lebanon. In the 2005 Lebanese National Assembly elections, Hezbollah won 14 seats of the 128-seat legislature. Together with 17 elected members of Amal, two members of the **Syrian Social Nationalist Party**, and two independents, Hezbollah's delegates became part of the 35-member Resistance and Development Bloc forming the second-largest multi-party coalition in the parliament. Since those elections, Hezbollah has been demanding that the share of cabinet positions of the Resistance and Development Bloc, which it dominates, be expanded in a new "unity government" to give it effective veto powers over the majority government formed by a coalition of Christian, Sunni Muslim, and Druze parties opposed both to Syrian influence in Lebanon as well as to Hezbollah. Beginning in December 2006, Hezbollah began to pressure the Siniora government with mass protests and terrorist attacks. On 12 December 2006 a bombing in the Christian enclave of Baabda, east of Beirut, killed four and injured dozens of others, including General Francois al-Hajj, the Lebanese army's chief of operations. On 15 January 2007 Hezbollah attempted to bomb a U.S. embassy motor vehicle. On 25 January 2007 a bombing in the East Beirut suburb of Hamzieh-Chevrolet killed Captain Wissam Mahmud Eid, a Sunni intelligence official in the Internal Security Forces responsible for monitoring Hezbollah's activities, who was investigating the attempted bombing of the U.S. embassy car.

On 2 April 2008 Hezbollah formed a coalition with the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and the Lebanese Ba'athist Party to force Prime Minister Fouad Siniora, who was also the acting president of Lebanon since July 2005, to allow the election of a new president and a new cabinet to create the so-called unity government giving Hezbollah and its allies effective veto powers over the parliamentary majority. Hezbollah was also seeking to recruit the support of Sunni clergymen

through financial inducements and also sponsored the creation of a non-Shi'ite auxiliary force, the Saraya Lubnuniyah lil Maqawama, or Lebanese Resistance Units, to increase its own credentials as a Lebanese national movement rather than as a sectarian faction.

On 7 May 2008 the conflict with the Lebanese government came to a head: Siniora fired the chief of security for Beirut International Airport, a Hezbollah ally, and ordered security forces to dismantle the landlines of the Hezbollah covert communications network, claiming this was required by United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1559 and 1701. Hezbollah forces cut off the main highway between Beirut and the airport and seized the downtown district of Beirut, blockading or occupying about 20 government buildings, including an attack on the Grand Sariat, which houses the offices of the prime minister. By 9 May Hezbollah controlled downtown Beirut and took over all the mass media, having forced the Al Mustaqbal TV and News headquarters, owned by Sunni majority leader Sa'ad al Hariri, to shut down under threat of being bombed and having burned down the office of Hariri's newspaper *Al Mustaqbal*. The Lebanese army refused to resist the Hezbollah attacks, underscoring the impotence of the elected government. On 12 May Siniora capitulated, reinstating the fired airport security chief and desisting from further attempts to dismantle Hezbollah's communications network. On 20 May in an emergency Arab League negotiation between the Lebanese parties held in Doha, Qatar, Hezbollah received sufficient seats in the cabinet to have its veto power and agreement to hold presidential elections. On 25 May Michel Suleiman was elected president. The long-sought unity government was installed on 16 July 2008. By 17 July 2008, during the official celebration of the return of five Lebanese prisoners from Israel in exchange for the remains of two Israeli soldiers, President Suleiman shared the podium with Hassan Nasrallah, and Hezbollah appeared to be in control in Lebanon. A Lebanese political analyst summarized the situation as one in which Hezbollah had become "the nonstate actor which functions as the de facto state versus the state non-actor which merely enjoys the status of the de jure state."

With Iranian aid, which increased from \$300 million per year to just short of \$1 billion in April 2008, profits from cannabis- and opium-growing operations in the region of Baalbek and from overseas smuggling, and cash donations from supporters, Hezbollah

has been able to build up a social services infrastructure that has increased its popularity within Lebanon as well as its legitimacy in the view of Arab and Muslim public opinion worldwide. Hezbollah established a Construction Jihad (Jihad al Binna), modeled after a similar organization in Iran dedicated to rebuilding homes and other structures damaged in the various wars within Lebanon. It also maintains its own Martyrs' Foundation, similar to the Iranian counterpart, which provides pensions to the families of slain Hezbollah fighters and **suicide bombers**. Hezbollah operates four hospitals, two agricultural aid centers, 12 medical clinics, and 12 schools within Lebanon. During the July–August 2006 war with Israel, Hezbollah was able to distribute drinking water to Beirut neighborhoods after Israeli air raids had incapacitated the municipal water utility system. In addition, Hezbollah has established its own mass media organization: along with the *Al Ahd* newspaper, it publishes a monthly magazine, *al Kabdat Allah*, and runs the *an Nur* radio station and the *al Manar* television station, which was at one time available in Western nations via cable. In 2004 France banned al Manar for distributing Holocaust-denial propaganda, which is a criminal offense in many European Union nations, while the United States later banned al Manar as a support group for a terrorist organization. The radio and television programming of Hezbollah glorifies martyrdom operations and routinely presents anti-Israeli and pro-Palestinian content.

The Hezbollah communications network, or Hezb-Net, consists not only of its TV and radio stations but also landlines, both copper and fiber optic, which have been strung parallel to public utility lines and not easily distinguished from them. The fiber-optic component of the network is highly resistant to wiretapping, and extends throughout southern Lebanon, connecting the various underground bunker complexes, extending into the Bekaa valley and up to the northern border. Hezbollah also makes use of cellular and satellite telephones and is believed to have its own mobile cellular relay units in case its enemies destroy the existing public cellular towers. In addition, Hezbollah has developed its own corps of computer hackers able to hijack existing websites and servers in order to use public free e-mail services for encrypted communications. The system thus has much redundancy to withstand attempts by the United States, Israel, or unfriendly Arab actors to disrupt or destroy the communications, control, command, and intelligence functions needed for Hezbollah

to remain the most effective military force within Lebanon. In July 2008 Hezbollah forces were sweeping the Sannine mountain range running west-east between Beirut and the Bekaa valley to find and destroy jamming devices reportedly sown into the areas by Israel.

Hezbollah's military capabilities have increased steadily since its formation in 1982, when it originally appeared to be little more than an umbrella organization for several Shi'ite groups operating under different names. After 1985 it had an official military group known as the Muqawama al Islamiya (Islamic Resistance), which has around 1,000 full-time rank-and-file combatants reinforced by 6,000 to 10,000 part-time volunteers. The continued existence of this militia violated UN Security Council Resolution 1559 requiring the disbanding of all militias within Lebanon other than the nation's official armed forces. Hezbollah maintains that the resolution does not apply to its forces as they constitute a "resistance" rather than a militia. Hezbollah's arms now include not merely light automatic weapons and rocket-propelled grenades but also various grades of short-range and longer-range artillery and rockets. Sheikh Nasrallah boasted in 2006 that Hezbollah possessed more than 20,000 rockets, while Israeli sources believed that by 2003 Hezbollah had at least 11,000 rockets provided by Iran, including thousands of Katyusha-122 rockets with a range of 18 miles (29 kilometers) and a warhead of 33 pounds (15 kilograms). Iran has also supplied Fajr-5 rockets with a range of 24 miles (40 kilometers) and 100-pound (45 kilogram) warheads as well as Fajr-7 rockets with a range of 45 miles (75 kilometers) and warheads of 100 pounds (45 kilograms). The 45-mile range allows Fajr-7 to strike as far south as Haifa. Hezbollah is believed to have about 100 of the Fajr-7 class rockets. In addition, Iran is believed to have supplied 30 Zelzel-1 rockets with a 90-mile (150 kilometer) range and 600-pound (270 kilogram) warhead capability, allowing it to strike as far south as Tel Aviv. During the July–August 2006 war, Hezbollah was able to strike Israel with 3,970 rockets, killing 43 civilians. In addition, Hezbollah has Milan and Metis-M armor-piercing antitank missiles that were able to destroy many of Israel's Merkhava tanks and also has SA-7 and SA-18 shoulder-launched antiaircraft missiles. Recently Hezbollah has been able to adapt the Chinese Silkworm missile into a very effective antiship weapon and also has been experimenting with its own version of unmanned drone aircraft.

Analysts believe that Hezbollah maintains extensive intelligence and covert operations not only in Lebanon but also in Iraq, West Africa, and North and South America. In 2000 U.S. federal investigators exposed a Charlotte, North Carolina, hub of a Western Hemisphere-wide cigarette-smuggling and distribution network that netted hundreds of thousands of dollars for Hezbollah yearly. U.S. officials believe that these operations continue, particularly in the Three Frontiers region bordering Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay. In 2003 U.S. and Israeli intelligence learned of a 90-member Hezbollah “security detail” entering Iraq. Although there was no evidence that Hezbollah was directly fighting in the anti-U.S. **insurgency**, it appeared that Hezbollah was augmenting Iran’s presence and influence among the Shi’a of Iraq. Reportedly, in late 2007, Iraqi security forces compelled Hezbollah trainers to leave the Basra region in southern Iraq.

The reach of Hezbollah’s intelligence network came to light with the arrests and trials in December 2006 of Nada Nadim Prouty and her sister-in-law, U.S. Marine Corps Captain Samar Spinelli, both Lebanese nationals who came to the United States under student visas and who had obtained U.S. citizenship through fraudulent marriages. Prouty became a Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agent during 1997–2003 and a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) case officer during 2003–2005 and was assigned to the U.S. embassy in Baghdad, handling sensitive intelligence regarding the insurgency and Shi’ite parties and militias there. Spinelli had assisted Prouty in accessing classified information about Hezbollah, and both were charged with attempting to defraud the U.S. government and with naturalization fraud. On 26 October 2008 agents of the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) along with Colombian police arrested 36 members of a cocaine-trafficking and money-laundering ring, including the Lebanese national Chekry Harb, who is known to have transferred large sums of his profits to finance Hezbollah.

The July–August 2006 war between Hezbollah and Israel was occasioned by Hezbollah’s kidnapping of three Israeli soldiers in the Shebaa Farms area and Israel’s refusal to negotiate their release. The conflict is known in Lebanon as the July War and in Israel as the Second Lebanon War and lasted from 12 July 2006 until 14 August 2006. Although over 1,100 Lebanese civilians and up to 600 Hezbollah militia members were killed, compared to Israel’s loss of 43 civilians and around 119 IDF members, the war showed that Israel was unable to prevent Hezbollah’s continuing missile barrage on

northern Israel, which effectively displaced at least 300,000 Israelis and brought ordinary life in northern Israel to a complete standstill, something no previous Arab-Israeli war had ever accomplished.

The end result of the Hezbollah-Israel war was that for the first time since its creation, Israel was unable to completely incapacitate an Arab force in military confrontation. Despite its high casualties, Hezbollah had fought Israeli troops effectively, using a network of underground bunkers and mobile missile launchers to vitiate efforts by Israel to suppress its forces purely by air power. Hezbollah hurt Israel internally through its missile barrages and drew Israel into an invasion and counterinsurgency at the time and terrain of Hezbollah's own choosing, leading to casualty rates that Israel had been seeking to avoid since its withdrawal from Lebanon in 2000. This victory of Hezbollah completely overshadowed the military assaults and puny rocket attacks by Hamas from its Gaza enclave against Israel. However, Professor Eyal Zisser of the Moshe Dayan Center of Tel Aviv University provides a contrary interpretation of the results of the Hezbollah-Israel war, pointing out that Hezbollah refrained from further missile attacks on Israel after the war while the material costs of the war to the Shi'ite community of Lebanon led to more disaffection among Hezbollah's base constituency. Other sources maintain that the Israeli air strikes successfully destroyed most of Hezbollah's missile arsenal, therefore crippling its ability to resume missile attacks on Israel.

In the period 2006–2008, Hezbollah appeared to be gaining ground within Lebanon and had proven itself to be a serious regional actor with its July 2006 war with Israel and, following the June 2007 split between Hamas and al Fatah, even an actor with influence over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. But these gains have been offset by the growing hostility of the Syrian regime, which began to view Hezbollah as a liability in seeking its own accommodation with the United States and Israel and also in challenging Syria's own control over Lebanon, which it views as falling within its own sphere of influence.

On 12 February 2008 the top Hezbollah covert operations commander, Imad Mughniyah, was assassinated by a car bomb in Damascus. Although suspicions first focused on Israel's Mossad as being the most likely perpetrator, within a few weeks Hezbollah began to suspect that Syria was either directly behind the assassination or allowed it to happen, and relations between Hezbollah and Syria soured. Hezbollah always had to play a balancing act between pleasing its primary

state sponsor, Iran, with its Islamic fundamentalist and regional power agenda, and its other sponsor, Syria, with its more secular Arab nationalist regime and agenda regarding Lebanon and Israel. Hassan Nasrallah, who had succeeded Abbas Musawi as Hezbollah leader after the latter was killed by Israel in 1992, proved very adept at dealing pragmatically both with non-Shi'ite Lebanese political actors and also with Syria.

Nasrallah's growing popularity within the Shi'ite community in Lebanon following the 2006 victory over Israel and his unpredictability led Iran in December 2007 to order Nasrallah to withdraw from public appearances in favor of his deputy, Naim Qasim, to secure its control over the movement. For its part, Syria resented its loss of control over Lebanon and Hezbollah's growing power within Lebanon. In addition, Syria was engaged in secret peace negotiations with Israel through the mediation of France and Turkey and was anxious to improve its standing with the United States, and so had other motives to sacrifice Hezbollah.

In April 2008 Syria began moving three army divisions to the border with Lebanon near the Bekaa valley, ostensibly to prevent an Israeli invasion but putting itself within striking distance of the Hezbollah military complex in Baalbek. With the growing Syrian troop buildup on the northern and eastern borders of Lebanon, Sheikh Nasrallah took the unusual step of holding a meeting on 24 September 2008 with Sa'ad al Hariri, a longtime enemy of Hezbollah but also an opponent of Syrian control over Lebanon. In early October 2008 Syria had moved 10,000 troops to the northern border and a tank division to al Qaa, on the Lebanese border opposite the Bekaa valley. In the parliamentary elections of 7 June 2009, the pro-Western March 14 Coalition, led by Sa'ad al Hariri, won 71 seats to the 57 seats won by Hezbollah and its partners in the March 8 Coalition. The result was interpreted by many observers as a blow to Hezbollah, which itself lost one seat while its coalition failed to gain seats.

2. Hezbollah of Bahrain: purported Iranian-backed Islamic fundamentalist subversive group in Bahrain. During 20–22 January 1996, riots and rampaging broke out in several Shi'ite villages, with three automobiles vandalized and 17 fires set. Officials arrested eight Shi'ite leaders whom they accused of provoking antigovernment riots at the instigation of a foreign power, unnamed but understood to be Iran. On 19 February 1996 Bahraini officials stated that Shi'ite dissidents suspected of bombings in Bahrain had confessed to having been trained by Iranian-backed Hezbollah militia members in

Lebanon. On 3 June 1996 Bahrain announced that it had arrested a total of 44 Bahrainis, of whom 34 admitted to their connection with Hezbollah, and that six suspects leading the group had been trained in Iran and had met with the supreme religious leader in Iran, Ayatollah Ali Khamene'i. The interior minister claimed that the same group had been responsible for other disturbances that had broken out in December 1994, and Bahrain recalled its ambassador to Tehran.

In April 1997 U.S. forces in Bahrain were put on alert when U.S. intelligence discovered a plan by Bahraini Hezbollah members to attack the U.S. Navy's Fifth Fleet Headquarters located outside Manama, which has 1,000 personnel stationed on a 20-acre complex. In addition to restricting these personnel to base, shore leaves to visit Bahrain would be canceled for the approximately 12,000 American service personnel then on duty in the Persian Gulf. This was the first time in the seven years since the 1990–1991 Gulf War that such an alert had been issued. The Bahraini Hezbollah was also suspected to have ties to Shi'ite dissidents in Saudi Arabia. Since 1997 the group has not been active.

3. Hezbollah in the Hijaz: Following the 25 June 1996 **Khobar Towers bombing**, in their sweep to find the group responsible, Saudi authorities cracked down on a little-known Shi'ite group in Qatif, known as Hezbollah of Arabia. Between 80 and 100 of its members were arrested and investigated. Its leader, Sheikh Jabar al-Mubarak, had been released from a Saudi prison only in 1993. Shi'ite Muslims number slightly more than four million in the oil-rich al-Hasa Province of Saudi Arabia, amounting to about 15 percent of the total Saudi population. While Shi'ites are treated as second-class citizens by the strongly Sunni government and have many grievances, this group is viewed by observers as weak and disorganized and probably not capable of having carried out the attack on the Khobar Towers residence. Nonetheless, in January 2002, U.S. intelligence sources revealed that Imad Mugniyah, the Lebanese-born head of Lebanese Hezbollah's intelligence and external operations, was in contact with Hezbollah in Arabia throughout the 1990s through his deputy, Talal Hamiyah. Mugniyah was considered the mastermind of such operations as the October 1983 bombing of the U.S. Marine encampment at Beirut airport, as well as the 1985 Trans World Airlines (TWA) Flight 847 **hijacking**.

HIJACKING. Hijacking is the forcible seizure of a ship, train, automobile, or airplane, usually with the threat of bodily harm to the crew and/or passengers. In the 1960s most instances of hijacking involving air

carriers were cases of people seeking to escape to some other country. At that time, the United States experienced scores of hijackers attempting to divert domestic flights to Cuba. During the 1970s and 1980s, however, hijackings of airplanes were increasingly used to take the passengers as hostages in order to force the sovereign governments of the hostages to accede to the hijackers' political demands, or those of their **state sponsors**. By the beginning of the 1990s, total airplane hijackings since 1931, the year the first aerial hijacking occurred, were in excess of 700, with a total of more than 500 passengers (including the hijackers) and crew members being killed.

The problem of hijacking was compounded by the **political offense exception** doctrine, which allowed some states to grant immunity from prosecution or from **extradition** selectively to hijackers who claimed to be acting on political grounds or who claimed to be political refugees seeking **asylum**. In April 1986, following the 1985 Trans World Airlines (TWA) Flight 847 hijacking to Beirut airport, the International Federation of Air Line Pilots' Associations put an embargo on Beirut airport and threatened to embargo other countries that tolerated hijacking. After the TWA Flight 847 hijacking, the United States began to apply the 1984 **Hostage-Taking Act** antiterrorist statute to prosecute hijackers who victimized American citizens, arresting Fawaz Younis in September 1987 for his role in an 11 June 1985 hijacking of a Jordanian airliner carrying some U.S. citizens.

Instances of nonaerial hijackings have included the Assen and Beilen train seizures by terrorists of the **Free South Moluccan Youth Organization** on 2 December 1975 and 23 May 1977 and the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* cruise ship by terrorists of the **Palestine Liberation Front** on 7 October 1985. In each of these instances, hostages were murdered by the hijackers, showing that nonaerial hijackings could be just as deadly.

In late July and early August of 1994, to flee to the United States, Cuban refugees hijacked three civilian ferry boats and one civilian vessel being used by the Cuban military. In the seizure of the vessel under military command, a Cuban officer was reportedly killed by the hijackers. On 28 August 1995 the **Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam** hijacked a civilian ferry with 128 passengers, the *Irish Mona*, on its India-to-Sri Lanka route and sank two Sri Lankan naval gunboats by handheld rockets fired from the hijacked ferry.

The most deadly air hijacking to occur in the 20th century was the 23 November 1996 hijacking of Ethiopian Airlines Flight 961 bound

from Addis Ababa to Nairobi, Kenya. Twenty minutes after takeoff, three men claiming to be Ethiopians seized control of the cockpit, saying they had explosives. They demanded that the Boeing 767 be flown to Australia, and despite the pilot's plea that they did not have enough fuel to cross the Indian Ocean, the plane was forced to fly eastward anyway. Four hours after leaving Addis Ababa, the pilot was able to crash the plane in the waters just off the beach of Mitsamouli on the Comoro Islands. The plane broke into two pieces and 123 of the 175 passengers were killed, including the three hijackers.

The worst hijacking incident to the present time involved the simultaneous hijacking of four U.S. passenger flights that were used in the **suicide** operations in the **World Trade Center and Pentagon Attacks of September 11, 2001**. Using crude knives and razors, teams of up to five hijackers each used threats of violence against passengers to force their way into the cockpits of four planes—American Airlines Flight 11 and United Airlines Flight 175, both flying from Boston to Los Angeles, American Airlines Flight 77 leaving Virginia's Dulles Airport, and United Airlines Flight 93, flying from Newark to San Francisco—where they wrested control of the planes and flew them into their **targets**. One of the four hijacked planes, United Airlines Flight 93, had only four hijackers and crashed outside Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Last-minute cell phone calls by some of the passengers revealed that when the passengers had learned the fate of the other planes, they determined to overcome the hijackers to prevent their plane from being used in a similar manner.

On 17 November 2002 an Israeli Arab, Tawfik Fukra, attempted to hijack an El Al flight from Tel Aviv to Istanbul by rushing the pilot's cabin armed with a two-inch-long knife but was seized and overpowered by Israeli air marshals. Fukra claimed to have been inspired by the 9/11 hijackings and said he intended to crash the plane into tall buildings in Tel Aviv. On 19 March 2003 six Cubans hijacked a Cubana Airlines DC-3 and flew from the Isle of Pines to Key West, Florida, where they sought political asylum. On 11 December 2003 the six Cubans were instead convicted in U.S. federal court on charges of air piracy, conspiracy to commit air piracy, and interfering with the operations of a flight crew and received minimum prison sentences of 20 years. This trial and its verdicts reveal how the U.S. courts and public opinion had grown less tolerant of hijackings from Cuba to the United States even as supposed "freedom flights." *See also* AIR TRAVEL SECURITY.

HOFFMANN MILITARY SPORTS GROUP. The Wehrsportsgruppe Hoffmann was a nonstate West German **neo-Nazi** group that engaged in paramilitary training and terrorist activities for the **revolutionary** aim of overthrowing the Federal Republic of Germany and restoring a right-wing nationalist authoritarian regime. The group was founded by Karl-Heinz Hoffmann (1937–) in the late 1970s. Since West German law forbids neo-Nazi parties or organizations from operating openly, the group represented itself as a club for engaging in military war games. The Sports Group stressed paramilitary training, racist **ideology**, anti-Communism, and military romanticism.

The Sports Group was linked to terrorism proper first, through the activities of its own members within Germany, and second, through its ties to Palestinian terrorist groups. Hoffmann created a student branch of his organization called the University Circle of Tübingen Students. This group used to confront and beat up leftist students, often breaking up demonstrations against the apartheid policies of South Africa. The group also baited and attacked feminists and homosexuals.

In 1976 one Sports Group member tried to **bomb** the American Forces Network station in Munich. On 19 December 1980 a Sports Group member, Uwe Behrendt, murdered a Jewish publisher in Erlangen, Shlomo Levin, as well as Levin's female friend, and fled to the Middle East where he later committed suicide in 1982. While authorities could not prove that Hoffmann ordered Behrendt to commit this murder, this incident moved the West German Federal Office for Defense of the Constitution (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz) to ban officially the Sports Group as a neo-Nazi group on 30 January 1980.

The most notorious incident associated with the Sports Group was the 26 September 1980 bombing of the Munich Oktoberfest, which killed at least 12 people and injured more than 217 others, including seven U.S. citizens. While it now appears that the detonation of this bomb was an accident, perhaps because the timing mechanism malfunctioned, the bomb itself was produced by the Hoffmann group, and the bearer of the bomb, one Gondolf Köhler, was a Sports Group member. Hoffmann was jailed on 27 September 1980 but was released the next day for lack of evidence that he was involved in the bombing.

Hoffmann was also seeking to create ties between the Sports Group and Palestinian groups as an opportunity to provide training and operational experience to his cadres. In 1979 Hoffmann took 15 followers to Lebanon for training, and in July 1980 he visited Damascus to form

ties with the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**. Hoffmann not only left 20 of his members in PLO camps but also struck a lucrative deal to ship used trucks and heavy equipment to the PLO. Hoffmann was again arrested on charges of money laundering and possession of illegal weapons and explosives on 16 June 1981 in Frankfurt as he was preparing to fly to Beirut. His followers who had undergone training in PLO camps were arrested on their return to Germany. Hoffman was convicted and sentenced in 1984 to nine and one-half years in prison but was released on good behavior in 1989. Hoffman engaged in real estate development in Nurnburg, Umgebung, and later in his hometown of Kahla, located inside the former German Democratic Republic. One of Hoffman's restaurants was used as a meeting place for former Sports Group members, and he also renewed contacts with former Sports Group members Bernd Grett and Anton Pfahler, who were allegedly involved in the creation of a neo-Nazi training camp in Ingolstadt, where mines, automatic weapons, and artillery shells were uncovered by authorities. Hoffmann developed close business dealings with an architect, William Tell, who was also a leader of the right-wing Republican Party, itself viewed as a far-right party with neo-Nazi leanings. A poor business climate forced Hoffmann to sell off his properties in Kahla in 2000, though in 2004 he began to develop properties in West Saxony, also located in the former German Democratic Republic.

While the Sports Group has ceased to function as an organization, many of its members have continued to work in the neo-Nazi movement, which has continued to grow both in Germany and elsewhere, where a number of other neo-Nazi groups allow them the opportunity to continue quasi-legal or terrorist activities.

HOLLAND TUNNEL BOMB PLOT. Following the **World Trade Center bombing of 1993**, Sheikh **Omar Abdul Rahman**, the spiritual leader of the four principal conspirators in the attack, was implicated in that conspiracy and in a broader conspiracy to **bomb** other public places in New York, including the Holland and Lincoln tunnels and the United Nations building, as well as a plot to murder U.S. Senator Alfonse d'Amato (Republican, N.Y.) and United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. On 24 June 1993, eight of Abdul Rahman's followers were arrested in connection with this plot. Government transcripts of conversations between Abdul Rahman and his followers secretly taped by a Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

informer revealed Rahman discussing the relative merits of various **targets** for this terrorist bombing campaign.

On 27 August 1993 Abdul Rahman was charged before a U.S. federal judge with leading this conspiracy to carry out a bombing campaign against the United States. On 9 January 1995 the trial of Abdul Rahman along with 11 other defendants charged with the bombing of the World Trade Center and for the conspiracy to bomb the New York landmarks began. In the course of this trial it was learned that two of those charged in connection with the **Holland Tunnel bomb plot**, El Syyid Nosair and Clement Hampton-El, had been under FBI surveillance, apparently to determine what material help to the Afghan **Mujahideen** was originating among private groups in the United States. Hampton-El was also a member of another covert Muslim group, the **Jama'at al Fuqra**. On 14 March 1995 Emad Saleh, the former FBI informer, testified that the aim of the group had been to detonate 12 bombs simultaneously against **targets** thought to be associated with Jews or Jewish institutions. On 1 October 1995 Abdul Rahman was convicted of seditious conspiracy, solicitation and conspiracy to **assassinate** Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, solicitation to attack U.S. military installations, and conspiracy to conduct the bombing campaign against New York tunnels and landmarks. On 17 January 1996 Abdul Rahman was sentenced to life imprisonment for his role in the Holland Tunnel bomb plot. He is currently serving his sentence in a U.S. federal prison.

HOLY TERROR. Term used by David Rapoport and Bruce Hoffman to identify a strain of postmodern terrorism accentuated by a religious, transcendental, or **millennialist** motivation. While religiously motivated terrorists are not a new phenomenon, since the Jewish **Zealots** of the first century and the Isma'ili Shi'ite **Fedayeen** assassins of the 11th century were also terrorists motivated by a religious ideal, the phenomenon has become more prominent and more lethal in the post-cold war era, in which the resurgence of religious fundamentalist and **ethnonationalist** militant movements coincides with the availability of **weapons of mass destruction** and **tactics** capable of killing or maiming large numbers of people.

Whereas the leftist **revolutionary** groups and ethnonationalist groups of the last decades of the 20th century had political goals that their opponents could comprehend, if not condone, and whereas many of these groups sought some degree of political legitimacy

and acceptance by their adversaries, the extremist **Islamic fundamentalist** groups, such as **Hamas** or the **Armed Islamic Group**, or the millennialist doomsday groups, such as **Aum Shinrikyo**, pursue goals that their opponents cannot fathom, much less anticipate or prevent. Whereas previous groups appeared to prefer converting their opponents to killing them, the practitioners of Holy Terror tend to demonize their opponents as the incarnation of evil whose physical annihilation becomes a holy duty. Whereas other groups appeared amenable to negotiation and material incentives, most of the groups motivated by holy terror shun civil contacts with their opponents.

The phenomenon of Holy Terror has appeared not only among Islamic fundamentalists but also among the Jewish extremists of the **Kach**, **Kahane Chai**, and **Eyal** movements, among Christian Patriot groups and millennialist sects, and among nonmonotheistic groups such as the Aum Shinrikyo group in Japan or the Solar Temple group in Switzerland. As such, this appears to be a widespread postmodern reaction of many religious and ethnic groups that find themselves threatened by the cosmopolitan tide of secularization that has been sweeping the world during the last few decades, and will likely continue to be a source of terrorist violence well into this century. *See also* JIHAD.

HOMELAND SECURITY. Term used in the United States to refer to an evolving strategy of **counterterrorism** based on the analogy of counterterrorism with fighting a war. As a result of the **World Trade Center and Pentagon Attacks of September 11, 2001**, the previous **World Trade Center bombing of 1993**, the **Oklahoma City bombing**, the **East African U.S. embassy attacks**, and the bombing of the **Khobar Towers** in Saudi Arabia, the threats of both domestic and foreign terrorism have been identified as among the leading dangers to national security of liberal democracies and other nations around the world. Expanding efforts to combat terrorism now involve massive expenditures by various governments to meet present and future threats. Following the September 11 attacks, President George W. Bush announced on 15 September 2001 his intention to establish an Office of Homeland Security, which would include a Homeland Security Council patterned after the National Security Council. The members of the Homeland Security Council would be the attorney general and the secretaries of the Departments of Defense, the Treasury, Agriculture, and Health and Human Services, supported

by about 100 staff members. President Bush invited Governor Tom Ridge of Pennsylvania to become director of this office. After resigning his governorship, Tom Ridge was sworn in as Director of Homeland Security on 8 October 2001. This office replaced the position held formerly by Richard Clarke, who headed the White House office created during the administration of Bill Clinton to coordinate counterterrorism efforts. In turn, Richard Clarke was appointed to head a new Office of Cybersecurity. The new Office of Homeland Security seeks to coordinate the actions of the 46 federal agencies that currently enforce or implement counterterrorism policies.

The U.S. Congress turned the Office of Homeland Security into a cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security (DHS) by the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (Public Law 107-269). The new department now consolidates under one jurisdiction several U.S. agencies involved with different aspects of homeland security, including the U.S. Coast Guard, Immigration and Customs Enforcement, the Transportation Security Administration, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, and the Secret Service. In 2008 the DHS received \$34.3 billion in funding. The acknowledged funding for all counterterrorism activities, including homeland security and the “global war on terrorism,” actually exceeded \$180 billion in 2008 alone. By way of comparison, in 1999 Congress had appropriated only \$205.3 million for domestic counterterrorism measures.

Within the United States, homeland security efforts have involved many initiatives, including the creation of a Domestic Preparedness Program to train state and local agencies to respond to threats and actual uses of **weapons of mass destruction** (WMD) and the expanded reorganization of federal agencies to combat terrorism. More than 46 agencies are involved, ranging from the Interagency Working Group on Counterterrorism, to the Federal Bureau of Investigation Counterterrorism Center and its National Infrastructure Protection Center, in addition to the Joint Terrorism Task Forces (JTTFs), which have grown from 16 at the time of the September 11 attacks to 106 by the end of 2008. In addition, the role of the Department of Defense has been greatly expanded, not only regarding external threats but also domestic terrorism, and extensive research and development programs undertaken that place heavy emphasis on the creation and refinement of counterterrorism technology to address the challenges of mass terrorism and also to meet the growing requirements for far

better information handling. The **Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004** created a National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) to facilitate collection and dissemination of information to federal and state offices tasked with homeland security duties. Similar initiatives are being pursued by other governments.

While these new initiatives are significant in the short term, perhaps more significant in the long term are the fundamental constitutional issues and the changing face of civil-military relations in the United States, in particular the changing roles of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and of the Department of Defense as a result of this war against terrorism.

Legally the FBI, as an agency of the Department of Justice, has entered an ambiguous area regarding its jurisdiction. As an entity within the Department of Justice, its legal mandate permits it to be involved primarily in domestic law enforcement, but after the passage of the **Hostage-Taking Act** of 1984 the FBI became increasingly involved in extraterritorial operations. While the focus of most FBI operations has been directed to gathering evidence sufficient to secure criminal prosecution and conviction of terrorist suspects in U.S. courts of law, publicizing such evidence in an open court runs directly counter to the ongoing need to gather and analyze **intelligence** on terrorists because the unveiling of such information will compromise the covert operatives and classified methods needed to collect it. The mandate of the 2004 Intelligence Reform Act, for the FBI to develop an in-house intelligence collection and analysis capability apart from its primary law enforcement mission, may create “mission blur” within that agency. In addition, civil libertarians fear that the entry of the FBI into domestic intelligence collection and analysis might lead to abuses similar to the Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) unit of the 1970s, which was alleged to have engaged in harassment of antiwar activists, depriving them of First Amendment liberties. Other nations have been able to develop domestic intelligence capabilities without substantial violations of civil liberties, as witnessed by Britain’s MI5 and Canada’s Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS); however, these agencies are not also tasked with law enforcement missions.

Similarly, the Department of Defense entered a gray area in which military resources and **tactics** may be used to carry out ordinary police functions. With the increasing public demands to combat terrorism, the constraints imposed by the Posse Comitatus Act upon the use of military

force, which were relaxed in the war against drugs, have been further lessened to fight the war on terrorism. This expansion of the direct role of the military emphasizes a direct operational role for the military, as opposed to a supportive role on behalf of civilian law enforcement. This military involvement is likely to expand on the plea that it will be essential to counter the threats of mass terrorism or its consequences within the United States. The jurisdictional questions associated with the changing roles of the military are also mirrored in the changing role of the police and other law enforcement agencies in the United States and other nations. National and local police forces are becoming more militarized as they develop armed capabilities that can be used in more aggressive actions to protect public order and security. Whereas liberal democracies formerly distinguished clearly between domestic police enforcement, in which minimal force is used to apprehend suspects, and military actions, in which maximum force is used to destroy the enemy forces, now there is an increasing “mission blur” between the roles of the police and the military in democratic societies.

“Homeland security” refers principally to the civilian component for protecting internal security from man-made or natural disasters, while the notion of “homeland defense” or “civil defense” refers to the military component used in protecting internal security. Homeland defense or civil defense is generally directed to preventing or mitigating the actions of an external enemy in a wartime environment and would also involve the military in defending internal security and maintaining continuity of government programs in the event of a possible collapse of civil government. Since such enforcement powers would at times be directed against a government’s own citizens and civilian authorities, this raises serious questions about changing civil/military relations in democratic societies.

HOSTAGE TAKING. *See* KIDNAPPING.

HOSTAGE-TAKING ACT. The Act for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Hostage-Taking (Title 18 U.S. Code, Section 1203) was enacted on October 1984, ostensibly to implement the United Nations International Convention against the Taking of Hostages, adopted by the General Assembly on 17 December 1979. This act makes the seizure of a U.S. national anywhere in the world a crime, as well as any hostage taking directed against the U.S. government or any incident in which hostages taken are U.S. nationals. This act granted the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) powers of extraterritorial investigation

and allowed the U.S. government to prosecute an alleged hostage taker whenever handed over to U.S. authorities. The act also makes the aiding and abetting of the crime, or concealing knowledge of it, or otherwise obstructing investigation of such crimes, punishable when done by private people. This statute, and the Airplane Sabotage Act of 1984, allowed the United States to capture Fawaz Younis, who participated in the 11 June 1985 **hijacking** of a Jordanian airliner carrying some U.S. citizens, as well as arrest and **extradite** Mohammed Hammadei, who participated in the 14 June 1985 hijacking of Trans World Airlines (TWA) Flight 847, which led to the murder of one U.S. serviceman aboard and the holding hostage of 39 U.S. civilians.

HUKS. The Hukbalahap (an acronym for Hukbong Bayan Laban Sa Mga Hapon, People's Anti-Japanese Resistance Army) was a resistance army founded by the Communist Party of the Philippines in March 1942. Trained by Chinese Communist instructors sent by Mao Zedong and led by Luis Taroc, the Huks recruited extensively among the peasants and harassed the Japanese in guerrilla raids.

Following World War II, the Huks, who renamed their organization Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (People's Liberation Army), attempted to set up a Communist regime but were countered by U.S. forces. The Huks numbered around 10,000 active fighters at their height but lacked good weaponry. Consequently they relied more on terrorism than on conventional **tactics**, their most stunning attack being the ambush and murder of Aurora Quezon, the widow of President Manuel L. Quezon, in April 1949. This attack brought discredit on the organization and it renamed itself as the People's Liberation Army in 1950. In addition to undertaking a more thorough counter-insurgency effort, the administration of Ramon Magsaysay addressed many of the social and economic grievances of the peasant following of the Huks, who eventually disbanded in 1954.

HUSSEIN SUICIDE SQUAD. One of the pro-Iranian Shi'ite **Islamic fundamentalist** terrorist groups in Lebanon that became part of **Hezbollah**.

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IDENTITY CHRISTIANITY. The Identity Christianity doctrine is a synthesis of **white supremacist** doctrine, xenophobic American

populism, and a **postmillennialist** version of Anglo-Israelism that has become a major ideological inspiration for extreme right-wing terrorist groups operating in North America.

In the 18th century, the Englishman Richard Brothers developed the Anglo-Israelite doctrine claiming that the true Israelites were not contemporary Jews but rather people of the northern European nations, and especially the British, who supposedly were descended from the northern “lost” tribes of Israel deported by the Assyrians in the eighth century B.C. This doctrine was modified by some Americans to identify North America rather than Britain as being the new promised land. The modern form of Identity Christianity that grew out of Anglo-Israelism was first propounded during the Depression era by a nondenominational preacher, Wesley Swift, who combined it with anti-Semitism and extreme anti-Communism defined broadly enough to include socialists and most liberals. The modern doctrine asserts that nonwhites are descendants of “pre-Adamites” created only as prototypes of true humans. There are two schools of thought in Identity Christianity regarding the modern Jews: The “single seed” doctrine holds that modern Jews are not Israelite in origin but rather descendants of the people of Edom or of the Khazars, a Central Asian tribe that lived near the Caspian Sea, who converted to Judaism in the eighth century A.D. The “dual-seed” doctrine holds that the Jews are the descendants of a sexual union between Eve and the tempting serpent that appeared in the Garden of Eden.

The postmillennialist component of Identity Christianity implies that the realization of God’s kingdom on Earth requires the true believers (identified with white, Identity Christians) to struggle actively against the forces of darkness (identified with Jews, nonwhites, and Communists). What distinguishes Identity Christianity from evangelical Christian fundamentalism proper is that most evangelicals believe in premillennialism, which asserts instead that the realization of God’s kingdom on Earth will proceed according to an inscrutable divine plan that can neither be helped nor hindered by human political efforts. In addition, most evangelicals regard modern Jews as the true descendants of the original Israelites and regard the creation of the State of Israel as a manifestation of God’s gracious intervention in history fulfilling certain biblical prophecies. By contrast, most Identity Christians regard the existence of the State of Israel as proof of a hidden, sinister conspiracy at work in the world that they must fight.

The Identity Christian movement seems tailor-made to provide a unifying religious and political worldview for such groups as the various **Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazi, white supremacist**, and right-wing survivalist groups as well as a theological justification for their propagation of racial hatred. Among those groups that were founded on variations of the Identity Christianity doctrine, or else that have adopted that doctrine, are the **Aryan Nations, The Order**, and the **Christian-Patriots Defense League**. These groups have either directly participated in terrorist actions or condoned such actions by their members. Such terrorism usually involves attacks on Jews and other members of minority groups or attacks on officials of the U.S. federal government, which Identity Christians refer to as the Zionist Occupation Government, or simply as ZOG. **The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord** was another such group that ceased to exist with the arrest and recantation of its leader.

Not all white supremacists or extreme rightists necessarily profess Identity Christianity. The World Church of the Creator, run by Matt Hale, a white supremacist, and headquartered in East Peoria, Illinois, is an explicitly anti-Christian as well as anti-Jewish white supremacist group operating under cover of religion that disdains open association with Identity Christian theology. Following Hale's conviction on 25 April 2004 for solicitation of murder against a U.S. district court judge and his subsequent imprisonment, his organization has gone into decline. Robert dePugh, founder of the **Minutemen**, was actually an avowed atheist. The leader of The Order, Robert Mathews, who once professed Identity Christianity, later secretly became a worshiper of the Norse gods. Nonetheless, such leaders have cynically used Identity Christianity as a means for attracting the support of disaffected white Christians who might otherwise be uninterested in the white supremacist political message. Viewed as a religious phenomenon, Identity Christianity recalls the Marcionist doctrine of the early Christian era, an anti-Semitic interpretation of the New Testament that denied the validity of the Old Testament but that was rejected as heresy by orthodox Christian theologians. Viewed simply as a political phenomenon, the Identity Christian movement is the closest thing to an indigenous American Fascist **ideology**, having widespread appeal among politically disenchanting white populists.

According to the Anti-Defamation League, the total adherents of Identity Christianity by 2005 numbered at least 25,000 and were

found mainly in the Pacific Northwest region of the United States, although small groups can also be found in Australia, Canada, Ireland, Great Britain, and South Africa.

IDENTITY POLITICS. A form of domestic politics within one nation-state in which individuals relate to each other as members of competing groups based upon ascriptive characteristics such as national origin, language, race, religion, or sexual orientation. Often the basis of a group claim of entitlement to power, or of disenfranchisement of the power of a competing group, is some claim of that group having suffered an unredressed historical or current grievance. The nature of the competition is often perceived by members of the competing groups as zero-sum, that is, a gain of relative power by one group necessarily entails a loss of some power by all other groups. The rise of identity politics within the United States in the past four decades accounts for recent attempts to define **hate crimes** through legally specified classes of victims and offenders distinguished both by the victim's and accused's relative memberships in legally specified groups and by alleged bias-related motives of the accused.

Within the United States, identity politics has been manifest in the rise of right-wing patriot and militia-type groups as well as the revival of **white supremacist** groups in the 1980s and 1990s. Identity politics has led to similar groups and movements in other liberal democracies, such as anti-Turkish nativism in Germany by **skinheads** and **neo-Nazis**, anti-Arab nativism in France by groups such as the **National Front**, and the anti-Muslim actions of the Yugoslavian government under former president Slobodan Milosevic. Taken to its extreme, identity politics may become **ethnonationalist terrorism** advocating separatism, leading a group to claim a territory within an existing nation-state and to attempt to win either autonomy or complete independence. Another possible manifestation is irredentism, whereby an existing nation-state lays claim to the territory of another neighboring state based on historical claims of former possession by that nation. A third consequence would be attempts by the majority ethnic group within a given nation to engage in **genocide** or ethnic cleansing against minority groups in their midst.

IDEOLOGY. A system of ideas and beliefs about the nature of humanity, the nature of the world, government, and politics that helps to guide the holder of the ideology in making political choices and in the

exercise of political power. An ideology plays a role similar to that of a theory in a scientific system or to that of a creed in a religious system. Ideology, along with extremist religious convictions, is considered to be a **force multiplier** of terrorism because it serves to mobilize actual terrorists and their support networks, while the ideological or religious motivation increases the awareness and galvanizing effect of the terrorist act once its motivation is made known to a wider audience of members of the **targeted** group or of potential sympathizers.

The Frenchman Deshutt de Tracy invented this term in 1797 to describe the “true ideas” of political philosophy that had been “proven” in the testing grounds of the French Revolution. He and his fellow thinkers became known as *les idéologues*. Karl Marx used the term to designate instead what he regarded as a “false consciousness” of traditional social and religious beliefs used by the dominant economic class to maintain its rule and legitimacy. Rather than using *ideology* as a term to designate false political ideas or a system of true political ideas, it may refer to any system of political ideas that support each other and that simplify political analysis and decision making for the individuals and groups who adhere to the ideology. A key point is that certain essential beliefs of any ideology are irrational or non-scientific and these components of the ideology may not be amenable to rational deliberation or debate, for example, assumptions about the moral nature of man and the inevitability of human progress. The more ideological a politically engaged person is, the more selective will be his or her perception and interpretation of events.

The personal or group ideology of the political extremist or terrorist achieves a near religious or revelatory quality, such that it becomes the prism through which all events, people, and groups are evaluated. Whoever questions the ideology of the extremist group is viewed not simply as in error or disagreement with the truth but rather as being a morally reprehensible or evil person. Thus, highly ideological thinking facilitates the depersonalization and demonization of perceived “enemies,” which allows the political extremist or terrorist to carry out horrific acts of violence against them with little sense of remorse or sympathy. Ideological thinking tends to be stereotypical and rigid in interpretation of events. The tendency of terrorist groups to form themselves into closed, clandestine cells reinforces the tendency toward **groupthink**, which is reinforced by the ideological beliefs and motivations of the group.

INFORMATION WARFARE. Information-oriented warfare is associated with low- to high-intensity conflicts and may partly involve strategic information warfare in which computer infrastructures for command, communications, control, and intelligence are directly attacked, whether by physical **targeting** or by means of hacking or attacks by computer viruses. It is relatively cheap and easy for individuals or groups to shut down computer systems and cause enormous financial losses through hacking and other attacks on information systems. In many well-publicized cases, such as the “I love you” virus that afflicted information systems throughout the world, the motives of the perpetrators were neither terroristic nor done for purposes of fraud. Therefore, it is easy to imagine the harm that a terrorist group could inflict if it opted to use cyberattacks as a means of pressuring its targeted nation or group.

Cyberwarfare may not involve attacks on computers so much as using computer information systems to pursue conventional tactics. For instance, during the Chechen war the original Chechnyan leader Dzhukar Dudayev was killed by a Russian missile when his position was pinpointed by means of tracing the signal of his cell phone. Another example is how U.S. **counterterrorism** efforts have focused on identifying the bank accounts of terrorist groups and leaders and then electronically “emptying” them or else transferring a large sum from the accounts of a leader to those of a trusted subordinate to create the impression of embezzlement and to sow rancor and distrust between the key members of a terrorist cadre. During the 1990–1991 Gulf War, the Iraqi air defense radars were cluttered with hundreds of false signals generated by chips covertly implanted in radar equipment sold to Iraq that were activated by U.S. military codes to render the air defense systems inoperative during any U.S. air attack. Another cyberwarfare tactic, known as a denial-of-service attack, is to swarm a website with thousands of e-mail messages with the intent of shutting the site down. During the course of the 1998–1999 Kosovo conflict, official U.S. government websites of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Defense Department, and the State Department were being bombarded with as many as 30,000 cyberattacks a day originating in Eastern Europe.

The term *cyberterrorism* has been loosely applied to cover instances of computer-assisted embezzlement or cases of extortion in which blackmailers have forced financial institutions to pay protection money

to forestall their shutting down or destroying computer operations vital to the firm; however, these are cases of nonpolitical criminality. Similarly, the mere release of viruses created to destroy files and software is not terrorism since such malicious mischief is not specifically targeted at any one group nor do such actions necessarily promote a political message, essential elements for a criminal action to be considered a form of terrorism. If cyberterrorism is directed to cause system failures in order to cause death and damages, for example, by shutting down air traffic guidance systems or by causing critical failures in emergency response systems, then the elements of targeting and lethality are present, which may allow such actions to be counted as a form of political violence. Counterterrorism experts believe that in the future, **state sponsors of terrorism** or nonstate groups may find ways to conduct terrorism through information warfare.

Most cyberwarfare experts regard the hacking, swarming, and denial-of-service attacks of extremist groups as little more than the electronic equivalent of harassment, graffiti, or vandalism, rather than as bona fide information warfare. *See also* INTERNET; NETWAR.

INNER MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION (IMRO). The IMRO was a Macedonian **ethnonationalist** group under **state sponsorship** that undertook terrorist actions to create an independent Macedonian homeland. The group enjoyed Bulgarian state support from 1901 until 1912, when Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia divided the former Turkish possessions among themselves. The IMRO was later supported by Hungary and Fascist Italy until World War II.

The IMRO committed one of the earliest instances of **kidnapping** and holding a U.S. citizen as a hostage for political ends. In September 1901, an American Congregationalist missionary, Ellen M. Stone, was kidnapped by the IMRO and held for ransom. The Theodore Roosevelt administration considered, but rejected, the payment of the demanded ransom, which was instead provided by a \$66,000 subscription raised privately by Stone's sponsoring missionary society and which was accepted by the Macedonian nationalists. Stone was freed in February 1902, while the proceeds of the ransom payment financed an abortive revolt against the Turks that was quickly crushed in August 1903.

In its later years, the IMRO changed from being a revolutionary terrorist group into an **entrepreneurial terrorist** organization that

hired itself out to various regimes to commit **assassinations** on a contract basis. The group ceased to exist under Communist rule in post-Yugoslavia due to arrests and purges of suspected Macedonian nationalists and other potential dissidents.

INSURGENCY. One definition for insurgency is “a struggle between a group lacking authority and the governing authorities in which the group lacking authority uses both political resources and violence to either destroy the legitimacy of the ruling group or else to change the terms by which legitimate power is held, and to establish their own alternative legitimacy” (Bard E. O’Neill, *Insurgency and Terrorism: Modern Revolutionary Warfare* [Washington, D.C.: Brassey’s, 1990]). Another criterion for distinguishing insurgencies from isolated guerrilla hit-and-run attacks or terrorist actions is whether the guerrillas have begun openly to control areas of land within a contested country. As such, insurgency falls between the extremes of **revolution**, in which the major part of the society becomes involved in the change of regime, and **terrorism** by individuals or groups lacking any nonterrorist complementary political program. Insurgents generally will use either conventional warfare or terrorist **tactics** as they perceive the situation warrants but may limit their terrorist actions as their political program requires. Insurgents may choose to **target** civilians as a tactic to delegitimize the government, which may be perceived as unable or unwilling to provide civilians with security, or else to provoke the government into overreacting.

Using this definition, one may regard the **Basque Fatherland and Liberty** group as part of a Basque insurgency rather than as merely a terrorist group. The political goals of this group have directed their terrorist actions to attacking symbols of Spanish hegemony, and the Spanish security forces in particular, rather than Spanish civilians generally.

INTELLIGENCE. This term refers to the systematic gathering and analysis of information for decision makers concerning real or potential enemies, or even about erstwhile allies, in order to protect one’s own national or group interests. Nation-states maintain intelligence organizations often specializing in criminal, diplomatic, economic, or military information gathering. But in addition to this function of surveillance, or espionage, these agencies may also be mandated to engage in covert operations to protect or advance the nation-state’s

interests. Such covert activities can range from the benign, such as providing moral support and covert financial aid to friendly groups or national governments, to the sinister, such as engaging in sabotage or even targeted **assassinations** of key figures. Having good intelligence about terrorist organizations or **state sponsors of terrorism** is essential for effective **counterterrorism**. From the viewpoint of the terrorist group or state sponsor, having solid intelligence about the routines and countermeasures of one's **targets** and their vulnerabilities is essential for carrying out effective terrorist attacks.

There are three main sources of intelligence. First, materials consisting of publicly available documents and mass media are referred to as *open source intelligence* (OSINT). Surprisingly, 95 to 99 percent of the content used in producing good classified intelligence analysis may come from open sources. Second, *technical intelligence* usually consists of electronic interception and decoding of encrypted radio or Internet communications, known as signals intelligence (SIGINT), although there are also other classifications of technical intelligence depending on the type of signals being observed and the technical means used to measure them. Thus, observations using satellites, unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), or sensors capable of detecting telltale isotopes represent other forms of technical intelligence in addition to SIGINT. Third, there is *human intelligence* (HUMINT) involving the recruiting of foreign nationals or informers from inside terrorist groups to betray their nation or groups by relaying secret information to those who recruited them. This is often the most valuable information because it can reveal those motives and details of planning that cannot be inferred from open sources or technical intelligence alone. Good HUMINT would try to get multiple independent sources to prevent the likelihood of deception or disinformation.

Preventing terrorist attacks usually requires having good HUMINT in addition to the other sources of information, but this is often the most difficult information to obtain given the extremely closed and clandestine nature of most terrorist groups, as well as their use of compartmentalization and **cellular organization** to prevent their members from having too much insider information that they might betray under interrogation or torture. Ironically, most terrorists benefit greatly by relying on OSINT as it is provided by the mass media, public databases, maps, technical and architectural schematics, and

public and private websites. The **Beirut airport bombing** of 23 October 1983 was a textbook example of **Hezbollah** using human intelligence in the form of supposed ice cream vendors, who cased the airport terminal and noted the routines of the U.S. Marines Corps guards, and also technical and open source intelligence in the form of engineering plans for the construction of the airport terminal.

Following the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**, the United States and other nations targeted by terrorism have debated the relative merits of having a more centralized intelligence system instead of the pre-September 11 decentralized national intelligence system with several agencies duplicating data gathering and analysis. While the virtues of centralization may seem intuitive, such a system runs the risk of institutional **groupthink** that would distort both the process of data collection and that of analysis. A system of multiple and often competing intelligence agencies may suffer from the unwillingness of institutional rivals to share their information, but the redundancy of this system makes it less likely that all agencies will be blinded by the same groupthink. Following the Israeli intelligence failure that allowed the surprise attacks on Israel during the October 1973 war, the Agranat Commission convened to investigate the cause(s) of that failure. The Commission noted that threat assessment of possible attacks was centralized in the one agency responsible for military intelligence, where a pervasive groupthink ruled out the possibility that the Arabs would dare attack Israel and discounted contrary evidence. In addition to debates over the relative merits of decentralized versus centralized national intelligence systems, there is an unresolved debate over what constitutes “actionable intelligence.” Some of the same voices that faulted U.S. national intelligence agencies for failing to predict and therefore to help prevent the September 11 attacks also criticized the administration of George W. Bush for deciding to launch the 2003 invasion of Iraq on the basis of scant intelligence. *See also* INTELLIGENCE REFORM AND TERRORISM PREVENTION ACT OF 2004; FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE ACT (FISA); GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SYSTEMS; USA PATRIOT ACT OF 2001.

INTELLIGENCE REFORM AND TERRORISM PREVENTION ACT OF 2004. Public Law 108-458, under Title 50 of the U.S. Code, was passed by Congress on 6 December 2004 and signed into

law by President George W. Bush on 17 December 2004. This act implemented certain recommendations of the National Commission to Study the Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (more generally known as the 9/11 Commission) in its report issued on 22 July 2004. The act created a new office of Director of National Intelligence (DNI) responsible for overseeing and coordinating the analysis and operations of the roughly 16 U.S. agencies involved in the collection and analysis of foreign **intelligence**. That function had previously been the duty of the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) under the National Security Act of 1947, but the 9/11 Commission believed that since the DCI was also the head of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), it would be difficult for his office to also oversee and coordinate the intelligence activities of the other 15 bodies forming the U.S. intelligence community. Under this act the DCI now reports to the DNI rather than directly to the U.S. president.

The act also established the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) to assume the functions of the Terrorism Threat Integration Center created by President Bush on 1 May 2003 to analyze foreign terrorism intelligence and to provide support for U.S. **counterterrorism** efforts using all available information technology. The act mandated that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) improve its intelligence capabilities and develop and maintain a national intelligence workforce with analytical specializations and proficiencies in linguistic skills and cultural knowledge to allow the FBI to become more effective in its antiterrorism mission. Section 6001 of the act amends the **Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act** of 1978 (FISA) to redefine “agent of a foreign power” to include “any person who engages in international terrorism or activities in preparation for such terrorism,” which no longer requires that the agent be connected to a specific national government.

The intention of the act was to implement the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission, aimed at preventing any recurrence of attacks similar to the **World Trade Center and Pentagon Attacks of September 11, 2001**, and the U.S. Congress wrote and passed the legislation with the same alacrity with which it passed the **USA Patriot Act of 2001**. This has led to criticisms by some analysts and observers, among them Richard A. Posner, a judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 7th Circuit, that the act attempts to solve and simplify complex issues of coordinating domestic law enforcement, counterterrorism,

and intelligence collection and analysis with ad hoc bureaucratic reorganization. In particular, critics fear that depriving the CIA of some of its analytical functions, transferred by the act to the Office of the DNI, would weaken the foremost existing U.S. foreign intelligence agency and so might actually expose the United States to greater risk of terrorist attacks in the short run. *See also* HOMELAND SECURITY.

INTERNET. The global system of interconnected computer networks that now facilitates massive and instantaneous transfers of data is a technology that has become an important **force multiplier** for terrorist and extremist groups. The Internet provides terrorists with increased opportunities for dissemination of propaganda to present their **ideology** and programs, recruitment of like-minded individuals, and fund-raising. For those who are already members of a terrorist group or allied **network** of such groups, the Internet provides means of **intelligence** gathering through **data mining** of open source public databases and websites, covert communications, and coordination of their attacks and campaigns. According to the research of Gabriel Weiman, professor of communications at Haifa University, the numbers of terrorist websites have expanded from just 12 in 1998 to more than 4,800 today, which reveals the terrorists' own perception of the usefulness of this medium.

The Internet allows terrorists access to at least three different audiences or publics: First, there is the **targeted** enemy, whether this is a government, private corporation, or political, ethnic, or religious group. This allows terrorists not only to broadcast their demands or publicize claims of responsibility for terrorist actions but also to carry out psychological warfare and disinformation operations to demoralize and confuse the enemy. Second, there is the larger constituency of the terrorists' own political, ethnic, or religious community on whose behalf they claim to be fighting and before whom they must maintain their legitimacy in order to draw on the moral and material support of members of that larger community. Finally, there is the much more specific population of other like-minded combatants with whom they may be not only collaborating but also engaged in some forms of competition or conflict due to jealousies of rival leaderships or over arcane disputes concerning ideology and correct **tactics**. For example, according to the observations of French sociologist Xavier Raufer, much of the content of militant **Islamic fundamen-**

talist websites and chat rooms consists not so much of exchanges of tactical information but rather of arguments over which tactics and **targets** are, or are not, “permissible” according to their own interpretation of Islamic law.

The advantages for terrorists of using the Internet include the lack of effective censorship or control over the Internet by national or international authorities; the anonymity of its communications, which dovetails with the terrorist group’s requirement of clandestinity in order for it to evade official repression; and the ability of otherwise isolated terrorist groups, individuals, and their supporters to achieve synergy through networking, pooling their resources, and coordinating their actions and statements in campaigns of **netwar**. Another new peril of the Internet-enabled terrorist is that of an enhanced **contagion effect** of terrorist ideas and technology: no longer must would-be jihadists or **ethnonationalists** physically contact a terrorist recruiter, travel to a training camp, and receive sophisticated training in scouting, evasion, and bomb-making techniques to become an active terrorist. The aspiring novice can now acquire bomb-making instructions via the Internet and then, by reading the blogs on successful and unsuccessful bombing operations as well as other coverage of effective counterterrorism measures, continually upgrade his terrorist skills. This process of learning and improvement through feedback using the information made available through the mass media and the Internet is what intelligence analysts now label “emergent intelligence,” in which all participants develop more sophisticated tactics and effective strategies. The sheer mass of Internet communications makes it much more difficult for national intelligence agencies to surveil as-yet unidentified terrorist Internet channels. However, even in the case of known terrorist channels, encryption programs (for encoding text communications) and steganography (a means of hiding text messages within a graphic file) allow the terrorists to evade or reduce the effectiveness of external surveillance of their channels.

A major advantage of the Internet for terrorists is that it enables them to bypass the regular mass media in order to contact their target audience, whether that is the enemy being attacked or the larger constituency they claim to serve. In the 1990s, as the traditional mass media and news agencies became more aware of the **CNN syndrome**, that is, their unwittingly allowing themselves to become co-opted by

the terrorist group or incident into spreading the group's ideology and demands, newspapers such as the *New York Times* and agencies such as Reuters would edit their reporting to exclude objectionable or inflammatory content or to edit out particular demands and claims that the terrorist group was seeking to publicize through the particular act of armed propaganda. Now, through ingenious and creative uses of multimedia technology, the terrorists can produce their own uncensored presentation of their views, demands, and threats using music, text, and video clips of speeches of their leaders, martyrdom testimonials, attacks, and beheadings, as well as other material that the conventional mass media would hesitate or refuse to cover.

The most controversial potential use of the Internet by terrorists is the potential for them to use the Internet itself as a terrorist weapon via hacking and cyberwarfare attacks to immobilize air traffic control systems, power grids, or the electronic component of the international system of credit and finance. Most cyberwarfare experts regard the hacking, swarming, and denial-of-service attacks of extremist groups as little more than the electronic equivalent of harassment, graffiti, or vandalism, rather than as bona fide **information warfare**. Gabriel Wieman, however, has noted that **al Qa'eda** computers seized by U.S. troops in Afghanistan have revealed great interest by their operators in accessing online instructions on the software and programming protocols that control the digital switches that run the power, water, transportation, and communications grids critical to the security and economic stability of the United States and other targeted nations.

INTIFADA. *Intifada* (Arabic meaning "uprising, revolt") refers to two popular uprisings against Israeli occupation among Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The first intifada began on 9 December 1987 with protests over an automobile accident in the Gaza Strip in which an Israeli motorist killed Palestinian pedestrians. While the early stages of the revolt involved youngsters taunting and throwing stones at Israeli troops, it eventually spread throughout the Palestinian population and involved organized demonstrations, civil disobedience, and boycotts of Israeli goods and services. On 28 September 2000 a second intifada broke out that involved **suicide bombings** and more conscious, planned actions by **Hamas**, **Islamic Jihad** of Palestine, and the newly created **al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade** associated with **al Fatah**.

Despite the apparent spontaneity of the outbreak of the first intifada, the **Palestine Liberation Organization** and other non-PLO groups, such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad of Palestine, coordinated most of the leading events of the original intifada. The majority of the activities carried out in the name of the first intifada were not terrorist acts, and even such acts as stone throwing or attacks on Israeli soldiers could arguably be viewed as political violence distinct from terrorism as such. Within the Palestinian community, however, reprisals, including murders, perpetrated against Palestinians viewed as Israeli collaborators or informers have become increasingly common with groups such as the Black Panthers on the West Bank, who kill those viewed as lacking zeal for their cause. Given al Fatah's governing role in the original intifada through the Unified National Leadership (UNL), a PLO front group established to coordinate intifada activities, and its past record of using its covert operations and internal enforcement organ, **Force 17**, either within Israeli territory or against Palestinians viewed as enemies of al Fatah, there is a reasonable basis for viewing the bloodletting among Palestinians as constituting a terrorist campaign.

Most internationally voiced concerns about terrorism and the intifada centered instead on alleged Israeli **state terror** perpetrated against Palestinian demonstrators and activists. Israeli soldiers sometimes retaliated against stone-throwing youths by breaking the arms of the offenders, while the Israeli government's bulldozing of homes of activists and deportation of selected Palestinian leaders of the intifada led to denunciations of Israel both internationally and within the United States. In February 1989 the U.S. Department of State's annual report on human rights charged Israel with causing "many avoidable deaths and injuries" and with violations of Palestinians' human rights due to Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) actions against Palestinian protestors.

The first intifada appeared to lose momentum in late 1990 and for all practical purposes had ceased by the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993. By that time an estimated 1,162 Palestinians and 160 Israelis had died in the violence. Israeli sources allege that large numbers of Palestinians were killed by the various Palestinian armed groups on suspicion of having been collaborators or informants for Israel.

On 28 September 2000 the second intifada broke out in protest against the visit by Likud Party leader Ariel Sharon to the Temple

Mount, a place known to the Muslims as the Haram al Sharif and considered the third-holiest shrine in Islam. This second uprising convulsed those parts of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in which Israeli troops or settlements were still present but has also involved suicide bombings within Israel proper and also the firing of Qassam rockets from Palestinian-controlled areas into Israel proper. The severity of this violence included Israeli air strikes, using rockets fired from helicopters, against al Fatah offices and led to a collapse of peace negotiations between the Palestinian Authority under **Yasir Arafat** and the Labor government of Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak. In turn, this may have contributed to the 6 February 2001 prime ministerial election victory of Likud candidate Ariel Sharon.

A number of events, including attacks by Palestinians on Israeli military and civilian targets, as well as Israeli counterattacks and special operations, took place during the period 2000–2006, while several political changes occurred among both the Palestinians and the Israelis. On 7 May 2001 IDF naval specialists captured the ship *Santorini*, filled with arms worth \$10 million supposedly bought for the Palestinian Authority (PA) and destined for Gaza. A suicide bombing on 27 March 2002, killing 30 Israeli civilians at a Passover meal at the Park Hotel in Netanya, led to IDF reoccupation of Palestinian territories during Operation Defensive Shield from March through May 2002. Severe restrictions on Palestinian travel from the occupied territories into Israel proper reduced the levels of civilian deaths due to suicide attacks. By June 2003 Hamas and Islamic Jihad of Palestine declared a temporary cease-fire of 45 days. Although violence decreased, suicide bombings against Israeli civilians and Israeli operations against suspected militants continued. On 2 February 2004 Prime Minister Sharon declared a plan to withdraw all Jewish settlers unilaterally from the Gaza Strip, but Palestinian attacks on Israeli military targets as well as Qassam rocket attacks from the Rafah area of Gaza against the neighboring Israeli town of Sderot actually increased throughout the remainder of 2004.

Following the election of Mahmoud Abbas as president of the Palestinian Authority on 9 January 2005, a mutual truce was negotiated between the PA and Israel at the Sharm el Sheikh Summit between Abbas and Ariel Sharon on 8 February 2005. On 13 February 2005 Abbas attempted to induce the leaders of Hamas and Islamic Jihad of Palestine to abide by this truce.

When Israel resumed its “targeted killing” policy in June 2005 to **assassinate** Hamas leaders and militants (which it discontinued later that same year), Hamas responded with renewed Qassam rocket attacks on Sderot on 15 July 2005. On 25 January 2006 Hamas won a 74-seat majority in the Palestinian Legislative Council, while al Fatah retained only 45 seats and other groups won the remaining 13 seats. This has led to a double crisis: First, aid to the Palestinian Authority was cut off by the United States and the European Union, which both regard Hamas as a terrorist organization. Second, it split the government of the PA, with Hamas controlling the legislative branch and al Fatah controlling the executive branch. Since the 26 November 2006 truce between the PA and Israel, much of the violence of the Palestinian factions is being directed intramurally, although violence against Israeli targets still continues.

While the fighting associated with this second intifada continued, it appeared to reach a peak around the February 2005 Sharm al Sheikh summit between PA President Mahmoud Abbas and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. The second intifada is considered to have ended with the Gaza truce of 18 June 2008. During the period 2000–2008, at least 1,057 Israelis and 5,322 Palestinians were killed.

INTIHARIOUN. *See* SUICIDE TERRORISM.

IRAULTZA. Iraulza (Basque: “revolution”), or the Basque Armed Revolutionary Workers’ Organization, was a Basque separatist organization dedicated to creating an independent and Marxist Basque state. Very little is known about the origins and composition of the organization or its relation to other Basque groups.

Iraulza did not leave written communiqués, so all that was known about the organization came from their telephoned messages, usually given as warnings shortly before their impending **bombings**. The group opposed international investments in the Basque region. The group also opposed Spain’s participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and was highly critical of the U.S. foreign policy of the administration of Ronald Reagan. Despite its vocal anti-American sentiments, however, this group never struck at, or threatened, U.S. diplomatic facilities or personnel.

Iraulza used very small bombs that were usually exploded late at night to avoid injuring people. The only injury caused by an Iraulza

bomb was due to a malfunction that failed to detonate the activated bomb at the right time, killing a construction worker who came across it the following day. Nonetheless, Iraultza managed to inflict more bombings against U.S. business interests than any other European terrorist group during the period in which it was active. From May 1982 to the end of 1987, there were at least 31 bombings by this group, including five attacks on the offices of the Rank Xerox firm, two attacks on a Coca-Cola bottling plant, six attacks on banks, including branches of Citibank and Bank of America, and also on a theater showing the film *Red Dawn*. French business firms were also favorite targets. All of these attacks were confined to the Basque-inhabited areas of Spain. From 1987 to 1990 little was heard of this group, which never appeared to have more than 20 members. In March and April 1991, Iraultza attempted three bombings, but three of its members were killed by a premature explosion. Apparently the group, which was never very large, disbanded after this calamity.

IRGUN. The Irgun Zvai Leumi, or Organization for the Defense of the People, was a nonstate Zionist paramilitary organization dedicated to the expulsion of British forces and the Arab population from Palestine to establish a Jewish state there. The Irgun was not simply a nonstate organization insofar as it was an illegal group from the viewpoint of the British regime governing the Mandate of Palestine but was also outside of the infrastructure of the Jewish Agency in Palestine, which already had the Haganah (Defense Organization) as its military wing, which became, respectively, the Israeli government and Israeli army upon independence. The Irgun was founded in 1937 by David Raziel, who was killed in 1941 helping the British quell a German-inspired revolt in Iraq. He was succeeded by Menachem Begin (1913–1990).

From 1944, the Irgun and **LEHI** collaborated in attacking the British army and civil administration in Palestine. On 22 July 1946 the Irgun **bombed** the British administrative center in Palestine, located in the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, killing over 90 people, many of whom, ironically, turned out to be Jewish employees of the Mandate of Palestine authority. On 9 April 1948 the Irgun attacked the Arab village of Deir Yassin located on the road connecting Jerusalem to Tel Aviv, killing all of its inhabitants except for two old women and a young girl. The news of this massacre in turn prompted many

Palestinian Arabs to flee their homes when the first Arab-Israeli war broke out the following month. All told, the activities of the Irgun and LEHI caused the deaths of 373 people in Palestine. With the declaration of Israeli independence and the outbreak of war with the Arab states, most Irgun members joined the Israeli army.

IRISH NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY (INLA). The INLA is an Irish nationalist terrorist group that began on 8 December 1974 as the military wing of the Irish Republican Socialist Party, itself a faction that broke with the official branch of the **Irish Republican Army (IRA)** in 1974. The INLA aimed to use armed struggle to force British troops out of Northern Ireland, to impose unification of the northern six counties with the rest of Ireland, and to overthrow the current Republic of Ireland in favor of a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary state, which would withdraw from the European Union. The INLA was much more openly Marxist-Leninist and more doctrinaire than the IRA and also cooperated with the West German **Revolutionary Cells** and French **Direct Action** leftist groups. Although it was a relatively small splinter group, the INLA gained notoriety out of proportion to its number due to the hunger strike and death of its members in the Maze Prison, particularly Bobby Sands, who died from starvation on 1 March 1981, which led to public outrage, both within Northern Ireland and throughout the rest of Great Britain against the British government's handling of the hunger strike.

INLA terrorist activities have included not only **bombings** and **assassinations** of British and Ulster officials and security forces, Protestant loyalists, and members of Protestant militias but also internecine bloodletting with both the Official and Provisional wings of the IRA as well as within the INLA itself. The struggles with the older IRA groups lasted from 1974 until 1977, when INLA founder Seamus Costello was murdered on 6 October 1977 by unknown individuals. In 1987 the INLA experienced a split with the emerging Irish People's Liberation Organization (IPLO), leading to feuds in which five INLA members were killed and the IPLO leader, Gerard Steenson, was eventually killed by the INLA. Later the IPLO degenerated into drug dealing and other criminality and eventually was destroyed by the IRA in the 1990s.

On 30 March 1979 the INLA killed Airey Neave, a British Conservative Party parliamentarian close to Prime Minister Margaret

Thatcher and a vocal critic of Irish republican terrorists, by a bomb rigged inside his car, which detonated within the underground parking garage of Westminster Palace. On 17 April 1979 the INLA killed four members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary with a remote-control bomb, the most severe blow ever inflicted on the Ulster police until then. The INLA then proceeded with a campaign of killing Ulster prison guards as well as British and Ulster undercover operatives. From November 1979 until September 1986 the INLA carried out three successful bombings and at least two other attempts. The worst of these occurred on 6 December 1982, when the INLA bombed a nightclub in Ballykelly, killing 17 people (11 of them soldiers) and injuring 66 others. From January to June 1987, the INLA reverted to internecine fighting, killing at least 12 of its veterans before members of other republican groups negotiated a truce among the surviving INLA members. On 27 December 1998 three INLA inmates of the Maze Prison murdered **Loyalist Volunteer Force** leader Billy Wright. This prompted Ulster Protestant paramilitaries to retaliate against Catholics, leading in turn to the INLA assassination of **Ulster Defence Association** official Jim Guiney, which jeopardized the peace process in Northern Ireland.

During the IRA's 1994 cease-fire, the INLA did not declare a cease-fire but rather declared a "no-first-strike" policy. Following the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, the INLA declared its own cease-fire on 22 August 1998. The INLA has been responsible for killing about 125 people during its existence, 46 of whom were members of the British security forces, 42 civilians, two members of the Irish national police, seven members of loyalist paramilitaries, 10 its own members and six members of rival republican groups. The INLA claims to have lost 33 of its own members in the Northern Ireland conflict. While the INLA remains a proscribed group in Great Britain, it is not listed as a Foreign Terrorist Organization by the U.S. State Department. *See also* GUILT TRANSFER.

IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (IRA). The name of the IRA has been used loosely to refer to the Irish National Liberation Army, the Official Irish Republican Army, the Provisional Irish Republican Army, and other Irish republican or nationalist splinter groups. In reality, the group known as the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) is the main body of the IRA. Historically the name was used first by James

Connolly to designate the nationalist forces used in the Dublin Easter Rebellion of 1916. Following the creation of the Irish Free State in 1922, the IRA split. The new Irish state turned the members of the IRA loyal to the new government into the national army of the Free State. The remaining IRA faction, made up of members opposed to the partition of Ireland and who refused to obey the Free State government, was proscribed and repressed. Various IRA splinter groups that have rejected their leadership's accommodation to the 1998 political settlement have pursued violence on their own and have taken names such as the Continuity IRA, the Real IRA (also called the True IRA), and the 32 County Sovereignty Committee, but the followings and arms held by these groups are negligible. The U.S. government in 2001 designated these factions as Foreign Terrorist Organizations, thus forbidding U.S. citizens from giving material aid to these groups.

The IRA began a **bombing** campaign in Great Britain during most of 1939 and the early part of 1940, striking more than 50 targets in London, Manchester, Glasgow, and Birmingham. The Irish government again banned the IRA in 1939, cooperating with the British in suppressing the group. From 1955 to 1962, the IRA unleashed a "border campaign" directed against the Royal Ulster Constabulary, which again was suppressed through official Anglo-Irish cooperation.

Following the 50th anniversary of the Easter Rebellion, militant Ulster Protestant harassment of Catholics in Northern Ireland increased from 1967 onward. This prompted nationalist political organizers to form a Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, which organized marches and protests even in Protestant neighborhoods. The IRA provided escorts for these marches but lacked sufficient arms to fend off **arson** attacks by militant Protestants against the homes and businesses of Catholics.

Disagreements within the IRA over its increasingly Marxist political character led to its effective reorganization in 1969 under the name of the **Provisional Irish Republican Army** (PIRA), the "Provos," which maintained that its primary goal was not civil rights for Catholics in a separate Northern Ireland nor some sort of socialist state, but rather unification of Ireland by force even against the wishes of the Protestant majority in the north, and that the primary means to achieve this goal was armed struggle rather than political negotiation. The PIRA is in fact the IRA that continued the armed struggle from 1969 to 1998. The original organization from which the current IRA split

became known as the Official Irish Republican Army (OIRA). The OIRA and the PIRA competed with each other and sometimes feuded in gun battles with each other when each was not fighting the British army or Protestant paramilitary groups. In 1972, however, the OIRA officially renounced armed struggle and renamed itself the Workers' Party, competing openly in electoral politics in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. With the end of the OIRA, the name IRA came to designate the successor PIRA group.

In reality, the memberships of the OIRA and the post-1972 IRA often overlapped. In an attempt to prevent its members from using OIRA arms in IRA operations, OIRA in effect expelled its more radical nationalist members in 1974. These radicals, who believed in armed struggle, in turn formed the **Irish National Liberation Army (INLA)**, a group at least as violent as the PIRA but also possessing the extreme Marxist-Leninist **ideology** that had come to characterize the OIRA.

The pre-1972 IRA had maintained a political front known as Sinn Fein (Irish Gaelic: "Ourselves Alone"). With the reactivation of the IRA in 1969, the Sinn Fein party officially disavowed any connection with the IRA, a tactic that allowed the IRA a legal front and the option of resorting to negotiations if expedient. With the emergence of the PIRA, a Provisional Sinn Fein came into existence alongside the Sinn Fein associated with the OIRA. Once the OIRA renounced armed struggle, there was no longer the need for the pretense of a separate political front, and so since 1972 the name Sinn Fein has referred only to the political front of the post-1972 IRA. The INLA also had as its associated political front the Irish Republican Socialist Party. When organizers of this party found that the INLA, which they had viewed as their party's military wing, was unwilling to submit itself to control by the party, they dissociated themselves from the INLA, which then operated without any political front group.

Despite the historical discontinuity between the pre-1969 IRA and the PIRA, most references to the IRA in public discussion and news reports deal mainly with the PIRA, which is therefore the *de facto* IRA; all other republican or nationalist paramilitaries are merely marginal splinter groups or factions.

The IRA is the main Irish nationalist paramilitary and terrorist organization that until April 1998 sought to reunite the six counties of Northern Ireland with the rest of Ireland into an "Irish Socialist Republic" primarily by revolutionary armed struggle rather than

through political or diplomatic means. As the IRA's approximately 1,500 members were quite outnumbered by the Northern Irish police together with regular British forces and security forces in Northern Ireland, the IRA resorted heavily to terrorism aimed at inflicting maximum casualties and **targeted** civilians as well as military personnel.

The most recent period of IRA terrorism began in 1969 with covert aid, including arms, from the Irish Republic during the Fianna Fail government of Prime Minister Jack Lynch. Later Irish governments desisted from covert support and took steps to intercept arms destined for the IRA being shipped through Irish territory. Libya provided arms and financial help intermittently, shipping five tons of arms from Tripoli on the *Claudia* that were seized by the Irish navy on 28 March 1973. This shipment was followed by a shipment of 150 tons of Libyan weapons, including Czech-made Semtex explosives, aboard the *Eskund*, seized by French customs and police on 1 November 1987. The revolutionary governments of Iran and Algeria also aided the IRA. The IRA developed contacts with the **Basque Fatherland and Liberty** group and the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine**, as well as the **Revolutionary Cells** found in Germany. However, most of the IRA's resources came from within the Irish community, through extortion and protection payments among the Irish Catholic communities in the northern six counties, bank robberies in both Northern Ireland and the Republic, and through appeals for donations from people of Catholic Irish descent living in the United States and elsewhere, often through front organizations such as NORAID (the Irish Northern Aid Committee). On 29 September 1984, the Irish navy seized seven tons of arms on the trawler *Marita Ann* offloaded from a ship that had transported them from the United States.

IRA terrorism had several objectives: It was intended to raise to unacceptable levels the economic and political costs to Great Britain of maintaining troops in Northern Ireland. It sought to provoke British and Northern Irish military and police forces to violate the human and civil rights of IRA suspects or of ordinary Catholics in the hope that such abuses in turn would outrage Great Britain's domestic civil libertarians and excite international condemnation. It was meant also to mobilize forcibly into the struggle the Northern Irish Catholics over whom the IRA asserted its jurisdiction. This entailed summary punishments against Catholics who themselves did not agree with the IRA political program or who were suspected of cooperating with

Northern Irish and British authorities, by means of **kneecappings**, summary executions, and threats against family members. In later years the IRA developed the tactic of using exposed informers as **suicide bombers** driving car bombs into Northern Irish police and British troops. The suicide driver was usually a married man with family who was told that his family would be murdered if he did not cooperate. Such a suicide car bomber killed himself and five soldiers in an attack on a Londonderry checkpoint on 24 October 1990.

The primary targets of the IRA have been British army troops, Northern Irish security forces, judicial officials, prison wardens and guards, and members of Ulster Protestant political parties and militias. Most attacks have been carried out in Northern Ireland, with some attacks against British targets in the Irish Republic and many more attacks in England. From 1969 to 2001, according to Malcolm Sutton's research, direct killings by the IRA had reached a total of 1,707 out of a total of 3,524 people directly killed by the conflict in Northern Ireland. All told, approximately 30,000 people were maimed or received nonfatal injuries in the conflict, of whom about 20,000 were civilians.

A few of the more notable actions of the IRA include the following: On 21 July 1972, "Bloody Friday," the IRA conducted 22 bombings in Belfast, killing 11 and injuring about 100. During September 1973 the IRA bombed the London Stock Exchange, the British House of Commons, the Bank of England, the London subway, and several shopping areas. On 21 November 1974, the IRA bombed two pubs in Birmingham, England, killing 21 and injuring around 120. On 21 July 1976 the IRA **assassinated** Christopher Ewart-Briggs, British Ambassador to Ireland, by destroying his vehicle with a land mine. On 27 August 1979 the IRA assassinated Louis, Earl Mountbatten by bombing his yacht, killing three others with him. On 20 July 1982 the IRA set off two radio-controlled bombs in London, the first striking a detachment of the Queen's Household Cavalry passing through Hyde Park, killing four soldiers, and the other bomb killing seven members of the Royal Green Jackets, a military band, in Regent's Park. On 17 December 1983 the IRA car-bombed Harrod's department store in London, killing five (including one American) and injuring 80 others. On 12 October 1984 the IRA bombed the hotel holding the British Conservative Party conference in Brighton, England, killing one cabinet member and three other people and injuring 32 others. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher

would have been killed had she not moved into a different room just minutes before the bomb detonated. On 8 November 1987 the IRA bombed a Remembrance Day ceremony in Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, killing 11 people and injuring 63 others.

In 1990 the IRA began to carry out more attacks in England, including two shootings and two bombings, one of which killed Conservative Member of Parliament Ian Gow on 30 July 1990. On 7 February 1991 the IRA carried out a mortar attack against the British prime minister's office-residence at No. 10 Downing Street while Prime Minister John Major was consulting there with senior members of his cabinet. During 1991 the IRA also carried out numerous bombings throughout Britain, including a 2,000-pound bomb that was exploded outside a police station in Northern Ireland. In addition, the IRA has conducted five major attacks on British army bases in Europe, including a thwarted attack on 6 March 1988 directed at British military facilities in Gibraltar.

The IRA terror campaign led to unintended results that may have made its goal of unification of Ireland more remote. First, the bitterness of the terrorist war being waged by the IRA and other nationalist or republican groups, by the Ulster Protestant militias, and by the British forces exacerbated the communal and sectarian tensions to the extent that the majority of Ulster Protestants might have preferred to opt for a separate Ulster republic rather than consent to unification with the south had Britain decided to withdraw from Northern Ireland. Second, the terror campaign against British targets in England, and particularly the attacks on the prime minister, members of parliament, and Lord Mountbatten hardened both public and official British attitudes toward the Irish nationalists and republicans and strengthened their resolve not to retreat from Northern Ireland. Third, the terror campaign transformed the nationalist struggle from being a mass movement for civil rights into an insidious war of counterintelligence and covert operations in which ordinary civilians became little more than victims and pawns and which stifled open political participation.

While the original IRA conceived itself to be a true army, and organized itself accordingly with general orders and a hierarchical command structure, the modern IRA was forced to adopt a **cellular structure** in the 1970s to prevent the penetration and subversion of the organization by British agents. Beginning in 1981 the British resorted to the **supergrass** tactic of turning a captured terrorist, facing substantial charges,

into a prosecution witness with immunity from prosecution for his own crimes if he would denounce several of his erstwhile colleagues. This system used trials without juries and the uncorroborated testimony of a single witness to effect scores of convictions. While many of these convictions were overturned on appeal, the tactic sowed much distrust and internal discord within the targeted republican and loyalist terrorist groups and hampered their efficiency.

Although previous IRA terrorist campaigns, such as that which erupted in the Irish civil war of 1922–1923 or the “Border Campaign” of 1956–1962, eventually spent themselves out, there was one important difference between those former campaigns and the 1969–1998 conflict. In the earlier cases the IRA had targeted the government of the Republic of Ireland as well as the government of Northern Ireland, with the result that authorities on both sides of the border cooperated in suppressing IRA terrorism. At the beginning of the civil rights campaign in 1968, a tacit accord appeared to exist between the Irish Republic and the IRA to the effect that the IRA would not target the Irish Republic so long as the Republic did not cooperate with the Northern Irish authorities in their efforts to stem nationalist republican terrorists. General Order No. 8 of the IRA official handbook, the *Green Book*, prohibited IRA members from “any military action against 26 County [*sic*] forces under any circumstances whatsoever.” Although the Irish Republic began in the mid-1970s to intercept arms shipments destined for the IRA and attempted to dissuade the Libyan government from supporting the IRA, successive Irish governments generally avoided vigorous prosecution and internment of IRA activists within the Republic.

The recent peace process in Northern Ireland dates back to the 15 November 1985 Anglo-Irish Accord in which the governments of Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland agreed that no change in the status of Northern Ireland would be imposed that did not regard the wishes of the majority of the people of Northern Ireland. In January 1989 a political dialogue began between the major legal political parties in Northern Ireland, including the Social Democratic Labour Party representing Catholic citizens, and later was expanded to include participation by the governments of Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland, as well as the United States as a mediator in the conflict. By November 1993 Sinn Fein was granted admission to these negotiations conditioned upon the cessation of IRA violence.

On 31 August 1994 the IRA began a cease-fire and not long afterward the main Ulster Protestant militias, including the **Ulster Defence Association** and **Ulster Volunteer Force**, responded with cease-fires of their own. In January 1994 President Bill Clinton ordered that a visa be granted to Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams to come to Washington, D.C., to confer directly with administration officials concerning the Northern Ireland peace talks.

Due to a lack of political progress, the IRA ended its 17-month cease-fire on 9 February 1996 by bombing the Docklands area of London, killing two and injuring more than 100 others. Sinn Fein was then excluded from the peace talks. On 12 June 1996 the Clinton administration appointed former U.S. senator George Mitchell to serve as a chairman in the peace talks. Following the election of a Labour government, the IRA resumed its cease-fire on 20 July 1997, and Sinn Fein was readmitted to the talks. The Good Friday Agreement of 10 April 1998, also known as the Belfast Agreement, established the basis for a peaceful settlement of the Northern Ireland conflict. The IRA announced on 30 April 1998 that it regarded the agreement as defective but would continue to maintain its cease-fire. The IRA had been refusing to decommission its weapons because it regarded this as effective surrender, but it otherwise accommodated itself to engagement in the peace process that began with the Anglo-Irish Accord of 1985. Then, on 22 October 2001, Gerry Adams announced in West Belfast that the IRA would disarm to comply with the Good Friday Agreement while his deputy, Martin McGuinness, made the same announcement the same day in New York. The following day, the IRA announced it would proceed to dismantle its stockpiles of arms hidden in various depots. These caches included surface-to-air missiles, rocket-propelled grenades, flamethrowers, detonators, and several tons of Semtex.

Since the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, the peace process in Northern Ireland has made fitful progress marked by mutual mistrust between the IRA and Sinn Fein, on the one hand, and the Protestant Unionist parties and paramilitaries on the other. This mistrust was fed by the unwillingness of the IRA to decommission its arms quickly and openly, while the republicans and nationalists had reservations about the neutrality and integrity of the new Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI), which had replaced the Royal Ulster Constabulary in November 2001. In addition, sporadic episodes of IRA violence and criminality fed further mistrust that impeded formation

of a working Northern Ireland Executive based on IRA cooperation with the Unionist parties.

On 31 January 2000 Sir John de Chastelain, the Canadian general heading the Independent International Commission of Decommissioning (IICD) overseeing the decommissioning of IRA arms, initially reported that no IRA arms had been given up. Nonetheless, by 6 May 2000 the IRA announced that it would put its weapons out of use “completely and verifiably” by sealing them in concrete at dump sites in the Republic of Ireland. On 23 October 2001 the IRA announced it had decommissioned part of its arsenal including arms, ammunition, and explosives, and the IICD verified that two arms dumps in the Republic had been sealed by concrete. Following the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**, the IRA vowed on 19 September 2001 to intensify its engagement with the IICD, and 48 hours later the IICD verified IRA decommissioning of more of its arms. First Minister David Trimble of the Ulster Unionist Party then resumed the Northern Ireland Executive, which he had suspended in protest to the prior slow pace of decommissioning by the IRA. On 6 November 2001 Trimble was reelected as first minister with the support of Sinn Fein and the nationalist Social Democratic Labour Party.

On 8 April 2002 the IRA announced additional decommissioning, which General Chastelain verified, describing it as “substantial.” Following a remark by British Prime Minister Tony Blair implying that the IRA was dragging out the process of decommissioning its arms, the IRA announced on 30 October 2002 that it was breaking off contact with General Chastelain in protest at Blair’s comments. On 21 October 2003, First Minister Trimble declared that he was dissatisfied with the statements of General Chastelain, who would not divulge more specific details about the decommissioning of IRA arms.

Following the 26 November 2003 Northern Ireland Assembly election, in which the more hard-line Protestant Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) of Ian Paisley won 30 seats to the more moderate Ulster Unionist Party’s 27 seats and in which Sinn Fein won 24 seats to the Social Democratic Labour Party’s 18 seats, self-government by the Stormont Parliament was ended due to the refusal of the DUP to form a coalition with Sinn Fein. In a special conference of the leaders of these parties at Leeds Castle in Kent on 16–18 September 2004, Prime Minister Blair attempted to get the DUP to agree to form a coalition government with Sinn Fein in return for a complete and final decom-

missioning of IRA arms, but the DUP rejected that proposal. The crux of the disagreement was the DUP demand for photographic recording or other independent evidence of the decommissioning, while the IRA insisted that Chastelain's witnessing the decommissioning was sufficient verification. When the IRA later allowed a Catholic priest and Methodist minister to observe the decommissioning as neutral third parties, Paisley rejected this as insufficient independent confirmation due to the DUP having had no say in the selection of the Protestant observer. On 20 July 2005 the IRA announced it had ordered all of its units to dump their arms and on 28 July 2005 ordered all its units to end the armed campaign in favor of purely political activity. On 26 September 2005, General Chastelain stated that he was satisfied that all of the IRA arms were now "beyond use."

On 7 January 2004 an Independent Monitoring Commission (IMC) composed of four retired public officials from Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, the United Kingdom, and the United States had been set up by the British and Irish governments to promote the establishment of a stable and inclusive devolved government in Northern Ireland. It would report to the British and Irish governments on activity by paramilitary groups and on British compliance with steps to normalize security and law enforcement in Northern Ireland, and would investigate claims by members of the Northern Ireland Assembly as to whether other parties, or ministers in a devolved Executive, were shirking their duties of compliance with the peace process. By 4 October 2006 the IMC confirmed that the IRA had dismantled its military structure and was making progress in restraining criminal activities by some of its members.

Other issues that had been stumbling blocks to cooperation between the IRA and Unionist parties in restoring self-government in a Northern Ireland Executive was the apparent unwillingness of the IRA to accept the legitimacy of the newly reorganized Police Service of Northern Ireland and also to control the lawlessness of some of its members. On 13 June 2002, reports of IRA training of **Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia** (FARC) rebels in Colombia, as well as of IRA weapons testing in FARC-controlled areas, led to British and Ulster Unionist accusations that the IRA had violated the Good Friday Agreement, which Sinn Féin denied. On 16 July 2002 the IRA offered an apology to the families and loved ones of those it had slain during its 30-year campaign against British rule. The United States continued

to block fund-raising for Sinn Fein as long as it refused to accept the authority of the Police Service of Northern Ireland. On 18 March 2002 a break-in of the Castlereagh police station was blamed on the IRA, while a police raid on Sinn Fein offices on 4 October 2002 found evidence alleging that Sinn Fein had been passing sensitive police and military information to IRA military units. This allegation led to the 14 October 2002–8 May 2007 suspension of the Northern Ireland Assembly and Executive. In December 2005 Dennis Donaldson, an IRA member who had turned informant, claimed that the spy ring had actually been a disinformation campaign directed by his British handlers against the IRA. Donaldson's later assassination on 4 April 2006 was blamed on the IRA, while Gerry Adams claimed it was committed by renegade IRA members trying to derail the peace process.

On 20 February 2004 the attempted abduction of a former INLA member, Bobby Tohill, who was an outspoken critic of the IRA, led Unionists to accuse the IRA of further breaches of the Good Friday Agreement, and on 2 March 2004 David Trimble announced that the Ulster Unionist Party was withdrawing its support for the Good Friday Agreement due to IRA lawlessness. On 20 December 2004 the main office of the Northern Bank in Donegall Square, Belfast, was robbed of £26.5 million, which was blamed on the IRA by the PSNI and by both the Irish and British governments. During 17–18 February 2005, the Irish police, the Garda, arrested eight people, including some known Sinn Fein members, and recovered £2 million of the stolen funds. In October–November 2005 the PSNI arrested five people in connection with the robbery, three of whom were formally charged, although charges against two of them were dropped on 3 January 2007. On 20 January 2005, IRA members murdered a Catholic, Robert McCartney, during a pub brawl. The IRA expelled the three men accused of the murder and offered to execute the offenders if the McCartney family so wished, an offer they refused. On 1 June 2005, two men were arrested and charged with the murder. On 22 May 2006 Ian Paisley rejected Sinn Fein's nomination of him as first minister, saying that he would not share power with those who “condoned and even planned murders, who robbed banks, who committed criminal acts and who will not support the police.”

To counter this stalemate, Irish Prime Minister Bertie Ahern and British Prime Minister Blair joined in urging all parties to restore a functioning Northern Ireland government. During 7–10 October 2006,

multiparty talks were held in St. Andrews, Scotland, in which the DUP agreed to the formation of a coalition government with Sinn Fein in return for Sinn Fein agreeing to endorse the Police Service of Northern Ireland. The issue of IRA sincerity in its efforts to decommission its arms and to rein in the criminal activities of some of its members had also been resolved by the 4 October 2006 declaration by the Independent Monitoring Commission that the IRA had fulfilled these obligations. As further incentives to bring the opposing parties together, Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown promised continued British economic aid for Northern Ireland should the parties form a government, while Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Peter Hain threatened to cut off the salaries of the elected members of the Northern Ireland Assembly if they did not resolve to form a functioning government by April 2007. On 28 January 2007 a Sinn Fein special conference endorsed the PSNI. Gerry Adams urged victims of crime to cooperate with the official police and also encouraged republicans to seek employment in the new police service. In the 7 March 2007 Northern Ireland Assembly election, the DUP won 36 seats to the Ulster Unionist Party's 18 seats, while Sinn Fein won 28 seats to the Social Democratic Labour Party's 16 seats. On 26 March 2007 Gerry Adams met with Ian Paisley to work out the details of a new Northern Ireland Executive with Paisley as first minister and Martin McGuinness, a former IRA commander, as deputy first minister. On 8 May 2007 Paisley and McGuinness were sworn in as first minister and deputy first minister, respectively, restoring effective self-rule in Northern Ireland and apparently ending IRA and Ulster paramilitary involvement in terrorism. On 31 May 2008, Ian Paisley yielded leadership of the Democratic Unionist Party to Peter Robinson, who then replaced Paisley as first minister on 5 June 2008.

ISLAMIC AMAL. Islamic Amal was an **Islamic fundamentalist** splinter group that broke away from the Lebanese Shi'ite **Amal** militia in 1982. Islamic Amal was a nonstate group of more-militant Amal militiamen who hearkened to Iran's call for Islamic **revolution** throughout the Middle East. They had grown disillusioned with the more secular and nationalistic leadership of Nabih Berri, who had succeeded Imam Musa Sadr following the latter's disappearance in 1978.

In 1982 Hussein Musawi, a high school teacher and member of the Amal Command Council, accused Berri of implicit collaboration with Israel during its invasion of Lebanon that summer. Musawi quit,

or was expelled, from Amal but founded Islamic Amal in the vicinity of Baalbak, which had become a guerrilla training center run by Iran's **Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps**. Musawi was implicated in the 19 July 1982 **kidnapping** of David Dodge, the president of the American University in Beirut, and in the October 1983 truck **bombings** of the French and U.S. multinational forces. In November 1983, Israel and France launched retaliatory air strikes on Musawi's Baalbak headquarters but without harming Musawi.

Musawi continued to speak in the name of Islamic Amal as late as 1986, but it is believed that Islamic Amal was incorporated wholesale into the framework of **Hezbollah** and that the fiction of Islamic Amal as a separate entity was kept alive as a form of disinformation to confuse Hezbollah's enemies.

ISLAMIC FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF BAHRAIN.

This was a nonstate group of **Islamic fundamentalist** Shi'ite Bahrainis seeking to create a **revolution** in Bahrain under Iranian **state sponsorship**. The Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain was founded in March 1979 by Hujjatulislam Hadi al Mudarissi, a young Iraqi clergyman who had lived in Najaf, Iraq, as a member of **Ru-hallah Khomeini's** entourage, who was given **asylum** in Bahrain after he fled Iraq in the late 1970s. His brother, Muhammad Taqi al Mudarissi, founded the Islamic '**Amal Party** to promote an Islamic revolution in Iraq, which was eventually merged into the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution of Iraq, an umbrella organization founded in Tehran by Iraqi Shi'ite revolutionaries and headed by the **al Da'wa** Party of Iraq. Hadi al Mudarissi was financed by two Iranian revolutionary foundations used to front subversive adventures abroad, namely, the Foundation for the Oppressed and the Liberation Movements Office. Hadi al Mudarissi moved back to Najaf following the fall of Saddam Hussein in 2003.

On 13 December 1981 the security police of Bahrain and Dubai arrested a total of 60 people, six of them students in transit to Bahrain, at Dubai International Airport on charges of illegal possession of firearms and explosives, membership in a subversive organization, conspiracy to overthrow the government, and collaboration with a hostile foreign power. Thirteen other people were later arrested in areas of Bahrain outside the capital of Manama. Substantial material evidence in addition to confessions of those arrested indicated that Iran had been

the principal behind the coup plot. Among the several arms caches seized, police also found complete duplicate sets of Bahraini security police uniforms, which proved to be of Iranian manufacture. Certain of those arrested revealed that they had undergone military training in Iran. While Iran vehemently denied these charges, the Gulf Cooperation Council condemned Iran for its promotion of subversive activities among the Shi'ite Muslims of the Persian Gulf emirates.

On 17 January 1996 the Front bombed the Meridian Hotel in Manama, site of the Middle East Petroleum and Gas Conference, but without causing any deaths or injuries. On 11 February 1996 the Front bombed the Diplomat Hotel in Manama, causing three injuries but no deaths. Following political reforms by King Hamad ibn Isa al-Khalifa in 2001, the ban on the group was lifted and its members were pardoned. They reorganized themselves as a political party, the Jama'at al 'Amal al Islami (Islamic Action Society). Although the Society was temporarily banned in 2005 for holding a commemoration honoring the attempted 1981 coup, it was allowed to resume activities. The party is currently led by Shaykh Muhammad Ali Mahfuz, a close associate of Mudarissi and longtime opposition figure in Bahrain.

ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM. Islamic fundamentalism has been identified as the main **ideology** motivating the **assassins** of Anwar Sadat, the **Hezbollah** militia of Lebanon, **al Qa'eda**, and the Islamic Republic of Iran, which has engaged in **state sponsorship** of terrorism. Other terms that have been used interchangeably with Islamic fundamentalism are *Islamism*, *Jihadism*, and *Salafism*, which will be discussed below.

What non-Muslim Westerners have called Islamic fundamentalism, Muslims prefer to call *al nihdhat al Islami*, meaning "the Islamic movement," or better, "the Islamic resurgence." The term *Islamic fundamentalism* misleadingly suggests an analogy with Christian fundamentalism, which accepts a radical distinction between the kingdom of God and the kingdom(s) of this world. So-called fundamentalist Islam radically rejects such a separation of life into secular and religious domains, or any separation of politics and religion. The closest analogy in Western Christianity would be the prorevolutionary **liberation theology** of Latin America rather than the private pietism of mainstream American Protestant fundamentalism. Although using the term *Islamic resurgence* would be less misleading,

the currency of the term *Islamic fundamentalism* will likely remain a linguistic fact of life and therefore is used throughout this dictionary subject to the caveats outlined above regarding its proper meaning.

Central to Islamic fundamentalism is its insistence on reviving and comprehensively applying a unitary system of Islamic law covering all private and public affairs. This closed and comprehensive legal system stems from the Koran, an even larger body of traditions, authoritative commentaries, historic consensus, and judicial precedents. The various Islamic fundamentalist movements hold in common certain beliefs, which may be summarized as follows: the Islamic laws have comprehensive solutions for all economic, social, diplomatic, criminal, and civil problems; Islamic law is itself perfect, immutable, and organic, not to be abrogated in part or amended; the current Islamic world, with its mixture of traditional Muslim and contemporary Western laws and institutions and its division of the historic Islamic empire into several nation-states, represents a deviation from true Islam; and the religious duties of **jihad** (holy war), or of “enjoining the good and forbidding the evil,” permit violence to rid Muslim lands of un-Islamic laws, institutions, rulers, foreign powers, and agents when other means fail.

Islamic fundamentalism is not a monolithic phenomenon but exists both in various official and populist forms. The religious establishments within Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf emirates are officially fundamentalist in the sense outlined above but with the difference that they maintain that the true form of Islam is already being implemented in those countries. Such an Islamic fundamentalism is politically conservative and even counterrevolutionary. The opposing populist variety of Islamic fundamentalism comes also in two forms, namely, an *islahi* (reformist) version and a more **revolutionary** version. The foremost Sunni form of revolutionary Islam is identified with Salafism, although it should be noted that there are also nonrevolutionary Salafists who support the religious establishment of Saudi Arabia and other Muslim states. While the **Taliban** and **Kashmiri separatist** groups have been described as Salafi, they are more accurately described as Deobandi, named after an austere Sunni school originating in India, though in practice their aims and activities are virtually the same as those of the Salafi militants. While there is no generic term for the Shi'ite version of revolutionary Islam, its adherents have often referred to themselves as *hezbollah*, a Koranic

term meaning “Party of God,” or as being *maktabi*, meaning “those who adhere to the book.” While Dr. Behrooz Behbudi and Dr. Walid Phares have used the term *Khomeinist* to refer to Shi’ite revolutionary fundamentalist Muslims, this term has not been used by such fundamentalists. Reformist fundamentalists accept the notion of incrementalist reform of corrupt Muslim societies through educational efforts and such political participation or agitation as is permitted by the national Muslim government. Examples of such fundamentalists are to be found in the various **Muslim Brotherhood** groups that have operated as political parties and social welfare organizations in Egypt, Sudan, Syria, Algeria, and other Muslim lands. Revolutionary fundamentalists reject such reformism as being a compromise with unbelief and insist instead on violent, revolutionary means to achieve the true Islamic state and society. An example of revolutionary Salafi fundamentalists was the Sunni group that attacked and occupied the Masjid al Haram complex in Mecca on 20 November 1979. Nonetheless, even reformist fundamentalists have shown a willingness to resort to political violence and terrorism if they are frustrated in their attempts to work peacefully within the political system. The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in the Nasser period, the Brotherhood in Syria under Hafiz al Asad, and, more recently, the **Islamic Salvation Front** in Algeria and **Islamic Tendency Movement** in Tunisia have all resorted to political violence when denied the chance to reform those countries through political channels.

Most populist fundamentalists are hostile to the West, and to the United States in particular, for three main reasons: the United States is perceived as the main backer of the State of Israel; the United States is viewed as the backer and supporter of those Muslim states that populist fundamentalists regard as apostate regimes; and the United States is the source of an attractive materialistic and individualistic culture that is incompatible with the traditional and community-centered ethos of an integral Islamic moral order. These perceived antagonisms will continue to provoke violent reactions, including terrorist attacks or threats against American citizens and U.S. interests in, or near, the Muslim world for the foreseeable future. Apart from antagonism toward the United States and the West more generally, the incompatibility of Islamic fundamentalist aspirations with the conscious secularism of many Muslim states, especially the Pan-Arabist regimes, such as those of **Muammar Qaddafi** in Libya,

the Ba'athist Syrian regime, and the former regime of Saddam Hussein in Iraq, also portends terrorism by fundamentalists against such regimes as well as reciprocal **state terror** directed by those regimes against fundamentalists.

Although Islamic fundamentalism is perhaps the only remaining transnational **ideological** movement that continues to challenge Western liberal democracy following the collapse of international Communism, even among revolutionary fundamentalists there is no monolithic ideological or organizational unity. Sectarian differences between Sunni and Shi'ite fundamentalists, nationalistic differences between Arab and non-Arab nationals, and idiosyncratic antagonisms among and within groups or between individual leaders have vitiated efforts to create a cohesive Pan-Islamic movement. This was particularly evident in the case of the Iranian revolution in which the Shi'ite complexion of Iranian Islam and the historical animosity between Iranians and Arabs neutralized much of the appeal of that revolution even among fundamentalists in the Arab Sunni countries. Generally, Salafists reject even revolutionary Shi'ites as being *rafedhis*, those who have "rejected" Sunni traditional authority, while revolutionary Shi'ite Muslims have rejected the Salafists as being *takfiris* due to the Salafi practice of **takfir**, that is, of labeling other Muslims with whom they differ as *kaffirs*, or infidels. Moderate Muslims and nonrevolutionary fundamentalist Muslims have tried to distance themselves from violent, revolutionary fundamentalists by labeling the latter as the *khawarej al jadid*, or neo-Khawarej (also known as neo-Kharajites), after a violent schismatic purist sect of the first century of the Islamic era who inflicted much bloodshed on their Muslim contemporaries in the name of purifying Islam. Despite these internal differences, given the failure of attempts to implement socialism or Western-style democracy in the various Muslim countries and the repeated failures of Arab nationalist leaders to defeat Israel or the West, Islamic fundamentalism continues to grow in its appeal within Muslim countries, as well as within Muslim ethnic enclaves in non-Muslim nations, as an indigenous moral-ethical and populist political ideology with which to answer the political and cultural challenges of the non-Muslim world.

Some scholars, such as Olivier Roy, try to distinguish between Islamic fundamentalism and Islamism by identifying the latter with reformist attempts to reinvigorate the Muslim world that allow a more

selective implementation of Islamic law and that would not exclude non-Muslims from political participation in the various Muslim nations. The use of the term *jihadism* as a generic term for fundamentalism has been criticized, since even reformist and other non-violent Muslims accept the principle of jihad as a religious duty but may regard it as being primarily an internal spiritual struggle rather than violence toward non-Muslims. Despite these attempted distinctions, popular discourse and journalism tend to use these terms interchangeably.

It should also be noted that there is another strain of populist, fundamentalist Islam that is radically nonpolitical, namely, Sufism (Arabic: *Tassawuf* or *'Irfan*), which represents an intensely personal and experience-oriented mysticism. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the devotees of Sufism, known as dervishes or Sufis, joined in mystical brotherhoods, or *tariqat*, found throughout the Islamic world, and did engage in armed rebellions against European colonialism, such as the revolt of the Sudanese Mahdi in Khartoum; however, during recent decades these orders have tended to be apolitical and even openly critical of more politically oriented variations of Islamic fundamentalism. Therefore, as one means of counteracting the influence of fundamentalist militants within Egypt, President Hosni Mubarak has given much official support to the Sufi orders, both to bolster his own Islamic credentials and also to divert pietistic tendencies among the ordinary faithful into channels that do not threaten the state.

It should be noted in any case that the vast majority of Muslims who hold what may be considered fundamentalist beliefs are not engaged in extremist politics or revolutionary violence, and many of them abhor the violence of the extremist militants.

ISLAMIC GROUP (IG). The Gama'a al Islamiya is a nonstate **Islamic fundamentalist** group that sought the overthrow and replacement of the current secular regime in Egypt by its version of an Islamic state. It claimed **Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman** as its spiritual leader and threatened retaliation against Americans and U.S. interests after he was sentenced to life imprisonment on 17 January 1996. The IG has **targeted** tourists, Coptic Christians, and senior Egyptian officials in its attempts to topple the Hosni Mubarak regime. On 26 August 1994 the IG machine-gunned a bus full of Spanish tourists near Nag Hammadi, killing a 13-year-old boy. On 26 June 1995 IG gunmen opened fire on Mubarak's motorcade in Addis Ababa; the two gunmen and

two Ethiopian policemen were killed. This attack stiffened Mubarak's determination to root out all wings of the fundamentalist resistance in Egypt, stopping not just the armed militants but also the social, political, and intellectual springs of the movement.

The government repression succeeded in confining most of the IG violence to the southern provinces of Minya, Asyut, and al-Qina along the Nile. However, the IG responded to this internal crackdown by taking the antiregime violence beyond Egypt. On 20 October 1995 the IG **bombed** Egyptian diplomats in Rijeka, Croatia, and **assassinated** an Egyptian diplomat in Geneva on 13 November 1995. On 19 November 1995 a **suicide bomber** drove an explosives-packed pickup truck into the Egyptian embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan, killing 16 people and injuring 55 others. On 18 April 1996 IG gunmen machine-gunned Greek tourists at the base of the pyramids, killing 18, injuring another 12, and injuring two Egyptians. On 12 February 1997 the IG attacked a Coptic Christian church in Abu Qurqas and the Christian hamlet of Nag Dawoud, killing nine Copts and three others. On 18 September 1997 two IG gunmen attacked a tourist bus with machine-gun fire and gasoline bombs, killing nine German tourists and one other. The IG achieved its worst notoriety with the massacre of 58 foreign tourists and four Egyptians on 17 November 1997 at the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut outside Luxor, Egypt. This methodical and merciless massacre greatly shocked not only world opinion but even many Islamic militants, and the IG issued a statement on 8 December 1997 repudiating the actions as inconsistent with the "principles of legitimacy, humanity and politics" and declaring that it would cease and desist from attacking tourists. Following the **Luxor Temple massacre**, both Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman and IG leader Abbud al-Zumar issued an appeal to the members of the Jihad group and members of the Islamic Group to cease violence and to work to form a "peaceful front" to confront the Egyptian government. The last known IG attack was a machine-gun attack on police in the southern village of Mani Mazar on 22 March 1998, killing four police officers and wounding 13 others.

In February 1996 and again in February 1998, when **Osama bin Laden** issued a **fatwa** declaring it the religious duty of every individual Muslim to kill Americans everywhere, whether soldiers or civilians, this was co-signed by Ayman al Zawahiri, the leader of one wing of the **Munazzamat al Jihad** in Egypt, and also by Abu-Yasir

Rifa'i Ahmad Taha, a leader of the Islamic Group in Egypt. Evidence later seemed to link those who perpetrated the Luxor Temple massacre with bin Laden. In late July 1998, IG leaders forced Taha to retract his endorsement of the fatwa; in late 1998 the IG renounced violence altogether and in 1999 declared a cease-fire with the Egyptian government after having caused around 1,300 deaths in its history. The IG later published seven books in its *Rectification of Concepts Correction* series from September 2003 onward, clarifying its position regarding the use of violence, rejecting many points of the bin Laden fatwa as being contrary to Islamic law, and specifically criticizing al Qaeda for its indiscriminate targeting of civilians. Even though Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman in 2000 urged the IG to renounce the cease-fire, the group has remained nonviolent. In recognition of the change in the ideology and practice of the IG, the Egyptian government in September 2003 released about 900 members of the IG and in April 2006 released another 900 prisoners.

On 5 August 2006 the al Qaeda second-in-command, Ayman al Zawahiri, announced that the IG had formed an alliance with al Qaeda, which IG leaders in Egypt immediately denied. Egyptian observers put estimates of active IG membership at between 100 and 150. The defection of more radical IG members to the Egyptian Jihad group and to al Qaeda; the killings of many innocent Egyptians and foreigners, which has alienated Egyptian public opinion; and the more conciliatory stance of Egypt's government have all contributed to the IG abandoning its **insurgency**.

ISLAMIC GUERRILLAS IN AMERICA. The Islamic Guerrillas in America was an obscure group of black American converts to Islam who believed in the **revolutionary** message of the **Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini**. They are believed to have enjoyed **state sponsorship** by the Islamic Republic of Iran and were used to repress Iranian dissidents living in the United States.

One **assassination** and an attempted assassination have been credited to the Islamic Guerrillas. On 22 July 1980 'Ali Akbar Tabataba'i, an outspoken Iranian critic of the Khomeini regime, was shot to death in Washington, D.C., by David Belfield (also known as Daoud Salahuddin, or Hassan Abdulrahman, or Hassan Tantai), a black American convert to Islam. On 31 July 1980, the residence in Los Angeles of another Iranian dissident, one Shah Reis, was shot at,

an action also believed to have been done by Belfield. The Islamic Guerrillas supposedly were formed and supported by a naturalized Iranian in Washington, D.C., who recruited its members mainly from black inmates of the District of Columbia prison system.

Belfield fled to Iran, where he was reported, in August 1996, to have been negotiating with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to return to the United States and surrender himself. Instead, Belfield remained in Iran where he became a movie actor under the name Hassan Tantai and later became the subject of a documentary in 2006, *American Fugitive: The Truth About Hassan*, by Canadian filmmaker Jean-Daniel Lafond, which was viewed by many as being too sympathetic to Belfield.

ISLAMIC JIHAD. The name *Al Jihad Al Islami*, meaning “Islamic holy struggle (or war),” has been used by at least three terrorist organizations:

1. Hezbollah: The Iranian-sponsored Lebanese Shi’ite militia used the nom de guerre Islamic Jihad, allowing its own Lebanese leaders and Iranian **state sponsors** plausible deniability for the more heinous actions undertaken by the group, such as the *intihari* **suicide bombers** using vehicle-borne improvised explosive devices (VBIEDs) and the **kidnapping** and holding of foreigners and non-Muslim Lebanese as hostages. These actions were morally repugnant not merely to non-Muslim Westerners but also to many Lebanese Shi’ite Muslims, who regarded both the kidnapping of innocents and the **suicides** committed by *intihari* bombers as violations of Islamic law. The Open Letter of Hezbollah to the Oppressed in Lebanon and the World published on 16 February 1985, however, identified the *intihari* bombers of Islamic Jihad with its own “martyrs.” Subsequent statements by **Hezbollah** spiritual leader Muhammad Hussein Fadlullah and **Islamic Amal** leader Hussein Musawi denying knowledge of Islamic Jihad must be understood in the context of the Shi’ite practice of *taqiyyah*, which permits dissimulation before nonbelievers on matters affecting the physical security and survival of the Shi’ite community.

2. Munazzamat al Jihad: Also known simply as “Jihad” or “Egyptian Islamic Jihad,” was the Sunni **Islamic fundamentalist** group in Egypt responsible for the **assassination** of Anwar Sadat on 6 October 1981. This group was an offshoot of **Tahrir al Islami**, itself an offshoot of the **Muslim Brotherhood**. It is not directly connected

with the Shi'ite militia Islamic Jihad of Lebanon. *See also* MUNAZ-ZAMAT AL JIHAD.

3. Islamic Jihad of Palestine: The Harakat al Jihad al Islami fi Filastin, or Movement of the Islamic Jihad in Palestine, commonly referred to as Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), is a small (numbering less than 1,000 members) Islamic fundamentalist and **nationalist-separatist** group enjoying both Syrian and Iranian **state sponsorship**. Iran is believed to support the PIJ with \$2 million annually, while several PIJ members are believed to have received **Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps** training in eastern Lebanon when members of the group were exiled there by Israel in the period 1987–1993. Syria allows the PIJ to maintain its headquarters in Damascus. The PIJ was the first Palestinian group to adopt campaigns of **suicide bombings** as a major tactic in its struggle against Israel, and it is believed its members learned this technique from their Iranian mentors. The PIJ is Sunni, and many of its members originally were part of the **Muslim Brotherhood** branch in Gaza City but broke away from the Brotherhood in order to take a more activist course against Israel. The PIJ identifies itself with the older Islamic Jihad group that had existed in the 1930s. During the British Mandate in Palestine, the increase of Jewish settlers in the 1930s prompted an Arab backlash involving riots in Jerusalem and attacks on isolated Jewish settlements. The Arab riots were also directed against the British as protectors of the Zionist settlers. Muslim resistance to British control and Jewish settlement took the form of the guerrilla group known as Islamic Jihad, formed in the 1920s by Sheikh Izzidin al Qassim, who led attacks on both Jewish settlers and British Mandate authorities until he was finally killed by the British in 1936. Action units of the PIJ have been called the Izzidin al Qassim Brigades in honor of the founder of the original Islamic Jihad group, though later on the PIJ also credited its actions in the name of the al Quds Brigade.

The modern PIJ was founded by Fathi Shaqaqi and Shaykh Abdulaziz Awda in Gaza in the 1970s, taking their inspiration from the Islamic **revolution** in Iran to pursue a more activist strategy than that being then followed by the Muslim Brotherhood. The PIJ adopted a **cellular structure** and a system of identifying members by six-digit numbers rather than names. By 1984 collaboration developed between members of the PIJ and the Muslim Brotherhood. By 1987 this cooperation grew to include coordination with the more secular **Palestine**

Liberation Organization (PLO) in planning the protests in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip that evolved into the **intifada**.

On 16 October 1986 two Palestinians made a grenade attack on a military swearing-in ceremony at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, killing one and wounding 68 others. This action was claimed by the PIJ, although several other groups also claimed credit. On 4 February 1990 the PIJ machine-gunned an Israeli tour bus en route to Cairo, killing 11 and injuring 17 others. On 28 May 1990 the PIJ bombed a Jerusalem street, killing one person and injuring nine passersby.

Cooperation between the PIJ and the Iranian-sponsored **Hezbollah** Shi'ite militia of Lebanon developed when Israel expelled several PIJ members to Lebanon, where they formed contacts with Iran and received training in Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps camps in the Bekaa valley. The PIJ was the only Palestinian Islamic fundamentalist group that advocated the use of armed struggle against Israel prior to the outbreak of the intifada. After 1987 the PIJ fully cooperated with the PLO-dominated Unified National Leadership (UNL), while **Hamas** remained much more inclined to compete with, and even fight against, more secular Palestinian groups active in the intifada. Following the Persian Gulf War in 1991, the PIJ drew closer to Iran while Hamas remained aloof toward Iran until late 1992, when Israel expelled 400 Hamas members into Lebanon, where they were supported and trained by Iranian-backed Hezbollah elements.

Following the establishment of the Palestinian Authority, the PIJ shot and killed an Israeli soldier in the Gaza Strip on 5 September 1994. On 2 November 1994 Hani Abed, the leader of the PIJ military wing, was killed by a car bomb in the Gaza Strip in what many Palestinians believed to be a Mossad action. Then, on 11 November 1994, a PIJ suicide bomber on a bicycle blew himself up, killing three Israeli soldiers and wounding 12 others. Following these attacks, **Yasir Arafat** ordered a crackdown on the PIJ and other Islamic militants, arresting 160 members of the group. On 22 January 1995 Islamic Jihad suicide bombers struck an Israeli bus stop, killing 19 and injuring 61 others.

On 26 October 1995 Israeli agents **assassinated** Dr. Fathi Shiqaqi, the leader of Islamic Jihad, outside a seaside hotel on the island of Malta. In reprisal, two PIJ bombers blew themselves up near two Israeli buses in the Gaza Strip, killing only themselves while injuring 11 Israelis. Shortly after the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister

Yitzhak Rabin on 4 November, the new PIJ leader was revealed to be a former University of South Florida adjunct professor, Dr. Ramadan Abdullah Shallah. In 1991 Dr. Shallah had joined the World and Islam Studies Enterprise (WISE), established by other Palestinians in the Tampa, Florida, area, which in March 1992 became affiliated with the University of South Florida in an agreement to co-sponsor scholarly conferences and to allow WISE members to teach Middle East studies classes for the university. On 28 May 1995 the *Tampa Tribune* published Michael Fechter's report, "Ties to Terrorists," documenting that WISE was acting as a front organization for Islamic Jihad in Palestine, which led the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to undertake an investigation for alleged violations of the U.S. Neutrality Act and other federal laws in connection with fund-raising by WISE personnel for Islamic Jihad within the United States. The former director of the WISE, Sami al Arian, a professor of engineering at the University of South Florida, was arrested in February 2003 by the FBI on charges of providing funding to the PIJ in violation of the 24 January 1995 U.S. Executive Order 12947 and the **Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act** of 1996 prohibiting aid to the PIJ, which had been designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization by the U.S. State Department. Al Arian was acquitted of 17 charges in December 2005 but pleaded guilty in May 2006 when faced with a new trial on those charges over which the previous jury rendered no ruling, so allowing a renewed prosecution. Al Arian was sentenced by U.S. District Judge James Moody to complete the remaining 19 months of his sentence and then to be deported. Al Arian is facing more charges from his refusal to testify before a federal grand jury investigating other groups alleged to have been involved in the financing of terrorism abroad.

During the remainder of 1995 and 1996, the PIJ remained inactive until 3 April 1997, when it claimed responsibility for two attempted suicide bombings in the Gaza Strip. On 6 November 1998 two PIJ suicide bombers blew themselves up in a car bomb detonated in a Jerusalem open-air market, killing both bombers and injuring 24 people.

Following the outbreak of the second intifada in September 2000, the PIJ resumed its activities, particularly its campaign of suicide bombings, which Hamas and the **al Fatah** affiliate the **al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade** have adopted. During 2001 the PIJ conducted one car-bomb attack on 25 May that killed two and injured 65; five suicide

bombings killing 11 and injuring 93 others; six machine-gun attacks killing 15 and injuring 114; and six rocket or mortar attacks killing none but injuring four. On 22 December 2001 the PIJ spokesman in Lebanon, Abu Imad al Rifai, declared the PIJ would not be bound by a cease-fire recently announced by Hamas. During 2002 the PIJ conducted eight suicide attacks killing 51 and injuring 183; one knifing incident at a synagogue in the West Bank killing four; and one mortar attack that neither killed nor injured anyone. During 2003 the PIJ conducted three suicide bombings, killing seven and injuring 78. Two attempted suicide attacks were prevented by Israeli security. A bombing in Netanya killed one soldier and injured 30 passersby. The most serious suicide bombing was that of 19 May 2003 in which a female suicide bomber, Heba Daraghmeh, killed four and injured 48 when she detonated her bomb at a checkpoint near the entrance of a major shopping mall in the town of Afula. The PIJ also conducted two machine-gun attacks in 2003, injuring 10 but with no fatalities, and two rocket attacks that neither killed nor injured anyone. During 2004 the PIJ attempted two suicide bombings, both of which were thwarted by Israeli security forces; one shooting that killed one and injured another; and three rocket attacks. The most serious incident for which the PIJ claimed credit was the **kidnapping** and murder of two American contract workers, Dale Stoffel and Joseph Wemple, seized in Baghdad, Iraq, whom the PIJ claimed were Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) agents.

During 2005 the PIJ carried out five suicide bombings, killing 22 and injuring 14, and attempted two others that were thwarted without harm to life or limb. The PIJ also carried out six machine-gun attacks, killing 10 and injuring 11; launched 25 rocket attacks, killing five and injuring 25; and attempted one unsuccessful hand-grenade attack. On 18 January 2005 the PIJ reported kidnapping a Lebanese man working for U.S. contractors in Iraq, who was later reported to have been released unharmed on 3 February. On 4 February 2005 the PIJ claimed credit for the kidnapping of an Italian reporter, Guiliana Sgrana, who was eventually released, although it appeared that this was the work of another organization with ties to **al Qa'eda in Iraq**. During 2006 the PIJ attempted four suicide bombings and succeeded in two, one on 19 January at the Shawarma Major restaurant in Tel Aviv killing and injuring 20 people; and again on 17 April 2006 at the same restaurant, killing 12, including an American teenager, and in-

juring 44 others, including another American. The PIJ also conducted 103 rocket attacks, killing three and injuring 24, and two machine-gun attacks, killing only one person. In the first three months of 2007 the PIJ attempted one unsuccessful suicide bombing but succeeded in another in which a Palestinian hitchhiker accepted a ride from an Israeli on a motorbike and reached Eilat where he detonated his bomb in a bakery, killing four people. The PIJ also conducted 17 rocket attacks, killing none and injuring only one person.

The PIJ has collaborated on at least eight occasions with the al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade in rocket attacks on Israel. These attacks have used Quds-III, Qassem, and Katyusha rockets, as well as occasional mortars or rocket-propelled grenades, and have usually been launched from the Gaza Strip toward the nearby cities of Sderot and Ashkelon, as well as smaller nearby Israeli towns and kibbutzim.

Islamic Jihad has been a target of frequent crackdowns by the Palestinian Authority and has not held itself to be bound by the cease-fires declared by either Hamas or al Fatah.

4. Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine: Another *nom de guerre* of **Hezbollah** used when three American professors, Robert Polhill, Alan Steen, and Jesse Turner, and a U.S. resident, Mithileshwar Singh, were kidnapped in Beirut on 24 January 1987. Singh was released on 3 October 1988; Polhill on 22 April 1990; Turner on 22 October 1991; and Steen on 3 December 1991.

5. Islamic Jihad in Yemen: A little-known group, also called the Islamic Army of Aden-Abyan, or Aden-Abyan Islamic Jihad, attempted in the later 1990s to enforce its own version of Islamic law in the villages surrounding Aden in Yemen. It came to international attention when it began **kidnapping** foreign tourists to pressure the government of Yemen. The group apparently has ties to **al Qa'eda** and has attacked the ships of the United States and other nations within the territorial waters of Yemen using **suicide attacks** with explosives-laden boats.

On 28 December 1998 Yemeni kidnappers claiming to be part of the Islamic Jihad in Yemen seized 16 foreign tourists in Abyan Province and demanded the release of 10 Islamic Jihad militants and foreign recruits captured by the national police in a crackdown on the group's training camp in Abyan Province. On 29 December 1998 Yemeni security forces stormed the kidnappers' stronghold, in the course of which four of the hostages were killed. Altogether three

Britons, two of them women, and one Australian man were killed in the first incident in which foreign hostages had been reported to have been killed by terrorists in Yemen. Although the Yemeni security forces claimed that they had stormed the hideout only when the rebels had started to kill the hostages, the surviving hostages contended that it was the assault of security forces that killed the four who were being used as human shields by the kidnapers. Three kidnapers were killed and another three injured in the rescue attempt.

The Islamic Jihad in Yemen group had abducted four German tourists three weeks earlier who had been released after negotiations between their captors and the German government. The group also issued messages under the name of the Islamic Army of Aden-Abyan. On 5 May 1998 a Yemeni court sentenced the five members of the group for the abduction of the 16 tourists and for the deaths of the four tourists killed in the attack. Three of those convicted, Zein Abu Bakr al Mihdar, Abdullah Saleh al Junaidy, both Yemenis, and Saleh Abu Huraira, an Algerian, were sentenced to death and a fourth, Ahmed Mohammed Atif, was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment. The brother of Atif, Saad Mohammed Atif, was found not guilty. The leader of the group, al Mihdar, was executed on 17 October 1999.

The leader of the Aden-Abyan Islamic Jihad, Zein Abu Bakr al Mihdar, who also used the nom de guerre Abu al Hassan al Mohady, had previously fought alongside the Afghan **Mujahideen** in their war against the Soviet occupation in the 1980s. After returning to Yemen, he fought on the side of the current president, Ali Abdullah Saleh, in the 1994 civil war that briefly erupted following the reunification of Yemen in 1991. Searches of the rebels' camp revealed **bomb**-making materials, antitank rockets, and a satellite telephone. The ten Aden-Abyan Islamic Jihad members arrested and convicted for terrorism prior to the kidnapping of the tourists included eight Muslims from Britain who had entered the country under the pretext of learning the Arabic language.

In March 1999 the group issued threats against the U.S. and British ambassadors in Yemen. The group was forced to relocate to the northern province of al Jawf after government troops drove them out of the Abyan region. Evidence now links the group to the attempted sinking of the USS *The Sullivans* in January 2000 and to the bombing of the USS *Cole* in October 2000. The group also claimed responsibility for the **suicide** boat attack on the tanker ship MV *Limburg* off the coast of Yemen on 6 October 2002.

ISLAMIC JIHAD IN THE HIJAZ. Also known as Hezbollah in the Hijaz, this group and the **Soldiers of Justice** are both **Islamic fundamentalist** Shi'ite groups under Iranian **state sponsorship** based in Lebanon that have the revolutionary goal of overthrowing the Saudi Arabian monarchy in favor of an Iranian-style Islamic republic. The Saudi government has blamed the 1996 **Khobar Towers bombing** on this group.

The previously unheard-of Islamic Jihad in the Hijaz group claimed credit on 7 January 1989 for the murder of Salah Abdullah al Maliki, the third secretary of the Saudi Arabian embassy in Bangkok, Thailand, who was shot on 4 January 1989. Their announced motive was to avenge the death of four of its members executed on 30 September 1988. In this announcement the group identified itself as being, in effect, an extension of Islamic Jihad, also known as **Hezbollah**, a Shi'ite militia in Lebanon composed of Lebanese, Iraqi, and Kuwaiti Shi'ites under the tutelage of the **Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps** (IRGC) contingent in Lebanon. It is doubtful that the group has much of a grass-roots organization in Saudi Arabia itself, much less in the Hijaz proper. The Shi'ite population of Saudi Arabia is estimated to range from 3 million to 4.5 million, out of a population of perhaps 27 million largely Wahhabi Sunni Muslims. Most of these Shi'ites live on the shores of the Persian Gulf in the eastern province of al Hasa. There are few Shi'ite residents in the western province of Hijaz due to a conscious policy of exclusion of Shi'ites from the Hijaz practiced from Ottoman times until the present.

Antiregime violence by pro-**Khomeini** Shi'ites in the Hijaz has invariably been the work of Iranian or Kuwaiti Shi'ite pilgrims present in the Hijaz only for the Hajj rituals. The Islamic Republic of Iran had been engaged in agitational propaganda against the Saudi dynasty during the Hajj pilgrimages from 1979 until 31 July 1987, when Iranian-incited riots killed more than 400 people in Mecca. The following day, the official Islamic Republic News Agency of Iran announced that a new group, the "Hezbollah of the Hijaz," had vowed vengeance against the Saudi regime for the events in Mecca. The same day, an organized mob attacked the Saudi embassy in Tehran, causing the Saudi political attaché to fall from an upper story; he later died from his injuries. On 15 August 1987 a natural-gas plant in Saudi Arabia was **bombed**. While the Iranian regime hailed this as the work of Hezbollah in the Hijaz, the Saudis

maintained it was not the work of native nationals. On 26 August 1987 Hezbollah in the Hijaz announced it intended to attack U.S. and Saudi **targets** to force the removal of U.S. bases from Arabia. On 3 September 1987 the commander of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps announced that Hezbollah in the Hijaz was planning to attack U.S. and Saudi interests worldwide. Given that both the names “Hezbollah” and “Islamic Jihad” have been given to the same militia under IRGC direction within Lebanon, the role of the IRGC commander in acting as a spokesman for Hezbollah in the Hijaz strongly indicates that the latter group was also under IRGC direction and most likely identical to the group that later identified itself as Islamic Jihad in the Hijaz.

In 1987 four indigenous Saudi Shi’ites who set fire to the Sadaf petrochemical plant in Jubayl in al Hasa Province were arrested and executed by the Saudis. On 26 April 1988 Saudi Arabia severed diplomatic relations with Iran and greatly reduced the size of the Hajj pilgrimage contingent permitted to the Iranians. On 21 September 1989 Saudi Arabia executed 16 Kuwaitis for having carried out two bombings on behalf of Iran in the July 1988 Hajj season, from which Iranian participation had been largely excluded. Later, on 30 September 1988, four more Saudi Shi’ites were executed for sabotage in the eastern province, which became the pretext for the murder of Maliki, the third secretary of the Saudi Arabian embassy in Thailand.

While the eastern province of Saudi Arabia is far more valuable economically and far more vulnerable given the larger concentration of Shi’ites and the maritime proximity of Iran, the western province is much more valuable in the eyes of the Iranian regime as holding the two most holy cities in Islam, Mecca and Medina. Whoever rules over the Hijaz may claim the title of Protector of the Two Holy Places, which implies a preeminence among Muslim rulers. Ayatollah Ruhallah Khomeini and other Shi’ite clergymen have resented Saudi possession of the Hijaz since this gives preeminence to a dynasty linked to the Wahhabi sect within Islam, whose followers have anathematized the Shi’ites as heretics and apostates and who have sacked and destroyed Shi’ite shrines in Karbala, Iraq, and the Arabian Peninsula as well as killing Shi’ite pilgrims in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Therefore, the implied claim that Khomeini had indigenous followers within the Hijaz could serve to boost the prestige of Iran’s credentials of Islamic leadership throughout the Muslim world.

On 21 June 2001 the U.S. Department of Justice charged 13 Saudi nationals and one unnamed Lebanese collaborator with the attack on the Khobar Towers, among them the Saudi Hezbollah commander Abdul Karim Muhammad Hussain al Nasser, for whose capture the U.S. State Department's **Rewards for Justice Program** is offering a \$5 million bounty.

ISLAMIC LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (ILO). Lebanese branch of the **al Tahrir al Islami** group originally founded in Egypt that was itself an offshoot of the Sunni **Muslim Brotherhood**. This Lebanese branch was responsible for the 30 September 1985 **kidnapping** and hostage holding of four Soviet diplomats. Outside the Soviet embassy in West Beirut, armed gunmen abducted the Soviet commercial attaché and embassy second secretary at gunpoint while other gunmen abducted the cultural attaché and embassy physician on a nearby street.

The group identifying itself as the Islamic Liberation Organization contacted Agence France-Press and demanded that the Soviets pressure Syria to cease its offensive against the Sunni Muslim Tawhid group in Tripoli, which had been besieged by the Syrians for the preceding two weeks. The group sent photographs of the recently abducted Soviet diplomats and threatened to kill them if its demands were not met. On 2 October the ILO killed Arkady Katkov, the cultural attaché, who had been injured trying to escape and whose injuries had developed gangrene. On 4 October the Soviets evacuated their embassy in response to an ILO threat to car-**bomb** the premises.

The Soviets contacted Sunni and Shi'ite community leaders to intercede with the ILO. On 30 October 1985, the three remaining hostages were released, the Syrian offensive against Tripoli having been played out in the intervening four weeks. The group has remained inactive since 1985.

ISLAMIC MOVEMENT OF TURKISTAN (IMT). Originally called the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, this is an **Islamic fundamentalist** and **ethnonationalist** group that originally sought to create an Islamic state in Uzbekistan but which later expanded its goal to encompass not only Uzbekistan, but also the other Central Asian states and territories having Turkic Muslim populations, namely, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and the Chinese region of Xinjiang. Its goal was to turn this region into a Pan-Turkist state called Turkistan. Hence, the group now refers to itself as the Islamic

Movement of Turkistan or as the Islamic Party of Turkistan. The group was founded in 1998 by Jumaboi Ahmadzhanovitch Khojayef (1969–2001), a former Soviet paratrooper who had fought against the **Mujahideen** in the Afghan war, and also Tohrir Abdouhalilovitch Yuldashev (1967–), an Islamic fundamentalist mullah. Both men hailed from the Fergana valley in Uzbekistan, which has been a hotbed of Islamic activism as well as ethnic strife between Uzbeks and members of other nationalities resettled there under Soviet rule. Khojayef, who adopted the nom de guerre Juma Namangani, had been impressed with the fighting spirit and conviction of the Mujahideen and later came under the influence of Yuldashev in Namangan. There they co-founded an Islamic fundamentalist group known as Adalat (Justice) in 1991 that sought to impose Islamic law throughout the Fergana valley through vigilantism until the group was driven out of Uzbekistan by the post-Soviet government of President Islam A. Karimov in 1992.

Both fled to Tajikistan, where Khojayef fought until 1997 on the losing side of a civil war on behalf of an alliance of Islamic and democratic opponents of the government set up by Emamoli Rakhimov and former Communists in 1992. Meanwhile, Yuldashev traveled throughout the Middle East, Turkey, and Afghanistan forming contacts with other Islamic fundamentalist groups until he settled in Peshawar, Pakistan, by 1995, where he developed relations with **Osama bin Laden**. When Khojayef rejoined Yuldashev in 1998, they founded the IMT and then launched operations against the Karimov government in Uzbekistan using bases both in Afghanistan and Tajikistan. The IMT also allied itself with the **Taliban** against the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan. The group recruited disaffected Uzbek youths from the Fergana valley as well as some Uighur militants from China's Xinjiang region and eventually had about 700 members; the group financed itself in part by involvement in the opium trade in Central Asia. The IMT established a base in the Tavildara valley in Tajikistan, where Khojayef maintained his headquarters from 1999 until January 2001, when the group relocated to Afghanistan due to pressure by Russia and other members of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

On 16 February 1999 the IMT exploded six car **bombs** outside government offices in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, killing 16 and injuring another 128; officials claimed the attack was intended

to **assassinate** President Karimov. The IMT exchanged gunfire with Kyrgyzstan border guards, wounding two of them, on 25 July 2001 when the border guards detected the IMT militants attempting to infiltrate from Tajikistan. On 12 August 2001 four U.S. mountain climbers in Kyrgyzstan, who had been **kidnapped** by the IMT, managed to escape. This incident led the U.S. State Department to designate the group as a Foreign Terrorist Organization. Following the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan in response to the **World Trade Center and Pentagon Attacks of September 11, 2001**, Khojayef, who had been designated as a deputy defense minister in the Taliban government, was killed by U.S. air strikes on Kunduz in November 2001. The IMT forces were largely destroyed during the U.S. invasion; their remnants have regrouped under Yuldashev's leadership along with Taliban and al Qaeda forces in the tribal areas of the Waziristan region of Pakistan. On 12 June 2005 the IMT exploded a bomb outside of the Ministry of Civil Defense in Dushambe, capital of Tajikistan, which injured 12 but caused no fatalities. Tajikistan authorities claim that on 28 September 2006 the IMT attacked members of the party of President Rakhmanov, injuring two. On 11 May 2007 Russia banned the IMT under the name the Islamic Party of Turkestan. Since 2001, Yuldashev has continued to lead the IMT and is responsible for widening its goal to the creation of a Pan-Turkic state; however, the IMT has been relatively inactive since its setbacks in 2001.

ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS CORPS (IRGC). The Sipah-i Pasdaran-i Inqilab-i Islami, or the Army of Guardians of the Islamic Revolution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, is a state-run paramilitary organization charged by Article 150 of the 1979 Iranian Constitution with “defending the (Islamic) **Revolution** and safeguarding its achievements.” Domestically, in addition to protecting the regime from possible coup attempts by the older branches of the Iranian armed forces, it has also served as an instrument of **state terror** and repression. In the war fronts of the Iran-Iraq war (1980–1988) and outside Iran, in Lebanon and the Persian Gulf, it serves a **revolutionary** purpose in assisting “Islamic liberation movements” to promote **Islamic fundamentalist** revolutionaries abroad, opposing conservative regimes, and attacking U.S., Israeli, and other Western interests.

The current IRGC was officially organized by the decree of **Ayatollah Ruhallah Khomeini** on 5 May 1979, but had existed

in rudimentary form just before the 1978–1979 revolution. Some Iranian Muslim student activists abroad had served with **Amal** units in Lebanon or had undergone **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) guerrilla training there and elsewhere. With the ransacking of police and army armories during the Iranian revolution, various Shi'ite clerics armed their bodyguards and key lay followers, who thereby became *pasdars*, or revolutionary guards. Given the looting of unsecured arsenals following the collapse of the shah's government and the presence of opportunistic armed leftist and rival Muslim groups, such as the Mujahideen-i Khalq, the revolutionary regime saw fit to consolidate the various pasdar groups in order to gain control over a near-chaotic security situation. At the time of the May 1979 decree, there were only around 4,000 pasdars.

The original pasdars were largely unemployed and uneducated street ruffians and the IRGC was originally intended to be a political militia with internal security duties, above all to counter any attempt at a military coup by officers in the regular armed forces having monarchist or secular nationalist sympathies. With the invasion of Iran by Iraq in September 1980, the IRGC changed into a more regular military force having a hierarchical command structure, logistical support, and heavy armaments. Also, the numbers of the IRGC swelled from about 25,000 at the outset of hostilities to around 350,000 by 1986. With the intensification of intraregime rivalries between nationalists and fundamentalists, the IRGC was purged of leftist and more secularist elements until it stood solidly “in the line of the Imam” against perceived moderates such as Iranian President Bani-Sadr, who was deposed in June 1981. The IRGC played an essential role in organizing the street mobs of *hezbollahis*, members of the “party of God,” in a wave of regime terror against internal opponents and in collapsing the attempted **insurgency** of the Mujahideen-i Khalq in June 1981.

Beginning in February 1981 the IRGC was ordered by Khomeini to establish an “Islamic Liberation Movements” department. This unit established guerrilla training camps outside Tehran and Qum for Islamic activists from other Muslim countries and also dispatched IRGC units to Lebanon, where training camps were established in the Bekaa valley to organize the Lebanese **Hezbollah** militia. Officers and specialists of the regular Iranian armed forces special operations unit were induced to join the IRGC and apparently were instrumental

in planning and supervising the truck **bombings** of the U.S. embassy, U.S. Marines barracks, and French military forces headquarters in Lebanon during the period April–October 1983.

Since the late 1990s the direction of foreign Islamic movements aligned with Iran has been divided between the IRGC, which oversees Hezbollah in Lebanon and Iraqi Shi'ite militias, and the Ministry of Intelligence and Security, which directs other Islamic militant movements as well as maintaining contacts with the various Shi'ite Muslim diasporas in Europe, Africa, Australia, South Asia, and East Asia. In North and South America, the IRGC uses Hezbollah to maintain links with Shi'ite Muslim diasporas. The IRGC also has its own special operations elite known as the Quds (“Jerusalem”) Force (IRGC-QF). Currently the IRGC-QF is estimated to have about 2,000–3,000 members who receive advanced special operations training and some of whom are attached to Iranian embassies and consulates abroad under diplomatic cover. The IRGC-QF uses Iranian IRGC and senior Lebanese Hezbollah operatives to train Iraqi Shi'ite militias, such as the Badr Battalion and other insurgents. Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad on occasion has claimed that the IRGC-QF numbers as many as 50,000 operatives poised worldwide to strike at U.S. and Israeli interests. The IRGC has also developed a division known as the Special Unit of Martyrdom-Seekers for **suicide bombing** operations worldwide. Since 1983 the IRGC and Hezbollah have developed multiple plans for different terrorist attacks and have been detected carrying out surveillance of a wide variety of **targets** throughout the world. As these surveillance efforts have seldom led to actual attacks, intelligence analysts believe that the IRGC has developed several off-the-shelf plans for possible political and military contingencies, giving its operatives a greater capacity for terrorist operations.

In November 1982 the Islamic Republic of Iran sought to put the “revolutionary foundations,” such as the IRGC, on a more regular footing with older, more bureaucratic offices of the government by giving each foundation its own ministry. Rivalries between the IRGC and the regular armed forces have been lessened, however, mainly by the experience of shared dangers and duties during the Iran-Iraq war. The factional rivalries of fundamentalist clergymen within the Iranian regime were reflected within the IRGC, as clannish and personalist ties between pasdars and clerical patrons continued to be felt despite extensive indoctrination of recruits, purging of undesirables, and **ideological**

supervision by clerical political officers. Yet according to the research of Kenneth Katzman, in the post-Khomeini period the IRGC has succeeded in quelling its internal factionalism and represents the strongest single institution within the Islamic Republic today.

With the amending of the Fundamental Law of the Islamic Republic in 1989, the IRGC's top commanders were included in the composition of the National Security Council of the nation, which could be mandated by the Supreme Religious Leader to make final policy decisions with regard to military and diplomatic issues. The IRGC has been developing its own air corps, which uses the former U.S. embassy as one of its training centers, and a naval corps, as well as the aforementioned Quds Force. As of 1986, the IRGC ground forces were estimated to have as many as 350,000 members, organized into battalion-sized units, but following the end of the Iran-Iraq war the IRGC troop strength fell by 2008 to 120,000 as opposed to the 400,000-strong regular armed forces. The IRGC navy was estimated to have as many as 20,000 members as of 2005. The IRGC air force reportedly had 200 pilots training in the former East Germany but since the 1990s more current aircraft have gone exclusively to the regular Iranian air force, making the IRGC contribution to air defense minimal. Following the 8 August 1998 **Taliban** capture of Mazar-i Sharif, in which nine Iranian diplomats were murdered by the Taliban, the IRGC and the regular armed forces were mobilized and deployed along the border of Afghanistan to demonstrate Iran's readiness to undertake military actions against the Taliban regime. Thus, by the late 1990s, the IRGC had begun to evolve from being a revolutionary military into a more professional one.

Of more importance to the IRGC function of defending the regime and its revolution is the Basij, in full the Niru-yi Muqavamat-i Basij (Mobilization Resistance Force), consisting of 90,000 regulars and up to 300,000 reservists charged with maintaining public order within the country. While the regular IRGC are relatively professional men in their prime, the Basij units are made up of teenagers, some preteen boys, old men, and former military men discharged as being either too old or otherwise unfit for regular military service. The Basij enforce public morality and suppress antiregime demonstrations or other behavior that the officials of the Islamic Republic deem to be dangerous or subversive. Following antiregime student demonstrations in 1993, the IRGC organized special "Ashura Brigades" in the Basij to deal

specifically with organized political dissent and demonstrations. As of 1998 there were about 17,000 members of these specialized anti-riot units. During much of the post-Khomeini period, the IRGC has become more important as an internal security force rather than as an offensive military force, having been called upon, along with the Basij Mobilization and Ghast-Harasat (proregime vigilantes-volunteers), to quell a number of civil disturbances that have broken out sporadically, including a riot in protest of austerity measures in March 1995.

Following the 2003 invasion of Iraq by U.S.-led forces, Iran developed a “passive defense” program to counter any U.S.-led attack upon Iran as well as to neutralize any domestic movement to topple the current regime. This program was put under the leadership of an IRGC commander, Gholam Reza Jalali, and relies on the IRGC-trained and -led Basij Mobilization Corps to serve both as a sort of home guard and as a civil defense organization. Following clashes of internal security forces with dissident minorities in Baluchistan, Khuzestan, and Kurdistan, the supreme leader, Khamene’i, in February 2008 delegated more authority to the IRGC to tighten up domestic security to prevent internal dissent and insurrections from threatening the regime.

In several of the joint armed forces and IRGC military maneuvers and war games conducted in the period 1991–1996, reports mentioned the IRGC’s Shim-Min-Rey Corps (the Persian abbreviation for “chemical-biological-nuclear”). During these war exercises, the IRGC has conducted simulations of deployments into environments affected by various types of **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**. Some U.S. military analysts believe that Iran, through the IRGC, is actively pursuing its own WMD program, although this has been denied by Iranian officials. Nonetheless, on 14 August 2002, an Iranian dissident, Alireza Jafarzadeh, exposed the existence of a uranium-enrichment plant in Natanz and a heavy-water facility in Arak. The evidence for an Iranian nuclear weapons program was later confirmed by International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors. In March 2007 the overall IRGC commander, Yahya Safavi, revealed that the IRGC had been charged with overseeing Iran’s ballistic missile and satellite program. As Iran had bought 18 North Korean BM-25 long-range mobile missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads, the IRGC appears to be involved in developing an offensive nuclear capability. Although the National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) on Iran issued by U.S. intelligence analysts on 3 December 2007 claimed

that Iran had halted its nuclear weapons program in 2003, this finding was faulted by many independent analysts, including those of both the Brookings Institution and Stratfor, a leading private geopolitical intelligence consulting firm, for having relied on the uncorroborated testimony of an Iranian defector, for its failure to cite the involvement of the IRGC in the nuclear weapons program, and for its omission of other evidence of ongoing research and development of a nuclear capability. In addition, Stratfor cited the testimony of Jafarzadeh, who stated that the IRGC “holds the keys” to the Iranian nuclear weapons program.

Since the U.S.-led invasion and occupation of Iraq, U.S. forces have captured IRGC operatives on several occasions. On 21 December 2006 U.S. forces captured several IRGC members in Baghdad on arms-smuggling charges who were released a week later. On 11 January 2007 U.S. troops raided an Iranian diplomatic office in Arbil, the capital of the Kurdistan Regional Government, arresting five IRGC members and seizing materials indicating IRGC support of anti-U.S. **insurgents**. This raid led to official protests by Iran and Iraq and also by Massoud Barzani, president of the regional government, as the U.S. military regarded the five men as special security risks and refused to release them. In what some interpreted to be a retaliatory move, on 23 March 2007 IRGC navy forces captured 15 British sailors and marines on patrol duty in the Persian Gulf, claiming they had violated Iran’s territorial waters, but the British captives were released on 4 April 2007. Other observers believed the IRGC action was actually to protect its own smuggling operations related to profiteering, which has become an extralegal source of revenue for the IRGC not subject to the power of the purse of any Iranian civilian political authority. On 2 July 2007 the U.S. military claimed the IRGC Quds Force was using Lebanese Hezbollah members for operations in Iraq against U.S. and Iraqi forces. In response to Iran’s role in supporting anti-U.S. insurgents in Iraq, the U.S. House of Representatives on 25 September 2007 passed a bill sponsored by California Democrat Tom Lantos to put the IRGC on the list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations and to increase economic sanctions on Iran, which passed 397 in favor to 16 against.

On 22 March 2008, U.S. forces in Iraq captured Qais Khazali, a senior Quds Force officer, along with a senior Hezbollah com-

mander, Ali Musa Daquq, who revealed the IRGC role in several attacks in southern Iraq against U.S. troops as well as in a training program for Iraqi insurgents in IRGC-run camps outside Tehran. In April 2008 evidence emerged that the Quds Force had created a new militia, the Tariqat al Safraa, or “Yellow Way,” to serve as the armed wing of the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council (SIIC), formerly known as the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, to oppose rival Iraqi groups. This group has apparently supplanted Muqtada al Sadr’s **Mahdi Army** as the main Iranian surrogate within Iraq. The SIIC is led by Sayyed Abdul Aziz al-Hakim and is a major coalition partner in the United Iraqi Alliance governing Iraq.

In addition to sponsoring insurgent attacks on U.S. forces in Iraq, the IRGC was responsible in 2008 for at least five confrontations with U.S. naval forces in the Persian Gulf in the vicinity of the Straits of Hormuz, which analysts believed were intended as warnings to Japan and European nations that U.S. intervention within Iran could lead to Iranian interdiction of oil exports from the Gulf.

ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION. Like the **Islamic Jihad in the Hijaz** and the **Soldiers of Justice**, this appears to have been an **Islamic fundamentalist** group in Lebanon under Iranian **state sponsorship** having the revolutionary goal of overthrowing the Saudi Arabian monarchy in favor of an Iranian-style Islamic republic. The name of this group was used to claim responsibility for acts of sabotage carried out in the eastern oil-producing province of Saudi Arabia and has been used in Iranian Arabic-language broadcasts of anti-Saudi propaganda.

ISLAMIC SALVATION ARMY (AIS). The Armée Islamique du Salut was the armed wing of the **Islamic Salvation Front (FIS)**, an **Islamic fundamentalist** political party, which undertook an **insurgency** against the Algerian government following the 11 January 1992 coup that prevented the second round of parliamentary elections in which the Islamic Salvation Front had been expected to win a majority of seats.

The AIS emerged from FIS cells that armed themselves to violently confront the regime. In part this was also a reaction to the emergence of the **Armed Islamic Group (GIA)**, whose members were actually more radical Islamic extremists. At its height the AIS was believed to have numbered about 2,000 experienced fighters, but in 21 September

1997 it called for a truce beginning 1 October. By 6 June 1999 the head of the AIS, Madani Mezrag, announced that the group was renouncing armed struggle against the Algerian government. Although the rival GIA continued fighting, the AIS cease-fire essentially marked the beginning of the winding-down phase of the Algerian civil conflict that has claimed over 140,000 lives since 1992 but which has not ended entirely. The AIS is now considered to be an inactive insurgent group.

ISLAMIC SALVATION FRONT (FIS). The al-Jabhah al-Islamiyah lil-Inqadh, known better by its French name, the Front Islamique du Salut, is a nonstate **Islamic fundamentalist** group that sought to create an Islamic regime in Algeria under which both religious and political affairs would be governed by the Shari'ah, that is, the Islamic law. It was the main underground Islamic fundamentalist party in Algeria at the time the **National Liberation Front** (FLN) took steps toward democratization in 1989. Under Algeria's new national constitution, adopted on 23 February 1989, multiparty provincial and municipal elections were held on 12 June 1990, the first freely contested elections since Algerian independence. The FIS, led by Abbassi Madani, was the first new political party to be formed under the new electoral law and gained majorities in 32 of the 48 provincial governments and in 853 of the 1,539 municipalities. In the first round of parliamentary elections held on 26 December 1991, the FIS won 188 of 231 races, although 199 seats required runoff elections.

Concerned over the apparent ascendance of the fundamentalists, secular nationalists within the government and armed forces staged an internal coup on 11 January 1992, forcing the resignation of President Chadhli Benjedid. The five-member High State Council formed to govern the country canceled the runoff parliamentary elections and outlawed the FIS. Shortly afterward, Algerian President Muhammad Boudiaf, who had headed the five-member junta that had assumed power, was **assassinated** by one of his own bodyguards, and on 29 June 1992 an Islamic fundamentalist insurgent group, the **Armed Islamic Group** (GIA), went into action. The Algerian government declared a 12-month state of emergency and proceeded with a crack-down on the FIS, arresting over 7,000 supporters and killing about 270 before the end of 1992. In fact, the GIA was formed by more extreme militants who had opposed the electoral strategy of the FIS and who had prepared in any case for armed insurrection.

The FIS reacted both to the emergence of the GIA and to the Algerian government's repression by activating its own armed wing, the **Islamic Salvation Army** (AIS), which retaliated not only with several armed attacks on Algerian officials and their security forces but also with attacks on non-Muslim residents of Algeria as well as unveiled women. Algeria accused Iran of rendering moral and material support to the FIS during the Algerian civil conflict, which raged from 1992 until 2000.

During a 22 February 1995 prison riot, Algerian police killed at least 96 militants including two members of the FIS consultative assembly, Yakhlef Cherati and Belcaceem Tajouri. During June 1995 the FIS leader, Abbassi Madani, denounced the killings of civilians by GIA militants. In a move to conciliate the Muslim militants, Algerian President Lamine Zeroual remanded the FIS leaders Madani and Ali Belhadj from prison to house arrest on 14 September 1996. Following the renunciation of armed struggle against the regime by the AIS on 6 June 1999, the Algerian government proceeded with an amnesty program for Islamic militants who laid down their arms and also deliberated on whether to release Madani from house arrest and suspend the remainder of the 12-year sentence that had been imposed on him in 1991. The FIS imposed a cease-fire on its armed wing, the AIS, on 21 September 1997 and then dissolved the AIS on June 1999, leading to an accord with the Algerian government to seek reconciliation. In January 2000 many armed **insurgents** surrendered under an amnesty program designed to promote national reconciliation; however, some dissident factions continued to fight.

On 18 July 2003 Abassi Madani and Ali Belhadj were released from prison on condition that they abstain from all political activity. Madani shortly thereafter moved to Qatar. Belhadj was arrested again on 27 July 2005 for criticizing the Algerian government's move to recognize the new Iraqi regime created following the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq that overthrew Saddam Hussein. The FIS remains an outlawed party in Algeria while the AIS is no longer considered an active insurgent group.

ISLAMIC TENDENCY MOVEMENT. The Nahdha (literally, “resurgence”), or Islamic Renaissance Movement, is a nonstate **Islamic fundamentalist** group that seeks to replace the existing secular government in Tunisia with an Islamic regime under which religious and political affairs would be governed by Islamic law. The group

was founded in 1981 by Rashid el-Ghanoushi (1941–), Salaaheedin al Jurshi, Abdelfattah Mourou, and Hemida al Naifur and was originally known as al Jama'a al Islamiya, or the Islamic Group, until it adopted the name Harakat al Nahdha (Islamic Tendency Movement) in 1989. The group enjoyed the support of the Sudanese government when it was dominated by the National Islamic Front affiliated with the **Muslim Brotherhood**, as well as that of Iran, which provided military training for Nahdha members in training camps run by Iran's **Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC)** within Sudan.

During the 1980s this group emerged among university students and middle-class Tunisians who had been moved by the success of the Islamic **revolution** in Iran and who had also been strongly influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood, which has maintained an underground presence in Tunisia since at least the 1950s. Much of the impetus for this movement came also in reaction to the strongly secularist policies of Habib Bourguiba, president from 1956 until he was deposed in 1987. Under Bourguiba, French was preferred over Arabic as the language of government and commerce, the European workweek and calendar system remained in effect, Islamic prayers were banned from the national radio and television service, and members of Islamic groups such as Nahdha were subjected to police harassment. The group's leader, el-Ghanoushi, was arrested in 1981 and sentenced to 11 years' imprisonment for plotting against the regime but was released in 1984. He was arrested again in 1987 and sentenced to life imprisonment; he was released in 1998 but then in effect was sent into exile, eventually settling in London in 1991.

Nahdha activists undertook protests against the Tunisian tourism industry, accommodating two million Western tourists each year, as promoting the use of alcohol, libertine sex, and further erosion of Islamic values. On 15 May 1987 the Tunisian government accused Iran of promoting local fundamentalists through its diplomatic mission and of meddling in Tunisian domestic politics. Several Iranian diplomats were declared *persona non grata* while Nahdha spokesmen denied any ties to Iran.

Following Bourguiba's ouster in 1987 by Zayn al Abidin bin 'Ali, the new president tried to identify his government more with Islam by relaxing the restrictions enforced by his predecessor. Nahdha was invited to participate as a legal political party but was forbidden to identify itself as an Islamic party. On 22 May 1991 Tunisian security

forces arrested around 300 members of Nahdha, of which 100 were members of Tunisia's armed forces, including officers of the rank of major, for plotting to establish an Islamic regime through a military coup. Nahdha also received financial support from the al Taqwa Bank run by Idris Nasreddin that was later designated by both the United States and the United Nations as a financial backer of terrorist groups. Tunisian police arrested members of armed Nahdha groups in December 1991 following alleged coup conspiracies in September and early December 1991. Following 1991 Nahdha was banned from operating as a political party, but Nahdha members are allowed to run for elective offices as independents.

Cooperation between Algeria and Tunisia in containing their Islamic fundamentalist movements led Algeria to expel the leader of the Nahdha movement, el-Ghanoushi, who went to Sudan before settling in London. Diplomatic relations between Sudan and Tunisia were all but severed in October 1991 in protest against Sudan's renewing a diplomatic passport for el-Ghanoushi. At this time Tunisian authorities claimed el-Ghanoushi was wanted on charges of plotting to kill Tunisia's president and overthrow the government. Although el-Ghanoushi once attended a fund-raising rally for Islamic militant causes held in the United States in 1989, when he tried to attend a later conference held in the United States he was refused a visa as a known member and leader of a terrorist group. Since settling in London, el-Ghanoushi has established his own faction of Nahdha followers known as the Front Islamique de Tunisie (FIT), or Tunisian Islamic Front. While el-Ghanoushi began to talk about allowing more democratic processes and social pluralism in his proposals for an Islamic state in Tunisia, the FIT itself has been implicated in collaboration with the **Armed Islamic Group** (GIA) of Algeria and participation in attacks on Tunisian border guards.

On 11 February 1995 the FIT claimed responsibility for an attack on border guards at the Tamerza crossing between Tunisia and Algeria, for which responsibility was also claimed by the GIA. In June 1995 French police uncovered an Islamic extremist network in Paris involving joint efforts by the FIT and the GIA. Since 1995 the FIT has not been implicated in further terrorism. On 27 February 2006 Tunisian President bin 'Ali pardoned about 1,600 prisoners, of whom about 270 were members of Nahdha who were released on condition of refraining from violence or political activism.

JAISH-E MUHAMMAD (JEM). The Army of Muhammad, also known as the National Movement for the Restoration of Pakistani Sovereignty, is an **Islamic fundamentalist** and **ethnonationalist** terrorist group seeking to end Indian rule over the region of Jammu and Kashmir. The JEM was founded on 31 January 2000 by Maulana Masood Azhar in Pakistan after he was released from an Indian jail in exchange for the hostages seized in the 31 December 1999 **hijacking** of Indian Airlines Flight 814. Azhar was also the founder of the **Harakat ul Ansar** group, since then renamed the Harakat ul Mujahideen. Three heads of hard-line Islamic fundamentalist theological schools have endorsed the JEM, which also has ties to Fazl Rahman, head of the Jamniat Ulema-i-Islam political party, who also was one of the signatories of the 1997 **fatwa** of **Osama bin Laden** calling on Muslims throughout the world to kill Americans everywhere. The group is alleged to have received help from Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) as well as **al Qa'eda**. The group numbers around 100 members and has carried out **suicide bombings** against Indian security forces, Indian civilians, and foreign tourists, mainly in Jammu and Kashmir. It is considered one of the most dangerous of the various Kashmiri separatist groups, having conducted 25 attacks killing 85 people and injuring 269 from October 2001 to May 2007.

The group's most notorious suicide attack was the 13 December 2001 automatic weapons assault on the Indian parliament, which killed 14 (including the five gunmen) and injured 30, although no members of parliament were harmed. This incident led to deterioration of relations between India and Pakistan. JEM's most notorious act was the 23 January 2002 **kidnapping** and murder of *Wall Street Journal* South Asia bureau chief Daniel Pearl, for which a JEM leader, Sheikh Omar Saeed, was later convicted. Due to U.S. and Indian pressure on Pakistan following the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**, Maulana Azhar was arrested by Pakistani authorities on 29 December 2001 but released on 14 December 2002.

In 2001 the JEM attacked not only the Indian parliament but also the State Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir on 1 October. During the period 2002–2005, in addition to the kidnapping and murder of Daniel Pearl, the JEM carried out three other attacks, including one suicide car bombing, killing a total of 23 and injuring 89 in that four-year

period. During 2006 the JEM carried out no fewer than 18 attacks, mainly upon police **targets** but also some targeting civilians, in which 11 people were killed and 88 people injured. Three of these attacks involved multiple hand-grenade attacks on the same day: on 14 April there were six separate grenade attacks through Srinagar, on 22 May there were three grenade attacks, and on 19 July and 17 August there were three grenade attacks at separate locations within Srinagar.

During 2007 there were at least 19 clashes between JEM activists and Indian security forces. In New Delhi on 4 February 2007, police arrested four JEM activists and seized three kilograms of the military-grade explosive RDX, four detonators, six hand grenades, and a timer, so apparently foiling a major bombing plot. On 26 April 2007 Indian police foiled an assassination plot against Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Ghulam Nabi Azad during a political rally at Bandipora. During April 2007 the JEM was reorganizing itself under Mufti Abdul Rauf, the younger brother of Maulana Masood Azhar, after the latter was forced into hiding due to the Counterterrorism Court indicting him for involvement in the attempted assassination of Pakistani President Musharraf by suicide bombers on 25 December 2003. On 6 December 2007 A. K. Mitra, Director General of the Border Security Force, disclosed that the JEM and the Lashkar-i Tayyaba (LT) were joining forces with the Bangladesh-based Harakat ul Jihad-e Islami (HUJI) to destabilize India through infiltration from Bangladesh.

During 2008 there were at least 11 clashes with Indian security forces. Within Pakistan, as President Musharraf was being forced to accommodate an opposition coalition government that was formed on 25 March 2008, many banned militant groups, including JEM, the Harakat ul Mujahideen (HUM), and others, began to reappear in public, opening offices and holding public rallies in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. The Union Home Ministry of India, in its annual report for 2007–2008, accused the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence agency of shifting support to JEM and similar groups, not only to shift militant activity from the western tribal areas of Pakistan to Kashmir and other staging areas in both Nepal and Bangladesh, but also to reassert its power and to bolster its relations with the militant groups in the context of the shifting domestic politics of Pakistan. *See also* KASHMIRI SEPARATISM.

JAMA'AT AL FUQRA. The Jama'at al Fuqra (Arabic, meaning Group of the Poor) is a small Sunni Muslim sect led by a Pakistani

Muslim clergyman of Kashmiri origin, Sheikh Mubarak Ali Shah Gilani, who resides in Lahore, Pakistan, but who has a small, devoted following in the United States, Canada, and the Caribbean area. The group also goes by the name of the Jihad Council for North America, the Quranic Open University, and also the Muslims of the Americas, a nonprofit corporation front group with its own publication, *Insight*. Members live in approximately 97 small communal cells, isolated from surrounding society and attempting to live according to the precepts of an austere form of **Islamic fundamentalism**. Most of the members are African American converts to Sunni Islam, some of whom have been recruited from rival Muslim groups, such as the Dar ul Islam group, and who are particularly hostile to the Nation of Islam group led by Louis Farrakhan. Several Fuqra members traveled to Pakistan, where it is believed they underwent paramilitary training with Kashmiri separatists controlled by Pakistani intelligence prior to the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**, and Fuqra is believed once to have had its own training camp in Sudan. The group has a minimum of 200 active members and 2,000–3,000 supporters or marginal members. Most of its members live in autonomous cells and are peaceful, but a few cells have shown unusual tendencies toward violence. The U.S. headquarters of Fuqra appears to be the compound of “Islamberg,” located outside Hancock, New York.

The group has gained notoriety through several sporadic attacks against Muslim and non-Muslim **targets** viewed as enemies of Islam. Established in the 1980s, Fuqra carried out **assassinations** and **arsons** in the United States and plotted to attack a Hindu temple and Hindu-owned movie theater in Canada. The group has also sporadically attacked members of the Hare Krishna sect, the Nation of Islam, the **Jewish Defense League**, and Israelis. Several group members have been convicted on charges of murder and fraud. In 1985 an American Fuqra leader, Stephen Paster, was convicted and sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment for his role in carrying out **bombings** in Seattle in June 1984. Paster had previously been arrested for plotting a bombing in Portland, Oregon, in July 1983 in which the bomb exploded prematurely, destroying part of his hand. Clement Rodney Hampton-El, who had fought in the **Mujahideen** forces of Gulbiddin Hikmatyar against the Soviet occupiers of Afghanistan, was investigated in connection with the 1993 **World Trade Center bombing** as well as the **Holland Tunnel bomb plot**. On 12 September 1996 Fuqra member Edward

Nicholas Laurent Flinton was arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in Lake City, South Carolina, on conspiracy charges of plotting to attack targets in Colorado, including a plan to poison public water supplies, for his role in the 1 August 1984 arson of a Hare Krishna temple in Denver, and his role in the 30 January 1990 murder of Rashid Khalifa, another controversial Sunni Muslim leader.

The group appeared to have had indirect support from the Pakistani government through its intelligence services, which have used **Kashmiri separatists** and Fuqra members for attacks on Indian positions along the cease-fire line dividing the Indian-controlled portions of Kashmir from the Pakistani-controlled portions. Some group members have had contact with **Hamas** and dissident **Moro** factions in the Philippines. According to the FBI, since 1980 Fuqra has been responsible for 17 bombings and arsons and also 12 murders across the United States. According to a 2002 report by Larry Martinez published in the *Journal of Counterterrorism & Homeland Security* (vol. 8, no. 3, 36–38), each Fuqra has its own firing range where members practice firearms training, reportedly expending as many as 10,000 rounds per person per year. By contrast, an average police officer (other than Special Weapons and Tactics team members) in a fairly active department may fire only 360 rounds per year in training.

Because of Sheikh Gilani's apparent ties with Islamic fundamentalist extremist groups, the U.S. State Department has listed Fuqra since 1998 in its annual Patterns of Global Terrorism reports even though the group has not been designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization. Official suspicion of Gilani's involvement in the murder of U.S. journalist Daniel Pearl, who was **kidnapped** while arranging an interview with Sheikh Gilani in Pakistan, led Pakistani authorities to arrest him in Rawalpindi on 20 January 2002 and interrogate him in Lahore, although he was never tried for involvement in Pearl's kidnapping and murder. Media attention on Fuqra was intensified after the exposure of the 2 June 2007 plot by four Muslim radicals to destroy fuel lines and other infrastructure at JFK International Airport, although no clear link between Fuqra and the plotters was ever established.

JAPANESE RED ARMY (JRA). The JRA was a group of Japanese **anarchistic leftists** who intended to incite a worldwide **revolution** through terrorist actions. Although the JRA formerly enjoyed foreign

state sponsorship from Libya and Syria, backing from these regimes has diminished as they have sought to improve relations with the West and to distance themselves from those groups they formerly patronized. The JRA has maintained cooperative ties since 1971 with the North Korean regime as well as having a long-term relationship with the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine** (PFLP). Although the JRA formerly maintained its center and training camp in the Syrian-controlled part of the Bekaa valley in Lebanon, Syria effectively ended its support for the JRA in February 1997 by allowing Lebanese authorities to arrest and try several of its members for passport violations and illegal entry and residence in Lebanon.

The Japanese name for this “Red Army” is *Sekigun*, “Japanese Red Army” being *Nippon Sekigun*. In May 1986 the JRA began using the name Anti-Imperialist International Brigades, either as a new cover or as a *nom de guerre*. Often the JRA has claimed to serve as a rallying point for similar anarchistic leftists in Japan, seeking to oppose Japanese and Western “imperialism” and to establish a People’s Republic in Japan. The venues of most of its actions have been outside Japan, however, and even when the JRA used **kidnapping** or **hijacking** to force the Japanese government to release comrades imprisoned within Japan, such compliance tended to be relatively low in visibility. Therefore, it is unclear how the JRA terrorist program was expected to influence public opinion within Japan.

The JRA emerged from an internal purge of the Japanese Communist League–Red Army Faction in 1970–1971, leading to the murders of several members. These murders led to a police crackdown in Japan, forcing many members of the Faction to flee abroad. A Faction liaison with the PFLP in Lebanon, Fusako Shigenobu, invited other fugitive members to join her there, where the JRA was formed. Shigenobu remained the leader of the JRA until her arrest in Japan on 8 November 2000.

From 1971 to 1991, the JRA undertook 17 noteworthy actions and planned, or attempted, at least nine major actions that were aborted. Of the 16 successful actions, two were armed attacks using knives, samurai swords, small arms, or automatic weapons; three were hijackings; four were **bombings**; two were hostage seizures; and six were rocket attacks. It should be noted that the hijackings and hostage seizures that occurred from 1971 to 1977 involved hand-held weapons and direct contact with victims. Such **tactics** seemed

legitimated in Japanese culture by the martial Bushido tradition emphasizing personal valor in direct confrontation and actually helped boost the prestige of the group within Japan. There was a hiatus in JRA activity from late 1977 to mid-1986, after which the JRA began relying instead on bombings and rocket firings in which the JRA members would be more remote from the **target** and could escape more easily. The change in tactics helped preserve in working order an organization that, given its own remoteness from Japan, had difficulties recruiting new members. The JRA has been, and remained, a rather small group, numbering at most perhaps 25 members and later diminishing to at most eight active members, whose identities have become fairly well known among police organizations throughout the world, making it more imperative for them to avoid capture.

The most notorious of the JRA actions was the massacre of 26 people at Israel's Lod airport on 30 May 1972, carried out by three JRA gunmen on behalf of the PFLP. The sole surviving gunman, Koza Okamoto, was imprisoned in Israel until 1985 when he was released in exchange for Israeli prisoners and allowed to fly to Libya, where he was accorded a hero's welcome. On 13 September 1974 the JRA occupied the French embassy in the Netherlands, holding the ambassador and 10 other hostages who were later freed in exchange for release of an imprisoned JRA member and safe passage to South Yemen. On 4 August 1975, 10 JRA gunmen seized the U.S. consulate in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, and held 52 hostages, including the U.S. consul and Swedish charge d'affaires, threatening to kill them if seven imprisoned JRA members in Japan were not released. Only five of those JRA members released opted to leave, flying to Libya via Kuala Lumpur.

On 14 May 1986, in Jakarta, the JRA detonated a car bomb outside the Canadian embassy and launched rockets against the U.S. and Japanese embassies from a nearby hotel. Fingerprints found in the room with the launcher matched those of a known JRA member, although credit was taken in the name of the Anti-Imperialist International Brigades. This resumption of JRA activity occurred within a month of the U.S. air bombing raid in retaliation for the 5 April 1986 bombing of the LaBelle Discothèque in West Berlin, Germany, by Libyan agents. This circumstance along with JRA members' choice of Libya as a **sanctuary** tended to suggest Libyan state sponsorship of this group. On 9 June 1987 another rocket attack coupled with a car bombing was made against the U.S. and British embassies in

Rome, causing but minor damage. On 14 April 1988, the second anniversary of the Libya raid, the “Jihad Brigades” claimed credit for the bombing of a U.S. service members’ club in Naples in which five people were killed, but the suspects seized in connection with this bombing were also JRA members. Two days earlier, Yu Kikumura, a JRA member, was arrested in New Jersey in possession of three powerful bombs. It is believed that he was supposed to bomb some U.S. military facility at the same time as the Naples bombing to mark the second anniversary of the U.S. raid. Kikumura was convicted for his role in the Naples attack and was imprisoned from 29 November 1988 until 18 April 2007 when he was deported to Japan, where he was arrested on his arrival to face charges under Japanese law. In January 1990 the JRA simultaneously attacked the Imperial palaces in Kyoto and Tokyo using homemade rockets.

The change in tactics from direct personal combat to the use of remotely triggered rockets and bombs made subsequent JRA attacks potentially much more lethal. Evidence gathered from arrests of JRA members showed that the group had an extensive support network, generous finances, and an ability to move members freely throughout the world. Despite the Communist collapse in 1991, the JRA did not renounce its terrorist program.

In the 1990s the JRA experienced several reverses and humiliations. On 15 February 1997 Lebanese security forces arrested six JRA members in the Bekaa valley, including Kozo Okamoto. Five of them were tried in June 1997 and sentenced to jail terms of up to 10 years for illegal entry into Lebanon and passport violations. In May 2000 four of them were released from jail and deported to Japan; however, the Lebanese government granted political **asylum** to Okamoto despite Japan’s demand for his **extradition**. On 22 April 1997 a Japanese appeals court upheld the life sentence for JRA member Osamu Maruoka for his role in the 1973 hijacking of Japan Airlines Flight 404 from Tokyo to Dubai and then to Libya, where he and his comrades blew the plane up, and also for his role in the 1977 hijacking of Japan Airlines Flight 472 to Dhaka, Bangladesh, in which he successfully extorted the release of six jailed JRA comrades as well as \$6 million from the Japanese government. When he was arrested in 1987, Maruoka indicated that the JRA had been planning to organize cells in Singapore and Manila. In March 1995 Ekita Yukiko was arrested in Romania and subsequently deported to Japan. On 14 No-

vember 1997 Tsutomu Shirosaki was convicted in U.S. federal court for the 14 May 1986 rocket attack on the U.S. embassy compound in Jakarta, Indonesia. The JRA leader, Fusako Shigenobu, was arrested in Takatsuki, Japan, on 8 November 2000 following a 31-year search for her, although a few other JRA members remained at large. In February 2006 Shigenobu was sentenced to serve a 20-year prison term for her role in the 1974 hostage seizure in the Netherlands. In April 2001 Shigenobu announced that the JRA was disbanding. Subsequently, in October 2001 the JRA was removed from the U.S. State Department's list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations.

JEMAAH ISLAMIYAH (JI). This is an **Islamic fundamentalist** group founded in 1993 dedicated to the creation of a Pan-Islamic state embracing Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the southern Philippines, and Singapore and that is included in the UN Security Council Resolution 1267 committee list of terrorist organizations linked to **al Qa'eda** and the **Taliban**. The JI also has ties to the **Moro Islamic Liberation Front** and the **Abu Sayyaf** group, both Islamic fundamentalist groups active in the Philippines. The JI has around 900 members and is known to have been involved in at least five major incidents causing at least 261 fatalities and at least 699 injuries.

The JI was founded by two Indonesian Muslim clerics, Abu Bakar Bashir and Abdullah Sungkar, who established a traditional Islamic boarding school named Pondok Ngruki in Solo, Indonesia in 1973. The two men were originally affiliated with the Dar ul Islam group, a nonviolent Islamic fundamentalist group similar to Egypt's **Muslim Brotherhood**. After being forced to flee to Malaysia in 1982 during the Suharto regime's frequent crackdowns on suspected Muslim militants, the two men founded the JI with the intention of using it as an **insurgent** movement to fight the secularist Suharto regime and to create a Pan-Islamic state in Southeast Asia. Sungkar reportedly joined forces with al Qa'eda in Afghanistan, where another future JI leader, Riduan Isamuddin, also known as Hanbali, fought with **Mujahideen** forces from 1987 to 1990 and who also had contact with **Osama bin Laden**. Hanbali would become al Qa'eda's main contact and operations manager for such attacks as the failed Operation Bojinka airlines plot by the **Abu Sayyaf Group** in the Philippines and the **Bali bombings** of October 2002. In January 2000 while in Malaysia, Hanbali also contacted Nawaf al Hamzi and Khalid al Midhar,

two of the future **hijackers** responsible for the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**.

After the overthrow of President Suharto on 21 May 1998, both Bashir and Sungkar returned to Indonesia, where they expanded JI activities, resulting in several dramatic terrorist attacks. On 1 August 2000 the JI attempted to **assassinate** the Philippine ambassador with a bombing that injured 21 people, including the ambassador, and killed two bystanders. On 12 September 2000 a JI car bombing near the Jakarta Stock Exchange killed 15 people and injured 20 others. The JI's most notorious attacks were the **Bali bombings**, the first being the 12 October 2002 attack in which 202 people were killed and some 209 injured, and the second, the 1 October 2005 attack in which 20 people were killed, including the three **suicide bombers**, and 129 injured. The JI was responsible for the Marriott Hotel bombing in Jakarta on 5 August 2003 that killed 12 and injured at least 120. On 9 September 2004 the JI carried out a **suicide** car bombing in front of the Australian embassy in Jakarta, killing 10 and injuring 182. A car bombing of the Hilton Hotel in the Egyptian resort town of Taba on the Red Sea coast on 7 October 2004 resulted in 34 deaths and 159 people injured, for which credit was claimed both by the JI and the Tawhid Brigades, a group whose existence has been known only in connection with this attack.

The JI has been weakened by several arrests of rank-and-file members, as well as arrests of its key leaders. Hanbali was captured in a safe house in Thailand on 11 August 2003 by Thai police and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operatives and has been held most recently at Guantánamo Bay. One of the original leaders of the JI, Abdullah Sungkar, died in 1998; the other original leader, Abu Bakar Bashiri, was arrested on 15 October 2004 for conspiracy in connection with the 2002 and 2005 bombings on Bali. Bashir was convicted on 3 March 2005 and sentenced to 20 months' imprisonment but was released on 14 June 2006 over the protests of the United States and Australia.

The head of the Counter-Terrorism Coordinating Desk of Indonesia, Major General Ansyad Mbai, stated in February 2007 that Bashir remained the spiritual mentor of the main faction of the JI. Following the 2002 Bali bombing, the JI had split into three factions; one is led by Bashir, who now claims to be against attacks on civilians within Indonesia, while another, led by a Malaysian, Noordin Muhammad Top, has killed hundreds of people and is believed to have been behind the

Bali bombing of 2002 and three other attacks targeting foreign tourists. Top is believed to have fled to Malaysia in March 2007 but to still be active in aiding Muslim militants in Indonesia and the Philippines. A third faction active in the district of Poso in the central area of the island of Sulawesi, whose members have been attacking Christians and bombing churches there since 2000, was led by Abu Dujana, wanted by the Indonesian police for his role in the Bali bombing of 2002.

During March 2007 the Jakarta division of JI known as Jakarta Asykarî held at least two training exercises with M-16 automatic rifles on the slopes of Mount Sumbing, a volcano in central Java, under the direction of Abu Dujana and another JI leader, Zulkarnayn, also wanted in connection with the 2002 Bali bombing. In late March 2007 a joint Indonesian and Australian counterterrorism strike force raided a JI cell in East Java, killing one suspect and arresting seven others. In addition, the joint force seized 20 bombs, 730 kilograms of explosive materials, 45 kilograms of TNT, almost 200 detonators, and several weapons along with over a thousand rounds of ammunition. The cell had been planning an attack on the scale of the first Bali bombing. On 13 June 2007 Abu Dujana was arrested by Indonesian police, while on 15 June 2007 the Indonesian police captured Hambali's second-in-command, Zarkasih.

According to a study released in June 2008 by Dr. Carl Ungerer and Dr. Peter Chalk of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, although the JI appeared to be lapsing into inactivity it retained a core of more than 900 hard-line militants willing to threaten both Indonesian and Australian security interests. Their research also revealed that the JI was making even more sophisticated and lethal bombs using ball bearings and bullets as shrapnel. On 5 July 2008 Indonesian police seized 16 such bombs, electronic detonators, and 50 kilograms of explosives in Palembang in West Sumatra intended for attacks on foreign tourists in Jakarta, and also arrested 10 militants, including the Singaporean bomb expert Mohammad Hassan, an aide of Mas Selamat bin Kastari, the leader of JI operations in Singapore who had escaped from prison in early 2007. According to Rohan Gunaratna, since the capture of many of its key members, the JI has been concentrating more on recruiting and training militants and building up its long-term strategic capabilities than carrying out immediate operations. Following the attempted bombings in Bangalore and Surat in India on 25 July 2008, Indian police learned from

analyzing the unexploded devices that the **Lashkar-e Tayyaba** and **Jaish-e Muhammad** groups believed to have been behind these attacks had learned how to use integrated circuit chips in assembling their bombs, a technique perfected by the JI bombers, indicating some contact between the JI and these Indian groups. In October 2008 police foiled a JI plot to bomb a major oil depot in Jakarta.

On 8 November 2008 the three men convicted for the 2002 Bali bombings, Imam Samudra, Ali Ghufron (also known as Mukhlas), and Amrozi, were executed by firing squad in the prison on Nusakambangan Island.

JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE (JDL). The JDL was a Jewish self-defense movement that began with the limited goals of protecting orthodox Jewish neighborhoods in New York City from depredations by young black and Puerto Rican hoodlums and to protest local instances of anti-Semitism. Eventually the JDL embraced a universal program of fighting for Jewish interests worldwide. The group was self-sustaining and lacked any support from mainstream Jewish organizations in the United States or from the State of Israel.

The JDL was founded in 1968 by Rabbi Meir Kahane, who began to organize young Jewish men as vigilantes to protect Jews and Jewish businesses in the Williamsburg and Crown Heights areas of Brooklyn, and elsewhere in the New York City area. Within a year the group had graduated from vigilantism and demonstrations against alleged anti-Semites to burglarizing the files of the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) UN Mission and launching attacks on Soviet diplomatic, trade, and tourism offices and personnel. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the JDL was responsible for at least 37 terrorist acts in the United States in the period 1968–1983, while the *International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events* (ITERATE) database developed on behalf of the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) by Edward F. Mickolus recorded 50 such incidents from 1968 to 1987, making the JDL second only to the Puerto Rican **Armed Forces of National Liberation** (FALN) as the major domestic terrorist group during that period. Nonetheless, the JDL was a legally incorporated political action group and has officially disavowed responsibility for any violent actions carried out by its members. **Bombings** accounted for 78 percent of all JDL terrorist activities; shootings accounted for 16

percent; and **arson** attacks, vandalism, **kidnapping**, threats, and verbal harassment accounted for the rest.

From 1969 to 1985 the JDL **targeted** mainly the representatives of governments perceived to be anti-Israeli or anti-Semitic, in particular Soviet targets. Thus the JDL bombed the San Francisco branch of the Iranian Bank Melli on 26 January 1981 and bombed the Iraqi UN Mission on 28 April 1982 to protest the mistreatment of Jews in those two countries. On 26 January 1972 the JDL bombed the office of impresario Sol Hurok, who helped arrange performances of Soviet ballet troupes in the United States, injuring Hurok and killing his receptionist. For the most part, these attacks seemed intended to intimidate but not to kill their victims.

Beginning late in 1985, however, the targeting shifted to individuals suspected of being anti-Israeli or anti-Semitic, and the attack mode became much more lethal. On 11 October 1985 the Los Angeles offices of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) were bombed, killing ADC director Alex Odeh, who had sought to rationalize the actions of the **Palestine Liberation Front (PLF)** in **hijacking** the *Achille Lauro*, on which several Jewish American passengers had been taken hostage. On 15 August 1985 a 61-year-old Waffen-SS veteran, Tsherim Soobzokov, was bombed at his Paterson, New Jersey, home and later died of his injuries. In such attacks an anonymous caller would claim the action in the name of the JDL, and afterward an official JDL spokesperson would disavow the group's responsibility. On 30 June 1987 the JDL attempted a pipe bombing of the Lincoln Center in New York City, which was hosting the Bolshoi Ballet. The pipe bomb was discovered and disposed of without injury. The last known JDL action was the attempted pipe bombing of the Syrian mission at the United Nations in New York on 26 February 1992.

As the JDL was very much the personal creation of Rabbi Kahane, following his emigration to Israel in 1971 the group began to experience factionalism. The day immediately following the bombing murder of Alex Odeh, Kahane announced his resignation as JDL leader. Despite the national prominence of the JDL, this group had poor to acrimonious relations with more conventional Jewish political and social organizations, such as the B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League, which regarded the JDL as a marginal group and an embarrassment to the American Jewish community. Without the leadership of Rabbi Kahane, who was shot dead by an Egyptian **Islamic**

fundamentalist, El Sayyid A. Nosair, on 5 November 1990 in New York, the prospects for a revival of the JDL appeared dim. Nosair, a follower of **Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman**, was convicted for the murder of Kahane on 1 October 1995.

Irving David Rubin became the leader of the JDL, but on 12 December 2000 he and another JDL figure, Earl Leslie Krugel, were arrested for conspiracy both to bomb the King Fahd Mosque in Los Angeles and to **assassinate** an Arab American member of Congress, Darrell Issa, Republican representative for the 49th District of California. Rubin had been convicted in 1980 for solicitation in 1978 to murder the American **neo-Nazis** involved in anti-Semitic demonstrations in Skokie, Illinois. Rubin had been suspected of involvement in the 1985 murder of Alex Odeh but was never prosecuted. On 4 November 2002, while awaiting his trial in the custody of the U.S. Metropolitan Detention Center in Los Angeles, Rubin attempted suicide by slashing his throat and leaping over a railing, falling 18 feet. After some days in a coma, he died on 10 November 2002. His widow, Shelley Rubin, appointed Bill Maniaci interim JDL chair but in October 2004 fell out with him in a leadership struggle, leading to an eventual legal settlement in April 2006. Earl Krugel, who had pleaded guilty to conspiracy and weapons charges on 4 February 2003, was later murdered by another inmate in federal prison in Phoenix, Arizona. The JDL has remained effectively a divided and defunct entity since the death of Rubin.

While living in Israel, Kahane founded the Kach Party, an ultranationalist group favoring expulsion of the Arabs from both Israel and the occupied territories. Following his death, another group, Kahane Chai (Kahane Lives), split off from the Kach group. Many former JDL members who followed Kahane's example in emigrating to Israel joined these groups, often living in settlements within the West Bank or Gaza Strip. On 25 February 1994, a Kach Party member and former JDL activist, Dr. Baruch Goldstein, opened fire on Palestinian Arabs in the mosque built over the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron, killing at least 29 and injuring scores more before he himself was killed. This incident led to anti-Israeli rioting throughout the occupied territories and stymied the peace negotiations under way between the PLO and Israel. On 13 March 1994 the Israeli government banned both the Kach and Kahane Chai groups in an effort to stem the furor caused by the massacre in Hebron. *See also* JEWISH UNDERGROUND.

JEWISH UNDERGROUND. Term used in the Israeli press to designate the many Jewish religious extremists, including members of such groups as **Eyal**, **Kach**, or **Kahane Chai** that sprang from the U.S.-based **Jewish Defense League**, who form an informal terrorist network of anti-Arab Jewish religious extremists intent on killing large numbers of Arabs to sabotage the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Many of them are concentrated in the Jewish settlement of Kiryat Arba, outside Hebron, where Arab-Jewish tensions have been high since the 25 February 1994 killing of 29 Muslims at the Tomb of the Patriarchs by Dr. Baruch Goldstein, a Kach Party member and Kiryat Arba settler.

The Kach Party was founded by Rabbi Meir Kahane, who won his Knesset seat in the 1984 election, but in 1988 the party was banned under new regulations prohibiting parties known to incite racism. After Kahane's **assassination** in 1990, the party split into Kahane Chai and the main Kach body. When Kahane Chai attempted to compete in the 1992 Knesset elections, it was also banned from running. Finally in 1994, after the murder of 29 Palestinians in Hebron by Dr. Baruch Goldstein, both organizations were banned completely as terrorist groups, and currently both are listed as Foreign Terrorist Organizations by the U.S. State Department. A New Kach Movement led by Efraim Hershkovits existed in the period 2001–2003 and although it was disbanded under Israeli government pressure, it was also designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization by the United States, which views it as being merely a front for Kach.

JIHAD. The term *jihad* is an Arabic verbal noun derived from *jahada*, meaning “to struggle,” that is, to struggle with something that is disagreeable or against something that is wrong. While the frequently used expression “holy war” is not a literal translation, it does summarize the essential idea of jihad. Muslim jurists give the most general definition of jihad as the Muslim believers’ “exerting their abilities, talents, and power in struggling in the path of God using their resources of life, property, speech, and all available instruments to make the Word of God prevail in this world.” Muslim jurists distinguish between a “greater jihad,” which is the struggle against the world, the flesh, and the devil in the spiritual realm, and a “lesser jihad” consisting of open physical warfare with the enemies of Islam or of Muslims. In the course of the revival of **Islamic fundamentalism**, the doctrine of jihad has been invoked to justify resistance, including

terrorist actions, to combat “un-Islamic” regimes or purported external enemies of Islam, such as Israel and the United States.

The classical doctrine of jihad did not necessarily exclude the use of armed force to spread the Islamic religion since the classical Muslim thinkers ibn Rushd and ibn Khaldun both accepted this interpretation. Most modern jurists, however, have preferred an interpretation of jihad comparable to that of purely defensive warfare. Islamic fundamentalists, such as Sayyid Qutb, other members of the **Muslim Brotherhood**, and members of the **Munazzamat al Jihad** group that murdered Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, have maintained that the object of jihad was the full enactment of the full Islamic code of laws, rather than defense or conquest as such, and that there was no reason to limit the role of jihad merely to defensive warfare. **Osama bin Laden** and other leaders of **al Qaeda** rationalize their terrorist campaigns as obedience to the duty of jihad to protect the Islamic nations from “Crusaders and Zionists.”

The Muslim jurists make two other distinctions regarding jihad important to understanding its possible connection with terrorism. Ordinarily, jihad is a collective obligation, *‘ayn al kafiya*, rather than a personal obligation, *‘ayn al fard*. If a Muslim nation undertakes jihad lawfully, the duty of waging jihad is discharged by the Muslim army and its commander on behalf of the entire Muslim community. The conditions under which this form of jihad may be lawfully initiated and exercised are remarkably similar to those governing the Judeo-Christian Just War doctrine: Jihad can be declared only by the competent religious-cum-secular authorities. Recourse to jihad is permissible only after all other diplomatic channels for redress of grievances have been exhausted. During jihad, noncombatant enemy civilians may not be attacked, killed, or taken prisoner, nor may the Muslim army engage in random destruction of enemy property. Muslim soldiers and officers must observe proportionality in their defensive and retaliatory attacks. Such a definition of jihad quite rules out most of what might be considered terrorist actions.

On the contrary, when a Muslim land is invaded by non-Muslim forces, then jihad ceases to be a collective obligation, becoming instead the personal obligation of every Muslim in the occupied territory, whether man, woman, or child, old or young, infirm or well. Given the disproportionate force enjoyed by the invading army over that possessed by the individual believer, upon whom waging jihad

becomes religiously obligatory, a greater allowance may be extended to the individual, in effect exempting him or her from the usual limits placed on lawful warfare. Islamic fundamentalist groups like **Hezbollah** in Lebanon, **Hamas** in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the **Islamic Group** in Egypt tend to view their nations as being occupied by an invading un-Islamic power, even in the case of a nominally Muslim government such as that of Hosni Mubarak's Egypt. This in turn would allow a group to claim the right to wage jihad without the authorization of competent religious authorities and by means that may be described as terroristic.

Despite the religious technicalities that limit the correct application of the term *jihad* to only a few situations, the tendency of secular Pan-Arab nationalism to exploit Islamic religious symbols and sentiments whenever expedient has led Arab nationalists to misuse the term *jihad* to designate what actually have been wars on behalf of Arab nationalism rather than Islam proper. During the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf conflict, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein tried to rally Arab support for himself by describing his war as a “jihad” against the West and Israel, though he lacked the moral and religious credentials of an authority competent to declare jihad, nor could he invoke it credibly to defend Iraq's usurpation of another Muslim land, namely, Kuwait. Interestingly, during the entire course of the Iran-Iraq war, the Islamic Republic of Iran never described its war with Iraq in terms of jihad but only as a *jang-i difa'i-ye muqaddis*, that is, a war of holy defense against aggression. Shi'ite fundamentalist Muslims have been less inclined to use the term *jihad* than their Sunni counterparts due to their belief that jihad proper can be declared only by one of their apostolic imams.

Following the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**, moderate Muslims and even some Salafists have criticized **Osama bin Laden** and **al Qa'eda** for abusing the concept of jihad. On 10 July 2002 the Al Jazeera television network broadcast a discussion involving Shaykh Muhsin al 'Awaji, a well-known Saudi dissident, and two other theologians, who criticized bin Laden in particular for spreading discord among Muslims, for labeling other Muslims as infidels without proof, and in particular for the unlawful **targeting** of innocent Muslims and non-Muslims, which they held violated norms of “honorable combat” required by the doctrine of jihad. *See also* KHOMEINI, RUHALLAH MUSAWI AL.

JUNE 2 MOVEMENT. This group was an **anarchistic leftist** group formed in West Berlin in 1971 that sought to resist the liberal democratic establishment in West Berlin through **bombings**, bank robberies, **kidnappings**, and **assassination**. The group is named after the anniversary of the death of Benno Ohnejorg, who was killed in a demonstration against the visiting Shah of Iran in Berlin on 2 June 1967. Four of the group members, among them Andreas Baader, were arrested on 2 April 1968 after setting fires to department stores in Frankfurt. During their trial, the journalist Ulrike Meinhof interviewed them and publicized their cause through her articles. She would later join forces with the group and assume a leadership role alongside Baader. Although all four were convicted of **arson** and received prison sentences in June 1969, they were paroled under an amnesty program. When the Federal Constitutional Court overturned the amnesty, all of the parolees except Horst Söhnlein went underground.

The group bombed the British Yacht Club in Berlin on 2 February 1972, killing a German attendant. On 10 November 1974 members of this group shot and killed West Berlin Chief Justice Günter von Drenkmann in reprisal for the death by suicide of a June 2 member in jail. On 27 February 1975 the group kidnapped the leader of the Berlin Christian Democrats, Peter Lorenz, who was released in exchange for the freeing of five anarchistic leftist terrorists who were then allowed to leave for South Yemen. The group merged with other revolutionary leftist groups to form the **Red Army Faction** (RAF) by the end of the 1970s.

JUSTICE COMMANDOS OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE (JCAG). The JCAG was an Armenian **ethnonationalist** revolutionary organization founded in 1975 seeking to reestablish an independent Armenian state on the territory occupied by the former Republic of Armenia during World War I within eastern Turkey. It pursued this goal through attacks on Turkish diplomats and economic **targets** outside Turkey in the belief that Turkey bore responsibility for the slaughter of Armenians in eastern Turkey that occurred beginning 24 April 1915 and lasting into 1917.

The JCAG differed from the other major Armenian terrorist group, the **Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia** (ASALA), in two important respects: first, the JCAG was primarily nationalistic rather than Marxist-Leninist. Therefore it relied almost

exclusively on private support from Armenian communities rather than **state sponsorship** from countries hostile to Turkey. Second, the members of the JCAG, being very westernized nationalists, valued Western and world public opinion highly and therefore took pains to avoid harming non-Turkish nationals, mindful of the potential harm such actions could render the Armenian cause. Nonetheless, the JCAG conducted attacks on Turkish targets within the United States.

An analysis of 29 noteworthy actions by the JCAG in the period from 1975 to 1983 showed that 15 involved **assassination** of Turkish diplomats; 13 involved **bombings** and **arsons** of Turkish diplomatic, tourism, and commercial offices; and one incident represented an unfulfilled threat against Turkish targets. The JCAG terrorism within the United States took place entirely from January 1982 to May 1982: On 29 January 1982 Kemal Arikian, consul general of Turkey in Los Angeles, was shot and killed as he was driving home. On 22 March 1982 the offices of Orhan Gunduz, honorary Turkish consul general in Boston, were firebombed, and he himself was shot and killed on 4 May 1982. A conspiracy to bomb the home of the honorary consul general of Turkey in Philadelphia was foiled in October 1982. Since then nothing further has been heard of the JCAG either in the United States or abroad.

Beginning in July 1983, after the name Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide had dropped from use, actions similar to those of the JCAG began to be claimed in the name of the Armenian Revolutionary Army (ARA). Many analysts believed that the JCAG merely changed its name to ARA and that it is essentially the same organization. While the ARA made the same disclaimer as had JCAG that it intended no harm to non-Turkish bystanders, in contrast to earlier JCAG operations at least six non-Turkish nationals were killed as a result of these operations. In fact, very little is known about the memberships of these groups, their internal structure, or their relations with possible sponsor states or with other terrorist groups. What little is known about the Armenian groups indicates that they have been involved in factional disputes and internecine fighting that has reduced their effective presence as terrorist groups since the mid-1980s. The RAND Corporation and the Oklahoma City Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism have suggested that former JCAG and ARA members have entered the military forces of the current Republic of Armenia and that many of them became involved in the 1988–1994 conflict over the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh region, a territory within the Republic of

Azerbaijan that is inhabited largely by Armenians. Although the JCAG and the ARA are not listed as Foreign Terrorist Organizations by the U.S. State Department nor considered by either RAND or the Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism to be active, officials of the Republic of Turkey consider Armenian terrorism to remain an active threat to Turkish national security nonetheless.

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KACH. *See* JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE; JEWISH UNDERGROUND.

KACZYNSKI, THEODORE. *See* UNABOMBER.

KANAK SOCIALIST NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (FLNKS). The Front de Libération Nationale Kanake Socialiste is a coalition of several **ethnonationalist** proindependence political parties representing the interests of the Kanaks, that is, the Melanesian natives of New Caledonia, as opposed to the interests of settlers of French or other origins. The FLNKS once formed a coalition with the Union Calédonienne, the oldest and largest Kanak party, the quasi-Marxist Parti de Libération Kanak (PALIKA), the socialist Union Progressiste Melanésienne, and the Front Uni de Libération Kanak (FULK) that was led by Yann Celene Uregei until April 2000 and subsequently led by Clarence Uregei. The agenda of FLNKS is **revolutionary**, since attaining the twin goals of independence for New Caledonia and sovereignty for the indigenous Kanaks, who now make up only 44.6 percent of the archipelago, would entail civil war with the non-Kanak majority. So far, terrorist actions by members of the FLNKS have been sporadic and limited in their aims, being undertaken either to draw the attention of the French government and public to Kanak aspirations or else to block specific measures believed to threaten Kanak interests.

In late October 1981 three **bombings** occurred in Paris. The first, on 25 October, hit Fouquet's restaurant on the Champs-Élysées; the second, on 27 October, destroyed a car parked at Charles de Gaulle Airport; and the final bombing struck a cinema in downtown Paris. Injuries were sustained only in the last bombing, in which three people, including a pregnant woman, were hurt. Credit for these attacks

was taken by callers claiming to represent the “Kanak Liberation Front” or the “Army for the Liberation of New Caledonia.” Authorities suspected that PALIKA was responsible for these attacks.

In New Caledonia clashes and shooting incidents erupted between Kanaks and French settlers from 30 November to 6 December 1984, leaving 10 dead and four injured. Following these incidents, the head of the Union Calédonienne and chief leader of the FLNKS, Jean-Marie Tjibaou, confirmed that 17 Kanaks had received paramilitary training in Libya. On 4 May 1987 the FLNKS officially disavowed the pro-Libyan stand and statements of FULK leader Yann Celene Uregei, who was in Tripoli at that time. Because pending French autonomy plans and regional elections threatened the hope of Kanak sovereignty, independence activists attacked French gendarmes on the small island of Ouvea on 24 April 1988, killing four gendarmes and holding another 23 as hostages in a cave. When negotiations failed, French commandos stormed the cave on 5 May, killing 19 and capturing eight of the Kanak militants. In addition, the French soldiers manhandled noncombatant islanders and tortured their Kanak prisoners, three of whom died.

Following this incident, Kanak youth from the FULK party attended the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students held in Pyongyang, North Korea, in July 1989, eight of whom remained behind to attend a “training camp” that may have included terrorist tactical instruction. Apart from the potential importation of terrorism into New Caledonia from outside parties, such as Libya and North Korea, intramural tensions within the Kanak community also portended political violence or terrorism, as became evident in the **assassination** of the politically moderate Kanak leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou on 5 May 1989. Tjibaou went to Ouvea to attend the anniversary commemoration of the deaths of those Kanaks killed by French commandos a year before. Because Tjibaou’s accompanying deputy, Yeiwene, was viewed by the Ouvea islanders as a pro-French traitor, both Yeiwene and Tjibaou were assassinated by relatives of those killed or tortured by the French commandos. Following the Kanak separatists’ failure to win a majority in the 1998 referendum on Caledonian independence, the FLNKS coalition ran candidates in the 9 May 1999 election for the Congrès Territorial and won 18 of the 54 seats. Although tensions between Kanak separatists and settlers and among the Kanaks themselves have remained high, in

recent years there have been no significant terrorist incidents. As of the 9 May 2004 Congrès Territorial elections, the FLNKS coalition was the third-largest grouping, having won 13.7 percent of the vote and holding eight of the 54 seats in the Congress. The Union Calédonienne was in fourth place, having won 11.9 percent of the vote and seven seats, while two other minor separatist parties, the Union des Comités de la Coopération pour l'Indépendance and the Libération Kanak Socialiste, won 3.2 percent and 2.0 percent of the vote, respectively, and were awarded one seat apiece.

KANSAI REVOLUTIONARY ARMY. Name of covert action group of **Chukaku-Ha**.

KANSI, MIR AIMAL. *See* CIA HEADQUARTERS ATTACK.

KASHMIRI SEPARATISM. Movement by **Islamic fundamentalists** seeking to impose Muslim control over that part of Jammu and Kashmir that has been under Indian administration since the partition of India and the first Indian-Pakistani war in 1947. There are a number of groups that claim to seek this goal including the Kashmir Liberation Front, the **Harakat ul Mujahideen** (HUM), formerly called the Harakat al Ansar, the **Lashkar-e Tayyaba**, the **Jaish-e Muhammad**, the Harakat ul Muminim, al Hadid, and al Faran, some of which may be multiple names used by the same core of militants. It is not entirely clear whether these militants are seeking to replace Indian rule with Pakistani rule or if they are seeking to create the territorial basis of a future independent Kashmir. Although the rhetoric of these groups suggests that they are seeking to create an Islamic state in Kashmir, it is unlikely that their immediate goal is an independent Kashmiri state because these groups enjoy Pakistani state support in the form of money, arms, and **sanctuary**. India controls about 45.1 percent of the territory of Kashmir, in which 70 percent of the population is Muslim, and Pakistan controls 38.2 percent; the 16.7 percent of the territory occupied by China is claimed by India as its own territory. Jammu and Kashmir is the only state in the Indian federal system in which the majority of the population is Muslim.

The current **insurgency** began in 1989 with separatist militants carrying out attacks on the Indian army and police forces along the cease-fire line, attacks on Hindus living within Kashmir, and also **kidnappings** of foreign tourists. In January 1990 the Indian government

imposed direct rule over Kashmir from New Delhi and in February 1994 imposed military rule, suspending scheduled elections for six months to contain the insurgency. On 8 August 1994 military rule was extended until elections scheduled for May 1995. In the course of the first five years of the insurgency, more than 12,000 people were killed. The insurgency was reinforced by large numbers of Islamic militant veterans of the **Mujahideen** war against the Soviets in Afghanistan, including not only Afghans but also non-Kashmiri Muslims of other nations. The rise of Hindu nationalism within India in the 1990s, leading to the destruction of the Babri Mosque in Ayodhya on 6 December 1992 by Hindu militants, has also been cited as a cause for the increased militancy of the Kashmiri separatist movement.

Separatists of the al Hadid group kidnapped four Western tourists in mid-October 1994. One American tourist escaped, and Indian police freed the remaining three Britons on 1 November. Unfortunately, sectarian and communal divisions sharpened when a fire on 11 May 1995 destroyed the 15th-century Hazratbal Mosque in Charar Sharif near Srinagar. This mosque was under siege by Indian troops who sought to arrest militants who were using it as an arms depot and command post. When a fire destroyed most of the ancient wooden buildings in the town, including the mosque, militants claimed the Indian army had deliberately set the blaze and desecrated the mosque. A rash of around 150 **arsons**, including attacks on Hindu shrines, and widespread unrest caused cancellation of the May elections. This was followed on 4 July 1995 by the kidnapping of five Western tourists by al Faran, now believed to be a *nom de guerre* of the **Harakat ul Ansar**.

On 20 April 1996 the Harakat ul Muminim **bombed** a New Delhi market, killing 17 people, including eight tourists, and injuring 30 others. During the period 1995–1997 another 8,000 people were killed, and in 1998 separatists began a campaign of attacking and slaying large groups of Hindu civilians in remote areas and villages, causing many of the 100,000 Hindus living in the Vale of Kashmir to flee to the largely Hindu city of Jammu. On 2 August 1998 separatists entered the neighboring Hindu-majority state of Himachal Pradesh and massacred 26 construction workers and injured eight others in the town of Chamba. On 26 May 1999 the conflict escalated to the point that the Indian air force began bombing runs on Kashmiri separatist enclaves carved out within the Indian portion of the 1949 cease-fire line, which included the strategic Tololing

Peak overlooking Indian artillery positions along the line of control and also overlooking a strategic northern highway linking Indian forward positions with logistical support. Following a one-day break on 5 June 1999, the air raids resumed until the 150 remaining rebels were driven off of Tololing Peak. Following this defeat the militants resumed the tactic of hitting remote Hindu villages and slaying large numbers of Hindu civilians.

On 24 December 1999 the HUM carried out the **hijacking** of Indian Airlines Flight 814 out of Kathmandu, Nepal, originally scheduled to fly to New Delhi. Five men believed to be of Pakistani origin hijacked the A300 Airbus first to Amritsar, India, where it was refueled, then to Lahore, Pakistan, where it was again refueled, and then to Dubai in the United Arab Emirates. One Indian was killed by the hijackers during their takeover of the plane for disobeying their orders not to look at them. In Dubai, 25 of the 174 passengers were released along with the body of the slain passenger. After being refueled, the plane then flew to Qandahar, Afghanistan, where the remaining 163 passengers and crew were held hostage against the release of HUM leader Maulana Masood Azhar, a Pakistani cleric imprisoned in India since 1994, along with several other militants, the body of a slain militant, and payment of a ransom of \$200 million. By 31 December 1999 India agreed to the release of Azhar and two other separatist leaders, who were flown to Qandahar, where they and the five hijackers departed after releasing the surviving hostages.

This incident raised many questions about the role of Pakistan, whose government disclaimed any involvement in the incident, and also the role of the **Taliban** who, while also publicly condemning the hijacking, made no apparent move to arrest the hijackers after the incident. Also, several passengers indicated that automatic weapons only appeared after their arrival in Qandahar, which suggested the Taliban supplied these weapons to the hijackers. At that time, many members of the U.S. Congress called for Pakistan to be added to the official list of **state sponsors of terrorism** due its support for the HUM, a group officially designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization by the U.S. State Department. Following the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**, Pakistan distanced itself from these Kashmiri groups, although the conflict continues in Kashmir with suspected covert support from Pakistan or members of its Inter-Services Intelligence agency.

On 21 March 2000 some 40 armed Lashkar-e Tayyaba militants descended on Chatisinghpura village in the evening and separated out 35 male Sikhs, whom they then massacred. Prior to this attack the Sikh community in Kashmir had not been targeted by separatists. On 28 March 2000 three militants, who had barricaded themselves in a mosque in Handwara, were killed in a clash with Indian troops. During 14–16 July 2001, Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee held peace talks in Agra, India. However, on 1 October 2001 a suicide car-bombing attack on the Kashmir State Legislative Assembly by four **Jaish-e Muhammed** (JEM) militants killed 34 and wounded over 40 people while the 13 December 2001 JEM suicide attack on the Indian parliament led to the severance of diplomatic ties between India and Pakistan that were not resumed until 2 May 2003. On 21 May 2002 Abdul Ghani Lone, the leader of a moderate separatist party known as the People's Conference, was assassinated by militants, leading to demonstrations against the Indian government for failing to protect moderate Kashmiri politicians. On 13 July 2003 Lashkar-e Tayyaba militants carried out a hand-grenade and machine-gun attack on the Qasim Nagar market in Srinagar, killing 27 people and injuring many others. On 20 and 29 July 2005, suicide bombings by HUM militants in central Srinagar killed four Indian army soldiers and three journalists and injured 17 others.

On 3 May 2006 the Lashkar-e Tayyaba massacred 35 Hindus in the Doda and Udhampur districts. On 18 February 2007, the day before Pakistani Foreign Minister Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri was to arrive in New Dehli to continue peace talks with India, unknown terrorists bombed the Samjhauta Express on its Dehli-to-Lahore run with improvised explosive devices and flammable liquids left aboard the train, which killed 68 and injured 50 people when it exploded near Panjpat, Haryana State. On 24 August 2008, after two weeks of separatist demonstrations against Indian rule left almost three dozen people dead, Indian authorities imposed a curfew upon the Muslim-majority areas of Kashmir. With the decline in President Musharraf's power, beginning in March 2008 protests and clashes in Kashmir increased, leading Indian authorities to speculate that the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence agency was encouraging militant Kashmiri separatist groups in order to strengthen its own position within Pakistan. See also JAISH-E MUHAMMAD; LASHKAR-E JHANGVI; LASHKAR-E TAYABBA; MUMBAI ATTACKS.

KHMER ROUGE. Originally founded under Vietnamese sponsorship in 1951, the Khmer Communist Party was a revolutionary group that sought to create a socialist state in Cambodia following the Maoist model of guerrilla warfare and cultural revolution. The name Khmer Rouge was a coinage of Prince Sihanouk, who alternately fought and allied himself with the Khmer Rouge led by Pol Pot. Its official name was the Workers' Party of Kampuchea (WPK), but once in power the ruling body became known simply as Angkar, or "the organization." After 10 years of fighting the government of Prince Sihanouk until 1970, and of Lon Nol until 1975, the Khmer Rouge took the capital of Phnom Penh on 17 April 1975.

In an exercise of **state terror** scarcely matched in its scope and cruelty, the Khmer Rouge initiated a reign of terror and state repression to totally destroy prerevolutionary Cambodia and to create an ideal agricultural state. The Khmer Rouge depopulated the cities of Cambodia, which it renamed Kampuchea, forcing the urban population into agricultural communes where they were enslaved and brutalized. From 1975 to 1978 the Khmer Rouge systematically overworked and starved the subject population, selectively executing the educated and killing others even for minor breaches of rules. Estimates of the number of people who perished under this phase of Khmer rule range from 1.4 to 2.2 million. With the 25 December 1978 invasion of Vietnamese forces lasting until 1989, the Khmer Rouge reverted once again to being a guerrilla army, continuing to terrorize and repress Cambodians in the regions it controlled.

The North Vietnamese and the Khmer Rouge remained tactical allies until the fall of the pro-U.S. Lon Nol regime in 1975. By 1978 bitter warfare erupted between the Chinese-backed Khmer Rouge and the Soviet-backed Vietnamese. In 1980 Khieu Samphan replaced Pol Pot as leader, and the Khmer Rouge began to receive tacit Thai aid in the form of **sanctuary** within the border areas of Thailand, while China supplied weapons, munitions, radios, and medical equipment. The Khmer Rouge fielded about 35,000 combatants and often exerted de facto rule within Cambodian refugee camps in Thailand.

Following withdrawal of Vietnamese forces in 1989, a coalition government was established in which the Khmer Rouge was invited to participate as the price to be paid to avert the continuation of civil war. Under the UN-sponsored settlement concluded on 23 October 1991, the Khmer Rouge agreed to formally dissolve the Khmer Com-

unist Party in December 1991 and to become a coalition partner in a civilian government. In fact, throughout 1992 and 1993 the Khmer Rouge continued its activities as an armed, revolutionary party and attacked the militias belonging to other coalition partners as well as firing upon members of the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia. In 1993 the Khmer Rouge boycotted the UN-sponsored elections and resumed guerrilla warfare.

By 1995 Khmer Rouge forces were estimated at between 5,000 and 10,000 troops. Government forces continued to battle the Khmer Rouge in western regions of Cambodia, seizing the Khmer stronghold of Pailin along the Thai border in 1994, only to lose it again in 1995. During this time, when China had ceased to support the Khmer Rouge, the remnant Khmer Rouge maintained itself by allowing Thai loggers access to Cambodian timber for a price, through sales of precious gems mined in the region, and through extortionary taxes levied on local peasant communities.

In August 1996 high-ranking Khmer Rouge commanders defected to the Cambodian regime, leading to reports of factional infighting in the group. On 16 August 1996 Ieng Sary, a former chief lieutenant of Pol Pot, denounced him on Cambodian radio as the “chief of the cruel murderers,” blaming him for the **genocide** against Cambodia’s people. Negotiations started between his breakaway faction of the Khmer Rouge and the army that would allow the Khmer soldiers to be integrated into the Cambodian armed forces without reprisal. Khmer Rouge units loyal to Pol Pot started to attack those units that were defecting.

On 18 June 1997 the clandestine Khmer radio station announced that Pol Pot had been arrested by his former comrades and top lieutenants. During July 1997 the Khmer Rouge attempted to negotiate some sort of alliance with coalition government leader Prince Ranariddh and held a carefully staged show trial of Pol Pot that many observers believed to be have been organized by Pol Pot himself as a survival ploy. It became known later that one of Pol Pot’s aides, Ta Mok, had seized power from Pol Pot, who had been ailing for several years. Prince Ranariddh’s contacts with the remaining Khmer Rouge succeeded only in provoking coleader Hun Sen to oust Ranariddh altogether by means of a military coup and to settle the civil war on his own terms once he had secured total power.

As government troops and defecting Khmer Rouge fighters began closing in on Anlong Veng, Thai military officers in contact with

the remaining Khmer leaders announced that Pol Pot had died on 15 April 1998. By then the Khmer Rouge was in disarray, and many leaders and ordinary soldiers defected. The Hun Sen regime in effect granted amnesty to the Khmer defectors, including Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan, who had been the official head of state under the Khmer Rouge, and most of the amnestied defectors were allowed to run their own community in their former stronghold of Pailin. Ta Mok and his remaining 2,000 troops remained at large in the mountainous northern region bordering Laos but represented no threat to the Cambodian government. On 5 December 1998 Ta Mok and his troops surrendered, so ending the Khmer Rouge insurgency.

While Cambodia established a Khmer Rouge Trial Task Force in 1997, it has taken over a decade to procure the funding, judicial personnel, and other infrastructure needed to try those former Khmer Rouge accused of war crimes and crimes against humanity. The Hun Sen regime resisted UN and U.S. pressure to try Khieu Samphan, Ieng Sary, and Nuon Chea, who had been partners with Pol Pot in the killing of one to two million Cambodians, and settled on a domestic trial for Ta Mok. On 11 August 1999 the Cambodian parliament voted to allow a delay of up to three years for the trying of any former Khmer Rouge officials, so staying the planned beginning of Ta Mok's trial originally scheduled for 9 September 1999. Ta Mok died on 21 July 2006 while in custody still awaiting trial. The U.S. State Department no longer considers the Khmer Rouge to be an active terrorist group.

The Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia for the Prosecution of Crimes Committed During the Period of Democratic Kampuchea (ECCC), which is the international tribunal set up to try Khmer Rouge members involved in the Cambodian genocide, consists of seven judges, four from Cambodia and the others from Austria, France, and Sri Lanka. On 2 August 2008 the trials of five defendants began, namely, Khieu Samphan, the Kampuchean head of state; Ieng Sary, the foreign minister; Sary's wife, Ieng Thirith, minister of social action; Nuon Chea, the second-in-command; and Kang Kek Ieu, also known as Duch, warden of the infamous S21 prison in Phnom Penh. Cambodian authorities have resisted both setting up this tribunal and beginning these trials on the plea that these proceedings will prolong internal antagonism among Cambodians, but human rights activists have claimed that the government is seeking to shelter from prosecution many of its own members who were previ-

ously involved in the Khmer Rouge. At least 1,800 Cambodians have applied to the court to allow them the right to pursue civil lawsuits against the accused in addition to their being criminally prosecuted for war crimes and human rights violations. The maximum sentence upon conviction would be life imprisonment.

KHOBAR TOWERS ATTACK. On 25 June 1996, at 9:50 p.m., a truck **bomb** was exploded outside the Khobar Towers apartment complex in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, which was being used to house U.S. Air Force personnel of the 4404th Air Wing serving at King Abdul Aziz Air Base, killing 20 people and wounding 372 others. The force of the explosion, which occurred 35 yards from the apartment complex, created a crater 30 feet deep and 80 feet wide and tore off the face of the eight-story building. Security guards on the roof of the building, which housed roughly half of the 5,000 American troops deployed in Saudi Arabia, saw the truck stop outside the security perimeter and saw the driver of the truck enter another car and speed away. As the guards began to immediately notify residents to evacuate the building, the truck exploded. While building No. 131 bore the main force of the explosion, which tore off the front of the structure, altogether six buildings within the housing complex were damaged beyond repair. The size of the bomb was much greater than that of the **Oklahoma City bombing**, which left a 35-foot-deep crater, and involved military-style detonators and between 3,000 to 5,000 pounds of explosives, making it more than 10 times the size of the bomb used in the November 1995 **Riyadh bombing** of the U.S.-Saudi National Guard training center. Investigations revealed that the truck used in the bombing had been seen on previous occasions and suspicious activities by unknown people noted on 10 occasions from April to May 1996.

As a result of the bombing and subsequent investigations, more than 4,200 of the U.S. servicemen stationed in Saudi Arabia were relocated to the Prince Sultan Air Base near Al Kharj, located 50 miles south of Riyadh in a largely uninhabited region.

The Khobar Towers bombing was originally widely believed to have been the work of Iraq- or Iran-sponsored terrorists, although others believe that the evidence seems more consistent with **Osama bin Laden's** organization **al Qa'eda**. Although the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was called in to investigate the bombing, it

ended its investigation on 1 November 1996 due to the lack of cooperation of Saudi officials, who appeared unwilling to share information that might reveal the extent of dissent among the subjects of the kingdom. On 22 May 1998 the interior minister of Saudi Arabia, Prince Nayef ibn Abdul Aziz, stated that the bombing was the work of Saudi nationals and did not involve a foreign power.

As of April 2000 intelligence had been developed that indicated a Saudi group that enjoyed Iranian **state sponsorship**, known as **Hezbollah in the Hijaz**, was responsible for the bombing. On 21 June 2001 the U.S. Department of Justice charged 13 Saudi nationals and one unnamed Lebanese collaborator with the attack on the Khobar Towers, among them the Saudi Hezbollah commander, Adbul Karim Muhammad Hussain al Nasser, for whose capture the U.S. State Department's **Rewards for Justice Program** is offering a \$5 million bounty. In June 2007 William Perry, who was U.S. secretary of defense at the time of the attack, stated that although he had believed that Iran was behind the attack, in retrospect he now thought it was more likely to have been the work of al Qa'eda.

KHOMEINI, RUHALLAH MUSAWI AL (1902–1989). Under Ayatollah Khomeini's leadership, Iran became a **state sponsor of terrorism** in the name of fighting the influence of the United States and Israel in both Iran and the rest of the Middle East and also in the name of exporting the Islamic **revolution**. Khomeini was also a leading theorist of **Islamic fundamentalism** and has had an impact on the aspirations and actions of Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims worldwide.

Khomeini's involvement in politics began in 1942 with the publication of his *Kashf al Asrar* (The Unveiling of Secrets), in which he denounced the secularist programs of Reza Shah, the first Pahlavi king who had been deposed by invading British and Soviet forces in late 1941.

During 1963 Khomeini began agitating against Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, the son of Reza Shah, who had begun to undertake a modernization and social reform program required by the John F. Kennedy administration as a precondition for U.S. military aid to Iran. Khomeini attacked the status of forces agreement signed between Iran and the United States required for U.S. military aid as a "capitulationist" treaty violating Iranian sovereignty. These speeches led to nationwide rioting on 5 June 1963 (15 Khordad 1342 in the Persian solar

calendar) in which at least 300 people were killed by security forces. Khomeini was arrested and exiled to Turkey in early 1964. A year later Khomeini moved to Najaf, a Shi'ite shrine city in Iraq, where he was able to gather some of his clerical and lay followers about him and where he kept in contact with supporters within Iran through visiting Iranian pilgrims. From 1964 to 1978 he developed a **network** of supporters within Iran and wrote his dissertation on Islamic government, *Hokumat-i Islami: Vilayat-i Faqih* (Islamic Government: The Governing Role of the Scholar of Religious Jurisprudence), which became the guiding theory for the revolution that he led and for the Islamic Republic that he subsequently established in Iran.

A vituperative attack on Khomeini published in November 1977 by the semiofficial Iranian daily *Ittila'at* triggered protests in Tabriz in which police killed several demonstrators. This in turn led to a nationwide round of demonstrations linked to 40-day cycles of mourning for the "martyrs" in which all sources of opposition to the rule of the shah participated, including secular nationalists and leftists. Each demonstration led to more clashes with police, more "martyrs," and consequently even more and larger demonstrations, which eventually evolved into a national revolution to overthrow the shah in which Khomeini's charismatic **leadership** and personal network played a mobilizing and dominating role.

Khomeini had been forced to leave Iraq for France in late 1978 due to protests by the shah's government over his agitation from Najaf. Khomeini settled briefly in Neauphle-le-Château in November 1978, where he held court with both his followers and Western journalists. Khomeini returned to Iran on 1 February 1979 only after the shah was forced to depart, leaving a transitional government in the hands of Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiyar, whose legitimacy Khomeini refused to acknowledge. Following the collapse of the shah's government on 11 February 1979, a transitional period ensued in which liberal nationalists, leftists, and subnational secessionist groups sought to gain political advantages, while Khomeini's Islamic fundamentalists sought to consolidate control over government institutions and through their own ad hoc revolutionary institutions, such as the **Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps** (IRGC). Later, when liberal nationalists within Iran's Constituent Assembly, which had assembled to write a new constitution, opposed codification of the principle of *Vilayat-i Faqih* within the new constitution, Khomeini concluded

that the United States was covertly involved in this, as well as in all other, manifestations of opposition to his rule within Iran.

The admission of the ailing deposed shah to the United States for medical treatment in late October 1979 provided Khomeini and his followers with the appropriate pretext to occupy the U.S. embassy, which they regarded as “the den of espionage and fountainhead of all conspiracies,” and to seize in excess of 100 hostages, later reduced to 53 U.S. nationals. While the embassy seizure has been regarded as a state-sponsored act of terrorism, the group of student followers of Khomeini and the accompanying IRGC members were not actually under the control of the nominal provisional government of Iran. Given Khomeini’s later designation of this action as the “second [Iranian] revolution,” it could also be regarded as a vanguardist coup d’état since it caused the discredited Mehdi Bazargan provisional government to fall in favor of one controlled by an Islamic Revolutionary Council more directly under the control of Khomeini. The hostage seizure and U.S. reaction to it precipitated an atmosphere of crisis within Iran, facilitating the mass mobilization of Iranian opinion around Khomeini and the consolidation of effective power at the hands of his supporters. Following the overthrow of the shah’s government on 11 February 1979, Khomeini had settled in Qum, the Shi’ite center of learning located some 90 miles south of Tehran. With the crisis that erupted following the seizure of the U.S. embassy on 4 November 1979, Khomeini found it expedient to relocate to Tehran under the pretext of having a heart condition needing treatment at Tehran’s main cardiovascular hospital. Later he moved into a residence in the northern suburb of Jamaran, where he gave speeches and received foreign delegations at the Jamaran Mosque.

On 23 March 1980, in his solar New Year’s address to the Iranian nation, Khomeini issued a general directive to the Iranian government to “export [the Islamic] revolution” to other Muslim countries. Conferences of Muslim laymen, clerics, and students from throughout the Islamic world were periodically held in Iran to rally support for Iran’s revolution among foreign Muslims and to build contacts within other countries. On 5 February 1981 Khomeini decreed the creation of a Liberation Movements Department within the IRGC. The IRGC developed training bases for terrorists outside Tehran, Qum, and Mashhad, while the revolutionary Foundation for the Oppressed, comprising the

domestic and overseas offices and assets of the former Pahlavi Foundation, provided a support network for groups operating abroad. In June 1981 Iran began sending IRGC units to the Bekaa valley in Lebanon, where training bases for Lebanese Shi'ites were established and the pro-Iranian militia **Hezbollah** was established. On 13 December 1981 Bahrain uncovered and quashed an Iranian-sponsored plot to overthrow that country's government in favor of an Islamic republic.

During 1983 the U.S. embassy in West Beirut, the U.S. Marine encampment at Beirut International Airport, and the French and Israeli military headquarters in Lebanon were all car-bombed by Hezbollah volunteer **suicide bombers**. Similar **bombings** were attempted in Kuwait against the U.S. and French embassies. Beginning also in 1983 but increasing in 1984 Hezbollah undertook a campaign of **kidnapping** U.S. nationals in Lebanon as a means of removing Western influence from that country. Many of those hostages would not be released until December 1991.

At Khomeini's insistence, the Islamic Guidance Ministry of Iran on 26 May 1984 undertook a role in organizing an "independent brigade for carrying out irregular warfare in enemy territory," which included references to plans to incite anti-Saudi rioting during the Hajj pilgrimage ceremonies in Mecca. Such a riot on 31 July 1987 killed more than 400 people in Mecca, causing the Saudi government to downgrade its diplomatic relations with Iran and to limit the size of future Iranian delegations of pilgrims.

While it has been argued that Iran undertook support of terrorism against, and subversion of, other Arab and Muslim governments in reaction to their support of Iraq during the Iran-Iraq war, such an apology ignores the fact that Saddam Hussein decided to invade Iran partly in reaction to Iranian agitation of Iraq's Shi'ites already under way, which included an **assassination** attempt against the Iraqi deputy prime minister, Tariq Aziz, on 1 April 1980 by Iranian agents. Likewise, other Arab regimes supported Iraq because of their fear of the threat of Iranian-sponsored subversion against them.

In late 1988 Khomeini authorized the Iranian government to accept a United Nations-sponsored cease-fire with Iraq. This signaled no retreat from a willingness to use terrorism as an instrument of policy since, on 14 February 1989, Khomeini issued a **fatwa** of **takfir** against British author Salman Rushdie, sentencing him to death on charges of blasphemy arising from the publication of his book *The*

Satanic Verses. Khomeini died on 3 June 1989, having presided for more than a decade over the development of an Islamic revolutionary society within Iran but without witnessing the creation of any sister Islamic republic outside of Iran's borders. Khomeini was buried near Behesht-i Zahra cemetery, south of Tehran, where an enormous *Imamzadeh*, a combined mausoleum and religious edifice, was built over his grave, becoming in effect a combined revolutionary memorial and pilgrimage site.

Khomeini's own position on terrorism was highly ambivalent. In his *Kashf al Asrar* and *Vilayat-i Faqih*, he appeared to endorse the traditional Shi'ite view that only defensive warfare, rather than **jihad** proper, is permitted in the absence of the apostolic Twelfth Imam. In questions 2826–2834 of his jurisprudential handbook *Risalih-i Taudhih al Masa'il* (Treatise on the Clarification of Problematic Issues), Khomeini derives the right of defensive warfare and resistance to unjust rulers not from the Koranic injunctions regarding jihad but rather from the Koranic command in Surah Āl-i'Imran (3), verse 103, to "enjoin the good and prohibit the bad." On 8 August 1984, while criticizing a Radio Tehran commentary that had praised the mining of the Red Sea, Khomeini declared the **hijacking** of ships and airplanes, the seizing of passengers as hostages, and the bombing of public places in which innocents might be killed or maimed as being "against the sentiments of world opinion, against Islam, and against common sense." However, this declaration was followed by Hezbollah's hijacking of Trans World Airlines (TWA) Flight 847 on 14 June 1985 and by the **al Da'wa** group's hijacking of Kuwaiti Airways Flight 422 on 5 April 1988, in which both groups of hijackers were under Iranian sponsorship.

On 7 January 1988, however, Khomeini publicly adopted the position that the Islamic Republic, for reasons of state, was permitted not only to act against the decrees of the Koran but even to compel Muslim believers to do so, a position that would permit the Islamic Republic or its sponsored groups to engage in any terrorist actions they deemed to be necessary. The religious scrupulosity reflected in Khomeini's earlier writings and speeches may have simply crumbled under the pressures of running a nation-state and conducting a war. To the end of his life Khomeini never renounced the Islamic Republic's right to use terrorism. That Khomeini's successor as *Rahbar-i Inqilab*, or Supreme Religious Leader, Ayatollah

Ali Khamene'i, openly reaffirmed the death sentence passed against Salman Rushdie on several of the anniversaries of its promulgation only confirmed the essential continuity of Tehran's terrorist policy in the post-Khomeini era. After the election of Iranian President Muhammad Khatami on 23 May 1997, his administration stated that it would not enforce the fatwa but neither could it reverse the fatwa of a deceased religious authority. In November 1998 the 15 Khordad Foundation increased its bounty on Rushdie's head to \$2.8 million. In 2005 Supreme Leader Khamene'i, in an address to Iranian pilgrims going to Mecca, declared that the fatwa against Rushdie could not be reversed. On 14 February 2006 the Islamic Republic News Agency reported that the Martyrs' Foundation announced that the fatwa against Rushdie was still in effect and the bounty offer of \$2.8 million still valid.

There is a religious controversy over this fatwa among Muslims worldwide since a fatwa is considered no longer legally binding upon the death of the Islamic authority who issued it. Against this objection, Iranian officials have claimed that it is a *hukm*, a specific order, rather than a fatwa. Ayatollah Abdallah Javadi-Amoli declared in February 1997: "This is not a fatwa which died with the death of the religious leader who issued it. It is a *hukm* which is permanent and it will stay in place until it is carried out." Nonetheless the Martyrs' Foundation announcement stated: "The fatwa by Imam Khomeini in regards to the apostate Salman Rushdie will be in effect forever."

KIDNAPPING. The deliberate seizure of an individual, or people, as hostages has become a major **tactic** of terrorists. Hostage taking can serve either purely **revolutionary** ends or may have **entrepreneurial** ends as well. Often the kidnapping of a prominent person, as in the case of the **Red Brigades'** kidnapping of former Italian premier Aldo Moro, or even the seizure of relatively unknown persons who have symbolic importance, such as the diplomats and staff of the U.S. embassy in Tehran, can serve to gain the terrorists publicity and leverage for obtaining political concessions from the state or society being attacked. Often, however, terrorists seize hostages as bargaining chips to obtain the release of imprisoned colleagues or else to exact ransom, which in turn may be used to finance other terrorist or political operations of the group. **Hijacking** may be considered a special case of kidnapping since it is the seizure of hostages on air or

sea carriers that gives the terrorists political leverage rather than the mere fact of seizing a transportation carrier.

Kidnapping has become a major problem in Latin America, particularly in Colombia, which once had the highest rate of kidnappings in the world. By 1995 Latin America was experiencing about 6,000 kidnappings per year, of which 4,000 occurred in Colombia, about 800 each in Brazil and Mexico, about 200 each in Ecuador and Venezuela, and about 100 each in Guatemala and Peru. About one-half of the kidnappings in Colombia were by guerrilla groups such as the **Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia** (FARC) or the **National Liberation Army** (ELN). In Colombia during 1992–1995, out of 3,525 cases reported to authorities, the national police rescued only about 11 percent of those kidnapped, and in these cases only 70 percent of those involved have been arrested, tried, and sentenced. By way of comparison, the United States experiences fewer than a dozen kidnappings for ransom each year. By 2004 Iraq surpassed Colombia in the numbers of kidnappings occurring within its borders. Iraqi **insurgents** began kidnapping members of the U.S.-led coalition forces and civilian contract workers, both Iraqi and foreign, as well as ordinary Iraqis **targeted** for their sectarian or ethnic affiliations. In the period 2004–2007, more than 200 non-Iraqis and thousands of Iraqis were kidnapped, often followed by their being tortured and murdered, and sometimes by beheading. Since the U.S.-led surge of troops beginning in early 2007, the total numbers of kidnappings and other terrorist actions within Iraq have fallen, although these activities have not ceased altogether.

Anglo-Saxon criminal jurisprudence distinguishes between kidnapping in the form of hostage taking for political purposes or criminal extortion as described above, and abduction, which is generally kidnapping of women and children, usually for sexual purposes. Of great concern to prosecutors and investigators is the phenomenon of the **Stockholm syndrome**, in which former hostages become reluctant to testify against their kidnapers or abductors.

KNEECAPPING. Form of torture or punishment in which the victim is shot through one or more of his kneecaps by a small-caliber pistol. The punishment has often been used by the **Irish Republican Army** (IRA), **Prima Linea**, and other groups, either as a form of assault against a **targeted** person, or to punish a hostage and so subdue

other hostages, or to punish informers, defectors, or members of the group who violate internal rules of group discipline. Often the IRA has substituted the technique of slamming a concrete block or cinderblock down on the knee with the leg outstretched and the heel propped up, which is quite as catastrophic but does not require shooting. The ultimate effect is to cripple the victim in the leg on which the kneecapping is executed. In fact, the IRA has devised a progression of kneecapping punishments, from having only one kneecap shot, to having both shot, to having one or both ankles shot as well, to having one or both elbows shot through as well. When both knees, both ankles, and both elbows are shot as part of one punishment, this is referred to as a “six-pack shooting.”

KOSOVO LIBERATION ARMY (KLA). The Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës (UÇK), or Kosovo Liberation Army, emerged from the former Lëvizja Popullore e Kosovës (LPK), or Popular Movement for Kosovo formed in 1982, which originally claimed to follow the radical Stalinist **ideology** of the former dictator of Albania, Enver Hoxha. In fact, the group appears to have been primarily an Albanian **ethnonationalist** group seeking independence for the Kosovars but claimed to adhere to Enverism to gain support from the former Albanian regime. The defining moment for Kosovar militant nationalists was the 17 January 1982 **assassination** of three Kosovar militants in Germany, presumably by the Yugoslavian secret police. The Yugoslavian government, and even Serbian political dissidents in Yugoslavia, regard the KLA as a terrorist group whose members engaged in atrocities against the civilian Serbian minority in Kosovo even before fighting began in earnest there in 1998.

Neither the militant LPK nor its rival, the Democratic League of Kosovo, had much of a following in Kosovo until after 1989, when Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic ended the limited autonomy that Kosovo’s Albanians had enjoyed. The KLA emerged from a nucleus of LPK members in late 1992 but did not carry out its first military action, an attack on some Serbian policemen, until 1995. The collapse of Albania’s government in 1997 gave the KLA access to weapons from looted armories, and the KLA shortly thereafter established training camps in northern Albania around Krume, Kukes, and Bajram Curri. Meanwhile, the KLA built up its connections with Kosovars abroad, including a heroin-smuggling ring headquartered

in Zurich, to raise funds for the KLA. The first prime minister of Kosovo, Hashim Thaçi (1969–), was the chief leader of the KLA, who eventually joined the Albanian delegation at the Rambouillet talks in February 1999 shortly before they ended in failure. After March 1998, when Serbian police murdered Adem Jasari, a Kosovar nationalist organizer, many Kosovars turned from supporting the Democratic League for Kosovo, whose leader, Ibrahim Ragova (1944–2006), had consistently urged nonviolent resistance, to supporting the KLA, which offered rural farmers and their families a chance to arm and defend themselves against an almost certain Serbian campaign of **genocide**, known as ethnic cleansing.

After the Serbs carried out their 1998 summer offensive against KLA units, displacing about 200,000 Albanians, they pulled back briefly from October 1998 to February 1999, apparently as a temporizing measure while negotiations on Kosovo continued in Rambouillet, France. Returning to the areas from which Yugoslavian forces had withdrawn, KLA units murdered Serbian civilians in reprisal for the deaths of Albanians the previous summer but also murdered Albanians whom they considered to be collaborators, including low-level civil servants. Despite KLA promises to the Albanian population that it would defend them against any Serbian military offensive, once Operation Horseshoe began in 1999, the KLA lacked both the needed numbers of fighters and weapons to resist the Serbs, who proceeded to expel Albanians from the regional capital, Pristina, and other towns, often separating and executing the men among those being deported. Most observers believe that without the intervention of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), lasting from 24 March 1999 to 10 June 1999, the Serbian army could have effectively ended the KLA as a fighting force.

The KLA fighters and their leaders were not known to be democrats and had an antagonistic relationship with the Democratic League of Kosovo. Like the earlier Afghan **Mujahideen**, the KLA appeared to be a guerrilla force that has enjoyed a tactical alliance with American and European supporters but that otherwise does not share any common political agenda with its backers. Following a demilitarization agreement between the KLA and NATO commanders in late June 1999, Hashim Thaçi proceeded to purge the KLA of dissidents and executed potential rivals who might challenge his domination of the group. Under NATO prodding, the KLA agreed in September 1999 to reorganize itself into a nominally civilian self-defense force, to

be called the Kosovo Protection Corps, while establishing a political party to be called the Progressive Party for the Renaissance of Kosovo. The former military head of the KLA, Agim Çeku (1960–), became prime minister of Kosovo in March 2006 following the resignation of the previous prime minister and Çeku's election by the Kosovo Assembly, an action protested by Serbia, which regards Çeku as a war criminal, a claim not recognized by the International Criminal Court at the Hague nor by the United Nations.

On 9 January 2008 Çeku was succeeded by Hashim Thaçi as prime minister. Although NATO recognized a nominal Serbian sovereignty over Kosovo, the KLA members adamantly rejected anything short of independence from Yugoslavia. The United States extended full recognition to Kosovo on 18 February 2008 and was followed by at least 21 member-states of the European Union but resisted by Spain, which saw the move as a dangerous precedent with respect to its own ethnonationalist **insurgency** being led by the **Basque Fatherland and Liberty** group. Serbia and Russia also bitterly protested this move, with Russia hinting that this step would pave the way to Russian recognition of the secessionist region of Abkhazia in the neighboring Republic of Georgia. Several ex-KLA members have continued insurgent actions in neighboring Macedonia and also in the Preševo region in southern Serbia. The situation with regard to the relationship of the Kosovo Protection Corps and recalcitrant KLA members may be parallel to that of the **Irish Republican Army** (IRA) following the creation of the Irish Free State, in which IRA members loyal to the Free State became part of the new Irish state's army while those rejecting the settlement continued to identify themselves as the IRA.

Terrorist action for which credit was claimed in the name of the KLA was the 19 February 2007 **bombing** in Pristina that destroyed three vehicles belonging to the UN Mission in Kosovo in retaliation for the deaths of some Albanian protestors. The Serbian government claims that the KLA killed 988 people and **kidnapped** 287 from 1 January 1998 until 10 June 1999 and that an additional 847 were killed and another 1,154 kidnapped in the period after 10 June 1999 until 11 November 2001, when NATO took control over Kosovo. The Human Rights Watch alleges that most of these victims were Serbian nationals and members of the Roma (Gypsy) minority. Since 1999 the U.S. State Department has not designated the KLA as a Foreign Terrorist Organization.

KONGRA-GEL. *See* KURDISTAN WORKERS' PARTY.

KU KLUX KLAN (KKK). The historic Ku Klux Klan was a **white supremacist** organization founded in 1865 by Confederate veterans of the U.S. Civil War. The name has continued to be used by a number of groups that adhere to the twin beliefs of the racial superiority of the white race and the need to safeguard that primacy by protecting its purity against racial desegregation, integration, and miscegenation. The distinguishing marks of the Klan were the burning cross and the hooded and white-sheeted garments of its members. Its typical tactics were nighttime raids in full regalia against blacks and others, in which they would beat, tar and feather, or lynch their victims. Altogether about 1,000 blacks are estimated to have been killed by Klansmen during the early post-Civil War period, although there are no definitive statistics from that time.

For most of its history, the Klan and its successor groups acted largely as a repressive group, seeking to counter the power of northerners in the south and to keep blacks socially and politically subordinate. Therefore, the federal banning of the Klan in 1871 made little difference since many of the Klansmen's limited aims were achieved through the electoral laws passed by post-Reconstruction southern legislatures that effectively deprived their black citizens of civil rights. The latter-day Klan groups, however, have developed beyond having limited aims of repression to becoming right-wing **revolutionary** groups willing to undertake more ambitious terrorist activities, including forming alliances with **neo-Nazi** and **skinhead** groups.

The original Ku Klux Klan **targeted** blacks and northern agents of Reconstruction. The Klan was resurrected by a former Methodist minister, William J. Simmons, with a cross-burning ceremony attended by 16 men on Stone Mountain, Georgia, on 24 November 1915. The revived Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKKK) in 1920 expanded its list of enemies to include Roman Catholics, Jews, immigrants, and, later in the 1930s, Communists. By adding Jews and Catholics to the list of hated groups, the revived Klan was able to recruit new members outside the traditional Old South. In part, this was done on the advice of Edward Clarke and Bessie Tyler, founders of the Southern Publicity Association, who pioneered mass-marketing techniques and grass-roots organizing with great effectiveness on behalf of the Anti-Saloon League's temperance movement as well as

the Prohibition movement. By promoting itself as “100% American, 100% Protestant, and 100% Christian,” the KKKK of William J. Simmons eventually recruited over four million members nationwide, including 500,000 women members.

It should be noted that during this time Klan members included some of the most respectable elements of society, including Protestant ministers, doctors, lawyers, and politicians, including Senator Hugo Black, who eventually renounced the Klan before becoming an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. For many of its ordinary members, the Klan represented just another exclusive social fraternity, not unlike the Masonic Lodge or Kiwanis Club, while its anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish sentiments were also openly held by a wider public in that period. However, the personal and political scandals of the Klan leader of Indiana, David Curtis Stephenson, who was convicted for a brutal rape in November 1925, as well as extensive newspaper reports of brutalities committed by Klan members in the south and of financial improprieties by the national organization, led to a rapid loss of followers such that by 1930 the figure had fallen to about 100,000 members. In 1944 the Internal Revenue Service levied a lien for \$65,000 in unpaid back taxes on the KKKK, which led to the demise of the group.

Klan membership dwindled during the Depression, and following 1944, Klan activity virtually ceased until the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* ordering desegregation of public schools. Following that ruling there was a revival of Klan activities and increasing memberships proportionate to the advances in the civil rights movement. The revival of the Klan peaked in 1981, when the various Klan organizations together possessed about 11,500 members. The use of civil lawsuits by relatives of Klan victims greatly damaged some of these organizations and reduced their freedom of action. Three major Klan organizations have accounted for most Klan activities in recent years:

1. The United Klans of America (UKA), formerly headquartered in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, was the old guard of the Klan, being the most traditional, the oldest, and one of the most active in its heyday. On 14 May 1961, about 25 UKA members wielding clubs and metal pipes beat up several “Freedom Riders” disembarking at the Trailways station in Birmingham. A UKA leader, Robert E. Chambliss, also known as “Dynamite Bob,” ordered the **bombing** of Birmingham’s 16th Street Baptist Church in September 1963 that killed four young

black girls, an event that horrified the nation. When he was originally arrested and tried, Chambliss was convicted only for illegal possession of explosives. Following his retrial in 1977, he was convicted for the murder of the young girls and sentenced to life imprisonment. While it once boasted the largest membership of the three Klan factions, the UKA suffered a great reverse when Beulah Donald, the mother of Michael Donald, a UKA lynching victim, successfully sued the UKA for \$7 million in civil damages in 1987. This group was forced to dissolve itself as a result of that action. One of the two perpetrators of the Donald lynching, Henry Hayes, was executed on 6 June 1997, the first time a Klan member had ever been executed for the murder of a black American in the 20th-century south.

2. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKKK), named after the revived Klan of 1915, was established in 1975 by former neo-Nazi David Duke. This Klan group is among the most recent and is made up largely of people born after the Korean War. This organization has also proved itself most adept at using media relations and mass-marketing techniques to sell its message and recruit members. Duke yielded leadership of the KKKK to Don Black in 1980. The more revolutionary nature of the younger Klan groups is illustrated by Don Black's conspiracy, thwarted in April 1981, to carry out a coup d'état on the Caribbean island of Dominica, which he had planned to turn into a Klan safe haven. Following Black's arrest and conviction, the KKKK broke into two factions. Nonetheless, this group has shown great adaptability, vitality, and ability to recruit new younger members.

3. The Invisible Empire (IE) was established in 1975 as a break-away group from the KKKK, which struck many Klansmen as being too overtly neo-Nazi. The IE membership was opened to white Roman Catholics. This organization suffered loss of membership when its founder, William Wilkinson, was exposed as a Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) informant. The IE had 1,500 to 2,000 members nationwide when it was forced to file for reorganization under federal bankruptcy laws.

Besides these three groups, there are almost 200 splinter groups and independent Klan organizations. In the latest phase of the second revival of the Klan (i.e., since 1954) the newer Klan groups have identified themselves closely with the **Identity Christianity** movement and shown less hesitation in identifying themselves with neo-Nazi groups. These Klans have established paramilitary training

camp throughout the country and some affiliated themselves with the now-defunct **Aryan Nations** neo-Nazi group. Louis Ray Beam Jr., Grand Dragon of the Texas Ku Klux Klan, became “ambassador at large” of the Aryan Nations and heir apparent of Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler. Another more graphic instance of the greater terrorist inclinations of younger Klan groups is shown by the role of Frazier Glenn Miller, former neo-Nazi and leader of the Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, in instigating the 3 November 1979 massacre of five leftist anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina.

Attempts to curtail Klan activities through criminal and civil lawsuits continue, with a mixed record of success. Miller and members of his **White Patriot Army** were arrested in 1986 for conspiracy to murder Morris Dees, the anti-Klan activist lawyer who later encouraged Beulah Donald to sue the UKA in 1987. Miller’s trial revealed also his acceptance of \$200,000 of stolen funds from **The Order** terrorists. An attempt, however, to convict Louis Beam and other white supremacists associated with the Aryan Nations and Klan groups on charges of sedition and violations of civil rights laws ended in acquittal of those defendants by the Federal District Court in Fort Smith, Arkansas, in April 1988.

On 22 April 1997 the FBI thwarted a conspiracy by four members of the True Knights, a splinter Klan group, to bomb a natural-gas processing plant near Boyd, Texas, and to rob an armored car.

On 24 July 1998 the Macedonia Baptist Church, which had been burned by Klan members in 1995, won a judgment of \$37.5 million against the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan as well as a \$15 million judgment against Horace King, the leader of the South Carolina-based Klan group. An earlier federal criminal trial had sentenced the four original arsonists to imprisonment for up to 12 years. Both U.S. federal and state courts have reopened many closed cases of Klan violence and murder, in some cases trying defendants on new charges of civil rights violations in order to avoid violation of double-jeopardy protections in cases where the defendants have previously been tried, but acquitted, in state trials. In Mississippi alone since 1989, prosecutors have reopened 22 murder cases from the civil rights era, making some 25 arrests and achieving 16 convictions.

On 21 August 1998 a Mississippi state jury sentenced the former leader of the Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Samuel

H. Bowers, to life imprisonment for the 10 January 1966 murder by firebombing of Vernon Dahmer Sr., a local activist of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) who used his rural store as a place to register other black voters. Bowers was a leader of the White Knights group when it carried out the murder of three young civil rights activists on 21 June 1964, which prompted one of the largest FBI investigations in the history of the south until the bodies of the three victims were recovered six weeks later. Bowers was never charged with this crime, although it is virtually certain that he ordered these killings.

On 10 July 1997 the FBI reopened its investigation of the 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist church. Although the original mastermind behind this attack, Robert E. Chambliss, had been convicted in 1977 for the murders of those killed in this attack and had died in prison, new evidence had come to light that could identify those associates of Chambliss who had until then escaped arrest and prosecution. On 21 May 2001 the state of Alabama began trying Thomas Blanton and Bobby F. Cherry on murder charges for the deaths of the four schoolgirls killed in the bombing. One suspect, Harman Frank Cash, had died in 1994. On 17 May 2000 Thomas Blanton was convicted on four counts of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment, and on 22 May 2002 Bobby F. Cherry was also convicted on four counts of murder and also sentenced to life imprisonment.

On 28 February 2003 Ernest Avants was convicted in federal court for the Klan murder of Ben Chester White in 1966. Avants had been tried and acquitted by a Mississippi state court in 1967 for the crime. On 21 June 2005 Edgar Ray Killen was convicted for manslaughter in the Klan conspiracy and murder of three civil rights workers, James Caney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner, in Mississippi in 1964, the case that had led President Lyndon Johnson to order an all-out FBI dragnet to find the disappeared civil rights workers and to arrest their suspected murderers.

While estimates put Klan membership at around 3,000 in 2005, by late 2006 estimates had risen to 5,000 or so. There are currently at least five Klan organizations having memberships spanning several states, the largest of which is thought to be the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which is now led by Thomas Robb and headquartered in Zinc, Arkansas. Observers of Klan activism, such as the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Anti-Defamation League, have attrib-

uted the growing numbers of Klan members to a backlash in the United States against the movement endorsing gay marriage and also against perceived unrestricted legal and illegal immigration.

KURDISTAN WORKERS' PARTY (PKK). The Partiya Karkaran Kurdistan is a Marxist-Leninist Kurdish **ethnonationalist** group seeking to create an independent Kurdish homeland comprising the Kurdish-inhabited regions of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria. During the period 1990–2005 the PKK went through several name changes, becoming the Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress (KADEK) in April 2002, then the Kurdistan People's Conference (KHK) in 2003. Although KADEK/KHK disavowed violence and claimed that it sought Kurdish national rights only through peaceful political means, the group refused to disband its armed wing, the People's Defense Force, on the grounds that it had no security guarantee from the Turkish government, which has never officially recognized their various cease-fires. Later in 2003 it renamed itself again, this time to the Kurdistan People's Congress (KGK), also known as Kongra-Gel, adopting a more militant stance and threatening a return to insurgent violence, and in April 2005 it resumed using its original name, the PKK. The PKK branches active in northern Iraq and northwestern Iran call themselves the Partiya Jiyana Azad a Kurdistanê (PJAK, pronounced "Pezhak"), or the Free Life for Kurdistan Party. Because the PKK formed around the charismatic leadership of Abdullah Öcalan, who is referred to by his followers as *Apo* (Uncle), the PKK movement is sometimes referred to as Apoism and its followers as *Apocus*, or Apoists. Throughout this entry the group is referred to simply as the PKK to prevent confusion. In January 2004 the U.S. State Department declared the various KADEK, KHK, and Kongra-Gel designations to be aliases for the PKK, which is banned as a Foreign Terrorist Organization.

The PKK was founded by several leftist Kurdish students who had met in a Dev Genç (Revolutionary Youth) meeting in Ankara in 1974, who then founded their own organization as the PKK on 27 November 1978 in Diyarbakir. Originally the PKK conducted terrorist attacks upon both Turkish civilians and military personnel in the region claimed as "Kurdistan," but following the collapse of international Communism in the early 1990s, the PKK has been struggling to redefine itself on a broader populist basis to make itself more ac-

ceptable to Turks and other non-Kurdish Muslims and so has shifted its **targeting** to avoid Turkish and other Muslim civilians, concentrating instead on Turkish police, military and government targets, as well as Western tourists. During the 1980s and 1990s the PKK received Syrian and Soviet **state sponsorship**, as well as the support of the Iraq-based Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP). The PKK also draws on the support of expatriate Kurdish workers in Germany to obtain needed supplies, some of whom raise funds by narcotics trafficking in Europe. During the Iran-Iraq war, the Iraqi government did not prevent the PKK from setting up bases in northern Iraq but also did not prevent the Turkish air force from launching retaliatory strikes against Kurdish bases in northern Iraq.

From 1978 to 1980 the PKK engaged in **assassinating** local landlords, robbing banks, and setting up “people’s courts” to rule the few villages they overran. During this time the PKK murdered 243 people. According to Turkish sources, the numbers of people killed in the period 1984–1997 by the PKK insurgency included 26,532 PKK fighters, 5,185 members of Turkish security forces, and 5,209 civilians. During the period 1999–2002, PKK violence substantially ceased but in the period 2003–2005, following the breakdown of the 1999 unilateral PKK cease-fire, about 359 PKK militants were killed, 850 were captured, and 116 were extradited to Turkey from other nations, while about 580 captured PKK members were amnestied. In the same period, about 246 of the Turkish security forces had been killed and about 146 had been wounded. By late 2008 it was estimated that more than 40,000 people had been involved in this conflict.

With the military crackdown beginning on 12 September 1980, Abdullah Ocalan, the PKK leader, fled to Syria. Shortly thereafter the Turkish military uncovered 100 rocket launchers smuggled by a PKK group from Syria. PKK fighters using Iraqi territory as a base attacked a Turkish army unit in May 1983, killing three soldiers. On 15 August 1984, the PKK took over the villages of Eruh and Semdinli, 200 miles apart, and held each for an hour, departing before Turkish forces could arrive. On 22 October 1986, PKK fighters attacked the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air base at Mardin.

Whereas the preceding incidents involved probing attacks of more symbolic than material effect, the PKK proceeded with attacks directed largely against unprotected civilians. On 20 June 1987 the PKK massacred 30 Turkish villagers in Mardin Province, including

16 women and eight children. Another 30 civilians were murdered on 11 July 1987, also in Mardin Province. In 1987 there were 13 similar attacks, some made in larger towns such as Diyarbakir. From August 1984 until September 1989, about 1,500 people died due to PKK violence. For the entire year of 1988, 315 people were killed, but in the first six months of 1989, 258 were killed, showing the steady increase in PKK activity. Once world attention began to focus on the situation of Kurdish refugees from Iraq during the 1990–1991 Gulf War, the PKK decided to step up its activities, causing the death figure to rise to 900 in 1991. On two occasions in August 1991 the PKK **kidnapped** Western tourists in southeastern Turkey but in each case released them unharmed within the year.

PKK activity has centered on Mardin, Siirt, and Hakkari provinces, a triangular area bordering Iran and Iraq, which the PKK is trying to turn into a “liberated zone.” The pattern of attacks was always to hit, kill scores of Turks or attack a government or military facility, and then leave before the Turkish army could arrive. This **armed propaganda** was meant to demonstrate the impotence of Turkish rule, to terrorize Turks, and to encourage Kurds to resist the government. The PKK suffered when Iraq began to suppress the Iraqi Kurds in 1987–1988. This in turn forced the KDP to come to terms with Turkey to gain asylum for 60,000 of its own forces. Those terms included discontinuing support for the PKK. The tactic of murdering Turkish civilians also alienated Turkish leftist militants, with the exception of the **Revolutionary People’s Liberation Party/Front**, formerly known as Dev Sol, who had previously supported the PKK.

After 1988 the PKK desisted from its practice of massacring civilians and concentrated instead on hitting Turkish military outposts, police stations, and government offices. Heavy-handed counterinsurgency efforts by the Turkish military have exasperated the local Kurdish population in southeastern Turkey, causing many of them to accept the legitimacy of the PKK. Beginning in 1991 the PKK began striking at Turkish military targets outside southeastern Turkey, killing four and wounding at least 12 in Adana, Istanbul, and Izmir. Estimates of PKK membership in 1987 put its fighting strength at 1,100 and noncombatant supporters at around 3,400. By mid-1989, another estimate put the fighting strength at 5,000. By 1994 PKK strength was estimated at 20,000 but by 2005 was estimated to have fallen to just over 1,000 militants. Following a massive Turkish military operation

in which Turkish troops pursued PKK members into Iraq, the PKK offered a unilateral cease-fire but threatened **suicide bombings** if the Turkish government did not reciprocate by observing the cease-fire. On 28 June 1996 a female PKK suicide bomber blew herself up, killing nine Turkish soldiers and wounding 20 others during a parade in the eastern town of Tunceli. On 13 April 1998 Turkish commandos captured a former PKK leader in northern Iraq, Semdin Sakik, who had recently defected from the PKK following disagreements with Abdullah Ocalan. On 21 May 1999 Sakik was sentenced to death for his role in killing thousands of Turks when he was the top lieutenant of Ocalan in the PKK.

On 21 October 1998 Turkey and Syria signed an accord whereby Syria pledged to cease supporting and giving sanctuary to the PKK. The PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan disappeared from view about this time, apparently fearing that he would be handed over to Turkey by Syria. Ocalan first approached Russia in November 1998 for **asylum** but was refused. On 16 November 1998 he arrived by air in Rome, where he was placed under house arrest. Italy refused to **extradite** him to Turkey on the plea that Turkey was likely to impose the death penalty but also refused to grant Ocalan asylum unless he renounced terrorism. On 13 December 1998 Ocalan made a pro forma renunciation of the PKK and was released from house arrest on 16 December 1998. On 16 January 1999 Ocalan disappeared from Italy but was spirited to Nairobi, Kenya, by Greek diplomats, who wished to protect a tactical ally of the Greek government in its long-standing hostility toward Turkey. On 16 February 1999 Turkish agents captured Ocalan in Nairobi after penetrating the Greek embassy and flew him to Turkey to stand trial. PKK supporters attacked Turkish diplomatic offices abroad and also attacked the Israeli consulate in Berlin on the assumption that Israel had played a role in Ocalan's capture. Israeli security guards opened fire, killing three Kurds who were trying to occupy the consulate.

Ocalan's trial began on 31 May 1999 on the prison island of Imrali in the Sea of Marmara. On 23 June 1999 he was found guilty of treason and murder and sentenced to death by hanging on 29 June 1999. On 5 August 1999 the PKK announced it would heed Ocalan's call for it to leave Turkey by 1 September 1999. During the course of this trial Ocalan denied that the PKK had any role in the 1986 assassination of Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme. He alternatively pleaded for his life and threatened that his followers would wreak terror on

Turkey if he were executed. He did admit that his decision to begin the PKK armed struggle in 1984 had led to a civil war in which more than 20,000 people died. When he was sentenced to death, the court automatically appealed the sentence to the Appeals Court in Ankara, while the European Union (EU), whose members have abolished the death penalty, indicated that any execution of Ocalan would present obstacles to Turkey's future integration into the EU. On 25 November 1999 the Appeals Court upheld the death sentence, but in 2002 Turkey abolished its death penalty and Ocalan's sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. Although Ocalan remains in prison, he appears to continue to have influence if not active leadership over the PKK.

Following Ocalan's capture, the PKK offered a unilateral cease-fire in September 1999, and PKK activity largely ceased from 1999 until May 2004, although there were violations of the cease-fire by the PKK. In 2003 there were at least four incidents, including the attempted assassination of the governor of Tunceli on 3 July, an attack on villagers of Bingol on 11 July, attacks on police stations, and attempted mining of roads. During 2004 there were three incidents in eastern Turkey involving attacks on police and attempted mining of roads, and two bomb attacks on hotels in Istanbul on 10 August were believed to be the work of the PKK. Following the PKK renunciation of its cease-fire in May 2004, there were at least 13 incidents of PKK terrorism in 2005, including one kidnapping of a town mayor, who was later released unharmed; four armed attacks on army posts, village guards, and police or gendarmerie stations; and at least eight bombings, including a car bombing of a gendarmerie headquarters in Van on 1 November that injured 23 people and a bombing of a bus stop in Istanbul on 18 November that killed two people and injured 11 others. At least two of these attacks were carried out by PJAK in northwestern Iran against Iranian security forces, one in Mariwan on 16 August and another in Sardasht on 17 August. During 2006 there were at least two more attacks, including an armed attack on 6 May and a bombing on 23 May, both against police targets. The PKK declared another cease-fire on 28 September 2006, which the Turkish government again refused to acknowledge on the grounds that doing so would in effect recognize the PKK as a **belligerent**. During June 2007 the Turkish military cited instances of PKK activity against villages in eastern Turkey, in which the PKK was allegedly using bases within the portions of Iraq under local Kurdish autonomous governments, and threatened possible military

interventions against PKK bases within Iraq. Other Turkish sources have accused the United States of violating its own ban on support of PKK by U.S. special forces allegedly giving arms and other material support to PJAK units within Iran as part of covert operations against Iran.

During January–March 2007 some 27 PKK terrorists were killed by Turkish forces, who lost 16 soldiers to land mines. On 22 May 2007 a suicide bombing of an Ankara shopping district killed four civilians and injured at least 100 others.

On 21 October 2007 a particularly severe clash involving PKK rebels, operating from inside northern Iraq, led to the deaths of 12 Turkish soldiers and 32 rebels. Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan called an emergency meeting of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, which passed a motion to authorize the Turkish armed forces to carry offensive operations against the PKK into northern Iraq. Iraqi President Jalal Talabani rejected the Turkish demand that he shut down all PKK bases in northern Iraq. Beginning on 16 December 2007 and continuing into late March 2008, the Turkish air force undertook at least five aerial bombardments of PKK bases within the Iraqi border and also pounded the bases with artillery. On 21 February 2008 an incursion involving 10,000 Turkish soldiers penetrating six miles into northern Iraq encountered resistance by PKK **peshmerga** units. Another air attack on 2 May 2008 killed more than 150 PKK troops in the Qandil Mountains.

The PKK responded to the Turkish offensive by bombings in both Turkey and Iraq: On 28 July 2008 the PKK exploded a small device in the Gungore district of Istanbul. After a curious crowd gathered at the scene, another, more powerful secondary bomb exploded, killing 17 and injuring 154 others. On the same day, the PKK carried out a suicide bombing in Kirkuk using a female volunteer targeting a political rally, killing 25 and injuring 185 others, while three other female PKK suicide bombers hit Shi'ite pilgrims gathering near the al-Kāzimiyah shrine north of Baghdad, killing 32 people and injuring 102 others.

On 5 August 2008 the PKK bombed the section of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline near the town of Refahiya in Erzincan Province, shutting down the daily delivery of one million barrels of Azerbaijani oil to the Turkish Mediterranean port city of Ceyhan. The PKK had threatened to attack this pipeline since 2005. Although the pipeline was repaired quickly, reports of this attack contributed to a

rise in oil prices due to concerns about the security of supplies dependent on the BTC pipeline. On 4 October 2008 another cross-border raid involving several hundred PKK fighters upon a Turkish military outpost in the village of Aktutun left 17 Turkish soldiers dead and 23 others injured, with no PKK casualties. This was the worst Turkish defeat inflicted by the PKK since it resumed fighting in June 2004. This was a major psychological blow to the prestige and morale of the Turkish army, and there was public mourning throughout Turkey for the soldiers killed. Another PKK attack on a bus near Diyarbakir carrying police cadets killed three cadets and one civilian, leaving 22 others injured. These attacks appeared to have been timed to influence the motion scheduled for a vote on 8 October 2008 by the Turkish National Assembly to renew the one-year mandate for the Turkish armed forces to continue cross-border raids against PKK camps in northern Iraq. In addition to failing to deter PKK cross-border raids, these incursions and attacks by the Turkish military have also led to tensions between Ankara and Washington, as U.S. officials had been struggling to maintain good relations both with the Kurdish factions to promote stability within the Iraqi government and with Turkey as an ally against Iranian designs on the region.

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LASHKAR-E JHANGVI (LJ). The Army of Jhangvi, founded in 1996 by Riaz Basra and named in honor of his mentor, Maulana Haq Nawaz Jhangvi, is a Pakistani Sunni **Islamic fundamentalist** group devoted to the eradication of Shi'ites from Pakistan and the creation of a true Sunni Muslim state in Pakistan. Jhangvi, who headed the Sipah-e Sahaba, was killed in a retaliatory **bombing** by Shi'ite militants in 1990, while Basra died in 2002 and was succeeded by Qara Abdullah, also known as Talha. The group, whose members are veterans of the Afghan war, has ties to the **Taliban** and **al Qa'eda** and may have cooperated with the **Lashkar-e Tayyaba** and the **Jaish-e Muhammad** groups in some operations, including the **kidnapping** and murder of U.S. journalist Daniel Pearl in early 2002. The group, which is estimated to have less than 300 members, is believed to have conducted 12 operations causing 112 deaths and 230 injuries. The group has been under a ban by the Pakistani government since

August 2001 for its role in inciting sectarian violence between Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims.

Following the conviction of Mir Aimal Kansi, the lone gunman responsible for the **Central Intelligence Agency headquarters attack** in 1993, gunmen in Karachi, Pakistan, opened fire, killing four American workers from a Texas oil and gas company, along with their driver, in apparent retaliation for the court ruling. Credit for this action was claimed by the LJ. On 20 February 1997 the LJ attacked and killed an Iranian diplomat and six others at the Iranian Cultural Center in Multan. On 11 January 1998 the LJ attacked a Shi'ite religious service, killing 23 and injuring 25. In 2001 a single attack on 5 August injured six people. In 2002 there were at least five LJ attacks, four in Kashmir that killed seven and injured 11, and the 17 March 2002 attack on the International Protestant Church in Islamabad, which killed five and injured 40. During 2004 the LJ made at least three attacks on Shi'ite gatherings and processions: on 3 March an LJ machine-gun attack on a Shi'ite procession killed 47 and injured 130; on 31 May the bombing of a Shi'ite mosque killed 21 and injured 50; and a 27 December attack on the Agha Khan Trust killed two. On 2 December 2005 the LJ **assassinated** a Shi'ite cleric and on 24 February 2007 attacked and killed three police officers using a suicide bomber.

LASHKAR-E TAYYABA (LT). Alternative spelling, Lashkar-e Toiba, meaning The Army (or Division) of the Pure, also known as the Jama'at ad Dawa (JD), "Preaching Group," is an **Islamic fundamentalist** group founded in Afghanistan in 1990 as the military wing of the Salafist Pakistani group Markaz ad Dawa wal Irshad, or Center for Preaching and Guidance, with a Pan-Islamic agenda of annexing Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan and creating a union of Pakistan with nearby Sunni Muslim nations. The name is also rendered as Lashkar-i-Taiba. The LT considers India, Israel, and the United States to be enemies and seeks ultimately to destroy Hinduism and to make India part of a more expansive Islamic state in southern Asia incorporating also former Muslim states now part of Russia and China. It once enjoyed the support of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and is closely aligned with **al Qa'eda** and the **Taliban**. It has approximately 300 members and in the period 1990–2007 was responsible for 31 attacks causing at least 499 deaths and 1,255 injuries. During 2006 the LT moved from small attacks on groups of

Indian military and civilians to the use of large **bombs** in crowded urban areas calculated to create massive civilian casualties.

After the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**, the United States designated the LT as a Foreign Terrorist Organization, and shortly afterward Pakistan banned the group and froze its assets. Following this ban, the LT maintained the JD as a separate political front under the leadership of Dr. Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, who founded the LT, and its armed wing under the command of Maulana Abdul Wahhab Kashmiri. While the JD is legal in Pakistan, the United States regards it as merely an alias for the LT. In late 2001 the LT and the JD moved their offices from outside Lahore to Muzafarabad, the capital of the Pakistani-controlled part of Kashmir.

The LT operates primarily in Jammu and Kashmir, although captured enemy combatants at Guantánamo Bay indicate they have been trained in LT camps. The LT has staged several attacks on Indian forces in Jammu and Kashmir using **suicide-bomb** squads of two to five members. It also **targets** civilians by disguising its members as Indian security forces and rounding up Hindu and Sikh villagers and then massacring them. The LT has been pursuing recruitment of Indian Muslims with plans to spread its **insurgency** into other states of India.

The LT made its debut with an attack on the Red Fort in New Delhi, a monument symbolizing Indian independence, on 23 December 2000, killing three people. The LT participated in the 13 December 2001 attack on the Indian parliament led by the **Jaish-e Muhammad** (JEM), in which all five assailants were killed along with nine other people, though none of the victims were members of parliament. The LT also conducted two other attacks injuring 18 others during 2001. In 2002 the LT conducted at least 10 attacks, killing 76 and injuring 108. The LT killed Indian police and military personnel in Kashmir as well as massacring Hindu and Sikh civilians there. The LT also attacked Christians within Pakistan on at least two occasions, killing six and injuring 23 in an attack on a Presbyterian-run hospital on 9 August. During 2003 there was one murder of a suspected informer in Kashmir on 27 April, but the LT's most significant attack that year was the bombing of Mumbai on 25 August, in which two large bombs hidden in taxis exploded near the Mumbadevi Hindu temple at rush hour, killing 52 people and injuring at least 150. During 2005 the LT conducted three minor attacks but also the bombing of several crowded Delhi markets, killing 61 and injuring 92 on 29 October, which coincided with Diwali,

the Feast of Lights, one of the major religious feast days of Hinduism. The LT conducted eight minor attacks involving grenade attacks on Indian tourists in Kashmir and police targets, but also conducted a series of bombings on 7 March 2006 in Varanasi, the Hindu holy city on the Ganges River, killing 37 and injuring 89. The worst LT attack was on 11 July 2006 involving several bombs on commuter trains in Mumbai, killing 211 and injuring 714. In September 2006 one of the LT front groups, the Markaz ad Dawa, issued a **fatwa** calling for the **assassination** of Pope Benedict XVI for a controversial remark interpreted by many Muslims as being insulting to Islam.

During 26–29 November 2009, 10 attackers of LT struck 10 targets in Mumbai, India, with machine-gun and grenade attacks that killed at least 173 people, including many Indian police and security officials, and injured at least 308. This attack was the worst in India's history since its independence in 1947 and led to a severe crisis in Indian-Pakistani relations. *See also* KASHMIRI SEPARATISM; MUMBAI ATTACKS.

LAUTARO YOUTH MOVEMENT. The Lautaros were militant members of the Movimiento de Acción Unitaria Popular-Lautaro (MAPU/L), or Popular Movement of United Action-Lautaro, who broke away from the original United Popular Action Movement (MAPU), an extreme leftist splinter group that itself had split off from the Chilean Christian Democratic Party in 1968. The MAPU/L formed an even more radical group that sought political change through violent **revolution**. The MAPU/L had a youth wing, the Movimiento Juvenil Lautaro (MJL), or Lautaro Youth Movement, also known as the Lautaro Faction, as well as a military wing known as the Fuerzas Revolutionarias y Populares Lautaro (FRPL), the Lautaro Rebel Forces. The Chilean intelligence services referred to the three related groups as the Complejo Partidario MAPU-Lautaro, or Multi-Partisan MAPU-Lautaro. The name Lautaro referred to the chief of the Mapuche Indians who died resisting the Spanish conquerors of Chile in 1557.

The Lautaros began their terrorist campaign just prior to the presidential election and transfer of power on 11 March 1989 that ended the rule of General Augusto Pinochet. It included a series of attacks on police stations and Mormon churches, robberies of shops, supermarkets, and banks, and truck heists. Although the Lautaros appeared to have leftist leaders and used leftist rhetoric, its following consisted largely of **alienated** unemployed urban youth of slum areas and may represent

more of a lumpenproletariat-anarchist gathering of disaffected, thrill-seeking ruffians than a bona fide leftist revolutionary group. Often they would steal trucks carrying food and distribute these goods in the poorer neighborhoods of Santiago and Concepción.

Lautaro attacks on police often involved deceptive calls for help or diversionary attacks used to lure solitary policemen to ambushes. On 24 January 1991, Lautaros shot dead two policemen in Santiago. Following the release of a Chilean government report on the **state terror** of the Pinochet era, detailing over 2,000 slayings committed by the Chilean secret police, three police stations were **bombed** and six banks robbed. The perpetrators claimed to be leftists protesting the unwillingness of the Christian Democrat administration of President Patricio Aylwin to prosecute General Pinochet, who retained command of the Chilean armed forces following the installation of the democratically elected government on 11 March 1989, or others also responsible for the state terror.

On 15 March 1991 Lautaros **assassinated** Héctor Sarmiento Hidalgo, chief investigator of Concepción, who had not been involved in the human rights abuses of the Pinochet era. Their motive was revenge for the killing of an escaped Lautaro leader, Marco Ariel Antonioletti, by the investigations unit led by Sarmiento. Certain Chilean government officials believe that some of these attacks were actually instigated by Chilean right-wing agents-provocateurs seeking to create an antileftist backlash in favor of a renewed authoritarian military regime and to forestall serious investigations of human rights abuses under Pinochet. Three days after the 1 April 1991 slaying by unidentified gunmen of Senator Jaime Guzmán, a former Pinochet confidant and adviser, the Chilean government announced a 150 percent increase in spending for the national police force and a 400 percent increase in spending for the government Department of Investigations, and most of the group's 60 or so members were arrested and imprisoned briefly.

On 21 October 1993 the Lautaros resumed activity with the holdup of the Bank O'Higgins in Las Condes, Santiago, in the course of which a bank guard was killed. The Lautaro robbers were escaping in a minivan when they ran into a military police patrol at the Apumanque Mall; a shoot-out ensued in which one military policeman, three Lautaros, and three bystanders were killed. Finally in 1994 the group's leader, Guillermo Ossandón, was captured and on 4 May 1998 Ossandón and two other Lautaro leaders were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Most of their more than 600 crimes took place in the Santiago area, including 25 murders, 30 attacks on police stations and cars, 50 kidnappings, 42 bank robberies, 120 robberies of department stores, 190 bombings, and 100 **armed propaganda** actions, such as the distribution of stolen foodstuffs to the poor. It is estimated that the Lautaros stole a total of 500 million pesos and caused over one billion pesos worth of damage during their activity. Since 1994 the group has been defunct.

LEADERLESS RESISTANCE. Also known as the phantom cell structure, a strategy for allowing small numbers of people to resist and **target** a more organized military or government through multiple attacks by autonomous like-minded groups operating independently of each other. In place of having a coordinated command and control structure, these groups rely on emergent **intelligence**, adopting **tactics** shown to be effective by other groups and avoiding mistakes committed by other groups. Such groups would be difficult to infiltrate, while the **contagion effect** of their actions broadcast through the mass media would inspire others to emulate these actions. The idea has been variously attributed to Lieutenant Colonel Robert K. Brown, who was involved in U.S. Army special operations during the Vietnam War, and to Ulius L. Amoos, a former Office of Strategic Services covert agent.

Louis Beam Jr., **Aryan Nations** leader and former Texas **Ku Klux Klan** Grand Dragon leader, propounded his version of this strategy at the Estes Park, Colorado, meeting of Patriot and **militia movement** group members in late October 1992 convened to organize support for Randy Weaver, a right-wing extremist arrested following a controversial siege of the Weaver family by Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, the preceding August. According to this strategy, right-wing groups would organize themselves into loosely confederated, autonomous covert **cellular** groups without a central command structure, which would be armed and able to resist the federal government through numerous attacks that could not be stopped by arresting key leaders or smashing a central leadership cell. The concept is not unique to right-wing extremists and was also the inspiration for the **Revolutionary Cells** movement in Germany. This strategy has also been adopted by animal rights and environmentalist extremists, such as the **Animal Liberation Front** and the **Earth Liberation Front**, in which members of the group

will post addresses and names of people or firms on websites and in turn autonomous volunteers will resort to vandalism or other forms of intimidation against these targets. It has also been claimed that part of the strategy of **al Qa'eda** is to recruit individual Islamic radicals to form their own phantom cells to carry out attacks on those whom al Qa'eda deems to be legitimate targets. The videotaped messages released by al Qa'eda then seek to incite these individuals or groups into action. This nonhierarchical pattern of organization is evident in such groups as **Hamas** and in the newly emerging form of conflict known as **netwar**, involving loosely coordinated violent and propaganda actions of like-minded activists.

LEADERSHIP. The formation and perpetuation of terrorist groups usually requires having a person, or a few people, with charismatic and/or entrepreneurial qualities that enable him or her to articulate those political goals, hopes, and frustrations that are held inchoate among a larger group of people susceptible to the message of the leader. The quality of charismatic leadership was identified by Max Weber as an alternative source of authority, both to the traditional form of authority embodied in ruling families and aristocratic or religious elites, and to the legal-rational authority found in bureaucratic and legal forms in a modern liberal democracy. The charismatic leader convinces his followers that he has some special superhuman gifts of wisdom, intellect, moral superiority, physical strength, or beauty that give him the right to rebel against traditions or legal and constitutional norms.

The entrepreneurial leader is one who is able to create a “market” or “demand” for a social or political good among some group, which then is motivated to achieve that goal through nonviolent or violent means. A leadership principle and corresponding hierarchical organization seem to be readily adopted by **ethnonationalist** organizations or religious **resurgence** movements in which patrimonial or patriarchal norms are already accepted by the followers. In **anarchistic leftist** groups, in which norms of equalitarianism and antielitism prevail among the followers, a charismatic leader may be no less necessary but faces the difficult task of leading without appearing to be domineering. While charismatic leadership may be necessary to draw together a following into an effective politically active group, it is not sufficient by itself but also requires entrepreneurial leadership.

While there have been a few unusually gifted leaders having both charismatic and entrepreneurial skills, Napoleon Bonaparte and George Washington being examples, it is more typically the case that the entrepreneurial skills are found in a close lieutenant of the charismatic leader, who is often the successor in the line of leadership, or else in a small inner circle of followers. A recent example of this would be the roles within **al Qa'eda** played by **Osama bin Laden**, who is the charismatic figure, and Ayman al Zawahiri, who is believed to be the managerial and administrative talent maintaining the group's survival and operations. The perpetuation of a terrorist, political, or religious group requires that the charisma of the founder be somehow routinized in offices, traditions, institutions, and procedures that continue to inspire and mold the group and its agenda. If the original leaders succeed in this task, then the terrorist group that is formed may well be able to continue to exist, operate, and grow even if the original leaders are captured or killed. Thus the **Red Army Faction** was able to survive the capture and suicides of its founding leaders Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof for nearly three decades before it finally ceased its armed struggle.

LEBANESE ARMED REVOLUTIONARY FACTIONS (FARL).

The Factions Armées Revolutionnaires Libanaises, formed in 1979, was a Lebanese **revolutionary** group seeking to create a Marxist-Leninist state in Lebanon. Although this group was one of the three groups that emerged from the breakup of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–Special Operations Group (PFLP-SOG) upon the death of its leader, Wadi Haddad, in 1978, most of its members have been Lebanese Christians rather than Palestinians. The FARL opposed the **Phalange party** as well as foreign supporters of the constitutional government of Lebanon, in particular, the United States, France, and Israel, and also sought to demonstrate its revolutionary affinity with the Palestinian cause by attacking Israeli **targets** outside Lebanon. The group collaborated with the French **Direct Action** and Italian **Red Brigades** groups and was suspected of having ties with **Hezbollah**. The FARL was believed to number only about 25 members and was led by George Ibrahim Abdullah (aliases: Salih al Masri, Abdul-Qadir Saadi), who joined the group after 1978.

The FARL conducted at least 18 noteworthy actions from 1981 until 1987, including four **assassinations**, two assassination attempts,

four separate **bombings** and one bombing campaign, two **kidnappings**, one armed attack, and four threats. On 18 January 1982 the FARL shot dead the U.S. Army attaché to Paris, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Ray, and on 24 March 1984 shot and wounded Robert Onan Homme, U.S. consul general in Strasbourg. On 3 April 1982 the FARL machine-gunned to death Yacov Barsimentov, an Israeli diplomat in Paris alleged by the FARL to have been a Mossad agent. Later a police raid on a Direct Action hideout revealed the Sten gun used in this and other FARL attacks. On 15 February 1984 the FARL claimed credit for the murder in Rome of a U.S. citizen, Leamon Hunt, the director of the multinational observer force in the Sinai. While the Red Brigades also claimed credit for killing Hunt, it appears that the FARL collaborated with the Red Brigades in this action.

The capture of Georges Ibrahim Abdallah in 1984 led to a hiatus in FARL activities, except for the kidnapping and murder of a Frenchman in Lebanon and a series of threats against the French government if Abdallah were not released. During September 1986 the FARL fulfilled some of its threats by carrying out a bombing campaign in Paris, in which the **Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia** (ASALA) and some pro-Iranian elements may have participated, killing 15 people and injuring more than 150 others. Nonetheless, French courts sentenced Abdallah to life imprisonment in 1987 for the murder of Lieutenant Colonel Ray and on other charges. Most of the FARL's members returned to Lebanon that year and have been relatively inactive since then.

In March 2002 Abdallah's appeal for parole was rejected. In November 2003 he sought and was granted conditional release on parole in the jurisdiction of Pau in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques Department in southern France. However, on 15 January 2004, Minister of Justice Dominique Perben appealed and overturned the granted parole and currently Abdallah remains imprisoned in the main penitentiary in Lannemezan in the Hautes-Pyrénées Department. *See also* COMMITTEE FOR SOLIDARITY WITH ARAB AND MIDDLE EASTERN POLITICAL PRISONERS (CSAMPP).

LEHI. The Lohame Herut Israel, or Fighters for the Freedom of Israel (also known as the Stern Gang), was a breakaway faction from the **Irgun**, which was dedicated to the **ethnonationalist** goals of ousting both the British forces and Arab population from Palestine to establish

a Jewish state there. In 1940, Irgun members differed over the tactical question of observing a truce with Great Britain for the duration of the war with Germany, which the majority of Irgun believed to be necessary but that Avraham Stern (1907–1942) and others opposed.

The dissidents left Irgun, forming LEHI in 1940 to continue terrorizing British forces in Palestine during the war. Stern and his followers included among their **targets** moderate Jews opposed to the use of terrorism, killing at least 15 Jews and even contemplating an attack against the Jewish Agency in the event of winning independence. After the death of Stern in 1942, LEHI's activities stayed in a lull until 1944. On 6 November 1944 the group **assassinated** Lord Moyne, the British minister for Middle Eastern affairs, in Cairo. LEHI **bombed** the Cairo-Haifa railroad twice, once on 28 February 1948 and again on 31 March 1948, causing the deaths of 28 soldiers and 40 civilians. The same year, LEHI and the Irgun began cooperating in attacking British government offices and soldiers in Palestine.

In 1945 British authorities broke up most of LEHI, deporting many members, while others joined other Jewish paramilitary organizations. LEHI members joined with the Irgun in the 9 April 1948 attack upon the Arab village of Deir Yassin in which between 100 and 120 villagers perished. On 17 September 1948, LEHI members murdered the Swedish count Folke Bernadotte and the French colonel André Serot in the belief that their work as United Nations mediators would impede the full establishment of the Jewish state. Among the leaders of LEHI was Yitzhak Shamir, who later became prime minister of Israel.

Although LEHI was originally opposed to the Jewish Agency program for the establishment of a democratic state for the Jewish people, preferring its own more authoritarian and nationalistic program, and despite the fact that LEHI had attacked, assassinated, or injured members of the Jewish Agency, the Hagannah, and many Jewish civilians, the group was granted a general amnesty on 14 February 1949. After reconciling themselves to the new State of Israel, some LEHI veterans formed a political party known as the Fighters' List in 1949. After failing to win seats in the 1951 Knesset elections, this party disbanded itself.

LETTER BOMBS. The invention of highly powerful plastic explosives and miniaturized electrical components have allowed for the development of letter bombs, which have been used by the **Black**

September Organization, which in September 1972 mailed out 64 letter bombs to Israeli targets; the **Unabomber**, Theodore Kaczynski; and several other groups. Letter or parcel bombs have also been used for purely criminal purposes of malice, revenge, or simple murder.

Letter bombers frequently either omit a return address or have an address unknown to the intended recipient, but more cunning mail bombers have either placed a secondary **target**'s address as the return address or else have tried to send the packet with insufficient postage and the return address being that of the intended victim. Telltale signs of letter bombs include one or more of the following in addition to a suspicious or unknown origin for the package: excessive postage, excessive taping of corners and edges of the package or letter, signs of staining of the package or letter by oil or grease, or unusual smell. Since the Unabomber's last few attempted **bombings** in 1995, the U.S. Postal Service has required all packages above a certain weight to be sent from post offices rather than from parcel drop-off bins, postal clerks are briefed on suspicious signs, and those mailing packages may be required to present identification. While this may deter mailing of letter bombs within the United States, this does not immediately prevent letter or parcel bombs from being sent to the United States from abroad.

In January 1997 eight letter bombs disguised as Christmas cards arrived in the United States, posted from Alexandria, Egypt. Four were sent to the Washington, D.C., offices of *Al Hayat*, an Arabic-language newspaper owned by Prince Khaled bin Sultan, a pro-Western member of the Saudi royal family, while two others were addressed to "The Parole Officer" at the federal prison in Leavenworth, Kansas, where **Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman** had been incarcerated. On 13 January 1997 four other letter bombs were sent to the London offices of *Al Hayat*, one of which exploded, injuring two mail handlers. All these bombs contained Semtex, a powerful plastic explosive that is extraordinarily difficult to detect.

In Austria, in the period 1993–1997, five waves of a total of 25 letter bombs were mailed, killing four people and injuring 15, by Franz Fuchs, an anti-immigrant bigot who targeted Gypsies, advocates for refugees and immigrants, a bilingual school, and journalists and local officials deemed friendly to immigrants. When Fuchs was arrested on 1 October 1997, he attempted suicide by detonating one of his bombs, which destroyed his hands without killing him. He was tried

and sentenced to life imprisonment in March 1999 but committed suicide in his jail cell in February 2007.

In January 2007 two pipe bombs were mailed, one to American Century Investments in Kansas City, Missouri, and the other to Janus Capital Group in Denver, Colorado. The bombs were not functional and each was accompanied by a letter signed “the bishop” demanding that the firms change certain stock prices. On 25 April 2007, U.S. authorities in Dubuque, Iowa, arrested a former postal worker, John P. Tomkins, who was charged with mailing the bombs.

In Great Britain in the period 18 January–8 February 2007, a letter bomber struck seven times, maiming nine victims, until on 19 February 2007 police arrested Miles Cooper, a school janitor, who was then prosecuted for the bombings. The bombings were directed at forensic science laboratories, and Cooper appeared to be an animal rights advocate. In August 2007 Britain experienced a campaign of letter bombs believed to have been carried out by right-wing extremists, in which 18 letters and six packages, some containing bombs and others containing glass, razor blades, and threatening messages, were sent targeting left-wing parties, Jewish and Muslim groups, and advocacy groups representing homosexuals and the disabled.

LIBERATION THEOLOGY. Liberation theology is an attempt to reinterpret the Christian gospel as a creed of social, economic, and political liberation and to reconcile it with leftist **revolutionary** movements. This theology has spread predominantly among the Roman Catholic clergy of Latin America, although it is also being espoused by segments of older Protestant denominations represented within the World Council of Churches and has developed advocates among Roman Catholics and nonfundamentalist Protestants outside Latin America. Of the various clerical orders, the Jesuits have been most intimately connected with this movement, while the missionary religious order associated with Maryknoll has also undertaken advocacy of this worldview. While liberation theology appeared to be an amalgamation of Marxism and dependency theory with Christian theology, this doctrine owed much to the Catholic concept of corporal acts of mercy, to the view of the congruity and synergism of good works with faith, and to a **postmillennialist** view of church history. By propounding the theology of liberation and joining forces with revolutionaries fighting social injustice, many clerics believed they

could harmonize the spiritual and physical struggles against evil. Liberation theology encouraged the formation of “base communities” within existing parishes and dioceses made up of laity and clergy to promote what they considered to be progressive social and political programs, as well as organizing Bible study groups that would reinterpret scripture from the perspective of liberation theology. Another practical impact of liberation theology was the rise of the “sanctuary movement” in North America in which parishes and congregations would give illegal immigrants **sanctuary** in their church buildings in order to protect their rights of political **asylum** or to counter invidious discrimination against Hispanic immigrants.

In 1968 the Council of Latin American Bishops in Medellín, Colombia, passed resolutions endorsing many of the tenets of liberation theology. After the elevation of Pope John Paul II, the Vatican took a decidedly hostile line toward liberation theology. The fortunes of liberation theology declined together with the failures of those leftist **insurgency** movements that liberation theologians had believed would shape the future of politics in the developing nations. However, liberation theology contributed significantly to the success of the **Zapatista** movement, which began its insurgency on 1 January 1994. Members of the young, northern Mexican leftists who founded the Zapatista movement were able to approach the closed, suspicious Mayan Indian communities in Chiapas largely through the mediation of the Rev. Samuel Ruíz, bishop of the diocese of San Cristóbal de las Casas in the central highlands of Chiapas, who was known by some as the “Red Bishop” due to his outspoken support of liberation theology. Through the introductions of Marxist and Dominican priests, the Zapatistas were able to recruit the Mayan Indian tribes to join their cause. After 2000, with the resurgence of left-wing political movements and governments in Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Venezuela, interest in liberation theology has also revived.

Like his predecessor, Pope Benedict XVI opposes those elements of liberation theology that seem to espouse Marxism and to rationalize the use of revolutionary violence. This opposition goes back to the time when, as Cardinal Ratzinger, he served as prefect for the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, which enforces orthodoxy in matters of Catholic faith and morals. During his tenure as prefect, the Congregation issued two condemnations of liberation theology, once in 1984 and again in 1986. The Congregation also

imposed silence on Leonardo Boff, the leading liberation theologian in Brazil, for his alleged criticism of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. On the eve of Pope Benedict's visit to Brazil in May 2007, it was estimated that more than one million Brazilians were involved in Bible studies and around 80,000 base communities were sponsored by advocates of liberation theology (Larry Rohter, "As Pope Heads to Brazil, a Rival Theology Persists," *Der Spiegel*, 7 May 2007).

More recently the issue of liberation theology surfaced during the 2008 U.S. presidential election campaign when opponents of Senator Barack Obama (Democrat, Illinois), the Democratic Party nominee, criticized him for his association with the Rev. Jeremiah Wright, pastor of the Trinity United Church of Christ in Chicago, who preached a variant known as black liberation theology, viewed by many as inciting animosity toward American whites and antipatriotic attitudes. In late April 2008 Senator Obama publicly dissociated himself from Rev. Wright, who had continued to make controversial statements even after his retirement as pastor of Trinity Church in March 2008, and resigned his membership in Trinity Church on 31 May 2008.

LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM (LTTE). The LTTE is a Tamil **ethnonationalist** group in Sri Lanka that has been seeking since 1983 to create a separate state for the minority Tamils in the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka, areas in which they outnumber the Sinhalese, who form the majority of the Sri Lankan population. The LTTE enjoyed material and moral support from Tamil Nadu State in India, but this support ended when the Indian government sent in its Indian Peacekeeping Force upon official Sri Lankan request in 1987. The LTTE has been listed as a terrorist group by Great Britain, India, the United States, and some 30 other nations. Nonetheless, during the last decade, the LTTE expanded its forces to levels estimated at 8,000 to 16,000 militants, launched operations of its Sea Tigers naval branch in 1984 and then an aerial branch in 2007, and developed its overseas intelligence and covert fund-raising apparatus. Despite both international diplomatic efforts and increased Sri Lankan security efforts, the LTTE remained one of the most effective and ruthless insurgent groups in South Asia over the past three decades. The LTTE engage in armed attacks on Sri Lankan security forces as well as terrorism against non-separatist Tamils and members of rival Tamil radical groups. While the group was founded in 1972, it began its first terrorist attacks in

1975 when it claimed responsibility for killing the mayor of Jaffna. The separatist terror campaign began in earnest in 1977 with attacks directed against Tamil politicians who did not endorse the separatist cause. The LTTE's attacks on Sinhalese security forces in July 1983 sparked ethnic violence between Tamils and Sinhalese throughout the island that killed at least 387 people. The expulsion of the moderate Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) from Sri Lanka's parliament in 1983 for its refusal to dissociate itself from separatist goals left the LTTE as the foremost group championing the Tamil minority.

While the TULF was founded on 14 May 1972, its youth league attracted the core of younger, more militant Tamils, including the 18-year-old Velupillai Prabhakaran, who founded the Tamil New Tigers as a more activist clique within the youth league. On 5 May 1976 the Tamil New Tigers reconstituted themselves separately from the TULF as the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. The LTTE set up training camps in the jungles south of the Jaffna peninsula, recruiting young Tamil refugees forced from their homes by Sinhalese rioters. The Sri Lankan government unwittingly boosted recruitment into the various Tiger organizations by its practice of inflicting indiscriminate punishment on the Tamil community for specific acts of terrorism committed by Tiger groups. As a result, the LTTE was able to raise a force of more than 10,000 armed insurgents. Training camps were later established in India's Tamil Nadu State, whose government provided active support to the LTTE; the Indian government passively acquiesced in this quasi-**state sponsorship** until 1987, when India entered into a peacekeeping role in Sri Lanka that it later abandoned in 1990.

Up until the early 1980s, the LTTE financed itself from bank robberies in Sri Lanka. Since around 1982 the LTTE has tapped into a network of expatriate Tamil supporters, not only in India but also in Europe and North America. To better finance its arms acquisitions and smuggling operations, it became active in the smuggling and distribution of Afghan heroin. By 1985 the LTTE was responsible for the smuggling of 500 kilograms of heroin each year into Western Europe alone, fielding around 1,000 couriers at any given time. The arms- and drug-smuggling operations of the LTTE brought it into contact and cooperation with the rightist **Gray Wolves** organization in Turkey as well as with Palestinian terrorist groups in Lebanon. Following the December 2004 tsunami, the LTTE embarked on fund-raising scams in Western nations, purportedly raising funds to

assist tsunami-stricken areas but in fact financing the LTTE. With the expansion of its Sea Tigers, the LTTE has also engaged in piracy of commercial shipping vessels off the coasts of Sri Lanka.

Approximately 25 different unrelated “Tiger” organizations have appeared since the LTTE began, but it has violently asserted its pre-eminence over them. This reflects the leadership style of Vellupillai Prabhakaran, who is the lone survivor of the original founders of the Tamil New Tigers, having killed off all his rivals within the LTTE. Prabhakaran directed the LTTE to eliminate all rival Tiger groups in internecine battling from May 1986 to September 1987. By April 1989 the LTTE and the remnants of three other Tiger organizations formed an umbrella group, the Eelam National Liberation Front. While Prabhakaran claims to seek a “socialist egalitarian” society in the envisioned Tamil state of Eelam, he has a marked antipathy toward Marxist ideologues. His ruthless liquidation of rival Tiger leaders and groups as well as of ordinary Tamils unsympathetic to the separatist cause has led some observers to describe him as “implacably violent and as fascist a leader as South Asia has yet produced” (Dennis Austin and Anirudha Gupta, “Lions and Tigers: The Crisis in Sri Lanka,” *Conflict Studies* 211, 1988). An example of the ruthlessness in dealing with dissent occurred during March 2004 when one of the LTTE commanders, Vinayagamoorthi Muralitharan, better known by his alias of Colonel Karuna, revolted against the LTTE and led about 4,000 followers out of the group. Karuna, whose followers were eastern Tamils, objected to what he perceived as the exploitation of eastern Tamils by the LTTE leadership and also sought a more conciliatory course with the Sri Lankan government. The LTTE devoted itself to exterminating as much of the Karuna faction as possible, which was largely neutralized as an effective military force. Although Prabhakaran is the leading personality among the Tamil separatists, he is not articulate and has chosen generally to speak through his lieutenant, Anton Balasingham. His only known press conference was held in 10 April 2002 in Kilinochchi, attended also by Balasingham. The death in 2006 of Balasingham, who had been the chief negotiator of the LTTE and its main theorist, arguably has weakened the LTTE.

The LTTE, unlike other Tiger groups, has not limited its attacks mainly to Sinhalese government and military **targets** but has directly terrorized both Sinhalese and Tamil civilians as well. On 3 May 1986 a **bomb** hidden aboard an Air Lanka Tristar in Colombo exploded

while passengers were embarking, killing 17 and injuring 21 of the 111 who had embarked. In April 1987 the LTTE bombed the main bus terminal in Colombo, killing 106 and injuring 295 others, and carried out an ambush of four buses in the Trincomalee district, killing 107 civilians. The LTTE fighters are also heedless of their own lives, often killing themselves by swallowing cyanide carried in ampoules around their neck rather than allowing themselves to be captured and interrogated by Sinhalese forces. The LTTE also has made extensive use of suicide bombers in its history, accounting for 74 out of 188, or roughly 40 percent, of known suicide-bombing campaigns in the period 1980–2001, according to the research of Robert A. Pape, presented in “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism” (*American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 [August 2003], 20–32).

With the failure of Sri Lankan forces to retake the Jaffna peninsula following the virtual collapse of Sri Lankan authority in the north of the island in 1987, and with the outcry of Indian public opinion against Sinhalese atrocities against Tamils, Sri Lanka agreed to allow Indian troops to land in Jaffna to restore order. The LTTE turned on its erstwhile Indian supporters and inflicted heavy casualties on Indian forces trying to capture Jaffna, killing 350 Indian troops and wounding 1,100 by 15 December 1987. These casualties amounted to 7 percent of India’s total forces deployed in Sri Lanka, a rate of casualties twice that sustained in the wars with Pakistan. The campaign also cost India the life of former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi, who had ordered Indian troops into Sri Lanka. On 21 May 1991, while campaigning in the south of India, Gandhi was killed by an LTTE **suicide bomber** reportedly acting on orders from Prabhakaran, even though Indian troops had been withdrawn in 1990. India finally proscribed the LTTE as a terrorist group in 1992.

The LTTE continued to threaten the Sri Lankan government following the withdrawal of India’s 100,000 troops. On 2 March 1991 an LTTE car bomb in Colombo killed the deputy defense minister of Sri Lanka along with more than 50 bystanders, while another car bomb destroyed the Sri Lankan military headquarters in June 1991. On 1 May 1993 a suicide bomber killed President Ranasinghe Premadasa while he was reviewing a May Day parade in Colombo. Although police arrested 40 Tamil suspects and indicted 18 of them on 23 September 1997, Sri Lankan Attorney General Sarath Silva closed the case due to insufficient evidence.

In 1994 the newly elected government of Chandrika Kumartunga lifted the embargo on Jaffna and offered to hold peace talks with the LTTE, but on 20 September 1994 the LTTE rammed two explosives-laden fishing boats into Sri Lanka's largest warship, killing 25 sailors and the five Tamils driving the suicide boats. On 24 October 1994, one day before peace talks between the LTTE and government were due to begin, the LTTE bombed an election rally of the opposition United National Front Party in Colombo, killing 52 people including its presidential candidate, Gamini Dissanayake, along with other top leaders of the party that had led the government until August 1994.

Although the peace talks were briefly suspended following this bombing, they resumed in late December and a truce was negotiated on 3 January 1995. On 18 April 1995 the LTTE broke the cease-fire with an attack on a naval base in Trincomalee that killed 11 sailors and wounded 20 others. In June 1995 India imposed a naval blockade on the Tamil-controlled coasts of Sri Lanka to prevent resupplying of LTTE's arms. In July 1995 the Sri Lankan army began a drive to recapture Jaffna, but on 7 August 1995 an LTTE suicide bomber struck a government office building in Colombo, killing 22 people and injuring at least 50. On 30 August 1995 LTTE rebels hijacked a passenger ferry, the *Irish Mona*, and used it to launch rockets at two Sri Lankan gunships, sinking both of them. On 2 December 1995 Sri Lankan troops recaptured the center of Jaffna and retook control of four-fifths of the city, which had been abandoned to LTTE control five years previously. Most of the 150,000 residents of Jaffna had been evacuated by the LTTE the preceding month. On 31 January 1996 LTTE retaliated with a truck-bomb attack on the central bank in Colombo, killing 88 and injuring 1,400. By 16 May 1996 Sri Lanka's army had recaptured the last major town in the rebel-held northern region and all of the Jaffna peninsula, forcing the LTTE inland.

On 8 October 1997 the U.S. State Department added the LTTE to its list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations barred from fund-raising in the United States. A week later the LTTE exploded a powerful truck bomb in downtown Colombo, killing more than 18 people and injuring over 100 others as well as damaging three 5-star hotels, the old parliament building, and three office towers. This bomb was parked next to the Hilton Hotel and apparently was intended to hurt foreign-

ers, of whom 36 were injured, including seven Americans. In the past LTTE had avoided targeting foreigners but apparently changed this policy in retaliation for U.S. and other Western support for the Sri Lankan government. This bombing was followed by a two-hour gun battle between government troops and 15 to 20 Tamil Tigers, in the course of which a Tamil unit threw a grenade into a Buddhist temple, killing Vitharandeniye Chandrajothi, one of Sri Lanka's Buddhist religious leaders.

During October 1998 government troops had contained Tamil fighters in the Vanni jungles of the north but had to yield the town of Killinochi on the north-south highway connecting Jaffna to Colombo back to rebel control. On 29 July 1999 a LTTE suicide bomber **assassinated** a moderate Tamil leader, Neelam Tiruchelvam, a leader of the Tamil United Liberation Front, whom the LTTE had targeted for not supporting the separatist cause. During 2000 the LTTE retook several positions in the Jaffna peninsula, and by November Prabhakaran was receiving diplomats from Norway, among other nations, seeking to mediate a truce or cease-fire between the LTTE and Sri Lankan government.

On 19 October 2000, during the inauguration of President Kumaratunga, an LTTE attack shot down a helicopter gunship over Colombo. On 22 April 2000 the LTTE repelled three assaults by government forces, who suffered heavy losses and who lost control over the Elephant Pass military complex, giving the LTTE control over the Jaffna peninsula once again. On 22 December 2000 the LTTE agreed to a cease-fire that lasted until 24 April 2001. The most dramatic attack of 2001 was the 24 July attack on Bandaranaike International Airport, Sri Lanka's most important and most heavily guarded air hub, in which an LTTE unit first attacked the adjacent Katunayake air force base, destroying eight military aircraft, before hitting the civilian airport, destroying two Airbuses and damaging three others.

On 22 February 2002 the LTTE and the government of Sri Lanka agreed to the creation of the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM), made up of diplomats from Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, who in turn negotiated a new cease-fire signed by both parties in the period 4–6 March 2002. By the time the cease-fire took hold, more than 64,000 people had been killed by the LTTE insurgency. Unfortunately this 2002–2005 cease-fire period was marked by feuding within the Sri Lankan government between President

Kumaratunga and Prime Minister Ranil Wickramasinghe, the former accusing the latter of too much leniency in dealing with the LTTE. This feud impeded negotiations with the LTTE and led to the collapse of the cease-fire. The LTTE indicated by September 2002 that it was ready to accept autonomy instead of independence. In April 2003 the LTTE suspended negotiations but then resumed them, proposing in November the formation of an interim self-governing authority for the LTTE-occupied areas. However, on 4 November 2003, while Prime Minister Wickramasinghe was visiting the United States, President Kumaratunga fired the government's ministers of defense, interior affairs, and mass media, assuming these portfolios herself, and then deploying troops throughout the country to secure her effective takeover. On 7 February 2004 President Kumaratunga dissolved the Sri Lankan parliament and called for new elections on 2 April 2004, in which the United People's Freedom Alliance, formed from a coalition of Kumaratunga's original Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and the leftist Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), won 105 seats to Wickramasinghe's United National Front Party's 82 seats in the 225-seat body. The new government refused to return to negotiations with the LTTE despite the offer of \$4.5 billion in foreign aid contingent on the resumption of talks.

In the presidential elections of 17 November 2005, the SLFP candidate, who was the incumbent prime minister, Mahinda Rajapaksa, campaigning on a promise to toughen actions against the LTTE, narrowly defeated Ranil Wickramasinghe, who had promised to resume negotiations with the LTTE, by 51.3 to 48.3 percent of the vote. Ironically, the defeat of Wickramasinghe, whom many regarded as taking a more conciliatory line toward the LTTE, was helped by the LTTE's imposition of an electoral boycott in the regions it controlled, preventing many moderate Tamils from voting for him. A few days after President Rajapaksa assumed office on 19 November 2005, the LTTE repudiated the 2001 cease-fire and resumed hostilities. Until the end of the cease-fire, the SLMM reported numerous violations by both sides, with more than 600 people killed in the last year alone, half of whom were civilians, but the overall levels of violence were much lower than in the periods preceding and following the cease-fire.

During 2005 the number of incidents rose to 62, including 19 bombings, six kidnappings, six murders by stabbing, one robbery,

and 30 shootings, in which 47 people were killed and 68 injured. The most notable incidents include the assassination of Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar on 12 August and the bombing of a mosque on 18 November that killed six and injured 21.

During 2006 the LTTE carried out 69 attacks, killing 92 people and injuring 175 others. On 14 August the Pakistani High Commissioner was targeted by a remote bomb that did not harm him but killed seven others. This was the first instance of the LTTE targeting a diplomat, likely in retaliation for Pakistani aid to Sri Lanka's government in countering the LTTE insurgency. During the first four months of 2007 there were 27 LTTE actions, which killed 18 people and injured 32 others.

The Sri Lankan armed forces had recovered all of the Eastern Province during 10 operations from 30 April 2007 to 25 January 2008 and was making substantial inroads into the northern areas around Jaffna, Mannar, and Vavuniya. In its northern campaign the Sri Lankan military killed more than 3,000 LTTE fighters in just the first four months of 2008, compared to the total of 3,353 for all of 2007. At least 10 LTTE attacks in 2008, including eight bomb attacks, killed 155 people and injured over 377 others, mainly civilians. In late September 2008 the Sri Lankan special forces were advancing on Kilinochchi, the northern LTTE stronghold, and the group appeared to be experiencing severe military and political decline. According to an assessment by Ajit Kumar Singh published in the *South Asia Intelligence Review* (vol. 6, no. 43, May 2008), the LTTE would be able to retain the capacity to hold a receding line in the north while still being able to carry out terrorist attacks in the south. However, on 17 May 2009, Prabhakaran was killed by the Sri Lankan military in its advance on the rebels' last stronghold in Mullaithivu, which may mark the end of the conflict.

LONDON BOMBINGS OF 7 JULY 2005. Also referred to in the British press as the “7/7 bombings,” these together were the most lethal terrorist **bombing** attacks in British history and also the first in England using **suicide bombers**, the **Irish Republican Army** having previously used exposed informers to carry out suicide car-bombing attacks on **targets** within Northern Ireland. The bombers, who turned out to be three British-born Muslims of second-generation Pakistani immigrants, and one Jamaican-born convert to Islam, appeared to

have been motivated by **Islamic fundamentalism** and by resentment over Great Britain's role in the U.S.-led April 2003 invasion and subsequent occupation of Iraq and by Britain's close alignment with the United States and its war on terrorism, which they perceived as a pretext for intervention in Muslim lands. The attacks involved three bombings on London Underground trains and one bombing on a double-decker public bus.

The first bomb went off around 8:50 a.m. on subsurface train number 204 near Aldgate, located due north of the Tower of London, killing eight people, including the bomber, Shehzad Tanweer, and injuring 171 others. Within 50 seconds two more bombs exploded, the first on subsurface train number 216 near Edgware Road, located just southwest of Regent's Park, killing seven people, including the bomber, Mohammad Siddique Khan, and injuring 163, and the other on deep-level underground train number 311 on the Piccadilly Line just south of King's Cross station, killing 27 people, including the bomber, Jermaine Lindsay, and injuring 340. The final bombing did not take place until 9:47 a.m., when Hasib Hussein detonated his bomb on the second tier of a double-decker bus in Tavistock Square, killing himself and 13 others and injuring at least 110. In total, 56 people were killed and at least 784 injured.

The fatalities and injuries in the deep-level underground train were more severe as the deeper-level trains are enclosed in concrete tubes, which concentrated the explosive force of the bomb, whereas the subsurface trains run in more open spaces accommodating multiple tracks, allowing the explosions to dissipate. Yet in the two cases of the bombings of the subsurface trains, the bombers detonated their devices while other trains were passing on parallel tracks, causing damage to other trains.

The transit authority closed down its network following the bombings, suspending services and evacuating stations in the initial belief that the explosions were due to an electrical malfunction involving a cascade effect of multiple overloads and explosions. It was not until noon that Prime Minister Tony Blair announced from the Group of Eight (G8) summit in Gleneagles, Scotland, that a terrorist attack had been launched in London. Due to the G8 summit, which had only convened that very day, the British government's national crisis management headquarters, known as the Cabinet Office Briefing Rooms (COBR), had already been set up to respond to any events pertaining

to the summit; it then swung into action at 9:30 a.m. to coordinate responses with other agencies as well as the Metropolitan Police Service and continued to manage the effects of the bombings until 15 July. It was not until 13 July that the government confirmed the identities of the bombers, through their personal effects found at the scenes, and through recovered closed-circuit television surveillance videos that monitor traffic in and out of the train and Underground stations and major viaducts in central London. By that time, authorities had also searched the bomb-making venue at 18 Alexandra Grove in Leeds, West Yorkshire.

Due to the near-simultaneous nature of the first three bombings and the Muslim identities of the bombers, followed by **al Qa'eda** claiming credit for these attacks, the bombings are now believed to have been an al Qa'eda suicide operation similar to the **Madrid bombings of 11 March 2004**. A thorough investigation of the bombings led to conclusions in the Home Office official report delivered to parliament on 11 May 2006. The report found that the bombs were intended as suicide devices, all four to be detonated simultaneously, with the locations of the bombings forming a cross spanning the area of central London. The failure of Hasib Hussein to detonate his device in a timely manner was due, apparently, to a defective battery. Hussein was forced to use a bus to travel north toward what would have been the fourth point of the intended cross, and his attempt was frustrated once the Underground authorities began to close down the system. The subsequent explosion on the bus may have been an unintended premature detonation. The most surprising finding was that three of the bombers were born in Great Britain to Pakistani immigrants and were relatively well-educated men of modest, but not deprived, economic circumstances. The fourth, Jermaine Lindsay, was Jamaican-born but grew up in Huddersfield and converted to Islam when he was 15 years old. Later he came into contact with bomber Mohammad Siddique Khan, who was the oldest member of the group at 31 years old, and who appeared to be the leading figure in the group. Tanweer and Hussein were respectively 22 and 18 at the times of their deaths, while Lindsay was 19 years old. With the exception of Lindsay, none had a previous criminal history, although it came to light that British authorities had previously suspected Khan of possible terrorist ties but lacked sufficient grounds to arrest him.

Khan and Tanweer had known each other from childhood and, together with Hussein, were active in the Islamic youth clubs, gyms, and bookshops in the Leeds area. All were noted by acquaintances as being religious but not overtly extremist. Khan and Tanweer visited Pakistan together from 19 November 2004 until 8 February 2005. While there is no evidence that they attended terrorist training camps in Afghanistan, later forensic examination of their bomb-making factory in Leeds revealed sophisticated knowledge of bomb assembly and also of countersurveillance measures in acquiring and assembling the materials: for instance, they transported materials using rental cars rather than their own vehicles, and often did not buy materials directly but rather bought expensive consumer items, such as perfumes, which they would swap for needed bomb-making materials through Internet barter sites. Evidence suggested that these individuals financed the operation themselves using their good credit histories to take out personal loans and to write checks with insufficient funds to finance the trips abroad, the rented apartment at 18 Alexandra Grove, and the bomb-making materials for approximately £8,000.

Credit for the bombings was first claimed on the same day as the bombing by an unknown group, “Secret Organization: Al Qa’eda in Europe” over a pro-al Qa’eda website at 12:10 p.m., followed by another **Internet** posting on 9 July claiming responsibility in the name of the **Abu Hafs al Masri Brigade**. The Arabic-language Al Jazeera television news channel aired a tape on 1 September 2005 in which Khan gave his martyrdom testimonial, explaining his reason for undertaking the suicide bombing. On 6 July 2006 Al Jazeera aired the testimonial video of Shehzad Tanweer, after which Ayman Zawahiri, the second-in-command of al Qa’eda, claimed that al Qa’eda had trained Khan and Tanweer to undertake the operation.

The London bombings did not alter British public opinion or Britain’s cooperation with the United States in the same way that the Madrid bombings affected Spanish public opinion and policy. The revelation that British-born Muslims could be recruited into terrorism against their native homeland did come as a shock to British observers, who had hoped that assimilation and policies protecting multiculturalism and toleration of minorities would insulate Britain’s Muslim diaspora from being recruited into support for Islamic fundamentalist extremism.

LORD'S RESISTANCE ARMY (LRA). The LRA is made up of more than 3,000 antistate marauders in northern Uganda opposed to President Yoweri Museveni and appears to enjoy **state sponsorship** from the Sudanese government in retaliation for aid given by Uganda to the **Sudan People's Liberation Army**. While the LRA does not seriously threaten the Ugandan government, it has terrorized the poorest region in Uganda. In April 1995 the group raided the town of Gulu, killing 250 people, destroying 1,000 homes, and **kidnapping** more than 100 children.

The group is led by Joseph Kony, who uses the Ten Commandments as a pretext to topple the “ungodly” Museveni government. Kony has organized his followers into a cult that has strange prohibitions, such as not eating white chickens nor allowing bicycle riding, and adopting some Muslim practices, such as congregational prayers on Friday and forbidding pork. Kony anoints his soldiers with oil before sending them into battle, claiming this will protect them from bullets. Although Kony claims that he is waging war against Uganda because Museveni allegedly dismissed all Acholi people from the police and military, most of his northern victims are of the Acholi tribe.

The LRA has been engaged in the terrorization of ordinary civilians in northern Uganda, beatings of foreign aid workers, and the kidnapping of perhaps as many as 8,000 children, some of whom have been impressed into this army, others having been sold into slavery or prostitution, and yet others having been simply raped and murdered. An Italian nun, Sister Rachele Fassera, has documented the kidnapping, rapes, and murders of Ugandan children and has also successfully negotiated for the release of many of them. The Ugandan government had failed to stop the activities of this group because its army was preoccupied with protecting its southern borders during the civil war of 1997–2000 in the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire) as well as containing Rwandan rebels opposed to the government of Paul Kagame. However, on 2 June 1999 the Ugandan army announced it had conducted a successful operation in the north and had rescued 2,172 people, mainly children or teenagers. Following the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**, the Sudanese government was pressured by the United States and other nations to cease active support of the LRA. In March 2002 the Ugandan army, with the consent of the Sudanese

government, began operations in southern Sudan to crush all LRA insurgents there, leading to an escalation of LRA attacks both within Uganda and in Sudan.

During 2000 there were only two reported LRA attacks killing only two people. On 26 April 2002 the LRA attacked a funeral procession in southern Sudan, killing all 60 mourners. On 24 July the LRA kidnapped the brother of former Ugandan president Tito Okello Lutwa. During 2003 the LRA carried out three attacks, killing 56 and injuring at least 20 people. In 2004 there were six LRA attacks killing 312 and injuring 129. On 21 February 2004 one LRA raid of a refugee camp alone killed 239 and injured at least 60. During 2005 there were at least 13 LRA attacks killing 69 and injuring at least 37. These attacks consisted mainly of ambushes of convoys or single vehicles traveling in rural areas or attacks on villages, but there was one attack killing a nongovernmental organization (NGO) worker. During 2006 there were only two recorded LRA attacks, but one on 5 July 2006 killed six NGO workers and injured 11 others. As of May 2007 the LRA was responsible for 33 terrorist incidents in which 540 people have been killed and 308 injured. Meanwhile, the International Criminal Court issued arrest warrants for Joseph Kony and his right-hand man, Vincent Otti, on 8 July 2005 and on 27 September 2005 issued three more warrants for other LRA leaders on charges of crimes against humanity and **war crimes** including murder, rape, and enslavement. Since 12 July 2006 the LRA and Ugandan government have engaged in peace talks, leading to a cease-fire on 26 August 2006 and requiring the LRA to quit Uganda and to move to two designated zones within Sudan.

LORENZO ZELAYA POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY FORCES (FRP-LZ). The Fuerzas Revolucionarias Populares Lorenzo Zelaya was a Honduran guerrilla group seeking to overthrow the Honduran government through a Marxist-Leninist **revolution**. It **targeted** U.S. diplomatic facilities and firms as well as those of Latin American countries whose policies supported U.S. initiatives against the **Sandinista** government of Nicaragua. FRP-LZ members claimed to have received training in Nicaragua and Cuba. Most of their actions were confined to Honduras, although they are said to have served as auxiliaries in the Sandinistas' internal war against the **contras**.

The FRP-LZ was formed in 1978 but initiated its terrorist career on 30 October 1980 with a machine-gun attack on the U.S. embassy in Tegucigalpa and a **bomb** attack against the Chilean embassy. On 23 September 1981 it ambushed five members of a U.S. military training unit and bombed the second floor of the National Assembly building. On 21 April 1982 it made another machine-gun attack on the U.S. embassy, **targeting** especially the ambassador's suite, and threw bombs at the Argentinean, Chilean, and Peruvian embassies. On 28 April 1982, four FRP-LZ members **hijacked** an airplane, which the Honduran government allowed to leave for Cuba on 1 May after the passengers being held hostage were released. Other targets through 1983 included IBM and Air Florida offices, two other U.S. subsidiary companies, one Salvadoran firm, the British embassy, and the Guatemalan consulate.

In 1983 the FRP-LZ leader, Efraín Duarte Salgado, was arrested and turned informer against his own group. FRP-LZ activities fell off after the loss of this leader, and with the arrest of two remaining leaders in 1987, the group ceased its armed struggle. In 1990 the FRP-LZ formed a political party, the Partido Renovación Patriótico, or Patriotic Renewal Party, and in 1992 this party merged with three other leftist parties to form the Partido Unificación Democrática, or Democratic Unification Party, whose presidential candidate, Juan Ángel Almeyda Bonilla, won 1.5 percent of the vote and that won five of the 128 seats in the National Congress in the 27 November 2005 elections.

LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT (LIC). Term used to describe violent conflicts involving levels of violence short of conventional, all-out warfare. The term appears to have originated with General Sir Frank Kitson in the title of his book *Low-Intensity Operations: Subversion, Insurgency and Peacekeeping* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971). Many of the armed conflicts following World War II have involved **insurgencies**, civil disturbances, and simmering border wars of attrition, which seldom included large-scale battles involving the armed forces of major **belligerents**. Apart from *low-intensity conflict*, other terms for the same phenomena include small-scale contingencies (SSC) and operations other than war (OOTW). Field Manual 100-20 of the U.S. Army describes low-intensity conflict as “a political-military confrontation between contending states or

groups below general war and above routine peaceful competition. It frequently involves protracted struggles of competing principles and **ideologies**. Low-intensity conflict ranges from subversion to the use of the armed forces. It is waged by a combination of means, employing political, economic, informational, and military instruments. Low-intensity conflicts are often localized, generally in the Third World, but contain regional and global security implications.” In this context, terrorism has often been an accompanying feature of these conflicts since it has allowed both state and nonstate actors a means of striking at nations with powerful conventional militaries, with plausible denial for the responsible group.

A study of 43 internal conflicts involving Western powers in the period 1945–1983 by Max G. Manwaring (“Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency: Toward a New Analytical Approach,” *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 3, Winter 1992: 272–310) revealed that much of the success or failure of counterinsurgency actions rested not merely on material resources of the contending sides but also on the qualities of discipline of the defending forces, legitimacy of the **targeted** government, unity of effort by the various civilian, police, military, and governmental components of the targeted nation, and also the quality of intelligence gathered. The center of gravity of the low-intensity conflict is not merely physical tactical advantages, such as control of key points on the terrain, but rather the more intangible and fragile quality of regime legitimacy. Whereas the outcome of general conventional warfare depends largely on the military and economic components of national power, in low-intensity conflict the political and informational components are more crucial. Terrorist actions have often sought to undermine the legitimacy of targeted governments by provoking security forces to commit acts of indiscriminate retaliation against civilians in the territories in which insurgents operate. *See also* ASYMMETRIC WARFARE; INSURGENCY.

LOYALIST VOLUNTEER FORCE (LVF). The LVF emerged in 1996 from a few dozen disaffected members of the **Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF)** who were opposed to the cease-fire to which the UVF and other Ulster Protestant paramilitaries agreed in 1994 and who were armed with only some rifles, machine guns, and handguns, plus a small quantity of Powergel (a commercial plastic explosive). The LVF is believed to have been responsible for the murder of Michael

McGoldrick, a 31-year-old Catholic man shot outside Lurgan on 8 July 1996. At that time the group was the Mid-Ulster Brigade of the UVF, whose leadership censured them for the murder, which violated the 1994 cease-fire. This event caused the disaffected Mid-Ulster Brigade to break off from the UVF. It was responsible for four killings in 1997 and nine killings in 1998, although in 1998 it was also allowed by the **Ulster Freedom Fighters** (UFF) to claim credit for its own killings in the name of the LVF, since the UFF was supposed to be observing a cease-fire at that time.

On 12 July 1998 the LVF set fire to 10 Catholic churches to sabotage ongoing peace negotiations between the **Irish Republican Army** (IRA) and mainline Ulster Protestant groups. The LVF also was the first Protestant paramilitary group to murder a Catholic man—Gerry Devlin, who was shot in a parking lot in Glengormley—since the renewal in July 1997 of the IRA's previous cease-fire. The murder also seemed to be prompted by the pending reception of Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams at No. 10 Downing Street by British Prime Minister Tony Blair, planned for 11 December 1997. On 11 January 1998 the LVF also murdered Terry Enwright, the nephew by marriage of Gerry Adams, to dampen the resumption of peace talks the following day. The LVF claimed the killing was in reprisal for the murder of its leader, Billy Wright, who was shot dead by members of the **Irish National Liberation Army** (INLA) inside the Maze Prison on 27 December 1997. The LVF was responsible for eight more killings in January 1998. Despite its fierce opposition to the cease-fires and to the peace process, the LVF was the first paramilitary group to hand over its weapons to the International Commission on Decommissioning following the Good Friday Agreement of 10 April 1998.

On 28 September 2001 the LVF **assassinated** Martin O'Haga, a journalist who had been exposing the involvement of the LVF in distributing heroin. Secretary of State for Northern Ireland John Reid declared that both the LVF and **Ulster Defence Association** (UDA) were in violation of their declared cease-fires, the UDA having instigated antipolice riots in north Belfast involving firearms and Molotov cocktails. Mark Fulton, who had become the LVF leader after Billy Wright, was found dead in his prison cell in Maghaberry Prison on 10 June 2002, an apparent suicide. Under pressure from the UVF, the LVF agreed to disband on 20 October 2005. However, as late as

1 February 2006, the Independent Monitoring Commission reported that the LVF continued to exist as a criminal syndicate involved in heroin trafficking and other racketeering.

LUXOR MASSACRE. On 17 November 1997 members of both the **Islamic Group** (IG) and the **Munazzamat al Jihad** group murdered 58 foreign tourists and four Egyptians at the Temple of Hatshepsut, one of the great archaeological attractions of Egypt, capturing the world's attention because of the number of victims, the horrific accounts of the survivors, and the savagery of the assailants. Eye-witnesses described how most of the victims, trapped in the raised terrace of the temple complex's middle courtyard, were killed by six men armed with knives and automatic weapons. Many of the tourists who tried to hide in the colonnades at the rear of the courtyard were hunted down and slain. The victims included 35 Swiss citizens and a foreign resident of Switzerland; 10 Japanese, including four couples on their honeymoons; six Britons, including a young mother and her baby; and four Germans, a Bulgarian, a Colombian, and a Frenchman. **Osama bin Laden** is suspected of having aided the faction within the Islamic Group of Egypt that carried out this attack.

After this massacre by Islamic Group terrorists, the Hosni Mubarak regime cracked down ruthlessly on the **Muslim Brotherhood** and its **cellular** offshoots. The **Islamic fundamentalist** terrorist underground has suffered setbacks due to its public relations reverses outside Egypt caused by this, and other, attacks on foreign tourists, and also due to its attacks on Copts within Egypt, which has alienated much of the traditional Muslim establishment as well. The Luxor massacre forced the Islamic fundamentalist movement in Egypt to reassess its methods and strategy. Following the Luxor Temple massacre, the leaders of the Islamic Group, **Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman** and Abbud al-Zumar, issued an appeal to the members of the Munazzamat al Jihad group and members of the Islamic Group to cease violence and to work to form a "peaceful front" to confront the Egyptian government. The Islamic Group ceased all violence in 1998 and entered a cease-fire with the Egyptian government in 1999. An analysis of the impact of the Luxor massacre on the insurgency in Egypt is found in an article by Fawaz A. Gerges, "The End of the Islamist Insurgency in Egypt? Costs and Prospects" (*Middle East Journal* 54, no. 4 [Fall 2000]: 592–612).

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M-19. The Movimiento 19 de Abril (April 19 Movement) was a Colombian **insurgent** group, enjoying occasional sponsorship from other non-Colombian terrorist groups and states, that pursued both **entrepreneurial** and **revolutionary** agendas. Its revolutionary goal was to lead the Colombian people in a populist revolution against the “bourgeois” establishment in Colombia and to resist U.S. “imperialism,” particularly in the form of U.S. economic penetration of Colombia. The group’s **ideology** represented an eclectic blend of Marxist-Leninist ideas mixed with heady doses of populism and nationalism. Its entrepreneurial activities included 1) **kidnapping** and extortion directed against foreign-affiliated companies to force them to finance the M-19’s projected revolution, and 2) collaboration with, and/or extortion of, **Colombian cocaine cartels**, also as a means of financing its revolution. As of late 1989, the M-19 entered the Colombian electoral arena as a legal political party, the Alianza Democrática Movimiento 19 de Abril (AD/M-19), or Democratic Alliance M-19 Movement, but found its candidates **targeted** for **assassination** by the Colombian drug cartels’ leaders, who sought revenge for the M-19’s past attacks on them.

The M-19 received help from Cuba, Nicaragua, and Libya, as well as training from Argentinean **Montoneros** and Uruguayan **Tupamaros**. Cuba trained 300 M-19 guerrillas in 1980. Both Cuba and Nicaragua supplied the M-19 with arms in the early 1980s. The M-19 has had contacts with the Ecuadorian **Alfaro Vive Carajo** group and other similar groups in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Peru, and Venezuela. In April 1984 the M-19 announced it had formed ties with the **Basque Fatherland and Liberty** (ETA) separatists. The M-19 became a member of the Simón Bolívar Guerrilla Coordination board, organized under the auspices of the **Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia** (FARC) in 1985, and later ran candidates in the May 1990 Colombian presidential elections.

Although its activities began with a series of bank robberies in 1973, the M-19 first announced its existence on 17 January 1974, when it stole the spurs and sword of Simón Bolívar from his former villa, now a Bogotá museum. It declared itself retroactively “founded” on 19 April 1970, the date of the electoral defeat of the Alianza Nacional Popular (ANAPO), or National Popular Alliance,

presidential candidate Rojas Pinilla. Although the M-19 was formed by ANAPO activists frustrated with what they regarded as the corrupt electoral system in Colombia, the ANAPO party apparatus disavowed any connection with the M-19.

The terrorist activities of the M-19 commenced with the February 1976 **kidnapping** and murder of trade unionist José Raquel Mercado, whom they accused of being an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). In the next two years the M-19 would kidnap for ransom more than 400 victims. For nationalistic reasons the M-19 tended to target multinational companies and executives for extortion and kidnapping, including the Colombian branches of Sears and Texaco, rather than targeting purely Colombian enterprises. Beginning in 1977 the M-19 also began sabotaging petroleum production facilities. By 1979 the M-19 emerged as the most active of the guerrilla groups operating in Colombia.

In 1979, to show solidarity with the Sandinista cause, the M-19 kidnapped the Nicaraguan ambassador, Barquero Montiel. In February 1980 the M-19 captured 15 diplomats and 16 other hostages at the embassy of the Dominican Republic, including U.S. ambassador Diego Asencio, and held them 61 days in exchange for ransom and safe passage to Cuba. In January 1981, in an unsuccessful bid to force the U.S. Summer Linguistic Institute out of Colombia, they kidnapped U.S. citizen and Institute employee Chester Bitterman, whom they murdered on 7 March 1981. In April 1983 they **bombed** the Honduran embassy, seriously injuring the Honduran consul. In October 1985 the M-19 attempted to ambush the automobile of General Rafael Samudio Molina but failed. Likewise, in December 1985 they botched an ambush set for the National Police subdirector, General Guillermo Medino Sánchez, and again in June 1986 failed in an attempt to kill Minister of Government Jaime Castro as he was driving to his office. In May 1988 the M-19 kidnapped the former Conservative Party presidential candidate, Álvaro Gómez Hurtado, who was released two months later after a meeting between government officials and M-19 leaders at the papal nuncio's office in Bogotá. On 23 March 1988 the M-19 struck the U.S. embassy in Bogotá with a rocket, causing minimal damage and no injuries.

The most serious terrorist action of the M-19 was the 6 November 1985 seizure of the Justice Ministry building in Bogotá in which they seized nearly 500 hostages, including members of the Supreme Court

and the Council of State. Colombian security forces attacked, killing at least 19 terrorists. In the course of this operation, 11 Supreme Court justices were killed along with 50 hostages and all of the terrorists.

The most questionable undertaking of the M-19 has been its relations with Colombian drug traffickers. By 1982 evidence emerged linking Colombian drug trafficker Jaime Guillot Lara with the M-19 as well as with four close aides of Fidel Castro. In 1982 a U.S. federal grand jury in Miami handed down indictments against Cuban officials for assisting Lara's smuggling operations in exchange for his providing funds and Cuban arms to the M-19. Whether this was a case of the M-19 extortion practiced on the drug traffickers or else a temporary tactical alliance between criminals and terrorists, in either case the relationship went sour. The drug traffickers founded their own **death squad, Muerte a Secuestradores (MAS)**, which was directed in particular against the M-19, apparently in retaliation for the M-19 having kidnapped for ransom key members of the drug rings.

The M-19 had around 1,000 members and was made up of two fronts, a southern front in Putumayo Department and a western front in Caldas, Cauca, Valle de Cauca, Quindío, and Tolima departments. These fronts were subdivided into "columns" for different municipalities. Its founders included former ANAPO congressman Carlos Toleda Plata, who led the M-19 until his capture in 1982, and Jaime Bateman Cayón, a former FARC member who remained the M-19's principal military commander.

The M-19 participated in the "national dialogue" between the Colombian government and other major leftist guerrilla groups and signed the truce of May 1984. By September 1989, the M-19 had signed a series of accords with the Colombian government allowing it to participate legally as a political party. The M-19 announced its intention to demobilize in exchange for pardons and guarantees of protection and finally surrendered its weapons to the government on 8 March 1990. Subsequently, agents of drug traffickers killed M-19 presidential candidate Carlos Pizarro León-Gómez on 26 April 1990. Credit for the murder was later claimed in 2002 by the leader of the **Self-Defense Forces of Colombia**, Carlos Castaño, who himself later disappeared.

After 1990 most of the M-19 movement set aside guerrilla warfare in favor of becoming a political party, the AD/M-19, and returned Bolívar's sword as symbolic of the end of their armed activities. The M-19 member Antonia Navarro served as one of three co-presidents

of the constituent assembly responsible for the new Colombian Constitution of 1991. In 2003 the AD/M-19 joined the Independent Democratic Pole coalition.

A few M-19 members and factions split with the main group, preferring to continue their guerrilla warfare, and have aligned themselves with FARC. A group of 40 guerrillas of the Jaime Bateman Cayón Front occupied the Mexican embassy on 26 May 1998 as part of a political protest. Following the assassination of Patriotic Union candidate Carlos Pizarro León-Gómez, the Jaime Bateman Cayón Front bombed the Colombian consulate in Barinas, Venezuela on 29 April 1990, for which the main M-19 body disclaimed responsibility. On 5 October 1998 the Jaime Bateman Cayón Front bombed a bank in Bogotá without causing death or injury. On 2 April 1996 another M-19 faction, the Jorge Eliécer Gaitán Action (JEGA) group, kidnapped Juan Carlos Gaviria, brother of former Colombian president Cesar Gaviria, who was released on 12 June 1996 after negotiations through personal envoys of Fidel Castro in exchange for **asylum** in Cuba for the JEGA leader Fredy Geofrey Llanos Moncayo. Moncayo was later found in Colombia in late September 1998 and arrested. On 27 April 2006 the sister of former president Gaviria was killed in a kidnapping attempt by the JEGA. *See also* COLOMBIAN COCAINE CARTELS.

MACHETEROS. The “Machete Wielders,” otherwise known as the Ejército Popular de Boricua, or Popular Army of Boricua, was a Puerto Rican **ethnonationalist** group that considered itself engaged in a war of independence against the United States. It is not known to have had any external **state sponsorship** nor any contact with other Latin American leftist **insurgent** groups outside Puerto Rico, although it was supported by the small but now-defunct Marxist-Leninist Puerto Rican Socialist Party led by José Mari Bras, who was believed to be close to Fidel Castro. Within the Puerto Rican community, however, the Macheteros have shown some coordination with another separatist group, the **Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution** (OVPR), and have claimed to carry out certain terrorist actions to express solidarity with members of the **Armed Forces of National Liberation** (FALN) imprisoned in the United States. Although the Macheteros use Marxist-Leninist jargon, the essence of their program appears to reduce to nothing more than the demand for total independence for Puerto Rico.

The Macheteros appeared to be a relatively small but highly organized and carefully screened group that eluded infiltration. It operated mainly within Puerto Rico, **targeting** primarily U.S. military facilities and personnel, as well as the Puerto Rican police. Since 1978 the group has carried out a few very competently executed terrorist actions that can be considered **armed propaganda**. On 3 December 1979 they ambushed and machine-gunned a bus carrying U.S. Navy personnel, killing two sailors and seriously wounding 10 others. On 12 March 1980, in a similar ambush of another bus, the Macheteros wounded one of the three Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) instructors aboard. On 16 May 1982 they machine-gunned four U.S. sailors leaving a San Juan nightclub, killing one and wounding the others. On 6 November 1985 they shot and seriously wounded a U.S. Army recruiting officer as he was riding his motor scooter to work.

The most dramatic Machetero action was the sabotage of the Puerto Rican National Guard airfield at Muniz Air Base outside San Juan on 12 January 1981. Disguised in military uniforms, 11 Macheteros penetrated the security fence and planted 21 **bombs** in 11 jet fighters, eight of which were destroyed and two of which were damaged, causing in excess of \$45 million in damages. The date selected was the birth anniversary of Eugenio María de Hostes, a Puerto Rican hero in the struggle for independence from Spain. The significance of the use of the number 11 in the number of men deployed and number of planes targeted was to express solidarity for 11 FALN members being tried for terrorist activities in the United States at that time. Similarly, on 28 October 1986, they planted 10 bombs at military bases and facilities across the island, three of which exploded, destroying two recruiting facilities. This action was undertaken to protest a supposed plan to train Nicaraguan **contras** in Puerto Rico. The group has also used rocket-propelled grenades in attacks on U.S. government office buildings in San Juan.

On 16 September 1983 the Macheteros conducted an operation on the U.S. mainland, robbing the Wells Fargo armored truck terminal in Hartford, Connecticut, of \$7.2 million, of which only \$85,000 was recovered and \$2.5 million is known to have been transported to Cuba. While bank robberies in Puerto Rico had been a primary source of funds for the group, the evidence provided by this holdup allowed the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to arrest several

Macheteros leaders in Puerto Rico on 30 August 1985. Despite this crackdown, the Macheteros were responsible for nine of the 10 terrorist attacks occurring in Puerto Rico in 1986, although seven of these attacks failed to achieve their objective.

The last major Macheteros leader remaining at large and active in Puerto Rico, namely, Filiberto Ojeda-Rios, who had been arrested in Puerto Rico in 1985 as one of the principals of the Wells Fargo heist, jumped bond while awaiting trial in September 1990. In 1992 the state of Connecticut tried and convicted him in absentia for the Wells Fargo robbery and sentenced him to 55 years in prison. On 23 September 2005 the FBI cornered Ojeda-Rios in Hormigueros, Puerto Rico, leading to a shoot-out in which the Macheteros leader was killed. Others who were indicted in the Wells Fargo robbery remain at large, including Victor Gerena, a Wells Fargo employee, for whom the FBI is offering a \$1 million reward for information leading to his arrest and conviction. The last known Machetero action was on 9 June 1998, when they made two attacks on branches of the Banco Popular, striking one with a pipe bomb and shooting through the doors of another, as a protest against privatization policies being pursued by the Puerto Rican government. Although the group had few active members, it enjoyed great sympathy among the island's 3.9 million inhabitants, who have shown reluctance to assist in revealing the whereabouts of other members of the group.

MADRID BOMBINGS OF 11 MARCH 2004. Also referred to as “3/11” or “M-11” in Spain, this event consisted of 10 **bombings** of four commuter trains that killed 191 people and injured some 2,050 others. The bombs consisted of backpacks filled with military-quality explosives or dynamite, nails, and other shrapnel and were detonated by cell phones rather than by **suicide bombers**. Three other unexploded bombs were detected and were neutralized by bomb-disposal teams and later analyzed for evidence. On the day of the attack, responsibility was claimed in the name of the **Abu Hafs al Masri Brigade**, while the mode of simultaneous bombings aimed at producing mass civilian casualties seemed to point to **al Qa’eda**, or to a group inspired by al Qa’eda. The presumed motivation of these **Islamic fundamentalists** was to punish Spain for its role as part of the U.S.-led coalition that invaded Iraq in April 2003. It was the worst bombing in Spanish history, surpassing even the **Basque Fatherland and Liberty** (ETA) bombing

of the Hipercor supermarket in Barcelona on 19 June 1987 that killed 21 and injured 45. Apart from the immediate impact on victims and the bombed locales, the bombings may have contributed to the subsequent electoral defeat of the governing Partido Popular (Popular Party) in the 14 March election, which was won by the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE), or the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, which had been opposed to Spain joining the U.S.-led coalition that invaded Iraq in April 2003. On 19 April 2004 the new Spanish prime minister, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, announced that Spain was withdrawing its troops from Iraq, although the PSOE government continued to support a Spanish military role in Afghanistan.

The trains **targeted** were all on the line connecting Alcalá de Henares, a large municipality northeast of Madrid, and the Atocha station in Madrid, and all explosions took place in the period 7:37–7:40 a.m. local time, when the trains would be filled with commuters during the morning rush hour. Three bombs exploded on train number 21431 at Atocha Station. Four bombs exploded on train number 17395 just 800 meters away from Atocha Station. Two bombs exploded on train number 21435 just as it was leaving El Pozo del Tío Raimondo Station. One bomb exploded on train number 21713 at the Santa Eugenia Station. An analysis of an unexploded bomb led to the discovery of the use of cell phones as the initiators, and the identity code found within the cell phone led to the identification and arrest of a Moroccan, Jamal Zougam, leader of a cell of Islamic militants suspected of carrying out the bombings.

Following another unsuccessful attempted bombing of a high-speed train on 2 April 2004, Spanish authorities had enough leads to attempt the arrests of militants in an apartment in Leganés, just south of Madrid, on the evening of 3 April 2004, in the course of which four individuals in the apartment killed themselves by exploding bomb materials, also killing one police officer and injuring 11 others. The principal suspected leader of the group, an Algerian, Daoud Ouhane, had escaped. Unexploded bombs revealed use of dynamite in one and of Spanish-manufactured military-grade explosives, Goma-ECO, in the others. These findings led to the later arrests of three Spanish police informants, and eventually up to 29 suspects were arrested and charged with involvement in the bombing conspiracy on 11 April 2006.

The question of responsibility was muddled by initial claims of the Partido Popular government of José María Aznar that the bombings

were the work of the ETA. The bombings, coupled with the hasty assertions of the Aznar government, which was already under wide criticism within Spain for its support of the U.S. intervention in Iraq, may have led to the defeat of the Aznar government in Spanish elections held three days after the bombings.

The perpetrators were a small cell of Moroccan, Algerian, and Syrian Muslims claimed by the Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism to be members of the **Moroccan Islamic Combat Group** (MICG), while Spanish jurists concluded instead that the group had no direct affiliation with the MICG but rather was a small independent cell of Islamic fundamentalists inspired by al Qa'eda.

MAHDI ARMY. The Jaish al-Mahdi is an **Islamic fundamentalist** Shi'ite militia founded by Muqtada al Sadr in June 2003 originally comprising about 500 seminary students in the northeastern slums of Baghdad formerly called Saddam City but now renamed Sadr City. The militia began as a vigilante effort to restore security in the face of the initial chaos following the April 2003 overthrow of the regime of Saddam Hussein by U.S.-led coalition forces. It later developed more ambitious political aims of opposing both the U.S. occupation and the Iraqi interim government of Iyad Allawi, and of projecting Shi'ite political power within post-Saddam Iraq. The Mahdi Army began an uprising in earnest after 2 April 2004, with the U.S.-forced closure of one of Muqtada al Sadr's newspapers. The Madhi Army seized public buildings and police stations in Karbala, Kufa, al Kut, Najaf, and Sadr City. U.S. forces were able to regain control in most locations, killing hundreds of Mahdi Army members, until al Sadr agreed to a truce on 6 June 2004. Hostilities flared again in August 2004 when U.S. troops arrested al Sadr's representative in Karbala on 31 July 2004 for blockading a police station. Although the Madhi Army forces in Najaf numbered around 2,000 and were outnumbered by the combined 2,000 U.S. forces and 1,600 Iraqi security forces, the situation turned into a standoff, with Muqtada al Sadr entrenched within the Imam 'Ali Shrine, unable to break through the encircling U.S. troops, who were under orders not to inflame Islamic opinion by violating the Shi'ite shrine. Through the intervention of the Grand Ayatullah Sayyid 'Ali Hussaini al Sistani, the confrontation was brokered into a renewed truce.

The Mahdi Army numbers in late December 2006 were estimated by the Iraq Survey Group as being around 60,000, although other reports

put the number at less than 20,000, with command over units contested by as many as six different leaders. It is believed to have infiltrated the new Iraqi security forces and to be involved in the widespread murders and evictions of Sunnis from various majority Shi'ite areas of Baghdad and other cities. U.S. military leaders believe that the Mahdi Army received training and sophisticated armor-penetrating explosives from Iran's **Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps**. Complicating this situation was the fact that Sadrists were partners in the coalition forming the new government of Nouri al Maliki, which the U.S. had been seeking to support. From 17 February to 25 May 2007, al Sadr remained in hiding, in anticipation of U.S. efforts to arrest him, and was suspected to be in Iran during part of that period. When al Sadr emerged in Najaf and later addressed about 6,000 followers in al Kufa, he continued to denounce the U.S. presence in Iraq but nonetheless urged his followers to continue to lie low during the U.S. troop surge, which had been under way since 14 February 2007.

MANUEL RODRÍGUEZ PATRIOTIC FRONT (FPMR). The Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez was the armed wing of the Chilean Communist Party, formed originally with the aim of overthrowing the Augusto Pinochet regime by urban guerrilla warfare. One of its factions, the Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez Disidentes (FPMR-D), continued to seek the overthrow of the post-Pinochet democratic Chilean government. The group relied on **bombings** and **assassinations** directed at the Chilean government and police **targets**, former Pinochet regime officials, and the U.S. diplomatic and economic presence in Chile. Although the group first appeared only in 1983, it had access to impressive quantities of high-quality weapons and explosives and was very well organized. Apparently it enjoyed material assistance from Cuba and other Communist states. The FPMR recruited its members from Chilean Communist activists who had fled during the Pinochet period but who became actively engaged in the Nicaraguan **revolution** and in the later conflict in El Salvador as members of the Chilean Battalion. The leader of the Chilean Battalion, Raul Pellgrín Friedman, later became leader of the FPMR.

In the period 1983–1985 the FPMR conducted simultaneous bombing campaigns in the eight largest cities in Chile, including higher-yield attacks on power substations, an attack on the U.S.-Chilean Cultural Institute in Valparaíso on 7 August 1984, and a car bombing

outside the U.S. embassy on 19 July 1985 that killed one passerby and injured four others and two policemen. One of the 21 bombings, conducted on 29 April 1986, involved a 15-kilogram bomb detonated outside the U.S. ambassador's residence, which caused no injuries.

On 11 August 1986 Chilean security forces uncovered an arms stockpile at Corral Bay consisting in part of 338 M-16 rifles, 37 Soviet hand grenades, 315 Katyusha rockets, detonators, fuses, and 1,872 kilos of high-yield explosives, and 210,000 rounds of ammunition. A clandestine field clinic and an airstrip were also located near the arms stockpile. Twenty FPMR members were arrested in this raid. Chilean authorities claimed the arms were off-loaded from Soviet and Cuban fishing vessels and were intended for use in an offensive to be launched against the government in September 1987. On 7 September 1986, 21 FPMR gunmen attempted to kill General Augusto Pinochet with grenades and automatic-weapons fire as his motorcade drove to his summer residence. Five guards were killed and another 11 were wounded, while Pinochet suffered only a cut on his hand. On 10 September 1986 Chilean security forces found a 25-meter-long tunnel packed with 200 kilograms of explosives beneath a road over which General Pinochet was due to travel the next day. During late 1986 and 1987, the FPMR conducted numerous bombings of power pylons, once plunging much of Santiago and Valparaíso into a blackout just as General Pinochet was due to make a national radio and television address. On 28 December 1989 the FPMR-D bombed the American-Chilean cultural center in Santiago to protest the U.S. invasion of Panama. The membership of FPMR was estimated to be between 500 and 1,000 at its height, but the current FPMR-D, or "dissident" faction, now is believed to have only 50 to 100 members. The FPMR showed a greater willingness to strike at lower-ranking police officers and ordinary soldiers than did its leading rival, the **Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR)**, and to risk indiscriminate killing of civilians and bystanders in its bombing campaign since the FPMR used higher-yield explosives than did the MIR and made greater use of car bombs. The FPMR also engaged in **kidnapping** industrialists for ransom and apparently once prepared a "people's prison" to house hostages. Unlike the MIR, the FPMR also seized radio stations several times to broadcast its own messages to the public. During the period 1983–1988, the FPMR conducted 25 attacks, six against diplomatic targets, 11 against business targets,

six against Mormon churches, one on journalists, and one on a repair facility of International Telegraph & Telecommunications.

Following the restoration of democratic rule in Chile in 1989, the FPMR-D did not desist from attacks against the Chilean government and actually was the first group to launch a terrorist action with an antitank rocket attack on police posts in the southern towns of Los Queñes and Pichi-Pehuhuen on 21 October 1988. This created divisions in the Chilean Communist Party, many of whose members believed that there was no rationale for such terrorist actions in the post-Pinochet period. The group split into two factions, the FPMR Party and the FPMR-D “dissident” group. The FPMR-D rationalized its continuation of terrorism as a protest against the reluctance of the Patricio Aylwin administration to prosecute former Pinochet regime officials for human rights abuses and adopted a new strategy for a “patriotic national war” to demoralize and to delegitimize the Chilean Armed Forces.

The FPMR-D undertook at least six armed attacks in 1988, but whereas the first five were isolated shooting attacks, the sixth attack on 21 October 1988 involved the attempted takeover of the three towns of Los Queñes, Aguas Grandes, and Pichipellaupén, which was meant to inaugurate the patriotic national war. This uprising was sharply repelled by Chilean army and security forces, with heavy casualties to the FPMR-D. On 28 October 1988 the body of Raul Pellgrín was recovered from the Tinguiririca River. On 20 August 1989 the second leader of the FPMR-D, Roberto Nordenflycht Farias, also known as Commandante Aurelio, was shot to death in a battle with army troops. On 21 March 1990 the FPMR-D wounded General Gustavo Leigh, former air force commander, in an assassination attempt. Leigh had been accused of overseeing **death squad** activities directed against Chilean leftists during the rule of General Augusto Pinochet. On 3 November 1990 the FPMR-D shot at U.S. Marines from the USS *Abraham Lincoln*, who were dining in a restaurant in Viña del Mar. On 5 August 1993 security police captured Mauricio Hernández Norambuena, also known as Ramirio, who was the FPMR-D’s chief of military operations. On 9 September 1993 the FPMR-D bombed one Kentucky Fried Chicken and two McDonald’s restaurants. On 30 December 1996 four of the top leaders of the FPMR-D, including Mauricio Hernández Norambuena and Patricio Ortiz, escaped from the high-security prison in Santiago by helicopter.

In the period 1988–1994, the FPMR-D conducted 26 attacks, six against diplomatic targets, 15 against Mormon churches and temples, one against a military target, and four against business targets. The last FPMR-D attack was a bombing on 18 August 1994 of the building housing the U.S. engineering and construction firm Fluor Daniel. With the decline in Cuban and other foreign support, the FPMR-D ceased to operate after 1994.

Another FPMR-D leader, Enrique Villanueva, also known as El Comandante Eduardo, fled to Cuba on 16 April 1997; Patricio Ortiz fled to Switzerland in June 1997, where he was granted political **asylum**. The other three prisoners who had escaped the Santiago prison also made it to Cuba by July 1997.

MARIGHELLA, CARLOS (1911–1969). Brazilian terrorist and theorist of terrorism best known for his tract the *Manual of the Urban Guerrilla*, written in June 1969, which has often been called a masterpiece on terrorist strategy. He differed with the theory propounded by **Ernesto “Che” Guevara** in his *Guerrilla Warfare* insofar as Guevara emphasized guerrilla warfare in rural areas, whereas Marighella believed that urban-based **insurgencies** would be more effective. Specialists in political violence and terrorism have found little originality in Marighella’s discussion of terrorist tactical doctrine and have found the tract also to be quite devoid of any discussion of the moral dimensions of terrorist action. Nonetheless, this book has been avidly read by sympathizers and other would-be terrorists, who have taken Marighella’s prescriptions very much to heart. For instance, Marighella wrote in the *Manual* that no Marxist **revolution** would succeed in the United States until white college radicals joined forces with black prison inmates. Groups such as the **Symbionese Liberation Army** and the **Revolutionary Armed Task Force** proceeded to follow this precept quite literally. Because of the popularity of this work among revolutionary leftists, many Latin American and European countries have banned its publication and distribution.

As a former Executive Committee member of the Brazilian Communist Party and elected member of the national legislature who had become disillusioned with the ineffectiveness of political action, Marighella embraced the notion of “violence before politics” in 1967 when he left the Brazilian Communist Party and helped found a leftist terrorist group called the *Ação Libertadora Nacional* (ALN),

the National Liberation Action. He was killed in a police ambush on 4 November 1969, and the group he helped found was smashed by Brazilian security forces within a year of his death.

MARTYRS' AVENGING COMMANDO (COVEMA). The Comando de Vengadores de Mártires (Martyrs' Avenging Commando), was a Chilean pro-state **death squad** that attacked and sometimes killed suspected leftists or other opponents of the Pinochet regime. In August 1980 about 14 people were seized by the COVEMA, which was formed following the 15 July 1980 **assassination** of Colonel Roger Vergara, director of the Army Intelligence School, by members of the **Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR)**. Two of those whom they captured in downtown Santiago included Guillermo Hormazábal, the director of Radio Chilena, and Mario Romero, the head of Radio Presidente Ibañez. Both were released, but Eduardo Jara, a journalism student from Catholic University, was tortured so badly that he later died. According to a former COVEMA member, Celso Eduardo Quitero Martinez, the group had been formed by General Ernesto Baeza, then director general of the investigative services, specifically to **target** those responsible for the assassination of Vergara and disbanded shortly after accomplishing this goal.

Another related group was the Gamma Commando, which murdered the artist Hugo Riveros Gómez, a member of the MIR who had been detained from November 1980 to March 1981 by the Central Nacional de Informaciones (CNI), or National Intelligence Center. After his release, he sketched from memory the faces of the agents who had interrogated him and attempted to send the sketches to comrades abroad. After CNI agents intercepted this mail, he was killed along with Oscar Polanco, another MIR member.

The Eleventh of September Commando allegedly killed four leftists in reprisal for the **Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front's (FPMR)** attempted assassination of General Augusto Pinochet on 7 September 1986. This Commando also assassinated Jécar Neghme, the leader in exile of the MIR, on 4 September 1989.

MARXIST-LENINIST ARMED PROPAGANDA UNIT (MLAPU). The Marksist Leninist Silahli Propaganda Birligi (Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda Unit) was a nonstate group seeking to overthrow the Turkish Republic in favor of a Communist state. It was founded

in Paris in 1973 by leftist Turkish students and the widow of Mahir Çayan, a Turkish leftist and founder of the **Turkish People's Liberation Front** (TPLF) killed by Turkish security forces in 1972, and was one of three splinter groups that emerged from the TPLF. The group was one of several left-wing **death squads** and terrorist groups vying with right-wing extremist counterparts in the period of escalating internal political terrorism in Turkey in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The MLAPU was also considered to be the most virulently anti-American of Turkish leftist groups.

In 1979 the MLAPU killed seven U.S. citizens. On 2 January 1980 it machine-gunned the manager of the El Al Airlines office in Istanbul as he was driving home. On 16 April 1980 three MLAPU gunmen killed a U.S. Navy noncommissioned officer and his taxi driver. The three gunmen were pursued by police; one was killed in pursuit and the other two were captured. On 15 November 1980 two U.S. Air Force noncommissioned officers were shot at by MLAPU gunmen, one of whom was killed while the other escaped injury. The two gunmen were apprehended and later executed in 1985.

With the military coup of September 1980 and imposition of martial law, the MLAPU and other similar groups were ruthlessly suppressed by the military. Many of those leftists already imprisoned, including the gunmen arrested for the incidents mentioned above, were executed under the military regime. The outlawed group continues to publish an underground magazine, *Sosyalist Barikat*.

MASS SOCIETY THEORY. Theory that explains political violence as resulting from the mobilization of large numbers of people who have been dislocated from traditional social organization by industrialization, urbanization, and rapid democratization into political militancy. The theory shares the pessimistic view articulated by José Ortega y Gasset that the growing working classes and lower middle class would be easily swayed by irrational passions and fall prey to **ideological** demagogues, whether of the left or the right, and would be easily led into political extremism and violence.

The theory was articulated more coherently by William Kornhauser in his 1958 *Politics of Mass Society*, which held that people who had recently entered the industrial workforce in the large cities would be cut off from the traditional socialization of family life, village life, and church and would lack a commitment to the institutions

and norms of liberal democracy at the same time that they would begin to have their own political demands. However, empirical studies by Lynn Lees and Charles Tilley and others indicate that those people who are securely members of primary and secondary social groups are more likely to become actively recruited into organized political activism than those who are socially isolated, a view known as the **social network recruitment theory**. The empirical studies of Sydney Verba and Norman Nie also indicate that political participation tends to be correlated more with higher than with lower socioeconomic status, so one would expect that political extremism would be less likely to be found in the social underclasses of “mass society.”

Another implication of mass society theory that appears to be empirically false is the notion, best articulated by Samuel P. Huntington, that institutions and organizations having modern attributes of adaptability, complexity, autonomy, and coherence would effectively channel the growing demands of increasingly politically mobilized masses into constructive engagement with civil society rather than violent confrontation. Yet if one considers such organizations as the **Irish Republican Army (IRA)** or the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**, they have many of these attributes of modern political organizations but have nonetheless carried out campaigns of political violence and terrorism **targeting** the civil societies in which their followers live. In these cases it is not an inchoate mass society but rather highly closed, hierarchically organized, and ideologically motivated organizations that have been responsible for civil unrest and violence.

MAU MAU. The Mau Mau were gangs originally deployed by the Kikuyu Central Association of tribesmen in Kenya to drive British settlers off Kikuyu lands but which became part of the overall anti-colonial Kenyan independence movement. The Mau Mau were active from September 1952 to October 1956, attacking and killing British settlers as well as burning their crops, slaughtering their cattle, and destroying the huts of African tenants on British farms. Remnants of the Mau Mau continued sporadic attacks as late as 1962.

Following the first attacks, the British administration declared a state of emergency on 22 October 1952 and imprisoned Jomo Kenyatta (1889–1978) in 1953 as the suspected leader of the Mau Mau. By the end of 1953, more than 3,000 rebels had been killed, and by

the end of 1956 some 10,527 rebels had been killed, 2,633 captured, and another 26,625 arrested, while 2,714 of the Mau Mau surrendered. Meanwhile the colonial authorities detained about 50,000 passive supporters of the Mau Mau, although some have claimed that the real figure was from 70,000 to more than 100,000 detained. Of the security forces that were killed, about 534 were Africans, 63 were Europeans, and three were Asians. Of the security forces that were wounded, about 615 were Africans, 102 were Europeans, and 12 were Asians. Of the civilians killed, about 1,826 were Africans, 32 were Europeans, and 26 were Asians. Of those civilians who were injured, about 918 were Africans, 26 were Europeans, and 26 were Asians. Although the British security forces effectively crushed the Mau Mau militarily, the backlash of British public opinion due to perceptions of military ineffectiveness or excessive brutality on the part of the colonial administrators undercut popular support among the British public for the continued colonial administration of Kenya. From 1956 onward, British authorities granted many of the demands of the Kikuyu Central Association regarding their titles to agricultural lands and their rights to cultivate coffee, paving the road for Kenyan independence in 1963.

The power of the Mau Mau lay not so much in their material strength, for they seldom had more than 500 firearms, but rather in the psychic hold that the Kikuyu leaders wielded over followers and supporters by means of magical oaths whose violation threatened supernatural terrors against the oath breaker. The Mau Mau obtained weapons by theft from the police, and local Africans were forced to contribute funds to support the group. Most Mau Mau actually used farm tools at hand, such as machetes, rather than firearms when carrying out their attacks.

The Mau Mau suffered a severe blow with the capture on 15 January 1954 of “General” Waruhiu Itote, one of the key Kikuyu leaders, who later cooperated with British authorities. The capture on 21 October 1956 of the other key leader, “Field Marshal” Dedan Kimathi, who was later hanged in 1957, effectively destroyed the organization. Jomo Kenyatta was released from prison in 1961 and became prime minister of Kenya upon its independence in 1963.

In July 1997, following a Kenyan police crackdown on antigovernment protestors, 300 members of a Kikuyu group known as the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru Association (KEMA) met in Thika, 30

miles north of Nairobi, and threatened to revive the Mau Mau terror to remove President Arap Moi from power. However, at the Naivasha meeting of the fighters' association on 5 September 1998, other former Mau Mau members demanded that KEMA leave the opposition and join with President Moi's ruling Kenyan African National Unity party.

MAXIMILIANO HERNÁNDEZ MARTÍNEZ ANTI-COMMUNIST BRIGADE. This was a quasi-state-sponsored group aimed at repressing leftists and even moderates who opposed the interests of the land-owning oligarchy in El Salvador. Named for the Salvadoran military dictator who suppressed the Matanza peasant uprising of 1932, this group was one of several Salvadoran right-wing **death squads** that generally grew out of the "special units" maintained by Salvadoran security forces during the 1970s and that were used to kill off suspected "subversives." Many of the leaders and members of such groups were themselves members of the Salvadoran military and police, even though such groups ceased to have legal status following the dissolution of the **ORDEN** paramilitary security force in the month after the coup of 15 October 1979. The major moving force behind the Maximiliano Hernández group was Roberto D'Aubuisson, formerly an officer of the Salvadoran intelligence agency, who founded the **White Warriors' Union** death squad in 1976 and who later founded the Republican National Alliance (**ARENA**) party.

The Maximiliano Hernández Martínez group is believed responsible for the 24 March 1980 **assassination** of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero y Galdamez, an outspoken critic of the Salvadoran government. On 27 November 1980, the group **kidnapped** Enrique Álvarez, head of the leftist Frente Democrático Revolucionario (FDR, or Democratic Revolutionary Front), and four other leftist leaders, all of whom were tortured and killed. From September to October 1983, the group killed the highest-ranking FDR official residing in San Salvador, 18 trade unionists, and a few professors, and **bombed** the Jesuit residence at the Central American University. This group is also believed responsible for the killings and repression of many other less prominent leftists, centrists, human rights activists, religious activists, academics, and trade unionists.

MAY 1. The Revolutionary Organization of May 1 was a nonstate Greek leftist group that engaged in terrorism for the limited purposes of op-

posing “U.S. imperialism,” the Turkish presence in Cyprus, and government economic austerity measures. It had no known **state sponsorship** but appeared to work in close concert with the **November 17** and the **Revolutionary Popular Struggle** (ELA) groups. It appears likely that both May 1 and November 17 evolved from the same core membership of ELA, which originally was formed with the **revolutionary** objective of overthrowing the Greek military junta. In the postjunta period, November 17 and these similar groups appeared more anarchistic in nature, lacking an overall objective but attaching themselves to revolutionary *raison d’être* as these happened to appear.

May 1 appeared as part of a campaign against Greek jurists to demonstrate revolutionary solidarity with **May 15** terrorist Mohammad Rashid, who was fighting **extradition** to the United States due to his role in the 11 August 1982 **bombing** of a U.S. air carrier. On 23 January 1989 the group **assassinated** a deputy public prosecutor of the Greek Supreme Court in Athens. Two other public prosecutors were killed by members of the May 1 or November 17 group, which led two Supreme Court justices to resign. While Rashid was not extradited to the United States, he was tried in October 1991, convicted in early 1992, and sentenced to 18 years’ imprisonment, but then was released on good behavior in 1996. During the Persian Gulf War, the May 1 and the ELA mounted five bombing attacks on U.S. and British corporate offices in Athens. In mid-July 1991 the May 1 and the ELA joined November 17 in communiqués to Turkish terrorist groups, urging them to step up their attacks just prior to the visit of President George H. W. Bush to Greece and Turkey.

Little is known about the membership of these groups or their relations with other terrorist groups or political parties. Since their area of operations seems to be confined to Athens, it is assumed their total numbers are small (less than 100). While the **ideology** of the May 1 group is marked by Marxist themes, there is also a very strong undercurrent of Greek nationalism and anti-Turkish sentiment, evinced in the uptick in terrorist operations whenever Greece, Turkey, and the U.S. seek to discuss the issue of Cyprus.

MAY 15. The Arab Organization of May 15, named for the anniversary of the first declaration of war by the Arab states against the newly declared State of Israel, was an obscure splinter group of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–Special Operations Group, a

splinter group from the original **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine** (PFLP). Formerly led by Abu Ibrahim, May 15 was headquartered in Baghdad, Iraq.

The May 15 group carried out seven operations under its own name from 1978 to 1985, in which seven people were killed and 43 others injured. May 15 specialized in making sophisticated, barometrically triggered **bombs** used to destroy civilian air carriers, including Tokyo-to-Honolulu Pan American World Airways (Pan Am) Flight 830 on 11 August 1982, which exploded just before landing, killing one person. Abu Ibrahim, his aide Mohammad Rashid, and Rashid's wife, Christine "Fatima" Pinter, were indicted for the bombing of Pan Am Flight 830 in 1987 based on evidence that Rashid and his wife had submitted visa applications that enabled them to plant the bomb on the plane before it continued on the Japan-to-Honolulu leg of its flight. While Rashid was arrested in Greece on a false passport charge, the government there refused to **extradite** him to the United States; he was tried and sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment for the airline bombing in 1992 but was released in 1996 for good behavior. Rashid was handed over to the United States in June 1998 by an undisclosed nation, presumed by some to have been Egypt, and was arraigned for trial on 3 June 1998.

In the period 1980–1982, the May 15 group carried out five bombings against El Al offices, the Israeli embassy in Athens, a Jewish restaurant in West Berlin, and the Mount Royal hotel in London, killing two people and injuring 15. On 2 April 1986 the May 15 group bombed Rome-to-Athens Trans World Airlines (TWA) Flight 840, killing four people. On 15 February 1984 a **letter bomb** sent by the May 15 group exploded, maiming Iran's ambassador to Syria, Hujjatulislam 'Ali Akbar Muhtashami, who was intimately involved in overseeing the **Hezbollah** militia in Lebanon and whom the May 15 group regarded as a gratuitous meddler in intra-Arab affairs.

Very little is known about this organization. It appears that many of its 50–60 members eventually joined other groups, including **Ha-wari**, and that the May 15 group ceased to be active after 1986.

MAY 19 COMMUNIST COALITION. The May 19 Communist Coalition was an outreach umbrella organization created as a front for the **Revolutionary Armed Task Force** (RATF), itself a merger of the remnants of the **Weather Underground** and **Black Liberation**

Army (BLA). The name was taken from the common birth anniversary of Malcolm X and Ho Chi Minh. The organization also called itself the May 19 Communist Organization.

This front attempted to recruit other leftist revolutionaries and black prison inmates into the RATF or BLA organizations. The May 19 group also established contacts and fraternal ties with other terrorist groups, such as the **New Afrikan Freedom Fighters**, the Puerto Rican **Armed Forces of National Liberation** (FALN) separatists, and even the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO). The May 19 spokeswoman, Judith A. Clark, represented the organization at a conference sponsored by the PLO in Beirut in September 1981.

Using the name of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force, the group carried out eight **bombings** in the New York and Washington, D.C., metropolitan areas, including the 6 November 1983 bombing of the U.S. Senate cloakroom. The other major action of the group was the 20 October 1981 robbery of a Brinks armored car in which \$1.6 million was stolen, in the course of which a Brinks guard was shot and killed. While attempting to escape, Kathy Boudin, Judith A. Clark, and David Gilbert were captured, but in an exchange of gunfire two police officers were killed. All three were convicted on charges arising from the robbery and killing of the guard and police officers. While Kathy Boudin was released on parole from prison on 17 September 2003, Gilbert and Clark remained imprisoned.

In recruiting black inmates, May 19 cadres represented themselves to prison authorities and prisoners as offering free legal services and counsel for indigent prisoners. Once they gained access to potential recruits, they would undertake “consciousness raising” sessions to convert them to the revolutionary cause. Outside of the prisons, the group maintained a **network** of communications and safe houses for the RATF. The group collapsed when the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) arrested the remaining core members of the RATF from May 1985 to February 1986, namely, Alan Berkman, Timothy Blunk, and Susan Rosenberg, who were convicted in 1990 on charges pertaining to the robberies committed by the RATF. Marilyn Buck, Linda Sue Evans, and Laura Whitehorn were convicted on charges pertaining to the bombings by Marilyn Buck. Only Elizabeth Duke remained at large following the last convictions in 1990, and the group is now defunct.

MILITIA MOVEMENT. The militia movement is a loosely organized movement promoting the creation of nonstate armed paramilitary groups, ostensibly to defend the Constitution and liberty of the American people against perceived internal and external enemies. It is also a highly diverse movement that includes “patriot” groups, “**common-law courts**,” **Freemen** (or “sovereign citizens”), survivalists, tax protestors, constitutionalist groups, and **Identity Christian** and **white supremacist** groups, some of whose members have proven to be engaged in criminal and sometimes politically motivated violence.

Such now-defunct groups as the **Minutemen** and **Christian-Patriots Defense League** can be viewed as predecessors of the militia movement that appeared to gain momentum after the Estes Park, Colorado, meeting of patriot and militia group members in late October 1992, which was convened to organize support for Randy Weaver, a white supremacist arrested after a shoot-out with U.S. marshals and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents at Ruby Ridge in northern Idaho. In this meeting, Louis Beam Jr., a former leader both of the **Ku Klux Klan** and the now-defunct **Aryan Nations**, urged that these right-wing groups organize themselves into loosely confederated, autonomous armed **cellular groups** without a central command structure to be able to resist oppression by the federal government through numerous attacks that could not be stopped by arresting key leaders or smashing a central leadership cell. The militia movement gained more attention after the **Oklahoma City bombing** when it became known that Timothy McVeigh had contacted and attempted to join such groups.

Right-wing extremist groups in the United States, including those that escalate into terrorism, have had two advantages that **anarchistic leftist** groups there have lacked: First, the antigovernment sentiments of these groups resonate with the distinctive antiauthoritarian and individualist tenets of the exceptional political culture of the United States. Second, there is a ready-made **ethnonationalist** core of white males who feel estranged from the current political establishment who are ready to be recruited into the militia movement.

According to the Militia Act of the United States Code (Title 10, Section 311, Subtitle A, Part I, Chapter 13), all able-bodied males who are not members of the armed forces are part of the “unorganized militia.” Title 32 of the U.S. Code, section 109(c), provides for the creation of “state defense forces” that were originally created during World War I and World War II essentially as “home guard” units

distinct from the regular armed forces and National Guard. Such units can be created and regulated by state law but many states, such as New Hampshire, specifically prohibit privately formed militias or other associations from becoming registered as state defense forces. Therefore, under existing federal and state laws, the self-formed militias are no more than unauthorized, autonomous, voluntary paramilitary organizations, and some states have declared them to be subject to regulation while others have banned them altogether.

These militias are largely autonomous and lack any hierarchical relationship, coordination, or working unity. On the other hand, such militias can spin off “cells” of more committed extremist activists who may strike out on their own in the name of **leaderless resistance**.

Several explanations have been offered for the rise of the militia movement: First, there has been a popular backlash in the western United States against environmentalism and federal management of western public lands impacting the livelihoods of ranchers, miners, and loggers, most of whom are white males. Second, the existence of prior Christian patriot, tax protestor, and white supremacist groups in the midwestern and western United States provided a cadre of like-minded people able to create new militia groups modeled after these older organizations. Third, a rise in working-class frustrations may also be at work: blue-collar white male workers lost 15 percent of their real income in the period 1980–2000, while women and members of ethnic minority groups have experienced relative gains. Such white males see themselves excluded and passed over by affirmative action laws and their traditional positions as heads of households weakened by laws punishing spousal abuse and favoring divorced women in matters of alimony, child custody disputes, and mandatory child support.

Thus the militia movement may also be a reaction to a growing **identity politics** in the United States in which women, ethnic groups, and specialized lifestyle groups seek empowerment of their own respective groups through civil advocacy and claims of past victimization. White males, who are often castigated as the victimizers of these groups, find the militia movement a ready-made vehicle to pursue their own version of identity politics. Finally, one should note the voiced concerns of militia movement members that the FBI raids at Ruby Ridge in August 1992 and Waco in April 1993, and the passage of several federal gun-control bills, presage a rise in authoritarianism on the part of the national government. While such beliefs strike

non-militia members or supporters as bizarre and ill-founded, the popularity of these populist notions may explain much of the appeal of the militia movement for those Americans who are **alienated** from conventional contemporary politics in the United States.

By 31 March 1995 there were about 42 known private militia groups in existence that advertised their existence. According to testimony of Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) officials presented in June 1995 before the U.S. Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology, and Government Information, paramilitary militia groups could be found in at least 40 states. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, in 1996 their number reached an all-time high of 858 but declined to 523 in 1997 and then to 435 in 1998. Other researchers have cited around 200 as being the maximum figure.

At least 17 militia groups have been the subject of police investigation on various charges. Members of both the 1st Mechanical Kansas Militia and the 3rd Continental Congress were arrested and convicted on charges of plotting to bomb Fort Hood, Texas, in 1997. Members of the Arizona Patriots were convicted of conspiracy to bomb federal law enforcement **targets** in 1986. Members of the Colorado 1st Light Infantry were arrested and convicted for charges of possession of illegal firearms and explosives. The **Freemen of Montana** were disbanded following prosecutions for extortion and intimidation of public officials after a highly publicized siege by law enforcement officials in 1996. Similarly, members of one faction of the **Republic of Texas** were prosecuted and convicted for carrying out a hostage-barricade siege in 1997. Both the Washington State Militia and the Freemen of Washington were disbanded following prosecutions of its members on charges of conspiracy and possession of illegal weapons and explosives. Members of the Mountaineer Militia of West Virginia were convicted in 1996 for plotting to **bomb** federal government buildings. Members of the Virginia-based Blue Ridge Hunt Club were arrested on arms charges in 1994, as were several members of the Georgia Republic Militia in 1996. In 1995 the Oklahoma Constitutional Militia was disbanded upon conviction of its members for plotting to bomb gay bars, abortion clinics, and the Southern Poverty Law Center. The Minnesota Patriots Council was disbanded upon conviction of its members for a plot to poison federal officials with **ricin**. The San Joaquin Militia was disbanded upon the

conviction of its members for plotting to bomb liquefied natural-gas storage tanks in Sacramento in 1999. The 77th Regiment Militia of Florida was disbanded following the conviction in 2000 of its leader to bomb the Clearwater nuclear plant in Tampa. The Arizona **Viper Militia** was also disbanded as a result of investigations of its bombing plot in 1996.

Although most of these groups ceased to exist as a result of criminal investigations and prosecutions of their members, some of them, including the Arizona Patriots, the Republic of Texas, and the Mountaineer Militia, continue to exist and have shown signs of reorganization and increased recruitment. Many militia groups that have eschewed radical violence, such as the Militia of Michigan, responded to increased public scrutiny following the Oklahoma City bombing by expelling their more radical members.

Certain militia groups and related groups that have engaged in terrorism are related in more detail elsewhere in this work: The **Aryan Resistance Army** sought from 1985 to 1995 to emulate the former **Order**, while the **Phineas Priesthood** engaged in attacks on homosexuals, biracial couples, and abortion clinics from 1991 to 1996. The Viper Militia in 1994–1996 plotted to bomb federal and state government buildings in Arizona. The Freemen of Montana in 1995–1996 and the so-called Republic of Texas in 1995–1997 engaged in “paper terrorism” involving fraudulent liens and legal harassment, as well as actual violence against their neighbors and local communities.

Since 2000 the midwestern states of Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, and Ohio appear to have the highest levels of militia activism, mainly in the forms of recruitment, organizing gun sporting events, circulating newsletters, and creation of Internet websites. Following the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**, several of these groups, such as the Republic of Texas, the Kentucky State Militia, and the Missouri 51st Militia, have held their own “emergency preparedness drills” and have offered their cooperation to state and federal disaster relief agencies, which have generally declined such offers. Due to public preoccupation with the threat of terrorism from **Islamic fundamentalist** groups such as **al Qa’eda** following the September 11 attacks, militia groups have received less attention in the U.S. mass media. Also, given rising public concerns about the ability of terrorist groups to infiltrate through the

southern border, several militia groups have shifted their public efforts into vigilante efforts to patrol the U.S.-Mexican border, including a new group calling itself the Minutemen, which is not directly affiliated with the group active in the period 1961–1970 founded by Robert dePugh.

MILLENNIALISM. In its more general sense, millennialism refers to any religious or secular belief in the eminent establishment of a divine or earthly utopian social order. Specifically, it refers to the belief in the establishment of a thousand-year earthly kingdom under the rule of Christ in accordance with a literal reading of the book of Revelation. The “Thousand Year” kingdom is inferred from Revelation 20:2–7, in conjunction with other scriptures in both the Old and New Testaments. Nonetheless, millennialist ideas are found not only among Christians but also among Muslims, Jews, and other religious groups as well as adherents of purely secular **ideologies**.

According to various postmillennialist views, Christians would either have to undergo trials of persecution during a prophesied period of tribulation or else must themselves help to bring about the thousand-year kingdom by resisting the forces of the Antichrist, a prophesied evil world ruler who would appear during the tribulation preceding the millennium. The political implication is that during the tribulation period the true believers must be prepared to resist the ungodly political, social, and economic order that is under God’s wrath. Collaboration with the regime of the Antichrist, or acknowledgment of its legitimacy, would lead to the believers’ loss of salvation and consequent eternal damnation. Those who held this belief, such as Randy and Vicki Weaver or the Branch Davidians, would naturally take such measures as seeking an isolated place in which to set up a fortified home stocked with food supplies, guns, and ammunition to last them through the tribulation period. By contrast, premillennialists believe that true believers will not be present during the tribulation period, implying that existing governments are legitimate and deserve support as both a civil and a religious obligation.

The defining event marking the coming millennium is to be a climatic battle involving “the kings of the Earth and of the whole world” at a location called Armageddon (Revelation 16:16), which biblical scholars believe to be the site of the ancient city of Megiddo in the valley of Jezreel in modern Israel. Although in the biblical

text “Armageddon” refers to the place, rather than to the battle itself, those who believe in the millennial prophecies refer to the event as the “battle of Armageddon.” Meanwhile the word Armageddon has entered colloquial speech to refer to any sort of catastrophic world war capable of eradicating mankind, such as a total nuclear war. The recently published diaries of President Ronald Reagan (*The Reagan Diaries*, ed. Douglas Brinkley, HarperCollins, 2007) revealed in the entry for 7 June 1981 that, on his learning of the Israeli air attack on Iraq’s Osirak nuclear reactor, President Reagan believed that the war of Armageddon might be imminent.

Jewish millennialists have taken their cues from the book of Daniel and other apocalyptic or apocryphal writings. The first-century **Zealots** convinced themselves that if they precipitated an all-out conflict with Rome that God would be forced to reveal his Messiah, who would then crush the Roman legions and reestablish a Jewish empire similar to that of King David or Solomon. In more recent times, Jewish religious extremists of the **Gush Emunim** group plotted in the **Temple Mount operation** to destroy the Al Aqsa Mosque on the Temple Mount in East Jerusalem to precipitate a similar confrontation with the Arabs that would force the revelation of the Messiah.

Islam also has its millennialist doctrines based on obscure verses in the Koran and certain *hadith* (reported sayings) of the Prophet Muhammad. Many Muslims believe that an apocalyptic final war between good and evil would occur, similar to the Christian millennialist belief in the final battle of Armageddon, during which evil forces would desecrate the Muslim holy places, whereupon God would send a deliverer known as the Mahdi, whom the Twelve-Imam Shi’ites identify with their “Hidden Imam,” who would slay the godless forces and restore the fortunes of the Muslims. There was also a hadith that stated that the Mahdi would appear at the turn of one of the centuries according to the Islamic lunar calendar. Thus it was not coincidental that Iran’s Islamic **revolution** peaked around the years 1399–1400 in the Hegira calendar and that a Sunni Muslim claiming to be the Mahdi and his followers took over the Ka’ba shrine in Mecca at the exact beginning of the year 1400 A.H. on 20 November 1978. Just as many premillennialist Christians saw the establishment of the State of Israel as one of the hopeful signs of the coming of the millennium, many fundamentalist Muslims interpret the existence of the State of Israel and its possession of the Muslim shrines on the Temple Mount as signs of those

evils that would precede the coming of the Mahdi. At the conclusion of his 17 September 2005 speech before the UN General Assembly, Iran's president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, invoked the coming of the Imam Mahdi, whom Twelve-Imam Shi'ites believe will be the Islamic Messiah, which in the context of Iran's controversial uranium enrichment program has led to nervous speculation both within Iran and in the rest of the world that the Iranian leaders are linking their foreign policies to messianic and millennialist expectations.

The idea of millennialism has been appropriated by other sectarian and secular ideologies as well. The **Aum Shinrikyo** sect believed that releasing the sarin gas in the **Tokyo subway attack** would somehow trigger a world war that would usher in the millennial kingdom under the rule of their leader, Shoko Asahara. It is noteworthy that Adolf Hitler and other Nazis often referred to their Third Reich as the *Tausendjähriges Reich*, or "thousand-year empire," which appeared to be a millennial and utopian aspiration.

According to David C. Rapoport's study "Messianic Sanctions for Terror" (*Comparative Politics* 20, no. 2 [1988]: 195–214), millennialist ideas have great potential to unleash political violence because the believers usually hold that they must undertake some special act of faith to ensure the arrival of the millennium. These actions unfortunately tend to lead either to conflict with authorities or to political violence.

MINUTEMEN. The name "Minutemen" has been used by two different groups in recent history, one being a paramilitary militia active in the 1960s and the other being the Minutemen Project consisting of vigilantes seeking to prevent illegal immigration from Mexico into the United States.

1. Minutemen Militia: Founded in 1961 by Robert dePugh, a Missouri manufacturer of pet and livestock vitamins and food supplements, the Minutemen were the predecessors of the **Posse Comitatus** and other right-wing extremist groups that advocated or practiced terrorism against alleged Communists and traitors.

While the name was taken from that of the Revolutionary War militiamen, the group's **ideology**, which stressed extreme anti-Communism and survivalism, took on a peculiar relevance during a period when fear of international Communism and of nuclear war was greatly aggravated by the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962.

The anti-Communist component of the group's ideology included attacks on the Internal Revenue Service and Federal Reserve System as being anti-American conspiracies, while the Minutemen's tabloid *On Target* identified 20 members of Congress investigating right-wing movements as being "Communists" and made veiled threats against their lives. Following the outbreak of racial rioting in the mid-1960s, the Minutemen advocated that whites undertake guerrilla warfare training to fight minority group members in the event of racial warfare.

DePugh was imprisoned in 1968 on a conspiracy conviction arising from violations of federal firearms laws. He jumped bail in 1968 and survived in the wilderness of the Rockies and New Mexico desert until he was arrested in Truth or Consequences, New Mexico, in 1970. Following his release from prison in 1973, he wrote a manual on survival entitled *Can You Survive? Guidelines for Resistance to Tyranny for You and Your Family* that became widely read and admired among other right-wing survivalists. The Minutemen actually carried out very little in the way of terrorism, but this group served as the inspiration for other groups that have since then engaged in terrorist actions. The Posse Comitatus and Arizona Patriots absorbed many of the former Minutemen and much of the Minuteman ideology. The **Christian-Patriots Defense League** fused Minuteman ideology with **Identity Christianity**.

2. Minutemen Project: Networks of vigilante citizens seeking to patrol the U.S.-Mexican border in order to intercept or report crossings of illegal aliens into the United States. This group has several chapters along the U.S.-Mexican border and reportedly also has founded chapters along the U.S.-Canadian border.

Founded on 1 October 2004 by Jim Gilchrist, the group staged patrols of hundreds of volunteers along the U.S.-Mexican border to draw attention to the national government's lack of effective control over the southern border. Patrol members would report sightings of illegal aliens crossing the border to U.S. Border Patrol agents. In addition, the Minutemen lobbied the U.S. Congress and state legislatures in the border states to enact legislation to increase border security and to punish employers who knowingly hired illegal aliens.

Personality clashes and disagreements over tactics caused a split in the group, and on 26 April 2005 a splinter group known as the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps emerged. Immigrant rights groups have accused the Minutemen groups of racism and brutal treatment

of immigrants caught at the border. Both the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Anti-Defamation League have claimed that **neo-Nazis** and **white supremacists** have infiltrated the Minutemen groups, charges that have been made also by former Minutemen who have left the organization. Some **militia movement** groups have also stated their intention of forming their own civilian patrol groups along the southern border.

MOGADISHU HIJACKING RESCUE. On 13 October 1977, four terrorists of the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine** (PFLP) **hijacked** Lufthansa Flight 181, a Boeing 737 flying from Majorca to Frankfurt carrying 84 passengers and five crew members. The hijackers not only had handguns and crude homemade hand grenades but also 60 pounds of plastic explosives and were demanding that the 10 main **Red Army Faction** terrorists be freed from West German jails, along with two Palestinians in Turkish jails, as well as demanding a ransom of \$15 million. The hijackers had the plane fly to Rome, Cyprus, Bahrain, Dubai, Aden, and finally to Somalia.

Following the murder of the pilot in Aden by the hijackers' leader, the West German government deployed a 26-member Grenzschutzgruppe-9, Germany's elite counterterrorism force, unit to Mogadishu airport to free the hostages. There, on 18 October 1977, two members of the British elite antiterrorist Special Air Services (SAS) accompanied the German team and blinded the terrorists with special magnesium-flash grenades for six seconds, allowing the Germans to storm the plane successfully. Only one of the terrorists survived, and the remaining hostages were rescued. On hearing the news of the rescue, three of the leading imprisoned Red Army Faction prisoners, Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, and Jan-Carl Raspe, committed suicide. Afterward the Red Army Faction kidnapers holding West German businessman Hanns-Martin Schleyer murdered him in reprisal for the deaths of their comrades.

In January 1978 the last survivor of the four Palestinian hijackers, Souhaila Sami Andrawes, was convicted by a Somali court to 20 years' imprisonment but was released later that year and sent to Baghdad on a cargo plane. Along with her husband and six-year-old daughter, Andrawes entered Norway from Cyprus in 1991 and obtained resident status. In October 1994 she was identified and arrested in Oslo on air piracy charges stemming from the Mogadishu hijacking

and faced **extradition** to Germany in 1995. Although sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment, she was released on orders of the Norwegian Central Prison Administration on 30 November 1999 due to her declining health.

MOLLY MAGUIRES. This was a nonstate **entrepreneurial terrorist** group of labor agitators who carried out a campaign of intimidation and murder against anthracite coal mine owners and operators in five counties in northeastern Pennsylvania in the period 1865–1875. They were all members of an Irish-American fraternal society, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, but they took their label of “Molly Maguire” from the name of an underground group in Ireland that had resisted oppressive landlords. The group, which reputedly numbered around 3,000 members at its height, engaged in assaults, **assassinations**, and **arson**. Eventually the group obtained recognition as a union in 1875 and called a miners' strike that crippled the operations of the Philadelphia, Reading, and Lehigh Valley railroads. Franklin B. Gowen, the president of the Reading Railroad, engaged the services of the Pinkerton Agency, whose agent, James McParland, infiltrated the organization. After McParland gathered sufficient evidence, 20 of the leaders of the Molly Maguires were tried and convicted for murder and then hanged in 1877, effectively ending the organization.

MONTONEROS. The Movimiento Peronista Montonero was a leftist Argentinean guerrilla group formed in 1970 to promote the populist and nationalistic policies of the exiled dictator, Juan Domingo Perón, and to facilitate his return to power. Although the group was not Marxist-Leninist, it did seek a type of socialist **revolution** within Argentina coupled with a fight to rid Argentina of foreign economic penetration. Following Perón's return to power in 1973, once the Montoneros learned that Perón had embraced the more conservative wings of the Peronist movement, they turned against him to pursue their own populist and socialist revolution.

Prior to Perón's return, the Montoneros sought and received help from Cuba. In the early 1970s they had contacts with other leftist **insurgents** in Latin America, such as Colombia's **M-19** group, and within Argentina they had about 10,000 supporters. Following Perón's denunciation of the Montoneros on 1 May 1974, the group made common cause with the Cuban-backed **Revolutionary Armed Forces** (FAR) as well as with Trotskyite groups in fighting the regime.

The Montoneros began their career by **kidnapping** and murdering the former president, Pedro Aramburu, on 29 May 1970. They financed themselves through numerous kidnappings of foreign executives for ransom during 1970–1973. From May until September 1973, they became, in effect, a state-sponsored group under the Peronista administration of Héctor José Cámpora. Tensions with the more right-wing Peronist groups erupted, however, in an armed clash between the factions on 20 June 1973 at Ezeiza airport, marring the homecoming ceremony planned to honor the returning Juan Perón. In this clash with rightist Peronists, 13 people perished and more than 100 were injured. After Perón's reelection as Argentina's president in October 1973, the Montoneros grew disenchanted with his rightist policies. On 12 February 1974 several Montoneros were arrested in connection with a plot to **assassinate** Perón and his wife, Isabel. On 1 May 1974 Perón broke with the Montoneros, whom he castigated in his May Day rally address as "treacherous and mercenary" elements.

Two weeks after Perón's death on 1 July 1974, the Montoneros unleashed their "popular war" against the Argentinean regime, using **arson, bombings**, murder, and sabotage to try to provoke the military into a crackdown that would precipitate a popular revolution against right-wing oppression. This campaign began with the 15 July 1974 assassination of Arturo Mor Roig, a former foreign minister. Again the group sought funds through kidnapping for ransom, netting \$60 million alone in ransom for the Born brothers, sons of Argentina's wealthiest family, abducted on 19 September 1974. The government reacted to this by rigorously enforcing a law forbidding negotiations with, or payments to, terrorist groups which, in turn, led the Montoneros to kill kidnapped executives of Fiat, Bendix, Chrysler, Ford, General Motors, and a West German pharmaceutical firm when they could not collect extortion payments from those companies. They also tried to kill a Goodyear executive and injured three other foreign executives by bombs hidden in delivered flower bouquets.

On 16 September 1974 the Montoneros conducted 40 bombings throughout Argentina **targeting** U.S. firms and banks. Other attacks on U.S. targets included the 8 September 1974 bomb attack on the United States Information Agency office in Rosario; an attempted bombing of the U.S. embassy on 19 September 1974; and the kidnapping and murder of U.S. consular official John Egan on 26 February 1975. On 20 September 1976 the Montoneros set fire to the new

U.S. chancery building, causing \$10,000 in damages. Attacks on the Argentinean government included the 1 November 1974 bombing that killed Federal Police Chief Alberto Villar; the murder of General Jorge Cáceres Monie on 3 November 1975; and the murder of General Cesaro Cardozo on 18 June 1976. On 22 August 1975 the Montoneros bombed and sank the naval destroyer ARA *Santisima Trinidad* under construction, causing \$70 million in damages.

The Montoneros succeeded at least in their immediate goal of provoking a violent right-wing crackdown. Ultimately, however, this crackdown led to the complete suppression of all leftist insurgent groups in the country. The Argentine military took control of all security forces and undertook its **dirty war** to kill all suspected leftists beginning in February 1975. By the end of 1976 about 1,600 Montoneros had been killed, and another 500 were killed in the first half of 1977. Following the flight of Montoneros founder and leader Mario Firmenich to Rome in October 1977, along with a few of his lieutenants, Montonero activities continued only sporadically in Argentina and ended in 1979 when security forces killed Horacio Mendizábal, the chief Montonero leader, who had remained active underground within Argentina. Finally in December 1981, Mario Firmenich called on surviving Montoneros to cease armed struggle in favor of political action, in effect signaling the end of the Montoneros as an active guerrilla and terrorist group. Firmenich returned in June 1987 to Argentina where he was tried for the terrorist offenses of the Montoneros and sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment. Firmenich received a presidential pardon on 29 December 1990, ironically, along with General Jorge Videla, who had conducted the dirty war campaign against leftist groups such as the Montoneros.

The Montoneros failed to perceive that the populist message of Juan Perón, as an eclectic hodgepodge combining leftist and rightist appeals designed to draw as broad a following as possible, could not be reduced simply to an unambiguous appeal for socialist revolution. Likewise, the broad support the Montoneros received prior to Perón's return was largely a function of public adulation of Perón and was extended to the Montoneros only insofar as they were perceived as his loyal followers. Thus, when the Montoneros undertook their campaign in 1974, they overestimated the degree of popular support for themselves and their own "authentic Peronism."

MONTREAL CONVENTION. The Montreal Convention refers to several conventions pertaining to **air travel security**. The first is the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, concluded on 23 September 1971, which specifically addresses **bombings** of aircraft in flight. The 1988 Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation extended the scope of the Montreal Convention to include attacks on aircraft while on the ground. The Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules for International Carriage by Air, concluded on 28 May 1999 by the International Civil Aviation Organization, incorporated and updated the protections for air passengers established in the Warsaw Convention and previous Montreal Conventions. The updated provisions of the 1999 convention require all airliners to carry liability insurance and established more streamlined procedures to allow collection of damages for passengers, baggage, and cargo without the delay of extended litigation. The airlines are released from liability in such cases where the deaths or damages are due to third-party malice or negligence. *See also* HIJACKING.

MORAZANISTS. Two leftist revolutionary Honduran groups opposed to the Honduran government and also to the U.S. role in Central America in the 1980s took their names from a national hero, José Francisco Morazán Quezada (1792–1842), a military and political figure in Central American politics of the 19th century. The Frente Patriótico Morazanista (FPM) was a leftist guerrilla group, believed to be an arm of the outlawed Honduran Communist Party founded in 1979, that sought primarily to drive out the U.S. military and diplomatic presence from Honduras and which carried out at least eight attacks from 14 October 1988 to 5 April 1995. The other group was the Frente Morazanista para la Liberación de Honduras (FMLH), or Morazanist Front for the Liberation of Honduras, that emerged from a splinter group of the Honduran Communist Party and that claimed responsibility for only one attack, on 9 March 1995. Despite the similarity of names, these were separate groups. While both groups shared the same goals, the FMLH had offices in Nicaragua, enjoyed **Sandinista** support, and later reorganized itself as a purely political party, whereas the FPM ceased to exist after its last attack in 1995.

Whereas the **Lorenzo Zelaya** and **Cinchonero** groups had sought to create a leftist **revolution** following the Nicaraguan model in the

early 1980s, the success of U.S.-trained Honduran counterinsurgency forces led many leftist survivors of those groups to conclude that the U.S. presence in Honduras would first have to be driven out before any revolution could succeed. Those groups and the FPM also enjoyed Cuban support and that of the former Sandinista government of Nicaragua. Given this state support and the use of Honduras as a staging area for **contra** forces fighting the Nicaraguan government, the FPM decided to concentrate on attacking U.S. advisers and military support personnel in Honduras.

On 8 August 1987 the FPM **bombed** a restaurant in Comayagua, north of Tegucigalpa, wounding five U.S. soldiers and six Honduran soldiers. On 17 July 1988 the FPM made a machine-gun and grenade attack on U.S. soldiers leaving a discothèque in San Pedro Sula, wounding four of the nine soldiers, who were part of a joint U.S.-Honduran task force stationed at the Honduran air force base in Palmerola. On 19 December 1988 the FPM claimed credit for bombing a Peace Corps office. In 1989 there were three other similar attacks on U.S. servicemen, including a 13 July 1989 bombing attack on nine U.S. Army military policemen outside the Lido Discothèque in the northern coastal city of La Ceiba. On 31 March 1990, three FPM snipers opened fire with automatic weapons on a U.S. Air Force bus en route from the coastal city of Tela to an inland military base, wounding six soldiers. On 23 June 1991 the FPM launched an antitank rocket at the United Nations Observer Group office in Tegucigalpa, causing damages. On 4 July 1994 a bombing near a U.S. military installation killed six Hondurans and injured 25 others. While a communiqué originally claimed this was done by the FPM, another FPM message disclaimed responsibility. The last FPM attack was a bombing on 5 April 1995 of an office housing several foreign press agencies in which no harm was done. Despite the group's effectiveness in making so many attacks and wounding so many U.S. and Honduran military personnel, it appeared to be a small group.

The FMLH carried out only one terrorist attack on 9 March 1985, a bombing of the Le Volcanique disco in Tegucigalpa frequented by off-duty U.S. soldiers, which injured two people but killed no one. In 1992 the FMLH had begun to reorganize itself as a political party, calling itself the Partido Morazanista de Liberación Nacional (Morazanist National Liberation Party). On 29 September 1992 the Morazanist National Liberation Party merged with three other left-

ist parties to form the Partido Unificación Democrática (Democratic Unification Party). In the 27 November 2005 general elections, the Democratic Unification Party placed third in the presidential election, with its candidate, Juan Ángel Almendares Bonilla, receiving only 1.5 percent of the vote; it also placed third in the National Congress, gaining five seats out of 128 in the legislature.

MORO ISLAMIC LIBERATION FRONT (MILF). The MILF was a splinter group of the **Moro Liberation Front** that broke away when the latter accepted a cease-fire with the Philippine government in 1987 that dissidents viewed as a sellout of the goal of full autonomy or even independence for the Muslim-inhabited regions of the Philippines. While the Moro Liberation Front was more of an **ethnonationalist** group, the MILF was **Islamic fundamentalist** in character and sought implementation of Islamic law within the desired Moro autonomous region. Following 1987 the MILF would become the leading Moro guerrilla group, surpassing both the Moro Liberation Front and the much smaller **Abu Sayyaf Group** in members and operations. Although the MILF leaders deny any organic connection with **al Qa'eda** or the al Qa'eda-affiliated **Jemaah Islamiyah** group of Indonesia, they did admit that several MILF volunteers trained in al Qa'eda camps in Afghanistan and in Jemaah Islamiyah camps.

After the MILF concluded a cease-fire agreement with the Philippine government in 1997, hostilities resumed under Philippine President Joseph Estrada in 2000 until another cease-fire was concluded under President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo in 2003. In January 2005 a hundred MILF rebels, along with several Abu Sayyaf fighters, attacked government troops in Maguindanao Province, killing 23 soldiers and causing the displacement of hundreds of civilians. A **bombing** of the motorcade of General Andal Ampatuan on 23 June 2006 led to more clashes between MILF fighters and government troops along with progovernment civilian volunteer militias, lasting until 6 July 2006, when another cease-fire was concluded. The **kidnapping** of an Italian Roman Catholic priest, Fr. Giancarlo Bossi, on 10 July 2007 led to renewed MILF clashes with government troops in which at least four MILF members and 14 Philippine Marines were killed. The MILF denied involvement in the kidnapping of Fr. Bossi, who was eventually released unharmed on 19 July 2007. The MILF leaders blamed the kidnapping of Fr. Bossi on the Abu Sayyaf

group, while Philippine military commanders blamed a renegade MILF commander.

MORO LIBERATION FRONT (MLF). The MLF, also known as the Moro National Liberation Front, was a nonstate **ethnonationalist** group of Muslim revolutionaries seeking autonomy for the Muslims in the islands of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago, a region covering about 13 provinces in the southern Philippines. The group enjoyed the support of Libya's **Muammar Qaddafi** and the chief minister of the Malaysian state of Sabah, Tun Mustapha, and also received assistance from Iran. While not a material sponsor, the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), through its efforts at mediation between the MLF and Philippine government or among MLF factions, did confer moral support in backing the Moro guerrillas as an oppressed Muslim minority.

In 1972 Nur Misuari reorganized the Mindanao Independence Movement, which had been a relatively passive political group, into an ethnonationalist and leftist **revolutionary** organization. While seeking autonomy and possible independence for the Muslims of the Philippines, the MLF was not originally an **Islamic fundamentalist** group. In 1973 the MLF raised 15,000 fighters and captured most of Cotabato Province. In 1974 it captured Jolo Town and nearby Notre Dame College in the Sulu islands, which the Philippine armed forces were only able to recover after first leveling them with naval artillery and air force bombardments. The offensives of 1973 and 1974 apparently were timed to coincide with the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conferences, held in Benghazi in 1973 and in Lahore the following year, to force the Moro issue upon the agenda of these conferences and to enlist the support of the OIC. On 7 April 1975 three MLF members **hijacked** a domestic Philippine Airlines flight, releasing the passengers in Manila but holding the plane's crew and one of the airline's executives hostage to guarantee safe passage to Libya. On arriving in Libya on 13 April 1975, they freed the hostages and were granted **asylum** by the Libyan government.

Although Nur Misuari succeeded in gaining the approval and sympathy of the Muslim states, this in turn created a backlash within the Philippines. First, the resolve of the central government to crush the rebellion grew stronger. Second, Misuari's tactics and intransigent position alienated many Muslim supporters within the Philippines,

who thought the MLF would jeopardize their more attainable goals of gaining civic equality for Muslims and limited autonomy.

Misuari agreed to a 16-point accord with President Ferdinand Marcos in 1976 that established a cease-fire and provided for a referendum in April 1977 in the 13 disputed provinces. As Christians formed majorities in eight of these provinces, the bid for Muslim autonomy was overwhelmingly rejected at the polls. The MLF never recovered from this moral defeat. Sporadic violations of the cease-fire occurred, including the killings of Brigadier General Bautista and 34 unarmed soldiers in February 1977.

Internally the MLF splintered into factions. Rivals of Misuari sought some sort of accommodation with the Philippine government, while more radical factions, including the **Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)** and the smaller **Abu Sayyaf Group**, led by Abdulrajik Abubakar Janjalani, believed the original goals of the MLF were too limited and broke away from the MLF group in 1991, intending to create an Islamic state. Misuari continued to seek aid from Libya and later from Iran following its Islamic revolution, while the Marcos government succeeded in co-opting the local Muslim aristocracy as well as Misuari's rivals in the MLF. During the period from 1984 to 1986, when the central government was in some disarray due to the domestic revolution against Marcos, Misuari's followers made very limited gains in the south. Their new tactic, however, of **kidnapping** and holding foreigners as hostages **alienated** much of the international support they had previously enjoyed. In 1986 the new Philippine president, Corazon Aquino, signed a truce with the MLF, after which violence substantially subsided.

In April 1995 an Abu Sayyaf unit of 200 rebels attacked the city of Ipil in Mindanao, looting and setting stores on fire before retreating, having killed 52 civilians. The timing of the attack coincided with government talks with the main MLF group that the Abu Sayyaf leader Janjalani sought to sabotage. On 19 August 1996 negotiations between the government and the MLF led to a compromise to allow the MLF a role in the creation of a Southern Philippine Council for Peace and Development that would allow for limited autonomy. On 2 September 1996 President Fidel Ramos traveled to the town of Malabang in Mindanao to sign a peace accord with Nur Misuari to end the 26-year rebellion and create a four-province Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao. Misuari agreed to cease secessionist

claims and agreed instead to run as a candidate of Ramos's political party for the leadership of the four-province autonomous zone. Many MLF members regarded this as a sellout, and the breakaway MILF, numbering 300 to 500 fighters, launched sporadic attacks against the army around Cotabato in late November 1996. By early February 1997 the government of Fidel Ramos was holding talks with the separatist MILF, which the Abu Sayyaf Group attempted to sabotage by its murder of a Catholic bishop, Benjamin de Jesús, outside the cathedral in Jolo Town. The original MLF has become less active as many of its militants have defected to the rival Abu Sayyaf and MILF groups. The group's last known attack was on 27 November 2001 on a Philippine army base causing more than 100 deaths; the attack was ordered by Misuari, who had grown dissatisfied with the accommodation with the Philippine government and who apparently was seeking to reassert some leadership in the Moro independence movement and to win back the members of the breakaway MILF to the MLF fold.

MOROCCAN ISLAMIC COMBATANT GROUP (MICG). The Groupe Islamique Combattant Marocain (MICG) is an **Islamic fundamentalist** group seeking to create an Islamic state in Morocco and also supports **al Qa'eda's** terrorist campaign against the United States and its European allies. The group was formed in the 1990s from Moroccan volunteers who fought alongside the **Mujahideen** against the Soviet occupiers of Afghanistan. Its members, whose numbers are not known, trained in al Qa'eda camps in Afghanistan. The group has members not only in Morocco but also in Belgium, Denmark, Egypt, France, Great Britain, and Turkey. Members of the group belonging to a faction known as the Salafiyya Jihadiyya are believed to have been involved in a 16 May 2003 attack on Western tourists and a Jewish community center in Casablanca that killed 45 people and injured more than 100 others, as well as in the 11 March 2004 **Madrid railway bombings**. In October 2005 the U.S. State Department designated the group as a Foreign Terrorist Organization, and the British Home Office designated the MICG as a Proscribed Group under the **Terrorism Act of 2000**.

MOSCOW THEATER SIEGE. During the evening of 23 October 2002, about 42 Chechen terrorists, of which 19 were females, seized more than 800 hostages in the Dubrovka Theater in Moscow. These

ethnonationalist terrorists planted about 250 pounds of explosives throughout the performing arts complex and demanded the withdrawal of Russian forces from Chechnya, threatening to kill all the hostages and themselves if their demands were not met. Led by Mosvar Barayev, the nephew of another Chechen leader killed in mid-2001, the group called itself the 29th Division. At the outset of the seizure they allowed Georgians and other non-Russians to leave the theater, and on 24 October they released about 39 hostages, mainly children. On 26 October 2002, after 57 hours of captivity, one panicking hostage charged one of the female attackers and was killed by gunfire at 2:40 a.m. On hearing this, the Russian security forces began pumping aerosolized fentanyl into the air-conditioning system. The fentanyl, a strong synthetic opiate, rendered most of the 763 hostages and attackers unconscious but led to the deaths of 33 of the attackers and 127 of the hostages due to respiratory failure; prior to this, only two hostages had been killed by gunfire. Russian paramedics at the scene lacked supplies of antidotes for the fentanyl poisoning, and it took over 1 hour and 35 minutes to completely evacuate the theater. One American, Sandy A. Booker, died as a result of the fentanyl poisoning, and his death required U.S. officials to investigate the hostage crisis to see whether the Chechen attackers had any **al Qa'eda** connections, resulting in an official inquiry in November 2003 in which survivors of the attacks gave testimony to U.S. Department of Justice investigators in Washington, D.C. Russian authorities blamed the attack on Shamil Basayev, who in fact had claimed credit for the operation. *See also* CHECHNYAN TERRORISM.

MOUNTAIN OFFICERS. The *Oficiales de la Montaña*, or Mountain Officers, was an obscure intrastate group of Guatemalan military officers that sought the limited end of moving government policy farther to the right through terrorist actions and threats. The group claimed responsibility for the **bombing** of a Mexicana Airlines office in 1988 in protest against the Mexican government's granting Guatemalan leftist guerrilla leaders safe passage and **asylum**. The right-wing group also made several death threats in spring 1988 against Mario Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo, the first democratically elected civilian president of Guatemala since 1966. On 11 May 1988 the group attempted a coup d'état against the Cerezo government, using troops from three army bases, but was thwarted by troops loyal to

the government. As no bloodshed occurred, several of the Mountain Officers were removed by the minister of defense, Héctor Gramajo, from influential positions. One of the principal coup plotters, Colonel Lima Estrada, the commander of army troops in Chiquimula, was relieved of his command and sent into effective exile to serve as military attaché in Peru.

MOVEMENT FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE NIGER

DELTA (MEND). MEND is an **ethnonationalist** revolutionary group active since January 2006 seeking the autonomy, or independence, of the Ijaw tribe of the Niger Delta. Leaders of the Ijaw, and of neighboring tribes in the Niger Delta, claim that the Nigerian federal government has allowed the Dutch Royal Shell and Chevron oil companies to destroy the ecology of the Niger Delta, ruining both farmland and fisheries, and that Nigerian federal officials have deprived the indigenous peoples of their rightful share of the benefits of the nation's oil revenues. MEND has allied itself with several other similar groups, such as the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF), the Coalition for Militant Action in the Niger Delta, and others. MEND specializes in rapid attacks upon pipelines and oil drilling ships, and the seizing of oil company personnel as hostages for ransom and for **armed propaganda** to focus world attention on their grievances. Although MEND is believed to be small in numbers, it has been effective in deploying swarms of speedboats manned by well-trained and well-armed fighters against government and Shell facilities in the Delta, crippling critical infrastructure and seizing hostages. During a period in which oil prices rose and the access to oil sources was imperiled by tensions between importing Western nations and key oil exporters such as Iran and Venezuela, MEND succeeded in reducing Nigerian oil output by up to 25 percent by April 2006. In recent years Nigeria has been the main supplier of low-sulfur oil to the United States.

MEND attacks include the 30 April 2006 explosion of a truck **bomb** in Warri causing neither fatalities nor injuries; the 7 June 2006 killing of four Nigerian soldiers and **kidnapping** of six Korean workers who were later released; the 7 December 2007 kidnapping of four Italian oil workers who were later released; the 18 December 2006 bombing of the Royal Dutch Shell residential compound and separate bombing of the Italian Agip company residential compound, both in Port Har-

court, with no harm to life or limb in either incident; the 23 December 2006 bombing of the residence of River State Governor Peter Odili, with no harm to life or limb; and the 3 May 2007 armed attack on the exploration vessel *Mystras* of the Italian oil company ENI, in which eight Italian hostages were seized and later released; the 8 May 2007 bombings of three oil pipelines in Bayelsa state; and the 13 November 2007 MEND attack on Cameroonian soldiers on the Bakassi peninsula, whose sovereignty is disputed by Nigeria and Cameroon. The numbers of MEND fighters and the identities of their leaders are not known.

MEND is the most active and most dangerous of the various insurgent groups in Nigeria. While there is some speculation that MEND is hiring mercenaries from criminal gangs and tribal warrior societies to carry out their attacks, so far there is no evidence of outside **state sponsorship** or of coordination with other anti-U.S. terrorist groups outside Nigeria.

MOVEMENT FOR ISLAMIC CHANGE. *See* RIYADH BOMBINGS.

MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF BAHRAIN (MLB).

The MLB was an **Islamic fundamentalist** group of Bahraini Shi'ite Muslims under Iranian **state sponsorship** aimed at toppling the al Khalifa dynasty in the emirate of Bahrain and creating an Iranian-style Islamic republic there. Following the abortive coup attempt of 13 December 1981 by the Iranian-sponsored **Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain** (IFLB), that group had very limited success in trying to recruit more Bahrainis. While the IFLB turned to contacting international human rights organizations and trying to accuse the Bahraini government of mistreatment of the arrested coup plotters, it had lost credibility as being an independent Islamic liberation movement.

The Movement for the Liberation of Bahrain, formed in 1983, essentially is a repackaging of the IFLB in a form more attractive for the recruitment of young Bahraini Shi'ites **alienated** from the current Sunni government ruling the largely Shi'ite island-state. In February 1984 the Bahraini coast guard intercepted a large shipment of Iranian arms before it was delivered. In late December 1987 an oil refinery engineer was arrested who had been recruited by Iran and trained to carry out a sabotage operation at Bahrain's one oil refinery.

The leader of the MLB, Dr. Said Shehabi, directed the group from London during the 1990s and moderated the demands of the group,

from seeking an Islamic republic similar to the Iranian model, to restoration of the 1973 constitution and greater respect for human rights by the Bahraini government. From 1994 until 1999 the group conducted small-scale **bombings** and **arson** attacks in what they called the Bahraini intifada. Upon the ascension of King Hamad bin Isa al Khalifa in 1999 and a grant of amnesty to political dissidents, many of the MLB members returned to Bahrain where they entered into electoral politics as members of the Al Wefaq National Islamic Society, while others chose to remain in London.

MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR). The Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria was a Chilean leftist **in-surgent** group and political party sponsored by Cuba that advocated **revolution** to establish a Marxist state in Chile. The MIR also was given the use of radio facilities by Algeria and received more limited support from other states close to Cuba such as Angola, Mozambique, and Nicaragua during the **Sandinista** period.

Founded in 1965 by leftist students at the University of Concepción, the MIR became Castroite in 1967 and obtained Cuba's moral and material backing. The MIR benefited from an amnesty under the Popular Unity government of President Salvador Gossens Allende (1970–1973) and was allowed to operate openly. The MIR fought the military takeover more persistently than did the other Chilean leftist groups even long after it became apparent that Allende was dead.

While the MIR's recourse to political violence and terrorism could be rationalized in the context of the military coup of 11 September 1973 and the subsequent violent repression of leftists in Chile, in fact its terrorist actions began as far back as 1967 when it undertook armed robberies, assaults, and murder as a part of its tactical repertoire. Despite the wide opportunities for legal political participation under the Allende government, the MIR continued to act outside the sphere of Chilean legality by organizing its own militias, carrying out illegal expropriations of farms and businesses, and assaulting members of rightist or rival leftist groups. The leaders of the MIR reasoned that through such illegal acts they could compel Allende to advance beyond mere electoral politics, so forcing the establishment of a Marxist revolutionary state in Chile. In fact, Allende's reluctance to control the MIR and the far-left wing of his Popular Unity government prompted the Chilean military to undertake the coup of 11 September 1973.

At its height in 1973, the MIR numbered some 10,000 members. Estimates of the total membership of the political and military branches of the MIR put their strength between 100 and 500 members, although its leader in exile, Andrés Pascal Allende, once claimed that the MIR had at least 3,000 active members during the 1980s. The MIR stockpiled its arms through infiltration and theft of Chilean arsenals as well as through Cuban support. In its **bombings** the MIR used low-yield explosives generally available through thefts from mining operations. Following the death of the MIR's original leader, Miguel Enríquez, in a shoot-out with security forces on 5 October 1974, Pascal took command but was forced to flee Chile by 1976. With the death of Enríquez, the original generation of the MIR's leadership had ended.

From 1974 to 1977 the MIR was relatively inactive but in 1977 escalated its campaign within Chile largely through more bomb attacks and **assassinations**. On 24 September 1981, during attempts to set up bases within Chile and to create a liberated zone in the Neltume, Valdivia region in southern Chile, seven MIR fighters were killed by police. On 30 August 1983 the MIR assassinated Major General Carol Urzúa Ibañez, military governor of Santiago. With the wave of dissent that shook Chile beginning in 1983, the group was reinvigorated and reestablished its political wing.

The MIR carried out several machine-gun attacks on police and security forces as well as bombings of police stations during the 1980s. On 15 July 1980 the MIR's killers machine-gunned to death Lieutenant General Roger Vergara Campos, head of the Army Intelligence School, also killing his driver. In June 1988 the MIR bombed four banks in Santiago, causing serious damage but no harm to life or limb. The MIR tried to **target** higher-ranking functionaries of the Chilean government rather than ordinary police officers or soldiers and was careful to avoid taking the lives of civilians or bystanders. In addition, the MIR shunned targeting foreign nationals for assassination or **kidnapping** for ransom. Although the MIR bombed four offices of U.S.-affiliated corporations in a 10-day period in October and November of 1983, as well as the bank bombings in June 1988, these bombings appeared intended to create maximum material damage rather than human injuries, which were minimal. Bombing attacks were also directed at power lines, but the MIR generally abstained from using car bombings, unlike the rival **Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front (FPMR)**.

In the late 1980s the MIR's fortunes declined in part due to tactical errors made by its original leaders that resulted in large numbers of Miristas being killed or captured in the early part of the Augusto Pinochet period, and also due to a lack of finances. However the main blow to the MIR came from the decision of the International Guerrilla Directorate run by Cuba and Nicaragua to stop supporting the MIR in favor of the FPMR, which initiated its operations on 23 December 1983 with the bombing of a power station that blacked out all of Santiago. The defection of large numbers of Miristas to this new group further weakened the MIR.

Despite the appearance of the FPMR in 1983 as a dynamic rival, the MIR remained the foremost underground revolutionary group within Chile as late as 1986. However, by 1987 the MIR had split into two hostile factions and experienced a severe decline in membership and activities. Many MIR activists had left Chile by 1989, while in December 1989 Brazilian police cracked a kidnapping ring run by the MIR in São Paulo used to finance its activities in Chile. On 4 September 1989 the Eleventh of September Commando of the **Martyrs' Avenging Commando** had assassinated Jécar Neghme, the leader in exile of one of the MIR factions.

By 1990 many of the Miristas decided to end armed conflict in the post-Pinochet period in order to become a legal leftist party working with other leftist groups in democratic electoral competition. The remaining militant Miristas broke up into a number of factions that were effectively neutralized by security forces, one by one, from 1992 to 1995, until all violence by militant Miristas had essentially ceased. Several Miristas left Chile to fight with the **Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement** (MRTA) in Peru, while others joined the **National Liberation Army** (ELN) in Colombia and others eventually joined up with the **Zapatistas** in Chiapas, Mexico. In July 1995 a militant MIR faction carried out an armed robbery of a factory in Los Angeles, taking 45 million pesos, but an intensive police search led to the arrest of the leader of the group, José Muñoz Alcoholado, who afterward jumped bond and fled to Spain. Later the National Antiterrorism Directorate of Peru informed Chilean officials that Muñoz had appeared for awhile in Peru, where he had joined forces with Túpac Amaru, but later went to Colombia where he joined with the ELN. From 1995 onward there has been no further violent actions by remaining Mirista factions.

On 13 December 2003 both the MIR and the FPMR joined together with the Chilean Communist Party, the Humanist Party, and several other left-wing groups to form the coalition known as *Juntos Podemos Más*, meaning “Together we can do more,” which competed in both the presidential and congressional elections of 2005. Their presidential candidate, Tomás Hirsch Goldschmidt, placed third with 5.4 percent of the vote. Although the coalition won 7.38 percent of the vote for the Chamber of Deputies and 5.98 percent for the Senate, Chile’s nonproportional electoral system favored the two major political coalitions, namely, the moderate-left *Concertación* and the moderate-right *Alianza*, at the expense of third parties such as the *Podemos* coalition.

MUERTE A SECUESTRADORES (MAS). The Death to Kidnappers group was a nonstate **death squad** run by Colombian drug traffickers for the limited purpose of countering and containing their main enemies, namely, Colombian leftist revolutionaries, politicians, and the Colombian state. The **Colombian cocaine cartels’** alliances with leftist rebels against the government, or with right-wing elements in the security forces against leftist revolutionaries, have been purely tactical in nature and intended by the drug traffickers to preserve their relative autonomy in a fractured and weak Colombian state.

The MAS was founded on 2 December 1981 by drug traffickers Carlos Ledher Rivas and Jorge Luís Ochoa Vásquez. The leader of the Medellín drug cartel, Pablo Escobar Gaviria (1949–1993), was also believed to be among the patrons of the MAS. This group was originally directed particularly against guerrilla groups, such as **M-19**, that had been **kidnapping** drug kingpins for ransom. In addition, the MAS **targeted** family members of the kidnappers and other enemies and engaged in torture as well as simple **assassination**. Eventually it became a right-wing death squad that also targeted leftist politicians, students, and other activists. The MAS is believed to function as an umbrella organization for a number of right-wing paramilitary groups, of which 128 could be identified by 1988. At its height it had about 2,000 members and was believed to include former Colombian security personnel as well as Israeli Defense Forces veterans among its trainers.

Although there has been evidence of collusion in the early 1980s between drug traffickers and leftist guerrillas, who shared at least a common enemy in the Colombian government if not a common **ideology**, such a relationship was problematic at best, probably more on

the level of mutual extortion than cooperation. By the late 1980s the drug traffickers began attacking the leftists in earnest. On 11 October 1987 Jaime Pardo Neal, a leader of the Patriotic Union (UP) Party, the political front of the **Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia** (FARC), was killed by agents of a major drug trafficker. On 22 March 1990 traffickers also assassinated UP presidential candidate Bernardo Jaramillo Ossa at Bogotá airport and on 26 April 1990 killed M-19 presidential candidate Carlos Pizarro León-Gómez. Ironically, both candidates had opposed **extradition** of narcotics traffickers to the United States. The MAS is also suspected of perpetrating the January 1989 killings of 12 members of a judicial commission investigating death squad activity in Colombia.

MUJAHIDEEN. The term *mujahideen* (Arabic plural of *mujahid*, one who engages in *jihād* [struggle] for the sake of God) is both a general designation for Muslim fighters engaged in **jihād** but also has been used as the name of various Muslim political and paramilitary groups.

1. Afghan Mujahideen: Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, those rebel groups that had been fighting the pro-Communist Kabul regime then undertook to resist and expel the Soviet troops. As they were fighting what could be viewed as a jihad to rid Afghanistan of an infidel invading army, they became generally known as the Mujahideen.

The Afghan fighters actually belonged to several different groups often divided along tribal and linguistic lines. Certain of these groups were primarily **Islamic fundamentalist** in character, such as the Hizb-i Islami (Islamic Party) of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, which received support from Iran, and the Harakat-i Inqilab-i Islami (Islamic Revolutionary Movement) led by Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi, which received support from the Persian Gulf states. Other Afghan groups, such as the National Liberation Front and the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan, were umbrella organizations that had a more nationalistic than fundamentalist emphasis.

Following the 16 April 1992 collapse of the Muhammad Najibullah Ahmadzi regime, the more nationalistic Mujahideen factions formed a new government that then began fighting the Islamic fundamentalist Mujahideen led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, which in turn laid repeated siege to, and made rocket attacks upon, districts and government buildings within Kabul.

In May 1996 the factions of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and President Burhanuddin Rabbani briefly settled their differences to allow Hekmatyar to share power as prime minister. In reality, Hekmatyar used his own power to continue training Muslim militants in his bases in Herat Province for Islamic militant campaigns elsewhere. Another rival, Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, leader of the Wahhabi party, ran his own training camps for foreign Muslim militants. Due to the unwillingness of the various factions to share power in the government and also due to the lack of discipline of their followers, some of whom began to rob and rape civilians with impunity, the Afghan Mujahideen gradually lost their legitimacy and ultimately were pushed aside by the Muslim seminary students known as the **Taliban**, who wanted to institute an Islamic theocratic state based on Wahhabi principles.

By 27 September 1996 the Taliban had seized control of Kabul and two-thirds of the country, leaving the northern third still under Mujahideen control. On 10 October 1996 General Abdul Rashid Dostam and Ahmad Shah Massoud set aside their differences to unify their factions against the Taliban. The Taliban and their Mujahideen rivals on 17 April 1998 agreed to set up a commission of religious scholars to govern Afghanistan, but this agreement, like its many predecessors, fell through and fighting resumed. In 1999 Massoud and General Dostam quarreled with each other, weakening the remaining Mujahideen alliance in the northern part of the country still under their control. Effectively defeated by the Taliban, the remaining Mujahideen in the north stayed in power there thanks largely to Russian and Iranian aid. On 9 September 2001 Massoud was killed by suicide **bombers** posing as Arab journalists, sent apparently by **Osama bin Laden**. It is now believed that this **assassination** was meant to strengthen the position of the Taliban in Afghanistan prior to the **World Trade Center and Pentagon Attacks of September 11, 2001**.

2. Saziman-i Mujahideen-i Khalq-i Iran (MKO, aka MeK): The People's Mujahideen Organization of Iran is a nonstate Iranian **revolutionary** group that undertook armed struggle against the shah's regime to establish an Islamic state. The MKO consisted mainly of university students who formed an offshoot from the Iran Liberation Movement, a group led by Mehdi Bazargan, which continued to exist as a token opposition group in Iran until it was banned on 18 October 1992.

The MKO undertook armed struggle following an abortive revolt instigated by the **Ayatollah Ruhallah Khomeini** in 1963. The group became influenced by the syncretistic quasi-Islamic, quasi-Marxist teachings of the Iranian sociologist 'Ali Shariati, who had been directly influenced by Frantz Fanon while studying in Paris. On 13 August 1972 the MKO **assassinated** General Taheri, the police chief of Tehran and former warden of the Komiteh Prison in which MKO members had been held and tortured and who had also crushed the civilian uprising in Qum during June 1963. On 2 June 1973 they killed U.S. Air Force Colonels Turner and Sheaffer in Tehran, and in August 1976 they killed three U.S. technicians associated with the U.S. military aid program to Iran. In 1975, however, the group split with a more secularist wing defecting to the Fedayan-i Khalq.

While the group's members participated in the street fighting that brought down the Pahlavi monarchy in 1978–1979, afterward Khomeini rejected their credentials as Islamic revolutionaries due to their refusal to accept his principle of leadership by the Shi'ite *ulama* (specialists of religious law) and also due to the Marxist content they had incorporated into their eclectic understanding of Islam. The MKO allied itself with the more liberal and nationalistic politicians led by President Abul-Hassan Bani-Sadr, who, however, was later deposed from the Iranian presidency by Khomeini on 20 June 1981. Following Bani-Sadr's ouster, the MKO carried out a terrorist campaign against the Khomeini regime. On 28 June 1981 the Islamic Republic Party headquarters was **bombed**, killing at least 72 high-ranking functionaries of the regime. A bomb that killed the next Iranian president, Muhammad Ali Rajai, and prime minister, Muhammad Javad Bahonar, on 30 August 1981 was also believed to be the work of the MKO. The Islamic Republic retaliated with its own campaign of **state terror** against the MKO and its known supporters. In the months that followed, the MKO conducted **suicide bombings** in which individuals would approach Friday prayers leaders and then detonate explosives hidden on their bodies, killing themselves and their victim. Often a motorcycle driver and passenger team would conduct drive-by machine-gun attacks on government offices. On 8 February 1981, Musa Khiabani, the operational head of the terrorist campaign within Iran, was tracked down and killed by the **Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps**, and the MKO campaign within Iran sputtered into relative insignificance. The official Iranian state media

and the Friday prayers leaders never use the group's name but refer to it rather as the *munafiqeen*, or hypocrites, a wordplay and rebuttal of their chosen self-designation as Mujahideen.

Although the MKO's members had hoped in June 1981 to launch their own revolution against the clerical regime, they made two miscalculations. First, being themselves mainly members of the less traditional, more Westernized middle classes, they underestimated the depth of support Khomeini enjoyed among the masses of the more traditional lower classes of society. Second, because they undertook their campaign of antiregime terror during the middle of a national war of self-defense against an Iraqi invasion, their actions were arguably treasonable, whatever the political failings of the regime may have been. In fact, the MKO later accepted the **state sponsorship** of the Iraqi regime, set up bases within Iraq, and deployed its own armed units under Iraqi command against Iranian troops in the war fronts, a move that cost it whatever support it had enjoyed among Iranian nationalists within Iran. The MKO leader, Masud Rajavi, who had fled Iran with Bani-Sadr in 1981, briefly rallied exiled opposition groups in a National Council of Resistance. Over time, however, the MKO degenerated into a cult of personality centered on Rajavi, who enforced a rigid **ideological** conformity on the group's membership, alienating most of its allies and sympathizers.

On 5 April 1992 five MKO members took over the offices of the Iranian United Nations Mission in New York City and vandalized it. No injuries occurred, and the five submitted to arrest by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and were charged with violations of the applicable sections of Title 18 of the U.S. Code pertaining to protection of diplomatic persons and their property. Although this event was largely ignored at the time, in fact it was one of the most serious incidents of international terrorism that had occurred in the United States up to that date.

In April 1994 the U.S. Department of State added the MKO to its list of international terrorist groups, a move that drew a hostile reaction from a hundred members of Congress, who demanded that the State Department justify its designation of this group, which had been actively lobbying Congress and portraying itself as a democratic opposition to the Iranian regime. Accordingly, on 31 October 1994 the Department of State issued a report identifying terrorist actions by the MKO, its previous history of anti-U.S. attacks, its state sponsorship by

the Iraqi regime, and its pattern of internal authoritarian rule over its followers and the personality cult of Masud Rajavi. These actions undermined, but did not end, the long-term lobbying effort by the MKO to gain U.S. backing in its campaign against the Iranian regime.

In September 1997 Iranian jets bombed two MKO bases in Iraq in response to intensified cross-border attacks by the MKO and increased bombings within Tehran, and on 3 June 1998 the United States condemned two bombings carried out by the MKO in Tehran in which three people were killed. On 23 August 1998 the MKO assassinated a former prosecutor, Asadollah Lajavardi, but the assassin was apprehended and later executed on 14 March 1999. On 13 September 1998 MKO sharpshooters attempted to assassinate Muhsin Rafiqdust, the former Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps commander who had been appointed by Supreme Religious Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamene'i to head the Foundation for the War-Stricken. On 31 January 1999 the MKO claimed responsibility for a mortar attack on the headquarters of the Intelligence Ministry in Tehran.

Following the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, the MKO within Iraq formally surrendered to coalition forces on 15 April 2003. U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld held that the MKO fighters were not enemy combatants but rather civilians enjoying the status of protected persons. This special treatment of a group designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization reinforced the Iranian government's long-held belief that the MKO was, and remains, a U.S. pawn in its dealings with Tehran. On 11 May 2003 U.S. forces occupied the MKO bases and seized its weapons. Masud Rajavi disappeared shortly after the U.S.-led invasion, and leadership of the group passed to his wife Maryam. In late June 2003 French police raided the MKO headquarters in the Auvers-sur-Oise suburb of Paris, arresting Maryam Rajavi and 16 others, to prevent the MKO from planning and conducting terrorist operations from French territory. This led to protests by MKO members through Europe involving hunger strikes and 10 cases of protestors immolating themselves. Despite the designation of the MKO as a Foreign Terrorist Organization, the group continues to lobby U.S. lawmakers through its front group, the National Council of Resistance, which allegedly has provided the U.S. government with **intelligence** data regarding Iran's uranium-enrichment facility at Natanz. The fate of Masud Rajavi remains unknown, and he is presumed to be dead or in hiding.

3. *Mujahideen-i Inqilab-i Islami*: In March 1979, seven Islamic guerrilla groups that had fought against the Pahlavi regime before and during the Islamic revolution in Iran formed themselves into one militia group, the Mujahideen of the Islamic Revolution (MIR), a nonstate group enjoying Iranian **state sponsorship** that assisted the Islamic Republic of Iran in both its external revolutionary agenda and its internal repression of dissent. While some of its members had once been part of the People's Mujahideen of Iran (MKO), the new group steadfastly avowed its belief in the leadership of the Shi'ite clergy, in particular the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini.

This group was instrumental in the physical takeover of the U.S. embassy on 4 November 1979. The most prominent member of the group was Behzad Nabavi, who served as one of the chief Iranian negotiators in ending the holding of the U.S. hostages and who later became minister of heavy industries in the Islamic Republic. The MIR included mainly laymen who rejected the quasi-Marxism of the MKO but nonetheless favored a form of state capitalism and nationalization of basic industries and foreign trade that characterized the more radical wing of the Islamic Republic Party, led by Prime Minister Hussein Musavi. The group split into factions, one aligned with the more radical hard-liners of the Islamic Republic Party and others supporting the more pragmatic group led by Hujjatulislam Rafsanjani. When the infighting of the group became a scandal, Khomeini commanded that the group disband itself for the sake of revolutionary unity; accordingly, on 6 October 1986 the MIR dissolved itself, as the Islamic Republic Party had done earlier on 2 June 1996. Upon Khomeini's death in 1989, however, the radical factions within the Islamic Republic found their own base of support shrinking and accordingly revived the MIR, which functions now in effect as a radical fundamentalist political party. In 1997 the MIR formed a proreform coalition with the Combatant Clergy Association and the Iran Participation Front that became known as the 2nd of Khordad Movement. This coalition came under attack by Islamic hard-liners in the regime, with key leaders being imprisoned or driven into exile. Most 2nd of Khordad candidates intending to run for seats in the Iranian Majlis, or parliament, were disqualified by the Council of Guardians from running in the 2005 elections, thus allowing hard-liners to win control of the Majlis.

MUMBAI ATTACKS OF 26–29 NOVEMBER 2008. Beginning 9:20 p.m. on 26 November 2008, 10 attackers struck 10 targets in Mumbai, India, with machine-gun and grenade **bomb** attacks, including the Taj Mahal Palace and Oberoi Trident, both luxury hotels, the Chhatrapati Shivaji train station, the Chabad House (an Orthodox Jewish community center), and the Leopold Café, a restaurant popular with tourists. Hostage-barricade situations continued at the Oberoi Trident hotel until 3:00 p.m. on 28 November 2008, at Chabad House until 7:30 p.m. 28 November 2008, and at the Taj Mahal Palace, where commando operations were hampered by a fire continuing in parts of the hotel, until 8:00 a.m. on 29 November 2008, when operations were officially ended by Indian security forces. At least 173 people were killed, including many Indian police and security officials, and at least 308 injured. Six Jewish hostages were killed at the Chabad House, two of whom were Americans. All told, 134 Indians, four Americans, four Israelis, three Germans, two Australians, and two Canadians were killed, with the remaining 15 victims being of different nationalities. Nine of the 10 attackers were killed, while the one survivor, Ajmal Amir Kasab, a Pakistani national, confessed that the attack was the work of **Lashkar-e Tayyaba**. This attack, the worst in India's history since its independence in 1947, has led to a severe crisis in Indian-Pakistani relations. Although it was seen as an attack on India, it also constituted a severe challenge to the government of Pakistani Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani, whose coalition government was under pressure by India to extradite the supposed masterminds behind this attack but also constrained by fear of appearing excessively weak and conciliatory before Pakistani public opinion, which was resentful of Indian government accusations of Pakistani involvement in these attacks. The head of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) refused a request by Gilani that he to go to India to give an account of possible involvement by rogue ISI elements. The ISI had previously defied the Gilani government when ordered to close a political group by the civilian government.

MUNAZZAMAT AL JIHAD (EIJ). Also known as Tanzim al Jihad, Egyptian Islamic Jihad (EIJ), or simply Jihad, this is the Sunni **Islamic fundamentalist** group in Egypt responsible for the **assassination** of Anwar Sadat on 6 October 1981. This group was an offshoot of **al Tahrir al Islami**, itself an offshoot of the **Muslim Brotherhood**. It

is not directly connected with the Shi'ite militia **Islamic Jihad** of Lebanon now understood to have been a front for **Hezbollah**.

The EIJ is an example of a *Salafi* (purist) Islamic fundamentalist group that believes it imperative for Muslim societies to return to a purely Islamic state similar to the city-state of Medina in the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Unlike the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, Salafi fundamentalists, such as the EIJ, reject reformism and participation in electoral politics as a means of purifying Islamic society, as being themselves part of the un-Islamic corruptions of contemporary Muslim civilization. That leaves **jihād**, or holy war in the path of God, as the only means to restore true Islam. This group regarded Anwar Sadat as an apostate ruler due to his westernization programs and to his role in shaping the Camp David peace accords with Israel, itself regarded by the EIJ as the absolute enemy of Islam. Therefore, as Sadat himself was regarded as an enemy of Islam, the religious duty of jihad required the EIJ to fight and kill him. Sadat's assassins fully believed that once he was killed, the majority of Egyptian Muslims would rise up and finish off the work of overthrowing what they held to be an apostate regime.

Following the assassination of Sadat by EIJ members led by Khalid Islambuli, an Egyptian army officer and brother of Muhammad Islambuli, another EIJ member imprisoned earlier by the Egyptian government, Egyptian security forces arrested remnants of the assassins and other members of the EIJ not directly involved. The five principals were tried and later executed, while their spiritual leader, **Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman**, was acquitted. Other EIJ activists in Asyut seized the local radio-TV station, several police stations, and the security forces' local headquarters. Government forces retook Asyut in two days of heavy fighting, costing the lives of 188, including 54 government forces.

The leadership of EIJ consisted of Abdul Rahman, a blind doctor of Islamic religious law at Asyut University; Muhammad Abdul Salam Faraj, the group's leading theoretician and publicist; Abbud Abdul Latif al Zumur, a lieutenant colonel in Egyptian military **intelligence**; and Mohammad Atta and Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri, both of whom later merged the remnants of EIJ with **al Qa'eda**. At least 4 percent of Jihad members arrested before Sadat's assassination turned out to be members of the military, police, or intelligence services. In December 1986 about 30 EIJ members, including two army majors, one

captain, and one lieutenant, were arrested for setting up antigovernment combat training centers. In late February 1977 more than 17,000 conscripts of the Central Security Police rioted in five provinces as well as Cairo, inflicting \$500 million in damages on bars, nightclubs, and luxury hotels—all of which had been **targeted** by fundamentalist radicals—and looting police arsenals of their weapons.

Following the imprisonment of EIJ leader Abbud al Zumar, a Jihad faction called Tala'a al-Fatah (Vanguard of Victory) led by al Zawahiri, who later in 1998 became the second-ranking member of **al Qa'eda** in Afghanistan, appeared and claimed responsibility for the 18 August 1993 **bombing** attack that injured Interior Minister Hassan al Alfi and the 25 November 1993 bombing assassination attempt against Prime Minister Atef Sedky, who escaped injury although one bystander was killed and 18 others injured. The EIJ and the **Islamic Group** (IG) attempted an assassination of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak on 26 June 1995 when he visited Ethiopia; five EIJ members were killed while three others escaped to Sudan, from where the action had been planned and staged. Under Egyptian pressure, the government of Sudan expelled the EIJ group, numbering then about 300, which then moved to Afghanistan.

The EIJ differed from the IG insofar as it targeted mainly high-level Egyptian officials instead of police officers, Coptic Christians, and tourists, and also by its extensive use of car bombs. Al Zawahiri co-signed the February 1998 **fatwa** sponsored by **Osama bin Laden** authorizing attacks on U.S. citizens worldwide. Al Zawahiri's group was particularly incensed at joint U.S.-Egyptian efforts to identify and expel their followers in Great Britain, Italy, South Africa, Albania, and Azerbaijan.

Following the **Luxor Temple massacre** on 17 November 1997, both Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman and Abbud al Zumar issued an appeal to their EIJ followers and members of the IG to cease violence and to work to form a "peaceful front" to confront the Egyptian government. Since 1998 al Zawahiri and those of his followers who moved with him to Afghanistan effectively merged their group into al Qa'eda. Following 1998 the influence and activities of the EIJ within Egypt have declined due to the revulsion of Egyptian public opinion against the Luxor Temple incident. Since June 2001 the overseas members of the EIJ have effectively merged with al Qa'eda, and they are not known to have conducted any operations in Egypt since 1993.

MUNICH MASSACRE. On 5 September 1972, eight **Black September** terrorists attacked the Israeli Olympic team in the Munich Olympic Village, killing two Israeli athletes outright and taking the remaining three Israeli athletes and six coaches hostage. The eight terrorists demanded the release of 234 prisoners in Israel, including Kozo Okamoto, the surviving **Japanese Red Army** member of the terrorist team that had struck Lod airport in May 1972. After 17 hours of negotiations between the terrorists and the West German government, which Israel had informed of its refusal of the terrorists' demands, the terrorists and their hostages were transferred in two helicopters to Fürstenfeldbruck airport outside Munich where, they were told, a Boeing 727 would take them to Cairo. Instead, Bavarian police sharpshooters botched an attempt to kill the terrorists as they left the two helicopters. In the melee that ensued at about midnight on 6 September 1972, the terrorists shot their hostages dead and set the two helicopters on fire. Five of the terrorists died as well, and their remaining injured were captured and imprisoned. These, however, were later released in exchange for the release of a Lufthansa passenger plane seized by other Black September operatives on 29 October 1972.

The incompetence of the Bavarian police operation led West Germany to develop an elite antiterrorist squad, the Grenzschutzgruppe-9 (GSG-9), while the Israelis established the Wrath of God covert operations group that tracked down and killed those responsible for the operation.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD. The Ikhwan al Muslimin is a nonstate **Islamic fundamentalist** group that seeks to replace existing secular governments in the Muslim world with a caliphate, that is, a unitary theocratic Pan-Islamic government under which both religious and political affairs would be governed by the Shari'ah, the traditional canon of Islamic laws. The name is applied to several territorial organizations, for example, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood, and so on, that are formally independent of one another though all are historically derived from the original Ikhwan founded in Egypt by Hassan al Banna (1906–1949) in 1928. In lands whose governments are either sympathetic or at least not hostile to the Ikhwan, the local organization tends to define its aims and methods in terms of *islah*, reformism, whereas in countries whose governments

are hostile the Ikhwan tends to define its mission in term of an Islamic **revolution**. The Ikhwan have used terrorism instrumentally to achieve their agenda when electoral means or other forms of political participation have been denied to them. Although individual territorial Ikhwan organizations have sought the support of other Muslim governments, whether of religious regimes such as Saudi Arabia or of secular regimes such as the former Ba’thist regime in Iraq, these amounted to little more than tactical alliances with those whom the Ikhwan may regard as its own strategic enemies.

Hassan al Banna, a primary school teacher in Ismailia, founded the Ikhwan to educate young men in the values of Islam and to protect them from seduction by Western values. A brilliant organizer, Banna quickly developed the group into a nationwide **network**. By 1933 the headquarters were moved to Cairo, and by 1940 the Ikhwan had 500 branches. The political strength of the Ikhwan aroused the fear and jealousy of the ruling Waqf party, which threw Banna into prison briefly in 1941. In 1942 Banna ordered the formation of the secret apparatus of “spiritual messengers” skilled in the “art of death.” By 1946 the Ikhwan had 5,000 branches comprising at least 500,000 members as well as 40,000 employed in its secret apparatus. Members of the Ikhwan were to be found even among the teaching faculty of Al Azhar University, which remains the most esteemed Islamic theological school in the Sunni Muslim world and from which students of 22 different Muslim countries brought back home the message of the Ikhwan and began to create new branches of the organization abroad.

During the period 1946–1947 the Ikhwan clashed with Waqf supporters in street riots, which led to the December 1948 ban on the organization. On 28 December 1948 Ikhwan members **assassinated** the Egyptian prime minister, Mahmud Fahmi Naqrashi. In reprisal, government agents murdered Banna on 12 February 1949. From 1950 to 1954, the Ikhwan collaborated with the Egyptian Free Officers in overthrowing King Farouk. Conflict then broke out between the Islamic fundamentalist Ikhwan and the secular, modernizing military junta under Gamal Abdel Nasser. With the failure of the 23 October 1954 assassination attempt against Nasser, a ban on the Ikhwan and crackdown ensued in which six Ikhwan leaders were hanged and 4,000 followers arrested.

Following Nasser’s death in 1971, his successor, Anwar Sadat, pardoned the remaining imprisoned Ikhwan members, allowed the

return of those who had fled Egypt in 1954, and permitted limited participation of the Ikhwan in elections. Sadat hoped to co-opt the Ikhwan to bolster his image among the Egyptian public as a believing, religious president. In fact, by 1978 the Ikhwan had infiltrated and co-opted the majority of the 1,000 legal Islamic associations chartered in Egypt and had become the largest legal source of opposition to Sadat's free trade and investment policies as well as to his policy of seeking a separate peace agreement with Israel. Sadat erred also in believing that by indulging a chastised Ikhwan, he could thereby split and weaken the Islamic fundamentalist opposition.

Although the Ikhwan and the more radical, illegal Islamic fundamentalist groups, such as the **Munazzamat al Jihad** and the **Takfir wal Higrāh**, maintained an appearance of mutual disapproval and rivalry, in fact, according to research by American University in Cairo sociologist Sa'adeddin Ibrahim, the Ikhwan functions very much as the generator of these more radical groups and as their legal front organization as circumstances require. In this light, Sadat's assassination a little over one month after his 3 September 1981 crackdown on the Ikhwan appears less coincidental. This would also explain why the same radical groups that did not hesitate to murder a former minister of religious affairs or Sadat himself have nonetheless never attacked or killed members of the Ikhwan despite their apparent disapproval of the Ikhwan for having allowed itself to be co-opted by the abhorred official regime. By the late 1980s, the Ikhwan was Egypt's leading opposition party, which together with the other illegal fundamentalist groups had between 70,000 and 100,000 adherents, according to research by Sa'adeddin Ibrahim.

On 30 July 1995 the Egyptian government cracked down on 15 prominent members of the Ikhwan, including Sheikh Sayid Askar, the director of public information of Al Azhar University. Also arrested were a former deputy minister of industry, Rashad Nigmeldine, three former members of the Egyptian parliament, a banker, and several public school officials. On 23 November 1995, 54 of 80 Ikhwan members put on trial were sentenced to prison for antigovernment agitation, and the Muslim Brotherhood head office was shut down. This crackdown was a result of the Hosni Mubarak government's determination that the Ikhwan served as the front and support network for some 3,000 militants engaged in political violence against the regime. Ikhwan supporters believe that this was merely a pretext

to keep the group from running candidates in the parliamentary elections scheduled for 28 November 1995.

While officially banned as a political party, the Ikhwan's members are permitted to run as independent candidates. In the 2005 parliamentary elections, Ikhwan members won 88 seats in the 454-seat People's Assembly, forming the largest opposition bloc.

As the Ikhwan propagated and reproduced itself in other Arab lands, it has shown remarkable adaptation to local circumstances, becoming a political party wherever electoral competition promised power, such as in Egypt or pre-1963 Syria, or becoming charitable and educational societies where political competition was more constrained, such as in Jordan or the emirates of the Arabian peninsula. In Tunisia the Ikhwan renamed itself the Hizb al Islami (the Islamic Party), the direct precursor of the **Islamic Tendency Movement**. In Algeria the Ikhwan called itself the Ahl al Da'wa, People of the Call (to faith), which created the **Islamic Salvation Front (FIS)**. In the Gaza Strip and West Bank, the Palestinian branch of the Ikhwan formed the Islamic Resistance Movement, known also as **Hamas**, which played a major role in the **intifada** of 1987–1991 as well as in the terrorist attacks in Israel following the September 1993 peace accord and which seized control of the Gaza Strip from Palestinian Authority forces in June 2007.

In Syria, where the Ikhwan have been banned since the Ba'athist coup of 1963, they have attempted to carry out an armed **insurgency** with occasional major terrorist acts, which have been retaliated against by massive acts of Syrian **state terror**. Following the military defeat of Syria in the 1967 war with Israel, Ikhwan members from the Syrian cities of Homs, Aleppo, and Hama underwent military training in **al Fatah** camps in Jordan, which marked the transformation of the Syrian Ikhwan from a party to a paramilitary movement. Following Syrian President Hafez al Asad's decision in 1976 to enter the Lebanese civil war on the side of the Maronite Christian forces and against the Palestinians, the Ikhwan decided to undertake **jihād** against the Syrian regime. In February 1978 the Ikhwan assassinated key Ba'athist officials and attacked Rifaat al Asad, the president's younger brother, who headed the national security forces. On 16 June 1979 the Ikhwan began to strike at police stations, Ba'athist party offices, and government and military facilities, beginning with a massacre of military cadets at the Aleppo Artillery School. The Ikhwan

also began to assassinate Soviet civilian and military advisers and Sunni clergymen who supported the regime.

In April 1980 al Asad launched a crackdown on the front organizations that supported the Ikhwan and arrested 5,000 supporters. On 25 June 1980 the Ikhwan attempted to assassinate al Asad. In reprisal, the Syrian regime summarily executed as many as 300 imprisoned Ikhwan leaders and passed a decree on 7 July 1980 making membership in, or association with, the Ikhwan a capital offense. On 11 August 1980 the regime summarily executed all 80 apartment dwellers from a complex that had harbored an Ikhwan sniper. The Ikhwan had goaded the regime into such repressive measures in the hope that the Syrian people would then rise up against regime repression, but the severity of the state terror had the opposite effect of quelling all open support for the Ikhwan.

The Ikhwan ceased activities for one year to reassess strategy and tactics. They published a manifesto, “the Declaration and Program of the Islamic Revolution in Syria,” and sought Iranian support. Iran, which had a tactical alliance with Syria against its then wartime enemy Iraq, declined to give support. The Ikhwan then turned to Iraq for support and obtained light arms and shoulder-held rockets as well as the use of Iraqi radio facilities. On 28 November 1981 a massive car bombing killed 64 people in downtown Damascus, an action blamed on the Ikhwan by Syria but for which the Ikhwan denied responsibility. In fact, Iraqi agents had conducted similar operations in Tehran even before the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war. In February 1982 the Ikhwan launched its offensive in Hama in which they defeated the Syrian Third Armored Division. The Iraq-based radio called on the Syrian people to rise up and join the insurgency. Al Asad responded by sending 12,000 soldiers who cordoned off Hama, a city of 200,000 people, and began to level it over a two-week period by tank fire, artillery, and helicopter gunship fire. The Syrian army lost 1,000 men while as many as 25,000 civilians perished.

The Syrian Ikhwan have never regained their strength since this defeat. While they had 30,000 members before the 7 July 1980 decree banning membership in the group on pain of death, their numbers fell afterward to less than 5,000.

Another Pan-Arabist leader, **Muammar Qaddafi** of Libya, banned the Libyan branch of the Ikhwan in 1973. Although Libya has had contentious relations with its neighbors, Tunisia and Algeria, the Libyan government has cooperated with both neighboring

nations in cracking down on Ikhwan-affiliated groups operating across their mutual borders. In the 1980s the Libyan Ikhwan renamed itself the Libyan Islamic Group and sought recognition and reconciliation with Qaddafi. On 2 March 2006 the Libyan government released some 132 Ikhwan members who had been held as political prisoners.

The various Ikhwan organizations have had histories of using assassination, military attacks, and **arson** or bombing of bars, nightclubs, or hotels as means to force Muslim states to heed their agenda when they have otherwise been repressed by those governments or else been denied full political participation. In the period 1990–1991, while Muslim states such as Jordan, Algeria, and Tunisia have allowed greater scope to electoral and parliamentary processes, the Ikhwan-generated Islamic political parties have scored impressive electoral victories. In this regard one should note that political violence and terrorist actions have erupted in Algeria and Tunisia only after the secular governments there have taken steps to nullify the electoral gains of such groups. In the same period, the various Ikhwan organizations have sought more coordination and mutual assistance. Following the Tunisian government's crackdown in 1991 on the Islamic Tendency Movement, the government of Sudan, then dominated by Ikhwan members, gave the leader of the Tunisian group refuge. The Ikhwan-dominated Sudanese government also allowed the Iranian **Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps** and Lebanese **Hezbollah** to set up training bases in Sudan, while the Islamic Republic of Iran declared its support for the Ikhwan-based political parties in Algeria and Tunisia, which were denied electoral victories in 1991.

In Jordan, following the conclusion of formal peace with Israel in 1994, the Ikhwan group there undertook measures to oppose normalization of relations with Israel by drawing up a “blacklist” of about 300 Jordanians accused of consorting with the enemy by visiting Israel and engaging in trade, artistic exchanges, and tourism between the two nations. These individuals and associated firms were to be economically boycotted by Ikhwan followers. The vocal dissent of the Ikhwan increased toward the end of King Hussein's life and the period of succession of King Abdullah, during which time Jordanian officials have relaxed some of their restrictions on expressions of dissent.

Within the United States, veterans of the Ikhwan established Islamic associations such as the Muslim Students Association (MSA) in 1963, which seeks to keep Muslim students attending U.S. and Canadian universities religiously observant in a secular setting. In 1971 they also established the North American Islamic Trust to promote the development of mosques and Islamic centers among both native-born and immigrant Muslims. The MSA often sponsored dynamic Ikhwan-affiliated speakers to appear on campuses and in interdenominational settings to present apologetics defending Islam, the Palestinian cause, and other issues vital to Islamic fundamentalists. During the Holy Land Foundation trial lasting from 23 July to 22 October 2007 several documents presented as evidence seemed to indicate that the Muslim Brotherhood was recruiting Muslims in the United States to undergo weapons training and to participate in counterintelligence activities directed against the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. *See also* SAYYID QUTB.

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NARCO-TERRORISM. Narco-terrorism refers to two different phenomena: first, a form of revolutionary terrorism in which insurgents or terrorists use the production of narcotics to finance their revolutionary activities or as a means of undermining the social fabric of the **targeted** nation-state; second, a form of **entrepreneurial terrorism** in which the drug traffickers themselves use terrorism to keep governments, police forces, or guerrilla groups from interfering with their operations or profits.

Evidence of the entrepreneurial form of narco-terrorism is abundant, with the Medellín drug cartel having sponsored the **Muerte a Secuestradores**, or Death to Kidnappers group, as well as the Extraditables. These groups **assassinated** three Colombian presidential candidates, have carried out several car **bombings**, and also have bombed at least one domestic Colombian airplane flight, to force the Colombian government to desist from its antidrug campaign. Evidence of guerrilla involvement with drug trafficking can be found in Afghanistan, Colombia, Peru, and Thailand where guerrilla insurgents control areas of drug crop cultivation or smuggling and

use profits from the production and trafficking of drugs to fund their operations.

Demonstrating that guerrillas aid and abet drug trafficking with the aim of corrupting a **targeted** society is not quite so straightforward. The simplest explanation consistent with the known facts would seem to be that guerrillas will use whatever resources are available to them, whether extortion or **kidnapping** or drug trafficking, to finance their revolutionary agenda. Similarly, certain of the Afghan **Mujahideen** groups and later the **Taliban** have participated in the manufacture and smuggling of heroin derived from Afghani opium but did so without regard for their own Islamic scruples against narcotics and without regard for the ultimate markets of these drugs, which were more likely to be found in the West than in the Soviet Union. The 9/11 Commission that investigated **al Qa'eda's** role in the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001** found that al Qa'eda did not engage in drug trafficking to finance its activities as some analysts had suspected. While the instances of Mujahideen and Taliban involvement in opium and heroin production and distribution suggest that narco-terrorism by guerrilla groups need not be truly revolutionary in its intent, the terrorism researcher Rachel Ehrenfeld has documented several instances of what is purported to be narco-terrorism as a form of revolutionary terrorism meant to undermine capitalist societies. *See also* COLOMBIAN COCAINE CARTELS; REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF COLOMBIA; SELF-DEFENSE FORCES OF COLOMBIA.

NARODNA OBRANA. *See* BLACK HAND.

NARODNAYA VOLYA. The Russian "People's Will" group was among the earliest self-consciously revolutionary terrorist groups of the modern era. It sought to **assassinate** high-ranking Tsarist officials to bring about a social and political **revolution** in Russia. While the group's members embraced the idea of using **suicide bombing** attacks if necessary to achieve their goals, they were also anxious to avoid killing innocent bystanders unnecessarily. Narodnaya Volya theorist Gerasin Romanenko argued the moral superiority of terrorism over mass revolution on the grounds that terrorism avoided the massive bloodshed certain to accompany any mass uprising. Narodnaya Volya also argued that terrorism was impermissible in democratic countries as political activists there had nonviolent means

to seek social progress or redress of social wrongs. Unlike later terrorist groups that disavowed being terrorists but instead claimed to be “freedom-fighters” and the like, the Narodnaya Volya frankly avowed they were “terrorists.”

From 1878 to 1881 this group assassinated the governor-general of St. Petersburg and also the head of the internal security branch of the Tsarist secret police. The group actually made eight assassination attempts against Tsar Alexander II before finally succeeding in a ninth attempt on 13 March 1881. During the period 1879–1883, most of the 70 or so core members of the group were arrested and the principal leaders hanged in public. On 1 March 1887, seven remaining members of the group plotted to assassinate Tsar Alexander III but were caught and tried. Five of them were hanged on 5 May 1887, including Aleksandr Ulyanov, the older brother of Vladimir I. Lenin. This last episode ended the group, although later groups assumed its name.

NATIONAL FRONT. This is the name of at least two political parties, one in Great Britain and another in France.

1. British National Front: A political party of British Fascists founded in 1967 with the aims of stopping nonwhite immigration to Britain, opposing leftists and Jews, and seeking to create a racialist and corporatist state in Britain through a combination of political violence and electoral competition. From 1972 to 1977 the following of the National Front expanded greatly due to a backlash among Britons against a heightened increase in black Caribbean, East Indian, and African immigration from former colonial possessions. In the 1974 general election, the Front averaged 3.1 percent of the vote and by 1977 gained 5 percent of the votes in Greater London’s local council elections.

The Front achieved its mobilization of racist votes partly through its strategy of holding marches through predominantly nonwhite urban districts. Youths from **skinhead** gangs would use these occasions to bait nonwhites and commit acts of vandalism. These marches also attracted radical leftist counterdemonstrators. Racial riots often broke out as well as clashes between the rightists and leftists.

While the National Front became the largest and most successful of Britain’s Fascist groups, personal rivalries and disagreements over the group’s fundamental strategy rendered it largely ineffective and pushed it into decline. In 1979, National Front leader Martin Webster (1943–) was convicted of inciting interracial conflict and **hate**

crimes, while a former Front chairman, Kenneth Matthews (1935–), was sentenced to six years in prison for the attempted **arson** of a leftist newspaper office. The election of Margaret Thatcher in 1979 drew off some of their supporters due to the Conservative Party's strong anti-immigration stance. During the 1980s another rival, the newly organized British National Party, also drew away supporters as it had essentially the same anti-immigration platform as the National Front but no association with **neo-Nazism** or the skinhead movement. The Front ran seven candidates in the 1997 general elections and 13 in the 2005 general elections, none of whom won a seat. When National Front candidate Simon Deacon won a local council seat in St. Albans on 3 May 2007, this was the first council seat election won by the Front in 32 years. However, Deacon promptly quit the National Front and declared himself a member of the British National Party.

2. French National Front: The Front National (FN) is the leading active ultraright party in France today, with about 75,000 members, and bills itself as a party of traditional values and French nationalism, supporting an effective withdrawal of France from the European Union, more trade tariffs, reinstatement of the death penalty, and a ban on abortion. Its notoriety comes from its openly anti-immigration stance, which is understood to be directed in particular against North African and other Middle Eastern Muslims, as well as African blacks and other non-Europeans. In addition, the Front National is accused of harboring strong anti-Semitic views and engaging in Holocaust denial.

Since June 1995 the Front has held mayoralties in three cities in southern France: Orange, Marignane, and Toulon. In the June 1997 general election, the Front polled 15 percent of the vote, some 3.8 million voters, but only one candidate won a seat in the National Assembly, Jean-Marie Le Chevalier from Toulon, whose election was declared invalid in January 1998. While the Front National leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen (1929–), only won 15.1 percent in the 24 April 1995 first round of the French presidential election, placing him in fourth place, in the 21 April 2002 presidential election he placed second with 16.9 percent of the vote, behind Jacques Chirac with 19.9 percent of the vote, and ahead of the Socialist candidate, Lionel Jospin, who received 16.2 percent of the vote, permitting Le Pen to run in the runoff election of 5 May 2002, in which he placed second with 17.8 percent of the vote. Although he lost to Chirac, the votes for Le Pen grew not only relatively but also absolutely since turnout

for the runoff election was 79.7 percent, whereas in the first round the turnout had been lower at 71.6 percent. These increasing votes for Le Pen over time possibly indicate a growing appeal of Front National politics among French voters.

Le Pen has made several controversial statements in praise of the German occupation of France during World War II and in derogation of the Holocaust, among other things calling the concentration-camp gas chambers “a mere detail of history.” For these remarks, Le Pen was eventually prosecuted under the Gayssot Act of 1990, which outlaws apologetics on behalf of **war crimes**, convicted on 11 July 2006 and forced to pay €183,200 in fines. Meanwhile, there appears to be factionalism among his possible successors.

NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF CORSICA (FLNC). The Fronte di Liberazione Naziunale di a Corsica, a nonstate **ethnonationalist** terrorist group seeking Corsican independence from France, has been active at least since May 1976 when it began a **bombing** campaign in mainland France and in Corsica. Most of its mainland **targets** have been French governmental offices, banks, or tourist offices connected with Air France, while in Corsica properties belonging to non-Corsicans have been targeted as well. The FLNC conducted six bombings in Paris on 23 April 1980; four bombings in 1981, including an attack causing heavy damages upon the Palais de Justice in Paris; 100 bombings in Corsica on one night alone in August 1982; 20 bombings in Paris in 1983; and 16 bombings in 1984 hitting targets in Paris, Marseilles, and Toulon. In 1985 alone the FLNC was responsible for 96 of the 142 incidents of domestic terrorism in France.

In its bomb attacks, the FLNC has been careful to avoid human casualties, its first known casualties occurring in 1980 after four years of operations. Following the 1 May 1986 raid by the FLNC on the Cargese Holiday Camp on Corsica, two people were killed and three injured when the camp owner tried to defuse the bomb the FLNC had left behind. In a previous case, on 22 March 1986, masked FLNC gunmen robbing a tourist resort in southern Corsica evacuated the 20 tourists from the facility before bombing it so that none of their victims would be hurt. On 11 December 1989 the FLNC destroyed some 40 holiday homes on Corsica under construction for French buyers.

Apart from these bombings, the FLNC made one machine-gun attack on French policemen guarding the Iranian embassy on 14

May 1980, apparently in retaliation for the sentencing of seven Corsican separatists that day. On 23 April 1983 French police uncovered two FLNC arms caches and discovered an FLNC counterfeiting operation.

In Corsica during 1995 about 602 bomb attacks were carried out and about 574 in 1996, but many of these were linked to organized crime rather than the FLNC in the view of French prosecutors. On 5 October 1996 the Bordeaux City Hall was bombed and responsibility claimed by the FLNC. A dozen suspects were arrested on 24 October 1996 who were associates of François Santoni, head of the Cuncolta Naziunalista, the FLNC political front. On 9 February 1996, 50 bombs were exploded on Corsica by the FLNC. On 2 February 1997 the FLNC exploded 58 bombs between 4:30 a.m. and 5:30 a.m. at 13 post offices, 12 tax offices, several state-run banks, chambers of commerce, two Air France offices, and an office for war veterans. Only one blast occurred in the regional capital of Ajaccio; most occurred in widely separated villages. The attacks involved perhaps 120 to 150 perpetrators. None of these blasts injured anyone, and the FLNC appeared to adhere to a policy of attacking property and symbolic targets but avoiding human casualties.

By 1990 the FLNC had split into two main groups, the FLNC-canal historique and the FLNC-canal habituel, as well as smaller factions, many of which abandoned the group's anticassualty policy. While the FLNC-canal historique faction increased its activities to include more bombing on the French mainland and more attacks against French offices, the FLNC-canal habituel faction ended its activities in 1997. On 6 February 1998 the FLNC-canal historique murdered Claude Erignac, the prefect of the island, by shooting him in the back of his head. About 40,000 of the 250,000 people of Corsica took part in marches on 11 February 1998 to protest the murder of Erignac. This event led the French government to send an elite police security squad of 85 officers to Corsica with instructions not only to crack down on terrorism but also to clean up various forms of official corruption and private tax evasion. In late September 1999 the FLNC-canal historique carried out two bombings against a power station and police station in Propriano and attempted a third bombing against customs officials, which failed. No one was harmed in any of these attacks even though the last one was intended to kill or maim. During 1999 the FLNC-canal historique merged with several

of the smaller factions and resumed using the name of the FLNC. The FLNC declared a three-month cease-fire in December 1999 but resumed violent activities in 2000. According to the RAND incident database, in the period 1976–1999 the FLNC was credited with just 50 major attacks but in the period 2000–2007 it has carried out 106 attacks, a sixfold increase. It should be noted that the RAND count of incidents is conservative since it often counts as one incident simultaneous attacks on different targets. With increased immigration of North Africans into Corsica, the FLNC has begun to target these immigrants and its current rhetoric promotes discrimination against the hiring of such immigrants within Corsica.

The FLNC is not known to have any foreign **state sponsorship** and little is known about its political agenda apart from the demand of independence for Corsica. The FLNC appears to be unimpressed with efforts by the central government of France to provide more autonomy for Corsica, initiated by Prime Minister Lionel Jospin in 1999, that would have allowed more self-rule and more use of the Corsican language in schools. On 6 July 2003 Corsicans voted 51 percent to 49 percent against an autonomy plan to devolve more self-government to Corsica short of independence from France.

NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY (ELN). The Ejército de Liberación Nacional is the name of at least two major revolutionary guerrilla groups in Latin America:

1. The Colombian National Liberation Army is a Castroite revolutionary group that enjoyed Cuban **state sponsorship**. Its main distinction from other Colombian guerrilla groups has been its steadfast refusal to participate in the national reconciliation negotiations ongoing between the Colombian government and other major leftist insurgent groups since March 1984 or to participate in open electoral politics. The ELN has around 5,000 members and consists of several operationally independent fronts, some of which have turned into separate factions. One of these fronts, the Frente Simón Bolívar, eventually came to oppose the intransigence of the main leadership of the ELN.

The ELN was established on 4 July 1964 by leftist students disillusioned with the Communist Party of Colombia (PCC) and more attracted to the Cuban **revolution**. Throughout its history, ELN has had poor relations with the Communist Party of Colombia, which in turn

formed its own guerrilla organization, the **Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia** (FARC), largely to counter the ELN initiative.

Although the ELN began with Cuban material and moral support, in 1968 due to Soviet pressure on Cuba to cease support for Colombian guerrilla groups, the ELN experienced a hiatus in activity and its membership fell to around 80. In 1969 it began to finance itself through a series of **kidnappings** for ransom and by bank robberies. From 1969 until 1973 the ELN was considered the most effective of Colombia's guerrilla groups until military anti-insurgency efforts destroyed its support network in the cities. After 1975 the ELN re-emerged and by the late 1980s numbered around 500 to 1,000 combatants. From 1988 to 1995 it became the most active terrorist group in Colombia, until FARC resumed its **insurgency**. The ELN's main area of activity has been in the eastern plains of Colombia.

Some of the ELN's more noteworthy actions include the following: On 6 October 1975 the ELN killed the inspector general of the army, Ramón Arturo Rincón Quiñones. On 21 January 1976 it bombed the Spanish embassy in Bogotá. During July 1983 the ELN conducted a bombing campaign called Operation Free Central America in which the Salvadoran consulate in Medellín and police stations in Aranjuez were struck. On 23 November 1983 the ELN kidnapped Dr. Jaime Betancur Cuartes, the brother of the Colombian president. This action, as well as ELN reluctance to undertake peace talks with the government, drew forth a rebuke from Fidel Castro, who persuaded the ELN to release Dr. Cuartes three weeks after his capture.

Although the ELN gained publicity from having recruited the Catholic priest Fr. Camilo Torres Restrepo, a member of a prominent Colombian family who was killed in guerrilla warfare in 1966, and although another priest, Fr. Manuel Pérez Martínez, became an ELN leader, there is no evidence that the group's secular **ideology** owes any of its inspiration to **liberation theology**, whose emergence it antedates by several years. Actually, the ELN has been active in **targeting** religious groups or figures of whatever denomination they view as being politically conservative or aligned with U.S. "imperialism." In October 1987, in addition to bombing a naval facility in Barrancabermeja, the ELN bombed three Mormon churches in Boyaca, and in October 1989 the ELN killed the Catholic bishop of Aracua.

The ELN has tried to destroy systematically the economic infrastructure of Colombia. In December 1986 it attacked U.S.-associated

oil production facilities, destroying machinery and stealing explosives. During January to August 1987 the ELN bombed petroleum pipelines and attacked oil exploration and drilling camps, as well as other U.S.-Colombian targets. These attacks served the twofold purpose of protesting the foreign presence in the Colombian economy and of depriving the government of economic viability. Attacks on the petroleum-producing facilities cost the Colombian government \$400 million in 1988 alone. In June 1989 an ELN bombing of the pipeline terminal in Coveñas, Sucre Department, temporarily halted oil exports from that port.

Although the ELN remained one of the most active Colombian guerrilla groups in the late 1980s, its relative prominence was due mainly to the reduced activity of the other major leftist groups, which took advantage of the truce of May 1984 to participate in the open political arena until 1995, when FARC withdrew from the political arena and resumed its operations. Currently the ELN with 5,000 fighters is in second place only to FARC, which now has approximately 12,000 fighters active.

The ELN apparently ran afoul of the president of Venezuela, Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías, elected on 6 December 1998. Since Chávez was the former leader of the far-left Bolivarian Revolutionary Movement, both FARC and the ELN expected him to support their insurgency. Although Chávez allowed the ELN's second-in-command, Antonio Garcia, a safe haven in Maracaibo, just across the border from Colombia, in March 1999 the ELN erred tactically in persuading a criminal gang to hand over a Caracas businessman whom the gang had kidnapped. When the ELN ransomed him back to his family for several million dollars, this scandalized Venezuelan public opinion and disillusioned Chávez, who threatened to use the Venezuelan military against ELN forces operating from within Venezuelan territory.

2. The Bolivian National Liberation Army was an umbrella group embracing the **Nestor Paz Zamora Commission** and other minor Bolivian leftist groups. The original Bolivian ELN was the group founded and led by **Ernesto "Che" Guevara** in Bolivia from November 1966 to October 1967, which was routed and destroyed by Bolivian troops trained by U.S. counterinsurgency advisers. Little is known of the current ELN apart from the activities of the Nestor Paz Zamora Commission. The tactics and rhetoric of the group suggest that, like the original ELN, the current one may be a foreign-directed

group imported into Bolivia rather than a true domestic phenomenon. In this case, the **Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement** appears to be the primary sponsor of the ELN. On 10 October 1990, the 23rd anniversary of the announcement of Che Guevara's death, the Nestor Paz Zamora group bombed the U.S. embassy Marine Guard residence in La Paz. Numerous threats were made against the U.S. embassy through 1991 in the name of the ELN, while a fake bomb was found in an elevator in the U.S. embassy in April 1991. Since 1993 this group has remained inactive.

NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF ALGERIA (FLN). The Front de Libération Nationale is an Algerian nationalist party that engaged in guerrilla warfare and terrorist attacks on the French colonial government to obtain independence for Algerian Arabs. Founded on 1 November 1954, the FLN fought an urban guerrilla terrorist campaign in Algiers and also dominated large areas outside the cities. The FLN also conducted **assassinations** of procolonial Algerian Arabs and a **bombing** campaign within France during August–September 1958. Egypt and Syria provided funds and arms, while Tunisia and Morocco provided **sanctuaries** and bases after those states achieved independence in 1956.

France reacted to FLN activities with massive reprisals and systematic torture of Arab suspects, which further **alienated** Algerian Arabs from colonial rule. About 1,200 FLN urban guerrillas contested French control of Algiers in the battle of Algiers for the first eight months of 1957. The French crushed this insurrection ruthlessly, but at the cost of alienating the noncombatant Arab population. By 1958 some 87,000 Algerians, 10,000 of them noncombatants, had been killed as opposed to 8,700 French, of whom 1,500 were civilians. After assuming power, President Charles de Gaulle decided in 1959 to hold negotiations with the FLN to grant Algerian Arabs self-rule and eventual independence. This prompted a strong reaction from the French settlers in Algeria and certain military officers, who formed the **Organisation de l'Armée Secrète** (OAS), or Secret Army Organization, which terrorized both Arab Algerians and the French government with bombings and assassinations in France and Algeria.

France agreed on 5 July 1962 to put Algerian independence to a referendum vote in September 1962, in which 91 percent voted for independence. The FLN became the single official state party. Inter-

nal divisions led to purges within the FLN, which adopted secularist and socialist policies. During the FLN's long domination, Algeria provided sanctuary, facilities, and training bases to various terrorist or insurgent groups, such as the **Basque Fatherland and Liberty** (ETA) group, the Chilean **Movement of the Revolutionary Left** (MIR), the **Quebec Liberation Front** (FLQ), and Polisario, as well as financial and moral support for the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO).

The FLN ceased to be the only legal party with the adoption of a new national constitution on 23 February 1989 allowing a multiparty system. In the first freely contested elections held in Algeria since independence, the FLN was defeated in provincial and municipal elections on 12 June 1990 by the **Islamic Salvation Front** (FIS), an **Islamic fundamentalist** party. In the first round of parliamentary elections on 26 December 1991, the FIS won 188 seats. Remnants of the FLN within the government and armed forces staged an internal coup on 11 January 1992, forcing the resignation of President Chadhli Benjedid, and canceled the runoff parliamentary elections, denying the fundamentalists a national electoral victory. During the period 1990–1996, the FLN was not part of the formal government of Algeria and remained a critic both of the government and of the Islamic fundamentalists fighting the government.

Following the return of electoral democracy in 1995–1996, the FLN resumed participation in Algerian politics. In the parliamentary elections of 2002, it won 34.4 percent of the vote and 199 of the 380 seats of the People's National Assembly. In the 2007 elections the FLN won 137 seats and remained the largest party in the Algerian parliament. Together with the National Rally for Democracy and the Movement of Society for Peace, the FLN forms part of the governing parliamentary coalition, while the leader of the FLN, Abdelaziz Belkhadem, became prime minister in 24 May 2006 under President Abdelaziz Bouteflika and was reappointed to that position on 4 June 2007 following the May 2007 parliamentary elections. It should be noted that Algeria has a semipresidential system, similar to that of the French Fifth Republic, in which executive powers are divided between the president as head of state and the prime minister as head of the government,

NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT (NSF). The NSF was a coalition of Palestinian groups opposed to the 11 February 1985 Amman

accords with Jordan agreed to by **Yasir Arafat** and much of the Palestine National Council. These accords would have allowed some political solution to the Palestinian problem with less than full sovereignty or total territorial integrity of pre-1948 Palestine. The Front was formed on 25 March 1985 in Damascus with the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine** (PFLP), the National Alliance, and the Palestine Liberation Front, and several other groups opposed to Arafat. Syria and Libya, supporters of the rejectionist elements within the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO), gave their support to the NSF as an organization that could challenge Arafat's leadership and legitimacy within the Palestinian community.

From the viewpoint of Syria's president, Hafez Al Asad, the presence of Syrian-sponsored groups within the NSF, such as **al Sa'iqa** and the Fatah-Provisional Command, made the NSF appear to be a potential vehicle for Syrian policy. Also the NSF served to divide and weaken the PLO, allowing Syria to dominate Lebanon more easily. These calculations went awry with the outbreak of the "war of the camps" on 19 May 1985, when members of **Amal**, a Syrian-sponsored Shi'ite militia, clashed with Palestinian militia members guarding the PLO refugee camps. In the on-again, off-again fighting that lasted until 7 April 1987, more than 2,500 people were killed.

The upshot of the war of the camps was that the NSF chose to side with **al Fatah** in defending the Palestinian camps while Amal itself was weakened. Rather than becoming a vassal of Syria, the NSF was largely dominated by the PFLP, while the groups beholden to Syria within the NSF played only a marginal role.

NATIONAL SOCIALIST LIBERATION FRONT (NSLF). The NSLF was the most violent of the U.S. **neo-Nazi** groups advocating terrorism and armed **revolution** to overthrow the U.S. government. After the 25 August 1967 **assassination** of George Lincoln Rockwell, founder and leader of the American Nazi Party, Rockwell's successor, Matthias Koehl, changed the party's name to the National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP) and undertook other changes that angered Rockwell loyalists. Joe Tomassi, Karl Hand Jr., and other neo-Nazis who did not accept Koehl as Rockwell's successor broke away from the NSWPP in 1969 to form their own American Nazi party, the NSLF. The NSLF made the older American Nazi party organization the first object of its attacks but later, in the 1970s,

turned its energies to attacking leftist organizations, such as the now-defunct Socialist Workers' Party. The NSLF is believed responsible for a number of **bombing** attacks against leftist organizations in southern California conducted in the 1970s, including the 4 February 1975 fragmentation bomb attack on the Los Angeles headquarters of the Socialist Workers' Party, causing severe injuries to all present. Joe Tomassi, the leader of the NSLF, was shot to death on the front steps of the NSWPP headquarters in Los Angeles on 15 August 1975 while he and fellow NSLF members were demonstrating against the NSWPP. Following this event, the group relocated to Metairie, Louisiana, and recruited heavily from the state and federal prisons, pressure cookers that promote the sort of racial hatreds and tensions that provide both the fertile ground for neo-Nazi **ideology** and the recruits having the skills needed for an organization dedicated to the use of violence and terrorism to achieve its **white supremacist** goals. Karl Hand Jr. assumed leadership in 1981 and ran the organization until 1986, when he was convicted and sent to prison for attempted murder. Since then the organization has been defunct.

NAXALITES. Also known as the People's War Group, the People's Guerrilla Army, the Communist Party of India-Marxist Leninist, and the Communist Party of India-Maoist, the Naxalites were mainly Indian university students of middle-class origin who rejected parliamentary democracy and sought to create a Chinese-style Communist **revolution** in India beginning with guerrilla warfare and a peasant **insurgency**. The name Naxalite, which actually has been applied to several Maoist groups active in northern India and West Bengal in the 1960s and 1970s, is derived from the West Bengal village of Naxalbara, where these leftists incited a short-lived peasant revolt in 1967. Beginning in 1969 they promoted an "annihilation campaign" directed at landlords, moneylenders, and local policemen against whom the rural peasantry had substantial grievances. When the Naxalite "Red Terror" campaign was carried into Calcutta in 1970, the Indian government responded with its own wave of repression in the period 1970–1972. Thousands more were arrested during the state of emergency declared in 1975; many of these were shortly released under an amnesty declared by the Janata government in 1977, which had succeeded Indira Gandhi's government. Naxalite violence resumed briefly with two **bombings** of the Soviet Trade Mission in

Calcutta in April 1978; it then diminished during the 1980s, being restricted mainly to West Bengal and other rural regions of India, until a revival in the late 1990s.

The People's War Group, which grew out of the Communist Party of India-Marxist Leninist, was established in Andhra Pradesh on 22 April 1980 by Kondapally Sitaramah and sought to create a "liberated zone" within Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, and Bihar states. On 31 January 1997 the Home Minister for Andhra Pradesh state, Madhava Reddy, set forth a seven-point peace proposal for the Naxalites to disarm, allowing them to continue as a political party. Following an attempted shooting of a Naxalite leader in April 1997, the Naxalites rallied themselves and vowed to continue their armed struggle. During July 1997 the Naxalites began a campaign of threats against local elected officials in Karimnagar and neighboring districts, calling on them to resign from their offices. On 9 October 1998 land mines planted by the Naxalites killed 16 policemen and injured another 15 in the Bastar region of Madhya Pradesh.

After a clash with Indian police on 2 December 1999 that led to the deaths of three members of the People's War Group, the central political organization of the Naxalites created the People's Guerrilla Army, which sought to coordinate the various Naxalite factions and cells. On 21 September 2004 the People's War Group merged with the Maoist Communist Center to form the Communist Party of India-Maoist (CPI-Maoist) with a combined strength of 6,500 to 7,000 cadres spread throughout Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, Jharkand, Chattisgarh, and West Bengal. While the Indian government initiated peace talks with the CPI-Maoist group, it refused any territorial concessions. In June 2005 the CPI-Maoists conducted a joint operation with **Nepalese Maoists** in Bihar state, killing 21 people. Altogether the various Naxalite groups have been responsible for 221 incidents costing more than 1,100 lives in the period 1968–2007. The current CPI-Maoist group remains the most dangerous left-wing extremist group in India.

While the Naxalite movement has often been compared with **anarchistic leftist terrorist** groups that appeared in the same period, such as the **Red Army Faction** or **Direct Action**, unlike those groups, the Naxalites did succeed in mobilizing a class-based constituency of oppressed rural peasants and in instigating an insurgency that went beyond the actions of a mere vanguardist group. In this respect,

the Naxalites were more comparable to the **Sendero Luminoso** of Peru, which has similarly mobilized Peruvian Indian communities, although the Naxalites apparently lacked the cohesive leadership and disciplined following that Sendero achieved.

NBC WEAPONS. Acronym for “nuclear, biological, or chemical” weapons. *See* WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

NECHAYEV, SERGEY G. (1847–1882). Russian revolutionary and author of the *Catechism of the Revolutionist*, coauthored with anarchist theorist Mikhail Bakunin in 1869, which provided the portrait of the ideal terrorist willing to sacrifice everything in devotion to the cause of **revolution**. In the *Catechism*, Nechayev advocated the **assassination** of moderate political leaders so that the remaining hard-liners would resort to severe repression that would in turn either **alienate** the public or move them to join the revolutionaries, a line of thought echoed in the writings of **Carlos Marighella** and several other revolutionary terrorists. Nechayev caused a comrade to be killed as part of an internal purge in his own circle of revolutionaries, an action that discredited him in the eyes of other revolutionaries. Nechayev was convicted for the murder and sent to prison, where he died of tuberculosis.

NEO-NAZIS. Neo-Nazism is the attempt to revive, rehabilitate, or romanticize the political movement or **ideology** of the Third Reich. Neo-Nazi groups usually advocate overthrowing a constitutional democratic order in favor of a racist, totalitarian state and rationalize the use of political violence and terrorism to achieve this goal. Two essential Nazi doctrines are, first, the belief in the superiority of an imagined Indo-European, or *Aryan*, racial stock that alone is believed to have advanced human civilization, and second, the belief in the absolute evil and malice of the Jews, viewed as the corrupters of European civilization and enemies of the Aryan race. Neo-Nazis **target** not only Jews and members of nonwhite minority groups but also members of left-wing political parties, feminists, homosexuals, pacifists, and others whom they believe to be in league with the Jewish “racial enemy.” Neo-Nazis have displayed ambivalent attitudes toward Arabs and Muslims, on the one hand often despising them as nonwhite minorities but occasionally aligning themselves with them opportunistically as tactical allies against Jewish or Israeli targets.

A number of groups have appeared, both within Germany and in other countries, that idolize the memory of Adolf Hitler and seek to revive his racist and ultranationalistic movement in some form. Germany's post-World War II Constitution, in Article 21, Section (b), outlaws such groups as being antidemocratic while Article 139 upholds the denazification laws of the postwar provisional government under Allied occupation banning the display of Nazi memorials, symbols, slogans, songs, hand salutes, and the commemoration of Hitler's birthday. The German Federal Office for the Defense of the Constitution (*Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz*) is charged with investigating and banning groups that seek to revive Nazism. Accordingly, many neo-Nazi groups assume the guise of student clubs or sporting clubs and usually do not openly display swastikas or pictures of Adolf Hitler. In Germany such groups have included the **Action-Front of National Socialists**, the National Democratic Party, and the **Hoffmann Military Sports Group**, most of which are now banned or defunct, although such groups tend to reappear under different names and guises. By 1983 there were an estimated 1,400 known neo-Nazis in West Germany, of whom 850 were organized into groups. Following the reunification of Germany in 1990, the visibility of neo-Nazism in Germany increased dramatically with a marked increase in attacks upon Eastern European immigrants and Romanian Gypsies. During August 1992 more than 800 neo-Nazis converged on the Baltic port of Rostock and attacked foreign refugees with firebombs, gunfire, and clubs. Whereas in 1991 there were only 849 **hate crimes** associated with German neo-Nazis, during 1992 this figure rose to 1,485 such attacks on foreigners, causing 17 deaths and injuring more than 100 victims. In 2005 some 15,900 hate crimes by neo-Nazis were registered in Germany, and this figure had risen to 18,142 by 2007. The numbers of neo-Nazis in Germany are believed to have risen from around 3,000 in 2003 to more than 4,100 in 2005. On average, about 17 people have been killed each year since 1992 due to neo-Nazi attacks, with most instances occurring in the states of the former East Germany.

Gary Lauck, a Lincoln, Nebraska, purveyor of Nazi literature and regalia banned in Germany, was arrested when he appeared in Denmark in March 1995 on a German warrant for anticonstitutional activities, and was **extradited** in September 1995 to Germany, where he was tried and convicted in May 1996 and sentenced to four years'

imprisonment although he was released in 1999. In the course of his trial it was revealed that Lauck had spoken in engagements before junior officers in the German army on a number of occasions. In December 1997 the German defense minister, Volker R uhe, revealed that Manfred Roeder, the convicted neo-Nazi terrorist of the *Deutsche Aktionsgruppen*, or **Action-Front of National Socialists**, had given lectures to soldiers and others at an officers' academy in Hamburg in 1995 during the course of which soldiers had been videotaped making the Hitler salute and denigrating Jews. Roeder had been convicted in 1982 as an accomplice in a **bomb** attack that killed two Vietnamese refugees and had been imprisoned until 1990.

According to former neo-Nazi Ingo Hasselbach, young neo-Nazis were undergoing military training in deserted former East German army training grounds in forests outside Berlin and on the island of R ugen where they learned how to use grenade launchers and automatic weapons. In February 1998 German police discovered a bomb-making factory in Jena, in the eastern German state of Thuringia, which Helmut Roewer, head of the Office for the Defense of the Constitution, said denoted a qualitative leap in the level of violence being pursued by neo-Nazi groups in the former East Germany. Accessibility to e-mail and devotion to racist rock bands that play on a concert circuit known as "Blood and Honor" have helped to consolidate feelings of group solidarity among the **skinhead** component of the neo-Nazi underground in Germany. Several neo-Nazis have grown long hair and infiltrated leftist organizations on the orders of their leaders to gather intelligence. Neo-Nazis also compiled hit lists of 280 German leftists and liberals to be "punished." On 19 December 1998, neo-Nazis bombed the headstone of the grave of Heinz Galinsky, the Jewish leader who had survived Auschwitz, who was buried in Charlottenburg cemetery in Berlin. On the weekend of 2–3 October 1999, neo-Nazis vandalized or overturned more than 100 headstones and memorials at the Weissensee Jewish cemetery in Berlin.

In other countries neo-Fascist organizations have developed that may not openly identify with Nazism but that have a similar ideology and political program and whose membership contains many neo-Nazis. In Great Britain the now-defunct **National Front** was an example, while in France the **European Nationalist Fascists** (FNE) is another, whose members have included former functionaries of the Vichy regime of Nazi-occupied France.

In Italy the Alleanza Nazionale (AN), or National Alliance, replaced the neo-Fascist Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI), or Italian Social Movement, in 1994 and was led by Gianfranco Fini. In the national elections of 27–28 March 1994, the AN won 12 percent of the popular vote and 17 of the seats in the lower house of parliament and became part of the right-wing coalition led by the Forza Italia party of Silvio Berlusconi. Among those AN candidates who won seats was Alessandra Mussolini, granddaughter of the Fascist dictator of Italy, representing a district in Naples. Fini and his supporters celebrated their victory in the Pazzo del Popolo of Rome, with hundreds of young people shouting “*Duce! Duce!*” and making the Fascist arm salute. While Fascism is still revered among the estimated 40,000 skinheads of Italy, the AN has tried to portray itself as a moderate political party opposed to the racism of the Fascist era. In 2008 the AN merged into the new Il Popolo della Libertà (PdL), or People of Freedom Party, formed by Berlusconi out of the coalition partners of his previous governments.

In Austria the Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ), or Freedom Party of Austria, led by the populist Jörg Haider from 1986 to 2000, was often accused of having neo-Nazi leanings due to its strident anti-immigration, nationalist, and anti-European Union policies. In Belgium the Vlaams Blok (VB), or Flemish Bloc, is a Flemish ethnonationalist party that has been accused of violating the 1981 law against racism and xenophobia due to its role in inciting demonstrations and riots directed particularly against Muslim immigrants. Its share of electoral votes has increased steadily since it was founded in 1978, from one seat in the 150-seat chamber of representatives to 18 seats in the 2003 election, and from one seat in the 71-seat senate in the 1987 election to five seats in the 2003 election. On 9 November 2004, when the Belgian Supreme Court upheld the dissolution of the party under the 1981 law, the group merely dissolved and reconstituted itself under the new name of the Vlaams Belang, or Flemish Interest.

In the United States, the American Nazi party of George Lincoln Rockwell was the most prominent and earliest neo-Nazi group. Its name was changed to the National Socialist White People’s Party after Rockwell’s **assassination** and later to the New Order. The **National Socialist Liberation Front** was a more militant group that broke away from the National Socialist White People’s Party. The National Alliance of William Pierce, a Rockwell disciple, is another neo-Nazi group. Currently the National Socialist Movement

(NSM88), founded by American Nazi Party veterans Robert Brannen and Cliff Herrington in 1974, is the largest active neo-Nazi organization in the United States. After Brannen suffered a stroke in 1983, leadership of the NSM88 passed to Herrington, and then in 1994 Herrington appointed Jeff Schoep, a much younger man, to be the “Commander” of the youth, apparently a move to attract younger men into the group.

The Order, also called the *Bruder Schweigen*, was a neo-Nazi group that grew out of the **Aryan Nations** movement. On 27 February 1996, a North Carolina jury convicted James N. Burmeister, a former private and paratrooper in the U.S. Army’s elite 82nd Airborne Division, for the murders of a black couple in December 1995. The trial revealed that Burmeister and other enlisted men were members of neo-Nazi and skinhead groups even while serving in the armed forces. An army investigation of racism in the ranks completed in March 1995 revealed that out of 7,600 soldiers interviewed, fewer than 100 belonged to **white supremacist** organizations; these soldiers were then discharged from the armed services.

Those groups that adhere to the **Identity Christianity** or **White Supremacy** doctrines often share beliefs and attitudes virtually identical to those of the neo-Nazis. Such groups have included the Aryan Nations, the **Christian-Patriots Defense League**, **The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord** (CSA), and the **White Patriot Army**, all of which are now defunct, as well as the various splinter groups of the **Ku Klux Klan** (KKK). Very often members of these organizations either have been members of neo-Nazi groups, continue to hold membership in such groups, or will join a neo-Nazi group in preference to, or in addition to, membership in these other organizations.

Neo-Nazi groups have tried to coordinate their moves with similar groups both within the United States and elsewhere. The Order donated many of the proceeds of its armored truck robberies to a number of neo-Nazi groups and leaders in the United States. German neo-Nazi groups used to receive financial support and printed materials from American neo-Nazis, such as Gary Lauck. Neo-Nazis have also sought sponsorship from states and groups known to be hostile to Israel. Manfred Roeder, formerly a leader of the neo-Nazi *Deutsche Aktionsgruppen*, met once with **Yasir Arafat**’s deputy, Khalil al Wazir, and even tried to solicit aid from Iran, but without

success. The Hoffman Military Sports Group established a cooperative arrangement with **al Fatah**, sending Sports Group members to train in **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) camps.

Another phenomenon closely tied to neo-Nazism has been the skinhead movement. Just as the original Nazis recruited many of their original storm troopers from the hoodlums and youth gangs of Berlin and other German cities, so too neo-Nazi groups in the United States, such as the White Aryan Resistance, have been targeting skinheads as potential recruits. Similar phenomena have been witnessed in Great Britain, where soccer club hooligans as well as skinheads would spontaneously join in **National Front** demonstrations or assaults on Asian or African immigrants, as well as in Germany where soccer club hooligans also will join with neo-Nazis in assaulting minority members, feminists, or homosexuals. Although the mainstream of liberal democratic societies may regard Nazism, and Fascism in general, as discredited and anachronistic movements, the existence and apparent vitality of so many neo-Nazi groups throughout the Western world indicates the continuing appeal of this ideology.

Neo-Nazi activities, including violence, have continued in recent years. In February 1995 several pipe-bomb attacks against displaced Gypsies occurred in Oberwart, Austria. Anti-Gypsy attacks and murders also began occurring in Serbia beginning in late 1997. Neo-Nazi underground cells in Austria have joined forces with German neo-Nazis through computer links and continue to be active even though their leader, Gottfried Küssel, was jailed in 1992 under Austrian anti-Nazi statutes. Ingo Hasselbach, the organizer of the first neo-Nazi party in the former East Germany in 1987–1991, has testified that the various neo-Nazi groups in Europe are reinforced through networks with each other and with American neo-Nazis, who provide much of their printed materials, which are legally produced in the United States although forbidden in Germany, Austria, and other nations.

On 18 January 1997 Danish police foiled a conspiracy by seven neo-Nazis to conduct a **letter-bomb** campaign against British leftists and sports personalities married to blacks. The arrested leader of the group, Thomas Derry Nakaba, was known to be a member of the British Combat 18 neo-Nazi group, which had carried out bombings of gay bars in London. Denmark's liberal freedom of expression laws have made it a center for German neo-Nazis, who send banned Nazi materials to Germany from there.

The fortunes of some neo-Nazi groups and leaders have suffered declines in recent years. In the United States in May 1996, a federal jury forced William L. Pierce, leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance in Hillsboro, West Virginia, and author of the *Turner Diaries*, to surrender \$85,000 to the family of Harold Mansfield, an African American Gulf War veteran who had been murdered in 1991 by George D. Loeb, a member of the white supremacist Church of the Creator, which had ceded title of some of its properties to Pierce to avoid paying civil damages to the Mansfield family. On 17 June 1997 Eugene Terre-Blanche, the leader of South Africa's neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB), was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for beating one of his black workers in 1996. On 2 April 1998 a French court in Versailles convicted Jean-Marie Le Pen, the leader of the French National Front Party, for having assaulted a French Socialist politician in 1997, for which he was stripped of his civil rights for two years, making him ineligible to run for the European parliament in 1999. For making remarks denigrating the Holocaust, Le Pen was eventually prosecuted under the Gayssot Act of 1990, which outlaws apologetics on behalf of **war crimes**, and was convicted on 11 July 2006 and forced to pay €183,200. In Belgium on 12 September 2006, police arrested 17 members of the neo-Nazi Blood and Honor group, of whom 11 were soldiers, on charges of plotting terrorist attacks to destabilize the nation.

Despite these reverses, there have also been some gains in the fortunes of neo-Nazis: the German Office for the Defense of the Constitution failed to ban the National Democratic Party (NDP) as a covert neo-Nazi group in a trial before the Federal Constitutional Court of Germany due to the justices' doubts about the motives and truthfulness of the informants who testified against the NDP. Assuming the NDP is perceived to be a surrogate for neo-Nazi sympathies, it is revealing that in 2004 the NDP won 9.1 percent of the parliamentary votes in Saxony, while in the 2006 state parliamentary elections for Meckleburg-Western Pomerania, the NPD won 7.3 percent of the vote and received six seats in the state parliament. The impressive electoral performance of France's National Front presidential candidate Jean-Marie Le Pen winning 16.9 percent of the vote in the first round of the election, giving him second place, might have been viewed as a fluke, due to the left wing having undermined the Socialist Party candidate by dividing its votes among so many splinter par-

ties, but his winning an even larger 17.8 percent in the second round of elections, in which voter participation had increased 11 percent over the first round, seems to indicate apparent growing support for Le Pen's agenda among a portion of the French electorate. In Italy's recent 2006 elections, the AN won 12.3 percent of the popular vote while the new PdL party into which it merged won 37.4 percent of the popular vote, giving it 276 deputies in the 630-seat chamber of deputies and 146 senators in the 315 elective seats of the senate. In South Africa, after Eugene Terre-Blanche was released from prison in June 2004, he had renounced his racist views and the AWB seemed moribund. On March 2008, however, the AWB reasserted itself and rallied some 5,000 supporters to the cause of creating an all-white *Volkstaat* either within the federal system of South Africa or as an independent secessionist state.

The most curious instance of neo-Nazi activity was the discovery in August 2007 of the existence of a neo-Nazi group of eight Israeli citizens from the former Soviet Union, aged 16–21, who had been attacking foreigners, homosexuals, and religious Jews, including vandalizing a synagogue in Petah Tikva. Although considered Jewish under the Law of Return, these individuals identified strongly with Nazism, and searches of their homes revealed Nazi memorabilia, pictures of Adolf Hitler, guns, and explosives. This incident has led several Israelis to call for a revision of the Law of Return in order to revoke Israeli citizenship from neo-Nazis and to deport them.

NEPALESE MAOISTS. The Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) is the largest of the four **insurgent** groups in Nepal seeking to overthrow the monarchy in favor of a Marxist-Leninist state. Its military wing is called the People's Liberation Army and its political infrastructure is called the United People's Front. The CPN-M is believed to have around 5,500 combatants, several of them former Gurkha soldiers of the British and Indian armies, and around 4,500 cadres. The CPN-M enjoys a hard-core following of more than 30,000 followers and a much broader base of sympathizers who agree with the group's goal of overthrowing the monarchy in favor of a republic even if they do not accept all of the Communist ideals and goals of the group. In fact, on 28 May 2008, the transitional government of Nepal announced that the monarchy had been abolished in favor of a federal republic following the CPN-M electoral victory on

10 April 2008 in which it became the largest political party within the Nepalese parliament, winning 220 of its 575 seats.

The CPN-M became active on 13 February 1996 with the declaration of a “People’s War” and is believed to be responsible for at least 403 attacks causing some 174 deaths and injuring at least 381 people, accounting for about 88 percent of violent incidents since the outbreak of the insurgency against the Nepalese government in the late 1990s. While about half of the attacks have been upon civilian government and educational **targets**, the CPN-M has also attacked native and foreign nationals and has been targeting foreign-owned businesses in particular for extortion and **kidnapping** for ransom. Although the CPN-M claimed responsibility in March 2002 for killing two Nepalese guards of the U.S. embassy, the U.S. State Department has only classified the group as a Specially Designated Nationals listing and not as a Foreign Terrorist Organization. The group considers itself to be part of the “Revolutionary Internationalist Movement” embracing similar Maoist groups, such as **Sendero Luminoso** of Peru, the **Kurdistan Workers’ Party** of Turkey, and the **Naxalite People’s War Group** in India, with which it has sought to coordinate some of its campaigns. Its commandos operated in 68 of the 75 districts of Nepal, mainly in the western regions and also in the environs of the nation’s capital, Kathmandu, altogether roughly 70 percent of the countryside.

After being banned from electoral participation in 1994, the CPN-M began its People’s War campaign along the classical Maoist strategy of taking the countryside and encircling the cities. Although in February 2006 King Gyanendra suspended the Nepalese parliament, instituted a national state of emergency, and dispatched the Nepalese army to crush the rebels, he nonetheless failed to put down the insurgency. Facing increased popular resentment over the suspension of ordinary civil liberties and political rights, the king acceded to reinstating the parliament in April 2006. In June 2006 the CPN-M and seven democratic political parties committed to creating a new constituent assembly in November 2007 and agreed to a cease-fire and to peaceful cooperation for political reform. On 14 January 2007 the new parliament was inaugurated, with CPN-M members holding 83 of the 330 seats, forming the second-largest group in the legislature. Although the new cabinet formed on 1 April 2007 included five CPN-M members as ministers, and one as a deputy minister, later on 18 September 2007 the CPN-M resigned from the government when its demands for the replacement

of the monarchy by a republic were rejected. Although the CPN-M was responsible for at least four terrorist attacks following its own unilateral cease-fire declared in April 2006, since winning its demand for abolition of the monarchy and receiving a share of power through electoral politics, the violence of the CPN-M appears to have abated.

NESTOR PAZ ZAMORA COMMISSION (CNPZ). The Comisión de Néstor Paz Zamora described itself as a unit of a **National Liberation Army (ELN)**, named after the group of the same name founded and led by **Ernesto “Che” Guevara** in the 1960s. The CNPZ sought to overthrow the democratic Bolivian government in favor of a Cuban-style **revolutionary** Marxist state. The **tactics** of the group strongly suggest external aid from the **Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement** of Peru, itself a beneficiary of Cuban **state sponsorship**.

The CNPZ undertook its first action on 11 June 1990 with the **kidnapping** of Jorge Lonsdale, the president of the Bolivian subsidiary of Coca-Cola, who was held for \$500,000 ransom. Lonsdale was killed on 5 December 1990 when the police attempted to free him. On 10 October 1990 the CNPZ bombed the U.S. embassy Marine Guard residence in La Paz, severely damaging the building. This **bombing** was accompanied by a machine-gun attack that killed one Bolivian guard and wounded another. The last known CNPZ attack was a machine-gun attack upon the U.S. consulate in La Paz on 8 April 1991 without harm to life or limb.

The CNPZ was named after a former Roman Catholic seminary student who became a leftist guerrilla after the capture and execution of Che Guevara in 1967. Nestor Paz Zamora and his comrades perished in 1970, reportedly of starvation and exposure, while trying to fight the Bolivian army. Ironically, Nestor Paz Zamora’s brother, Jaime Paz Zamora, who also had been a Roman Catholic seminary student and leftist opponent of the Bolivian government, was elected president of Bolivia in 1989.

While the CNPZ was supposedly only one group within the umbrella organization of the National Liberation Army, there is little information available about other members of that umbrella group. The CNPZ was thought to have about 100 members and probably constituted the bulk of the ELN. After the murder of Jorge Lonsdale, it was learned that his killer was actually an Italian, Michael (Miguel) Northfuster, while another of the guerrillas slain in the rescue attempt

turned out to be a Peruvian. The Túpac Amaru group is believed to have extended its operations into Bolivia primarily to expand its fund-raising extortionary activities there and possibly to sponsor and control the CNPZ group. Since 1993 there have been few reports of activity by the CNPZ group.

NETWAR. The concept of netwar was developed by RAND Corporation researchers John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt in 2001 to identify and analyze an emerging form of **low-intensity conflict**, involving actions falling short of conventional warfare and often involving nonviolent as well as violent confrontation in which like-minded protagonists, consisting of small groups joined together in a network organization, use related doctrines, strategies, and information-age technologies to communicate, coordinate, and campaign in an internetted manner without one central command. The contrast is between netwar-oriented groups such as **Hamas**, Mexico's **Zapatistas**, and U.S. "patriot" or **militia movement** groups, which consist of meshes of like-minded but independent groups, and their more traditional counterparts such as the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**, Castroite groups, and the **Ku Klux Klan (KKK)**. Another aspect of netwar is the use of sympathetic groups in civil society to mount "swarming" campaigns of e-mail messages, faxes, and other communications in support of affiliated groups involved in more violent activities. As an example, in a netwar campaign some animal rights activists could be involved in actual attacks on research labs or mink farms, while others would be involved in nonviolent protests in front of fur shops or butcher shops, while others would be bombarding the offices of members of Congress with letters and e-mail messages denouncing the fur industry or research involving animal subjects, while yet others could be involved in trying to incapacitate the website of a fur industry group by bombarding it with thousands of e-mails.

Arquilla and Ronfeldt identified three basic netwar structures: a chain-network illustrated by smuggling rings; a hub, or "star," network with one central node connecting all members of the network, and an all-channel network in which all nodes can communicate directly with each other. The shift of terrorists to the use of decentralized networks may be in part an adaptation to the possibilities of communication and coordination provided by **Internet** technology and also an adaptation to the declining role of **state sponsors of terrorism**.

Analysts distinguish between social netwar, which involves interest group activities in civil society, and criminal netwar and terrorist netwar, which represent new challenges to law enforcement and national security. *See also* INFORMATION WARFARE; INTELLIGENCE; ORGANIZATION OF TERRORIST GROUPS.

NETWORKS. *See* ORGANIZATION OF TERRORIST GROUPS.

NEW AFRIKAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS (NAFF). The NAFF was a leftist black American group that aimed to undertake armed revolution to create an independent black homeland within the United States. This group was an offshoot of the Republic of New Afrika, a black nationalist political group that advocated that black Americans establish their own independent black homeland in the southeastern United States.

On 18 October 1984, nine NAFF members were arrested in New York City for conspiracy to rob an armored car and to assist in the prison escape of Kuwasi Balagoon (born Donald Weems), who was convicted for his participation in the 20 October 1981 Brinks armored car attack by the **Revolutionary Armed Task Force (RATF)**, and also Sekou Odinga, who had been convicted for his role in assisting the robbers. The U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) revealed that these NAFF members had stockpiled weapons and explosives to be used in the breakout attempt. Evidence emerged that the NAFF had broken itself up into independent cells to carry out robberies and terrorist actions while connecting itself to front organizations for support. All eight defendants were acquitted on charges of grand larceny and conspiracy to mount the prison breakout. Six of the defendants, Coltrane Chimurenga, Roger Wareham, Robert Taylor, Yvette Kelley, Ruth Carter, and Clay Omowale, were convicted for possessing illegal weapons; Viola Plummer was convicted for providing false identification to the police; and Jose Rios was acquitted of all charges.

The NAFF activists were based in New York City and differed from the Republic of New Afrika activists in their commitment to aid in the creation of a socialist republic in what is now South Africa. The Republic of New Afrika sought, in addition to creating an independent black homeland in North America, reparations from the U.S. government of \$10,000 for each black American for past injustices. Another subgroup of the Republic of New Afrika was the New Afrikan People's Organization, which sought to create a socialist republic in the future independent homeland but which believed armed struggle was

necessary to achieve this goal. Since the end of the apartheid regime and the election of Nelson Mandela as president of South Africa on 10 May 1994, the membership of this group has declined.

NEW ARMENIAN RESISTANCE. *See* ARMENIAN SECRET ARMY FOR THE LIBERATION OF ARMENIA; JUSTICE COMMANDOS OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE.

NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY (NPA). The Communist Party of the Philippines, Marxist-Leninist (CPP-ML) founded the NPA on 29 March 1969 as its armed wing to carry out protracted armed struggle to overthrow the current constitutional government in favor of a "people's democratic state." The roots of the NPA reach back to the **Huks**, or Hukbalahap, a group of Communist anti-Japanese resistance fighters during World War II. Chinese **state sponsorship** of the NPA began on 26 December 1968 when the CPP broke ranks with the Moscow-aligned Philippines Communist Party but ended in 1976, and following some retrenchment, the group began to grow again by 1982, financing itself through extortion and arming itself by raids on police and army units. While the NPA is the armed wing of the outlawed CPP-ML, it has established its own legal political front, the National Democratic Front, which operates openly in Manila. From a peak membership of up to 25,000 in the early 1980s, the NPA is now estimated to have around 16,000 members with a larger support network.

Since 1987 the head of the CPP-ML, Jose Maria Sison, had been residing in the Netherlands, where he exploited his political refugee status to direct the CCP from Utrecht. Although Sison was active in 2001 in the political campaign to unseat President Joseph Estrada, he was later arrested by the Dutch National Criminal Investigation Department in Utrecht on 28 August 2007 for his suspected role in three political **assassinations** within the Philippines in 2003–2004 and has been facing prosecution for these crimes in the Netherlands since 30 August 2007. While he was released from detention on 13 September 2007, his assets were subject to **freezing/sequestration** by the European Union, and on 5 June 2008 the Netherlands District Court of The Hague ruled that his prosecution could be resumed.

While originally a rural guerrilla insurgency following Maoist precepts of guerrilla warfare, in recent years the NPA has involved itself increasingly in urban operations and in **entrepreneurial terrorism** in **targeting** foreign investors and contract workers for extortion or

for **kidnapping** to gain ransom. The more purely revolutionary terrorism of the group is seen in the operations of its **death squads**, called Sparrow Squads, who murder Filipino politicians, military figures, police officers, government collaborators, and even members of the news media who dare to criticize the NPA. These actions are meant to drive foreign investment out and to provoke the government to undertake repressive measures that would discredit it with the Filipino population. Prior to the 1992 closing of Clark Air Force Base and the Subic Bay U.S. naval facility, the Sparrows had also targeted U.S. service members. Within those parts of central and northern Luzon Island where the NPA controls rural areas and villages, as well as within the ranks of NPA members and supporters, the organization also practices its own repressive terrorism, having imprisoned, tortured, or executed some 1,000 of its own ranks in recent years.

After 1987 there was a marked upswing in NPA terrorism. The growth and success of the group has been due in part to the neglect of the countryside and corruption experienced during the Ferdinand Marcos regime as well as the difficulties of the Corazón Aquino administration in presiding over the transition to a democratic order. The marked increase in NPA terrorism since 1987 may have been due to the NPA exploiting a unique historic opportunity afforded by the instability accompanying the transition from dictatorship to democracy. Such an explanation may account for increased NPA terrorism directed at others but does not so readily explain the upswing in the NPA's internal purges and disciplining of its own members. This increased internally directed terrorism may be an attempt to quell dissent within the NPA ranks over the proper goals and strategy of the NPA in the post-Marcos era.

From 1974 to 2007, the NPA conducted at least 90 noteworthy actions of which 38 were armed attacks, 20 were assassinations, 20 were **bombings**, seven were **arsons**, and five were kidnappings. Four kidnappings were for ransom, while a kidnapping of a South Korean contractor on 10 November 1987 was undertaken to force the Philippine army to remove units from a certain region. Certain of the bombings and arson attacks against foreign-owned farms and factories also may have been retaliation for refusal to pay extortion money.

Except for the shooting deaths of three servicemen at Subic Bay on 13 April 1974 and a few sniper and mortar attacks on the Voice of America transmitting station in the Tinang area, there had been

virtually no attacks on Americans until 28 October 1987, when two U.S. servicemen, one retired U.S. serviceman, and a Filipino retired from the U.S. Armed Forces were gunned down by Sparrow Squads. On 15 April 1987 the NPA had announced that it would deploy the Sparrow Squads to kill U.S. military personnel or diplomats involved in the Philippines counterinsurgency program, but none of those killed on 28 October fit that description. On 21 April 1989 Sparrows shot dead U.S. Army Colonel James Rowe while he was driving to work in Manila. On 26 September 1989 the NPA murdered two U.S. Defense Department civilian workers outside Clark Air Force Base. On 6 March 1990 an American rancher was murdered for refusing to pay the NPA extortion money. On 13 May 1990 two U.S. Air Force airmen were shot dead by NPA gunmen near Clark Air Force Base.

During 1991, the Philippine government captured more than 80 ranking members of the CPP-ML and the NPA, including Romulo Kintanar, head of the NPA General Command. These arrests and the successful convictions of the murderers of Colonel Rowe set back the terrorist operations of the NPA for most of that year. The killing of Kintanar in 2003 was believed to have been ordered by Sison, who is now facing charges for this and two other murders of NPA members.

Following the withdrawal of U.S. forces from the Philippines in 1991–1992, there was a hiatus in NPA activities and its political arm, the CPP, conducted intermittent peace talks with the government. In 1997 the NPA broke off talks with the government and began several small-scale attacks on police and army troops. In May 1997 NPA guerrillas ambushed a vehicle and killed two Filipino employees of a U.S. firm. Throughout 1998 the NPA conducted a series of attacks on rural police posts across the Philippines. In June 1999 the NPA again broke off recently resumed peace talks with the government in protest against the government concluding a Visiting Forces Agreement with the United States that allowed joint U.S.-Filipino military training exercises. Although the NPA claimed it would attack only American forces, on many occasions it attacked government security forces.

Despite the setbacks of the early 1990s, the NPA has shown itself to be one of the few leftist **insurgencies** that is still active and holding ground, despite the demise of Communism throughout the rest of the world, and through its urban terrorism it continues to pose a significant threat to the stability of the current democratic government in the Philippines. On 17 March 2007 an NPA member elected to the

Philippines House of Representatives, Satur Ocampo, was arrested on charges relating to murders of NPA cadres purged in the 1980s. On 5 September 2007 Philippine President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo issued an amnesty proclamation for members of the NPA and the National Democratic Front, but the amnesty was only applicable for acts of rebellion in the name of political beliefs and not for crimes committed for personal ends or as forms of organized crime, such as kidnapping for ransom or drug trafficking.

NEW WORLD LIBERATION FRONT (NWLF). The NWLF was a nonstate Californian **anarchistic leftist** group active in the 1970s that engaged in **bombings** for the limited purpose of protesting against corporate power. The NWLF declared that it sought relief for poor people and “to demonstrate that, in unity through armed struggle, poor people can and will win.” The Front later also declared its support for Puerto Rican separatists.

The Front was founded in 1973 in the San Francisco Bay Area and began its career on 3 September 1974 by bombing the offices of the International Telephone and Telegraph company to protest that firm’s alleged involvement in the coup toppling the Salvador Allende government in Chile. In its first year the NWLF claimed credit for a total of 23 bombings, with numerous attacks against other public utilities and private firms, including General Motors, Standard Oil, Pacific Gas and Electric Company, and Union Oil Company. By 1979, the NWLF had carried out almost 100 bombings in the San Francisco Bay Area. There was evidence that remnants of the **Symbionese Liberation Army** (SLA) entered the NWLF after the main cell of the SLA had been smashed. At most there were about 25 members in the NWLF, mainly middle-class whites with a few black ex-convicts.

Like many other left-wing groups, such as the United Freedom Front or Armed Resistance Unit, the NWLF tended to pick symbolic **targets** for bombings, to target property rather than human life, and to use the terrorist event as **armed propaganda** for specific issues or causes rather than as direct military **tactics** to achieve **revolution**. Therefore the NWLF used to give frequent press conferences through its front, the People’s Information Relay No. 1 (PIR-1). In September 1979, however, the two core members who founded the group quarreled, leading one to murder the other, for which he was arrested, so ending the NWLF.

NEW WORLD OF ISLAM. This was a black American Muslim group, a splinter group hostile to the Nation of Islam group of Elijah Muhammad, which intended to create a black nationalist separate homeland in the southeastern United States. The group was founded on 26 February 1960 by Muhammad Ali Hassan (aka Albert Dickens) and his followers, who had been members of the Nation of Islam Temple No. 25 on South Orange Avenue in Newark. The group was disowned by the Nation of Islam and shortly thereafter began a round of robberies and murders. The group was credited with six **assassinations**, including that of Minister James (McGregor) Shabazz, head of the Nation of Islam Temple No. 25 that had expelled them earlier. Ali Hassan was captured following a bank robbery in December 1965 but continued to direct his followers from prison. After his release in 1978, members of his group were involved in bank robberies in the northeastern states, 21 occurring in the New York and New Jersey metropolitan area alone. On 6 November 1981, some 17 members of the group were convicted on federal racketeering charges under the **Racketeer Influenced Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO)** of 1970 in relation to their bank robberies. In May 1985, the group issued a threat that its members would “execute” any police officer it encountered; however, the group is not known to have engaged in any activities since that time and is probably defunct.

NOVEMBER 17. The Revolutionary Organization of 17 November (Epanastatiki Organosi 17 Noemvri) was a nonstate Greek **anarchistic leftist** group that engaged in terrorism to force Greece out of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), force the U.S. military presence out of Greece, and oppose imperialism and capitalism. It had no known **state sponsorship** but worked in close concert with the **May 1** and the **Revolutionary Popular Struggle (ELA)** groups, all of which operated within the Athens area. It appears likely that both May 1 and November 17 evolved from the same core membership of the ELA, which originally was formed with the **revolutionary** objective of overthrowing the Greek military junta. In the postjunta period, November 17, and these similar groups, appeared more anarchistic in nature, no longer having one governing objective but attaching themselves to revolutionary *raison d'être* as they happened to appear.

While both the ELA and the May 1 have **bombed U.S. targets**, the November 17 differed from them in having assassinated, or attempted

to assassinate, U.S. diplomats and servicemen in Greece. On 23 December 1975 the November 17 assassinated Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) station chief Richard Welch. On 15 November 1983 it murdered a U.S. military attaché, Captain George Tsantes (U.S. Navy), and his driver. An **assassination** attempt was made against Master Sergeant Robert Judd on 3 April 1984. Judd took evasive action when he spotted two riders on a motorcycle approaching his car and was only slightly wounded. The November 17 assassinated two Greek police officials and two Greek businessmen and injured one other Greek businessman. On 21 January 1988 they botched an assassination attempt against a U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) agent outside his Athens home. An unusual circumstance in all these cases was that the November 17 hit teams all used the same pistol, making verification of all November 17 shootings certain. Since 1987 they also started using makeshift plastic bazookas to fire antitank missiles stolen from a military base. On 18 January 1989 they shot and injured a Greek Supreme Court deputy prosecutor, and on 26 September 1989 they killed a member of the Greek parliament. On 7 October 1991 they shot dead a Turkish embassy press attaché.

On 26 November 1985, a bombing using remotely detonated bombs had been directed at a Greek police van, in which 12 people were injured and one person was killed. Beginning in April 1987 the November 17 twice tried to bomb U.S. military shuttle buses using similar bombs, injuring 18 people on 24 April 1987 and another 10 on 10 August 1987 but causing no deaths. On 5 October 1987 the November 17 and the ELA both claimed credit for bombing four Greek government offices. On 28 June 1988 the November 17 killed the U.S. military attaché with a car bomb and likewise killed a former Greek minister of public order on 4 May 1989. On 10 June 1990, the November 17 claimed credit for firing a bazooka at the Athens Procter & Gamble office, which caused no injury. A similar rocket attack narrowly missed a Greek businessman's car on 20 November 1990. The November 17 used a remote-triggered bomb to kill U.S. Air Force Sergeant Ronald Stewart as he left his apartment on 12 March 1991. On 16 July 1991 the November 17 used a remote-triggered car bomb to wound the Turkish chargé d'affaires and two other Turkish embassy workers.

On 15 February 1996 an antitank missile was fired at the U.S. embassy in Athens but struck only the perimeter wall, damaging three parked cars. A group calling itself "National Struggle" claimed respon-

sibility, but evidence pointed to another November 17 attack. On 28 May 1997 the November 17 assassinated shipping magnate Constantine Paratikos in broad daylight in Athens and later issued a manifesto claiming that it had targeted him due to his threat to close down his shipyard, which would have left 2,000 workers unemployed. During February–April 1998, the November 17 made six rocket attacks on U.S.-owned businesses, including an attack on a Citibank office, prompting Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Director Louis Freeh to meet with Greek officials in September to discuss ways to improve mutual **counterterrorism** efforts. On 8 June 2000, November 17 assassins on a motorbike killed the British military attaché to Greece, Brigadier General Stephen Saunders, shooting him in the head and chest as he was driving to work on a main avenue. In a communiqué released later to an Athens newspaper, the group claimed the murder was in retaliation for Great Britain's role in the NATO campaign against Yugoslavia during 1999. The November 17 group was quite small, having no more than perhaps 25 members. Nonetheless, it proved itself to be professional and highly successful in carrying out the relatively few operations it has conducted, killing 24 people in 25 years.

A bungled bombing attempt on 29 June 2002 led to the first arrest of a November 17 member, Savvas Xyros, and documents found in his apartment led police to the arrests of 18 other suspects, including the group's leader, Alexandros Giotopoulos, which smashed the core group of the November 17. The trial began on 3 March 2003 on over 2,500 charges relating to the assassinations and accessory activities, and on 8 December 2003, all but four of the 19 defendants, including Giotopoulos, were convicted with several charges and received life terms in prison. Although statements purporting to come from other November 17 members have been issued since the June 2002 arrests, the group appears to have become inactive.

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OCTOBER FIRST ANTIFASCIST RESISTANCE GROUP (GRAPO). The Grupo de Resistencia Antifascista, Primero de Octubre was a Communist splinter group seeking to overthrow the Spanish state in favor of a Marxist state. GRAPO opposed Spanish membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and

the U.S. presence in Spain. GRAPO had no known **state sponsorship** but once had ties with **Direct Action** and the **Red Brigades**.

GRAPO emerged in 1975 as the military component of the Communist Party of Spain-Reconstituted, an illegal splinter group with Maoist tendencies that split off from the legal Spanish Communist Party. GRAPO was the second major terrorist group in Spain, the other being the **Basque Fatherland and Liberty** group. GRAPO financed itself through **kidnapping** for ransom, bank robberies, and exacting extortion payments from individuals and businesses.

From 1975 to 2000 GRAPO carried out 66 noteworthy actions: 41 **bombings**, killing at least eight and injuring at least 46; nine **assassinations**; eight **kidnappings** for ransom; four hostage seizures; and four armed attacks.

Bombing attacks have **targeted** foreign businesses, mainly U.S. and French firms, Spanish government offices, and the U.S. Cultural Center in Madrid. Assassinations have killed senior Spanish military officers, the director of penal institutions, and the president of the Seville Association of Businessmen, as well as Civil Guardsmen and ordinary police.

GRAPO bombed the Madrid Stock Exchange, the Constitutional Court, and the Economics Ministry on 17 September 1990, injuring six people. It claimed credit for having bombed parts of the NATO oil pipeline in Spain and also claimed to have bombed a railroad line outside Madrid. GRAPO leader, Juan Carlos Delgado de Codex, had been killed in a shoot-out with police in 1979, and by 1991 some 20 GRAPO activists were arrested, with fewer than a dozen suspected to be remaining at large afterward. During 1998 GRAPO conducted nine bombings of government and business targets in Spain without causing death or injuries. During 1999 it conducted two more bombings in Spain; in 2000 it conducted six bombings without harm to life or limb but also assassinated one police officer and kidnapped and murdered one Spanish businessman. The group suffered a major setback when French police captured nine of its main leaders in Paris on 9 November 2000. Another GRAPO cell was captured on 18 July 2002 in an operation jointly conducted by French and Spanish security services. On 23 July 2003 a French court sentenced eight GRAPO leaders to at least 10 years' imprisonment. During 2006 GRAPO kidnapped and murdered one Spanish businessman in Spain and bombed two Spanish business offices in Zurich, Switzerland.

Despite repeated announcements by Spanish authorities that the group has been smashed, its remaining members continue to assert their existence through sporadic attacks.

In 1985 GRAPO was one of nine major leftist European “Fighting Communist Organizations” left espousing **anarchistic leftist terrorism**, but by late 1992 there were only four left, the others being the Revolutionary Organization of **November 17**, the **Revolutionary People’s Liberation Party/Front**, formerly known as Dev Sol, and the **Red Army Faction**, which issued a communiqué in August 1992 announcing it would cease its armed struggle. Since late 1992 there have been few reports of activity by GRAPO.

OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING. On 19 April 1995 at 9:02 a.m., a 5,000-pound ammonium nitrate-fuel oil **bomb** in a rented van exploded outside the Alfred B. Murrah Federal Building, killing 168 people and injuring 853 others, as well as destroying the building. The blast destroyed or severely damaged some 300 buildings within a 16-block radius and produced a seismic shock recorded at 3.0 on the Richter scale by seismometers located at the University of Oklahoma. The same day, Timothy James McVeigh was arrested north of Oklahoma City on Interstate 35 near Ponca City for driving without a rear license plate and for weapons violations. On 21 April 1995 McVeigh was charged with bombing the Murrah building, and on 11 May 1995 Terry Lynn Nichols was charged with the same offense.

On 10 August 1995 both men were charged with the eight counts of homicide for the several law enforcement officers killed in the blast, one count of conspiracy to use a **weapon of mass destruction** to kill people, and one count of malicious destruction of federal property. Nichols and McVeigh had gathered the bomb-making materials and van while McVeigh alone deployed the bomb. Reports of a third person involved in the attack have never been settled conclusively.

Timothy McVeigh was a loner within the fringes of the right-wing patriot movement. An avid reader of the *Turner Diaries*, a far-right novel about racist “patriots” whose antigovernment revolt was initiated with the bombing of a federal building—which may have provided the model for the bombing of the Murrah building—McVeigh was incensed by what he considered the criminal actions of the federal government in the siege and burning of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, two years earlier on 19 April 1993. The date of the

bombing also coincided with the execution date for Richard W. Snell, **The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord** member who murdered a black Arkansas state trooper in June 1984. McVeigh had convinced himself that his outrage was shared by millions of other Americans and that his attack on the Murrah building would be hailed by many as the signal for a general right-wing **revolution** against the U.S. government. In reality, for the first two days after the bombing most news media were pursuing the false lead of a Middle Eastern connection, and most Americans were greatly shocked to learn that the main suspect for what was at that time the most horrific act of terrorism on U.S. soil was in fact a fellow citizen.

On 2 June 1997 Timothy McVeigh was found guilty for the bombing; he was sentenced to death on 14 August 1997 and executed on 11 June 2001. Terry Nichols was convicted of conspiracy and involuntary manslaughter on 23 December 1997 and sentenced to life imprisonment on 4 June 1998. In January 2000 the state of Oklahoma began to try Nichols on 161 counts of first-degree murder, for which he was convicted on 26 May 2004 and sentenced to 161 consecutive life terms. A third suspect, Michael Fournier, who had provided aid to McVeigh and who had foreknowledge of the planned attack, agreed to testify against McVeigh in return for reduced charges. The incident served to draw public attention to the right-wing **militia movement** and galvanized public demands for more effective legislative and executive actions to counter terrorism. It should be noted that McVeigh was never accepted into membership by the various militias he approached, although he did have ties to the Elohim City group in eastern Oklahoma, an **Identity Christianity** group, which was related to the former **The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord**. Until the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**, the Oklahoma City bombing was the worst mass-casualty terrorist attack in U.S. history.

OLYMPIC PARK BOMBING. The Atlanta Olympics experienced a pipe **bombing** on 27 July 1996 in the 21-acre Centennial Olympic Park that killed one person outright, injured 111 others, and caused a Turkish journalist, Melih Uzunyol, to suffer a fatal heart attack. A local woman, Alice Hawthorne, was killed when shrapnel wounded her head. At 12:58 a.m. an unidentified white male with an undistinguishable accent called a 911 operator warning that a bomb

would explode in the park, which was filled with people attending an outdoor concert, in one half-hour. Three security guards found the knapsack under a park bench and began clearing the area shortly before it exploded at 1:20 a.m.

On 9 June 1997 the Task Force investigating the Olympic Park bombing announced it was connected with two other bombings, the 16 January 1997 bombing of the Atlanta Northside Family Planning Services and the 21 February 1997 bombing of the Otherside Lounge, for which credit was claimed by the **Army of God**. While the Olympic Park bomb used Accurate Armsbrand smokeless gunpowder, the other two bombs used dynamite. All three bombs used Westclox-brand Baby Ben windup alarm clocks and also used steel plates cut from the same sheet. The plates were matched to a sheet of metal owned by a friend of Eric Robert Rudolph.

On 14 October 1998 Eric Robert Rudolph was charged with the Olympic Park bombing, as well as the two bombings claimed in the name of the Army of God. In February 1998 he had already been charged with the 29 January 1998 bombing of the New Woman All Women Health Care Clinic in Birmingham, Alabama, that killed police officer Robert Sanderson and severely injured the clinic's head nurse, Emily Lyons. Despite an extensive multistate manhunt, Rudolph had eluded capture until his arrest on 31 May 2003. On 6 April 2005 Rudolph pleaded guilty to all charges to escape the death penalty. On 18 July 2005 he was sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of Robert Sanderson, and he was later convicted on 22 August 2005 for the bombings committed in Atlanta and sentenced to three concurrent terms of life imprisonment without parole in addition to the sentences for the Alabama bombings. *See also* ANTI-ABORTION TERRORISM.

OMEGA-7. Omega-7 was a nonstate Cuban émigré group with the **revolutionary** goal of overthrowing the Castro regime in Cuba. In the period 1968–1983, over 56 anti-Castro groups claimed credit for 155 terrorist acts. Of these, only **Alpha 66**, Brigade 2506, the **Cuban-American National Foundation** (CANF), Cuban Nationalist Movement, Cuban Liberation Front, and Omega-7 were of much consequence, and only Alpha 66, Omega-7, and the CANF remained active into the 1980s. From 1980 to 1982 Omega-7 carried out at least 18 major terrorist acts, including 10 **bombings** or attempted

bombings, four **arson** attacks, two attacks on firms doing business with Cuba, one car bombing, and the **assassination** of a Cuban UN diplomat in a drive-by shooting on 12 September 1980.

Together with other similar Cuban émigré organizations, Omega-7 sought to sabotage Cuban governmental economic interests and diplomatic offices abroad, to intimidate private businesses having trade with Cuba, to attack Cubans in the United States considered to be “Communist sympathizers” as well as non-Cuban sympathizers of the Fidel Castro regime, and to discourage the tourist trade from patronizing Cuba. The longer-range goal was to raise and train an émigré Cuban army to overthrow the Castro regime. In 1978 Omega-7 twice firebombed the Cuban mission to the United Nations. On 25 March 1980 the group planted a car bomb under the car of the Cuban ambassador to the United Nations, which was disarmed.

Omega-7 used the émigré Cuban community in the United States as a base of support, sometimes extorting contributions from the émigrés. By 1981, when many other major Cuban exile groups had resigned themselves to the prospect of Castro remaining in power, the Cuban émigré community lost interest in the cause of Omega-7. After the group resorted to drug smuggling and trafficking to finance itself, its increasingly criminal character **alienated** members of the Cuban community and created internal dissension within Omega-7. In 1982, six key leaders were arrested, and in July 1983, the group’s founder and leader, Eduardo Arocena, was arrested. During his arraignment, his role as an informant for the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) within his own organization was revealed, which effectively destroyed the organization.

OPEC SIEGE, VIENNA. On 21 December 1975, five terrorists led by Ilich Ramírez Sánchez, also known as **Carlos**, attacked the Secretariat office of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in Vienna, killing one secretariat worker and two guards and taking 11 oil ministers and about 60 other staff hostage. Although the attackers called themselves the Arab Revolution, the group consisted largely of German members of the **Red Army Faction** led by the Venezuelan Carlos. The terrorists demanded \$5 million in ransom and may have received as much as \$50 million from Iran and Saudi Arabia.

After 36 hours of negotiations, the Austrian government allowed the terrorists and 42 of their hostages to leave Austria on a DC-9 that

flew first to Algeria, where an injured West German terrorist, Hans-Joachim Klein, was taken off the plane and all non-Arab hostages were released (except the Iranian oil minister, Jamshid Amuzegar), then to Libya where their ransom money was off-loaded and transferred to a South Yemenese bank, and then back to Algeria where the terrorists surrendered and the remaining 11 hostages were released. The terrorists were then allowed to leave Algeria in exchange for their having spared the lives of their hostages.

The original motives of the terrorists included not only extortion but also **assassination**: the terrorists had intended to be flown to Aden, South Yemen, where they planned to murder the Saudi oil minister, Sheikh Ahmad Zaki Yamani, and the Iranian oil minister, Jamshid Amuzegar. The Algerian authorities refused to allow them safe passage unless the two oil ministers were released unharmed. Carlos disappeared from public view but was arrested in Sudan in 1994 and handed over to France, where he was convicted and imprisoned for crimes committed there. In late 1999 Austria was beginning **extradition** proceedings against Carlos to try him on charges related to the OPEC siege. Another principal in the OPEC siege, Hans-Joachim Klein, who had been shot in the stomach and recovered, renounced terrorism in 1978 and the following year published an autobiographical book on terrorism, *Rückkehr in die Menschlichkeit: Appell eines ausgestiegenen Terroristen* (Return to Humanity: Appeal of a Former Terrorist), in which he criticized what he came to view as the perversions and errors of terrorism. Klein, who had been sought by German and Austrian police to stand trial for his role in the **kidnappings** and killings in the OPEC siege, was arrested in the Normandy village of Ste.-Honorine-la-Guillaume in early September 1998. See also ORGANIZATION FOR THE ARMED ARAB STRUGGLE.

ORDEN. The ORDEN, short for Organización Democrática Nacionalista, was a **state-sponsored** right-wing Salvadoran **death squad**. ORDEN was originally founded in 1968 as a rural militia organized by General José Alberto Medrano. Recruits in the Army Reserve made up most of the ORDEN ranks and were trained by the National Guard. Units of the militia were established in all villages, until by 1978 it had around 100,000 members. Within 10 years it had degenerated into a death squad, killing not only leftist guerrillas, but also union organizers, political moderates, religious workers, and human rights activists.

ORDEN particularly **targeted** members of the Christian Democratic Party and politically moderate rural mayors. Guerrillas of the People's Liberation Forces, which in 1980 formed an antigovernment leftist guerrilla front known as the **Farabundo Martí Liberation Front** (FMLN), undertook an **insurgency** in 1978 during which they began to kill known ORDEN members.

In November 1979, following the coup that overthrew President Carlos Humberto Romero, ORDEN was officially disbanded; however, many members of El Salvador's military and security forces continued to collaborate with members of the banned organization, and rightist death squad activities increased and grew more brutal until January 1981, when the defeat of the FMLN's "final offensive" brought a subsidence in the cycles of violence. The violence was directed not simply at FMLN guerrillas but also at government workers seeking to implement agrarian land reforms.

Although ORDEN itself officially ceased to exist, it supplied recruits to the **White Warriors' Union** founded in 1977 by a protégé of Medrano, Roberto D'Aubuisson, who later led the rightist Republican National Alliance Party (**ARENA**), also suspected of sponsoring death squad activities. On 23 March 1985, General Medrano was killed by **assassins** belonging to the **Clara Elizabeth Ramírez Front**, a renegade FMLN splinter group.

THE ORDER. The Order was a nonstate U.S. **white supremacist** paramilitary group with the aim of overthrowing the U.S. government, which it called the Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG). The Order was one of several white racist groups affiliated with the **Aryan Nations** led by Richard Butler, himself a minister of the **Identity Christianity** movement. The group was headquartered in Metaline Falls, Washington, and numbered around 24 known members. The Order was also known among its members as the *Bruder Schweigen*, while it identified its territorial domain around the Metaline Falls area as the "white American bastion."

The Order was founded in 1983 by Robert Mathews (1953–1984), a right-wing enthusiast and organizer, who patterned the group on a fictional group of the same name found in the *Turner Diaries*, a novel about an apocalyptic race war in a future America. The group sought to finance the various right-wing organizations associated with the Aryan Nations through counterfeiting operations and robberies of banks and

armored trucks. A series of successful operations culminated in the 19 July 1984 holdup of a Brinks armored car outside Ukiah, California, netting around \$3.6 million, the largest heist of a Brinks transport until then. The Order had also embarked on a scheme of **assassinating** those whom it believed to be influential within the ZOG. They had considered, but dismissed, the idea of conducting a **suicide bombing** attack to kill the Baron de Rothschild, who was to visit Seattle, and settled instead on killing a controversial and acerbic Jewish radio talk-show host in Denver, Alan Berg, who had insulted white supremacists on his program. Berg was murdered by The Order at his home on 18 June 1984. Other activities of The Order included a robbery on 16 March 1984 of a Continental armored car in Seattle, another Continental armored car robbery coupled with the diversionary **bombing** of a pornographic film theater in Seattle on 23 April 1984, and the bombing of the Ahavath Israel synagogue in Boise, Idaho, on 29 April 1984.

Robert Mathews was killed in a shoot-out with agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on Whidbey Island in Washington State on 8 December 1984. Ten of the remaining members of The Order were eventually arrested, and tried and convicted in the Seattle U.S. District Court on **Racketeer Influenced Corrupt Organization** (RICO) and conspiracy charges arising from the robberies. Three members of The Order were also tried and convicted on civil rights violation charges connected with the murder of Alan Berg. While evidence from this trial clearly connected The Order with the Aryan Nations and other white supremacist groups, a subsequent trial of 14 leaders of these other white supremacist groups on sedition and conspiracy charges before a federal court in Fort Smith, Arkansas, held February–April 1988 failed to obtain any convictions.

The Order did not totally perish with Mathews, for a successor organization, the Bruder Schweigen Strike Force II, emerged among Aryan Nations members in Hayden Lake, Idaho, whose members were involved in counterfeiting and six bombings during 1987. On 6 May 1987 and 7 August 1987, they bombed two businesses and later that August murdered Kenneth Shray, whom they suspected of being a federal informant. On 16 September 1987 they bombed the home of Fr. William Wassmuth of St. Pius X Catholic Church, who had been active in opposing the Aryan Nations and kindred racist groups. On 29 September 1987 they set off four bombs in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, including the federal building and three businesses, to divert attention

from their intended heist of a bank and the Idaho National Guard Armory in Post Falls. They were captured in their attempt to raid the Armory and all five were arrested and later convicted, one for the murder of Shray and the others on RICO charges. *See also* NEO-NAZIS.

ORGANISATION DE L'ARMÉE SECRÈTE (OAS). The Secret Army Organization was a domestic terrorist group formed by French colonists and French military officers opposed to French President Charles de Gaulle's negotiations with the **National Liberation Front of Algeria** leading to Algerian independence. Led by four French generals, French troops and settlers opposing independence initially attempted a coup d'état in Algiers on 22 April 1961 that succeeded in seizing the city but collapsed on 26 April when other French troops remained loyal to the government. The disgruntled settlers and military officers then formed the OAS and embarked on a campaign of terror both in France and Algeria against Algerian Arabs and French citizens favoring independence. The initial aim was to sabotage the negotiations and force a crackdown on the Algerian Arabs. Failing in this, their aim became instead to exact vengeance upon de Gaulle.

The OAS began using plastic explosives in a massive **bombing** campaign. On 13 May 1961 one bombing in Paris injured 10. On 16 June 1961 a bombing against the home of the French ambassador to the United States injured five. In the period 22–25 January 1962, three bombings occurred, including one at the Foreign Ministry in Paris that killed one person and injured 13 others. Following the negotiated cease-fire, a car bombing on 2 May 1962 killed 62 Arabs in Algiers. This led to a wave of anti-French terrorism in Algeria, forcing many European residents to flee that country. On 17 June 1962 the OAS issued its own cease-fire after failing to derail the peace negotiations between the National Liberation Front and the French government. Many of its leaders in France were detained, and the main OAS leaders were arrested during July 1962.

On 22 August 1962 remnants of the OAS made an **assassination** attempt against de Gaulle and others who had negotiated Algerian independence. The mayor of the French town of Evian, which had hosted the independence talks, was killed in a bombing. From March 1963 to August 1965, the remaining OAS members made at least another eight assassination attempts against de Gaulle, while at least three other plots were quashed in the planning stages. The French

government responded with a crackdown, eventually imprisoning around 4,000 OAS activists.

ORGANIZATION FOR THE ARMED ARAB STRUGGLE (OAAS). The OAAS was a group founded and run by the Venezuelan Ilich Ramírez Sánchez, better known as **Carlos**, and accordingly the group was known also as the Carlos Apparatus. The group was established sometime after 1976 when Carlos had moved to Aden, South Yemen, although it did not become active until 1982. While the group generally carried out actions in support of Arab **revolutionary** causes, it appeared to be primarily an **entrepreneurial** rather than an **ideological** group, that is, it worked for Arab regimes or groups on a contract basis. It could also be viewed as entrepreneurial since it helped to aggrandize the reputation or myth of Carlos, its founder, as a master terrorist. This group was very small and was supported by Iraq, Libya, Romania, and Syria. Members of the small group included German, Lebanese, and Syrian radicals.

Carlos was a leader within the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-Special Operations Group (PFLP-SOG)** and directed the 21 December 1975 **OPEC siege** and seizure of the Secretariat in Vienna in which several oil ministers were seized for ransom. Following this action, Carlos dropped from public view. He was believed to have become a contractual consultant to various Arab regimes and Middle Eastern terrorist groups, particularly the three groups that emerged from the breakup of the PFLP-SOG in 1978, namely, the **May 15 Organization**, the **Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Factions**, and the PFLP-Special Command. It is believed that the Romanian regime also contacted the Carlos Apparatus to carry out **assassinations** of Romanian dissidents living in France. The East German secret police, the Stasi, also assisted Carlos in planning the bombing of the French cultural center, the Maison de France, in West Berlin in 1983.

The OAAS emerged in 1982 with a series of attacks on French **targets** both in Lebanon and in Europe, including an 18 January 1982 attack using shoulder-mounted rockets against the uncompleted buildings of the Superphénix nuclear reactor complex in Creys-Malville, France; the 25 August 1983 **bombing** of the Maison de France cultural center in West Berlin that killed one person and injured 23 others; two bombings on 31 December 1983 of railroad facilities in France; and the 1 January 1984 bombing of another French

cultural center in Tripoli, Lebanon. Following this last bombing, no further actions were claimed in the name of the OAAS. The Hungarian government allowed Carlos to operate out of Budapest from 1983 until French and West German pressure forced the Hungarian government to expel him in 1985; he then made his way to Syria and later to Sudan. Carlos was arrested by French agents in Sudan on 15 August 1994 and later tried and convicted for the killing of a French policeman and three others in France.

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES (OAS) CONVENTION. The Convention to Prevent and Punish the Acts of Terrorism Taking the Form of Crimes against Persons and Related Extortion That Are of International Significance of the Organization of American States, concluded in Washington, D.C., on 2 February 1971, was originally limited to punishing crimes against diplomats. Much of the convention has been superseded by the United Nations Convention on Internationally Protected Persons, concluded in New York on 14 December 1973, which obliges states to provide protection to diplomats within their territory, to apprehend those who attack diplomats in their territory, and to either **extradite** such criminals to the nation whose diplomats have been attacked or try to punish them themselves. In the event that the attackers escape from the jurisdiction of the state in which the attack occurred, then the state to which they have fled is obliged to cooperate with the **intelligence** and law enforcement officials of the nation whose diplomats have been attacked and to make a good-faith effort to determine the whereabouts of the escaped terrorists and to provide that information to the other nation.

ORGANIZATION OF TERRORIST GROUPS. Terrorist groups organize themselves in various ways according to their **ideology** or mode of operation. Like other organizations, terrorist groups require resiliency, the ability to adapt to changing and often hostile circumstances; capacity, that is, having enough human and physical resources to carry out their agenda; and effectiveness, the ability to achieve short-term and long-term goals. Unlike most other private or public organizations, the terrorist groups also have a fourth requirement, secrecy, to keep their leadership, members, and resources clandestine. The need for secrecy impacts the other organizational requirements most directly in the recruitment and retention of members: having fewer members makes it easier to keep the group clan-

destine but having smaller numbers of members also impedes the ability of a group to launch and sustain its operations.

There are three basic forms of terrorist organization: First, there is the traditional hierarchical organization that often involves the existence of a political front in tandem with a separate clandestine military wing, which has been favored by **ethnonationalist** groups such as the **Irish Republican Army** and the **Basque Fatherland and Liberty** group. The second form of organization is the “virtual organization” in which **cellular organizations** predominate and in which there is no single unified command for **counterterrorism** operations to **target**. These forms include cellular groups, whether single groups or part of a “stellar” network of linked cellular units, or “phantom cell” networks, which are also sometimes called autonomous leadership units. Network structures can include highly hierarchical political front organizations with a parallel military wing, as well as “chain” networks. The nonhierarchical cellular structure has been favored by **anarchistic leftist terrorists**. However, it should be noted that the military wings of more traditional hierarchical groups will employ cellular organization of their commandos to prevent penetration by counterintelligence and so promote the resiliency of the group. The third form of organization is the more amorphous **netwar** network structure, in which there are multiple nodes that can communicate with each other directly, allowing quick adaptation to a changing domestic or international environment as circumstances require. **Al Qa’eda** and the various **animal rights** activist groups have been cited as examples of such groups. Another term for such groups, proposed by Jessica Stern, was the “Protean organization,” named after the Greek sea monster, Proteus, that had a constantly changing form. *See also* CELLULAR ORGANIZATION.

ORGANIZATION OF THE OPPRESSED OF THE EARTH. This was one of several noms de guerre of the Lebanese Shi’ite Muslim group **Hezbollah**, which is an **Islamic fundamentalist** revolutionary organization under Iranian **state sponsorship**. Hezbollah employed this name in the 14 June 1985 hijacking of TWA Flight 847 in which U.S. Navy diver Robert Dean Stethem was murdered. This name was also used in taking credit for the 17 February 1988 **kidnapping** and subsequent 31 July 1989 killing of U.S. Marine Corps Lieutenant Colonel William R. Higgins, commander of the United Nations

Truce Supervisory Observer Group in Lebanon. Hezbollah continues to deny any relationship to the group.

ORGANIZATION OF VOLUNTEERS FOR THE PUERTO RICAN REVOLUTION (OVPR). The OVPR was a political-military group dedicated to winning Puerto Rican independence through armed **revolution**. This group was closely associated with the **Macheteros**, having conducted its first operation jointly with them in a 3 December 1979 ambush and machine-gun attack upon a U.S. Navy shuttle bus, killing two sailors and seriously wounding 10 others. In addition, on 25 January 1985 the OVPR shared credit with the Macheteros in a rocket-grenade attack on a U.S. courthouse in San Juan. On 7 November 1985 the group shot and seriously wounded a U.S. Army recruiting officer, Major Michael Snyder, as he was riding his motor scooter to work, to protest the 6 November 1984 visit to San Juan by William H. Webster, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

In April 1986 OVPR terrorists murdered a former informant of the Puerto Rican police, Alejandro González Maleve, and vowed to murder nine other policemen who were implicated in the killing of young Puerto Rican separatists. The OVPR has also made other **bombing** attacks within Puerto Rico but has largely been inactive from the late 1980s. *See also* MACHETEROS.

ORGANIZED CRIME AND CRIMINAL SYNDICATES. During the post-cold war era, organized crime and terrorism appear to occupy the same **gray areas** within transitional states and in the changing international nation-state order. Some observers claim that there is an increasing convergence, or synthesis, of criminal enterprises and terrorist organizations, while others claim that the two activities remain separate but are increasing their tactical and even strategic coordination. Other analysts claim that, while terrorist and criminal organizations share many common features and similar tactics, their overriding objectives are both different and ultimately incompatible, such that any joint actions will be infrequent and exceptional rather than part of a developing **netwar** of coordinated or converged terrorist and criminal activities.

The apparent convergence or coordination of terrorism and organized crime activities has been cited in such events as the contacts and coordination between leftist terrorist movements in Colombia and Peru and narcotics traffickers; the open warfare of the Pablo

Escobar group in the Medellín cartel against the Colombian government; the murder campaign of the Italian mafia against crusading antimob magistrates, police, and informants; or the use of a citywide **bombing** campaign by a Mumbai drug-smuggling ring, the Memon family, which killed over 250 people in Mumbai on 12 March 1993.

Both criminal syndicates and terrorist organizations are clandestine and employ similar **cellular** and networking organizations to elude detection and arrest. Both are willing to employ violence to achieve their ends, often not so much through the direct effects of their attacks on the immediate victims as through the demonstration effect on a larger audience. Often both are fighting the same state structures or international law enforcement efforts and so share common enemies. Criminal syndicates often use terrorist **tactics** to eliminate rivals, intimidate the public, and to coerce or co-opt the police and state officials, while terrorist groups are developing their own skills in extortion schemes, money laundering, and drug trafficking to finance their causes. Finally, it should be recognized that these disparate groups are beginning to resemble each other in adopting “flatter” network organizations and use of similar information technologies simply because adopting these changes is a rational adaptation to the changing technology and global economy of the post-cold war era that would continue to occur even without any contact between these two groups.

There are some cases in which what was originally a terrorist group with a political, social, or religious agenda ultimately has been transformed into an apolitical criminal group whose terrorist skills are let out for hire to the highest bidder, regardless of political complexion. The **Irish Republican Army** (IRA) became astute at running protection rackets in Northern Ireland and at video and compact-disc piracy and wholesale smuggling operations, such that even after the IRA has renounced political violence, many of its cells and operatives will likely continue to operate as criminal enterprises for the foreseeable future. In Colombia, the **Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia** (FARC) and its rival, the **National Liberation Army** (ELN), have become deeply involved in narcotics trafficking as well as in professional **kidnapping** for ransom.

Despite these examples, the majority of criminal syndicates and most terrorist groups differ fundamentally in their ultimate objectives and in their relationship to the nation-state system and world economic system. Criminal syndicates exist to make money and

use violence only when necessary to protect their profit-making enterprises. By contrast, most terrorist organizations seek a political, social, or religious ideal, and they define themselves and their revolutionary politics through the use of violence, which they prefer to negotiation, ordinary politics, or tactics of co-optation or corruption. They engage in profit-making activities only as a temporary means to achieving their ultimate political, social, or transcendent religious ideals. Therefore, neither convergence nor long-range coordinations of organized crime and terrorism appear likely.

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PALESTINE LIBERATION FRONT (PLF). The PLF refers to three groups that originally composed one PLF group that had split from the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC)**. Like the PFLP-GC, the PLF factions sought the total destruction of Israel and establishment of a Palestinian state in its place by armed struggle. They also conducted infiltration operations into Israel to carry out terrorist actions and to try to **kidnap** Israeli hostages to exchange them for imprisoned Arabs. These groups, like the PFLP-GC, also showed resourcefulness in devising new ways to infiltrate Israel, having tried to use hot-air balloons in addition to hang gliders. The PLF formed in 1976 was anti-Syrian, so it found a natural **state sponsor** in Iraq. Later Iraq, Libya, and Syria each backed one of the three PLF fronts while **al Fatah** and Iraq supported the Abu Abbas faction.

The original PLF was founded in 1961 by Ahmad Jibril and coordinated itself with al Fatah in 1965. In December 1967 this group, along with the Arab Nationalist Movement and the Heroes of the Return group, formed the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)** headed by Dr. George Habash. Disgusted by the PFLP's preoccupation with **ideological** matters, Ahmad Jibril formed his own splinter group, the PFLP-General Command (PFLP-GC). The current PLF broke away from the PFLP-GC in 1977 due to dissent over Jibril's support for Syria's intervention in Lebanon. **Yasir Arafat**, chairman of the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**, recognized the new PLF as a PLO member in April 1977 while the **Rejection Front** accepted the PLF as a member organization. In 1981 the group obtained seats on the Palestine National Council

while its founder, Muhammad Abu Abbas, gained a seat on the PLO Executive Committee in 1984.

The PLF was marked by acrimony with its parent group and among its own members. Fighting broke out between PLF and PFLP-GC members in the Sidon refugee camps in February 1978. In August 1978 the apartment building containing the PLF headquarters was blown up, killing at least 100 residents, most likely the work of the PFLP-GC. In late 1983 the PLF split when founder Muhammad Abu Abbas decided the group was growing too subservient to Syria. He and his followers left for Tunis to align themselves with Arafat's al Fatah. The PLF faction left in Damascus was headed by Tal'at Yaqub but itself split when Abdal Fatah Ghanim tried unsuccessfully to seize power over the PLF in January 1984. The Yaqub faction remained in Damascus, while Ghanim and his followers established their rival PLF office in Libya. After Yaqub died in November 1988, the remnant of his faction merged with the Abu Abbas group in November 1989. Following the *Achille Lauro* **hijacking** fiasco of 7 October 1985, for which Abu Abbas and his followers were responsible, the Tunisian government ordered the Abu Abbas group to leave. This group moved to Baghdad, Iraq, but relocated to Lebanon following the Oslo Accords of 1993. Prior to the breakup of the PLF, it numbered no more than 250 members, and currently this faction is estimated to have a few hundred followers, mainly in Tunisia and Lebanon.

A summary of the more significant PLF actions follows: Eight major actions in the period 1978–1990 all involved attempts to take hostages and all but one involved attempts to infiltrate Israel. Only three of the six infiltration attempts succeeded, and in only one case did the terrorists succeed in seizing hostages; on no occasion did they win the release of any Arab prisoners. In April 1979 four PLF members landed on a beach near Nahariyah, Israel, on a mission to seize hostages. The PLF landing party killed three Israeli civilians before two of the terrorists were killed and the other two captured.

On 7 October 1985 four PLF members **hijacked** the *Achille Lauro*, an Italian cruise ship in Egyptian waters. The four hijackers and PLF leader Abu Abbas later claimed that they had been intending to infiltrate Israel, where the ship was due to dock, but when a cabin steward discovered the five cleaning their weapons, they then decided to hijack the ship and use the passengers as hostages. Italian magistrates later determined that this was a cover story and that the leader of the

group had told the other three that they would seize the cruise ship once most of its passengers had disembarked for an overnight sightseeing tour; the ship would have only a small number of passengers and crew during the passage from Alexandria to Port Said, where the other sightseeing passengers were to reembark for the remainder of the cruise. These hostages would then be traded for the release of Palestinian terrorists held prisoner in Israel. In the course of the hijacking, the hijackers murdered an elderly Jewish American, Leon Klinghoffer, who was an invalid, and threw his body into the sea. Eventually the hijackers negotiated with the Egyptian government for safe passage in return for the lives of the remaining hostages and departed along with PLF leader Abu Abbas in an EgyptAir 737 airliner bound for Tunis. Although U.S. fighter planes forced the Egyptian airplane to land at a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air base in Signolla, Sicily, the Italians claimed jurisdiction over the four terrorists and released Abu Abbas, who possessed an Iraqi diplomatic passport. The other four were tried and convicted by Italian courts on charges arising from the hijacking while Abu Abbas was later tried and convicted in absentia.

The Egyptian government's permitting the terrorists safe passage out of Egypt, followed by the U.S. military's action forcing the Egyptian civilian plane to land in Italy to attempt the arrest of the terrorists at a NATO base in Italian territory, followed by the Italians' intervention forbidding the **rendition** of the four terrorists to the United States and allowing Abu Abbas to escape, created mutual acrimony between the United States, Italy, and Egypt. This debacle led to a parliamentary defeat of the government of Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi when a conservative political party, the Republicans, withdrew from the governing coalition in protest to the freeing of Abu Abbas, although Craxi was able to regain a governing majority within a short time. The antagonism between the United States and Italy, whose public viewed the U.S. actions as a violation of Italian sovereignty, also underscored the need for international cooperation to address the challenge of international terrorism (*see* GROUP OF EIGHT COUNTERTERRORISM COOPERATION).

On 30 May 1990 a team of 17 members of the Abu Abbas faction of the PLF, with Libyan support, made a seaborne attack on Tel Aviv beaches using hang gliders that was quashed by the Israeli Defense Forces. Four of the PLF terrorists were killed and 13 captured. This

raid occurred in the 18th month of talks between the United States and the PLO. While **Yasir Arafat** disavowed any PLO connection with the raid, he also would not publicly condemn the raid nor expel Abu Abbas from the PLO Executive Committee. This in turn prompted a suspension by Washington of its dialogue with the PLO. In the past, rejectionist groups, such as the PFLP, the PFLP-GC, and the PLF, had regularly defied al Fatah and sought to sabotage its efforts at diplomacy by staging such raids, and this may have been the intended aim behind this raid as well. In 1991, however, Abu Abbas resigned his membership in the PLO Executive Committee.

On 22 April 1996 Abu Abbas, who was still wanted by the United States for his role in the *Achille Lauro* hijacking, attended the Palestine National Council meeting held in Gaza, during which time he was immune from arrest by Israeli authorities under the terms of the 1993 Oslo Accords. During his attendance at this meeting, Abu Abbas repeatedly stated to reporters that the *Achille Lauro* affair “was a mistake and it led to other mistakes.” He claimed that his men did not know Leon Klinghoffer was Jewish or American but had killed him “because he started to incite the passengers against them.” By early August 1997 the PLO had agreed to settle a civil lawsuit brought against it by the Klinghoffer family. The PLO pleaded unsuccessfully that as a sovereign state it could not be sued, a position rejected by U.S. District Court Judge Stanton, who ordered Yasir Arafat to give a deposition. Instead the PLO moved to settle the dispute out of court and to pay the surviving Klinghoffer daughters an undisclosed sum.

Abbas was captured by U.S. forces at a PLF training camp near Baghdad on 15 April 2003, and according to U.S. military authorities he confessed to having plotted the hostage taking and seizure of the *Achille Lauro*, for which he could be **extradited** to the United States for trial under the U.S. **Hostage-Taking Act of 1984**. Before this could be arranged, Abbas died of a heart attack while still in U.S. custody in Iraq on 8 March 2004.

PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO). The Mu-nazzamat al-Tahrir al-Filastiniyyah, or Palestine Liberation Organization, is the umbrella organization comprising the major secular Palestinian political and guerrilla groups that defines itself, and that is recognized by all Arab governments, as being the “sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.” Therefore, although the

Palestinian Authority created on 4 May 1994 is often viewed as the successor of the PLO, technically it is an interim governing agency for the administration of the Palestinian territories pending final status negotiations between Israel and the PLO. Within the Arab League the PLO remains the main representative of the Palestinian people both within the Palestinian territories and among Palestinians living outside the territories of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

When the PLO was founded on 28 May 1964, its nominal leader, Ahmad al Shuqairy, had declared that its purpose was to “drive the Jews into the sea.” Later the PLO asserted that it sought to establish an independent Palestinian homeland on any liberated part of “historic Palestine” and would recognize the right of the State of Israel to exist in exchange for that homeland. In either case, it is a **revolutionary** irredentist and **ethnonationalist** group that has, until recently, used terrorism and armed struggle as a means to achieve an independent Palestinian national state. While some constituent members of the PLO, such as the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine** (PFLP) and other groups, have stated the aims of creating a Pan-Arab revolutionary movement, or a Marxist-Leninist revolution, or even a world revolutionary movement, as among the goals of the Palestinians, such views are often idiosyncratic to these groups rather than representative of the PLO as a whole. **Al Fatah**, which has maintained the largest share of seats on the PLO Executive Committee, has not linked the issue of Palestinian national rights to the goal of Pan-Arab unity or to any specific social-economic order or program.

The original PLO was created by the first Palestine National Council (PNC) shortly after it convened on 28 May 1964, largely under the direction of the Arab League. Its complete subservience to the Arab states at that time was reflected in the fact that its national charter made no mention of seeking to create an independent Palestinian state. Members of al Fatah, the oldest Palestinian guerrilla group, basically ignored the PLO at the time, regarding it as irrelevant to their own preparations for armed struggle against Israel. After the Arab defeat in the 1967 war discredited the Arab regimes sponsoring the PLO, al Fatah and other similar guerrilla groups entered the PLO and seized control in February 1969, electing the head of al Fatah, **Yasir Arafat**, as chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

While the PLO since then has been willing to accept material aid from the various Arab states, as well as from Iran following its 1978

revolution, it has jealously guarded its own claims of legitimacy apart from any other regime and of independence in decision making, on several occasions defying the wishes of its sponsors. These quarrels led to the PLO's expulsion from Jordan in 1970 and once again in 1986, its partial expulsion from Lebanon in 1982, and the denial of use of Syrian territory for launching raids into Israel from 1983 onward. Beginning in 1982 Tunisia hosted the administrative offices and personnel of the PLO but required Abu Abbas's **Palestine Liberation Front** to leave Tunisia following the October 1985 scandal of the *Achille Lauro hijacking*. Following the September 1993 peace accords, the PLO relocated its headquarters to Jericho and later to Gaza City.

The Arab League recognized the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinians on 28 October 1974, therefore denying Jordan any right to negotiate unilaterally with Israel over the fate of the West Bank. On 9 September 1976 the Arab League accepted the PLO as a full member. While the PLO received contributions from member states of the Arab League, it has also relied on taxes levied upon the Palestinian diaspora. The various constituent member organizations of the PLO have each cultivated their own sponsors and resources as well. While the PLO has received contributions and other material assistance from various Arab states, this does not necessarily imply influence over the PLO by individual states. Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf emirates distrusted the revolutionary and secular program of the PLO and have viewed Palestinians living within their borders as potential fifth columnists. For such regimes, contributions to the PLO were no doubt partly expressions of support for Pan-Arab ideals but may also have been viewed as protection money against possible Palestinian terrorism or revolutionary activity within their borders. Following the Gulf War of 1990–1991, many of these regimes curtailed contributions to the PLO after it openly sided with Iraq in its 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

The original PLO had as its military wing the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA), which consisted of Palestinian contingents under Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian command. These were trained to fight conventional warfare rather than guerrilla or terrorist operations and in practice answered to the orders of their host countries rather than to the PLO. When it became apparent after 1967 that the independent guerrilla groups were attracting large numbers of recruits, the PLA developed its own guerrilla unit, the Popular Liberation Forces, which lapsed into obscurity in a few years.

Following the takeover of the PLO by al Fatah and other guerrilla groups, the PLA remained under the nominal command of the PLO, although the PLO has relied more on the forces of its constituent guerrilla groups to carry out terrorist attacks or **insurgent** warfare against Israel or other foes. Al Fatah guerrilla operations began after 1 January 1965. From 1969 to 1974, PLO-sponsored terrorism was carried out throughout the Middle East and non-Communist nations against Israeli, U.S., Western European, and Arab **targets**, with the government of Jordan having been targeted in particular after September 1970. The most notorious Palestinian terrorist group during this period was **Black September**, which was responsible for the **Munich massacre** of the Israeli athletic team at the Summer Olympics in 1972.

Beginning in 1974 al Fatah declared its renunciation of terrorism outside the borders of the former Mandate of Palestine, a declaratory policy not always followed by al Fatah-sponsored groups, such as the **Hawari** group or **Force 17**. This renunciation was part of a revision within al Fatah of its goals from a liberation of the whole of Palestine, in which Israel would be replaced by a secular democratic state, to the creation of a separate Arab Palestinian state on any liberated part of Palestine, which was understood to mean the West Bank and Gaza Strip following an Israeli withdrawal from those territories. While al Fatah still believed armed struggle was necessary to achieve its goals, it came to view armed struggle as insufficient if not joined with initiatives on the diplomatic front. This revisionism was anathema to the more radical leftist groups within the PLO, such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which in turn sponsored the creation of a **Rejection Front** of like-minded PLO members whose members boycotted the PLO Executive Committee from 1974 to 1978 while retaining their seats within the Palestine National Council. A practical consequence of this internal division was that the PFLP and other Rejection Front members stepped up their terrorist attacks on Israel and on targets outside Israel to discredit al Fatah's claim to speak for the PLO and to sabotage whatever diplomatic initiatives al Fatah might seek.

Al Fatah's diplomatic initiatives paid off on 22 November 1974 with the United Nations General Assembly declaring the PLO to be the Palestinians' representative and granting the PLO observer status in the General Assembly, followed on 9 September 1976 with the seventh Arab League summit meeting in Rabat, Morocco, declaring the PLO to be the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinians. The Rejection

Front's approach in winning national rights for the Palestinians was put to the test with the outbreak of the Lebanese civil war in 1975 and Syrian intervention from 1976 onward, in which certain Syrian-sponsored Palestinian groups fought against al Fatah. The conflict split the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC), a Rejection Front member, whose factions actually fought each other. Despite an al Fatah ban on attacks against Israeli targets within the southern security zone declared by Israel, anti-al Fatah groups continued their operations there. An attempted **assassination** of Israel's ambassador to London in 1982 by another anti-al Fatah group, **Black June**, triggered Israel's invasion of Lebanon and siege of Beirut, which culminated in the expulsion of the PLO administrative apparatus and most of its fighters from Lebanon. After 1983 Syria further incited Palestinian forces against each other and encouraged divisions even within al Fatah in order to block the return of al Fatah fighters to Lebanon. This resulted in the emergence of a splinter group under the leadership of Abu Musa, a former deputy commander of al Fatah, that fought alongside Syrian troops against al Fatah loyalists. The rift between the al Fatah loyalists and anti-Arafat factions was healed when Syria began backing the Shi'ite **Amal** militia's campaign against the Palestinian refugee camps and both sides largely drew together to fend off Amal's fighters.

While the PFLP and like-minded groups agreed with certain of the grievances and criticisms of Arafat expressed by the Abu Musa faction, they grew anxious for the integrity of the PLO and its independence from the control of Arab governments. The outbreak of the first Palestinian **intifada** of 1987–1991 in the West Bank and Gaza Strip changed the focus of terrorist or insurgent activity from outside to within the borders of the former Mandate of Palestine. On 15 November 1988, the 18th PNC declared an independent Palestinian state in the occupied territories and tied PLO acceptance of United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338 to Israeli withdrawal from those territories. The PLO as a whole formally adopted al Fatah's long-standing declaratory policy of abstaining from terrorism outside Israel and the Israeli-occupied territories, making cessation of terrorism within those areas also dependent on an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Following 14 December 1988 the United States and the PLO engaged in a diplomatic dialogue, which was suspended temporarily following a Palestine Liberation Front raid on a Tel Aviv beach on 30 May 1990. With the 13 September 1993 Oslo Peace Accords with

Israel concluded, the PLO in principle renounced further insurgent or terrorist activity within Israel proper or the occupied territories.

The PLO developed legislative, executive, and quasi-judicial and police functions very much along the lines of a government-in-exile. The PNC became the highest decision-making body, having met in 22 sessions attended by delegates representing the various guerrilla groups and the Palestinian “popular organizations,” as well as a number of independents who represented geographic locations. The PNC determined overall policy and elected members of the PLO Executive Committee, a 15-member group headed by a chairman that ran the day-to-day functions of the PLO. In 1973 the PLO Executive Committee created the PLO Central Council to serve as a sounding board of policy during the long periods between PNC sessions. This device allowed groups such as George Habash’s PFLP the opportunity to be consulted on policy matters even while they were grandstanding their differences with al Fatah and Yasir Arafat by boycotting sessions of the Executive Committee. The Palestine Armed Struggle Command was created as a PLO military police used to patrol the refugee camps and to control guerrillas.

The PLO developed a social welfare bureaucracy, a collection of archives, a research center, and the rudiments of a foreign service. With this governmental infrastructure, the recognition by other nations of the Palestinians as a national community, and the capacity to maintain diplomatic relations, all the PLO lacked for making a full claim to statehood was an independent territory to govern. With Israel’s ceding control of Gaza, Jericho, and other portions of the West Bank to the Palestinian Authority, there developed a de facto Palestinian state even though it was not officially declared, as Yasir Arafat had originally intended to do in May 1999.

Within the PLO, the *tanzimat*, or guerrilla organizations, played roles similar to political parties in a parliamentary system. The dominant group within the PLO since 1969 was al Fatah, which may be considered the nationalist right wing of the PLO. The groups Black September and Force 17 were al Fatah subgroups created to carry out covert operations and did not have independent status in the PLO. The second most influential group was George Habash’s PFLP, which represented the Pan-Arabist Marxist-Leninist left wing of the PLO. The central position was held by the **Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine** (DFLP). **Al Sa’iqa** was the second

oldest guerrilla group within the PLO and usually followed the lead of al Fatah, although it was also highly influenced by Syrian state sponsorship. The **Arab Liberation Front** (ALF) was partial toward the PFLP and was highly influenced by the former sponsorship of Iraq. The **Palestine Liberation Front** (PLF) alternated between supporting the PFLP and al Fatah and was very much influenced by Iraqi sponsorship during the regime of Saddam Hussein. The **Popular Struggle Front** had quit the PLO in 1974 because of disagreement with al Fatah's policies but rejoined it in 1991 and was under Syrian influence. The Palestine Communist Party entered the PLO in 1982 on a par with the tanzimat, despite lacking an armed wing, because of its ability to mobilize mass action in the West Bank due to its deeply rooted political infrastructure there.

Al Fatah is estimated to have more than 10,000 members, the PFLP about 800 members, and the DFLP about 500 members. Other constituent members of the PLO have, since the early 1990s, become inactive and lost influence within the PLO: Al Sa'iqa, which once had about 2,000 members, is now inactive with only a few members remaining in Syria and Lebanon. Similarly, the Arab Liberation Front, which had at most about 500 members, is inactive. The Palestine Liberation Front had about 50 members but has been mostly inactive since 1990, and the Popular Struggle Front, which had about 300 members, is also inactive.

The **Fatah Revolutionary Council** run by **Abu Nidal** was never officially a part of the PLO or al Fatah even though Abu Nidal was a member of al Fatah until 1974. Abu Nidal was once under a death sentence by the PLO for having assassinated PLO officials and for having tried to assassinate Yasir Arafat. Against this perception of the Abu Nidal group is the claim by Michael Ledeen, a terrorism expert who is also a resident scholar of the American Enterprise Institute, that the Abu Nidal group was in reality a covert action group organized by Yasir Arafat to assassinate potential rivals within the PLO as well as to carry out terrorist actions for which the PLO would have plausible deniability. This information is based solely on the testimony of Ion Mihai Pacepa, the former Romanian intelligence service chief who defected to the United States in July 1978, and is not regarded as credible by all analysts.

The PFLP-General Command of Ahmad Jibril was expelled from the PLO in 1983. The PFLP Special Operations Group was a breakaway

group of the PFLP and has been defunct since the death of its leader in 1978. The **Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Factions (FARL)**, the **May 15 Organization**, and the **PFLP-Special Command** were all offshoots of the PFLP-Special Operations Group and have never been part of the PLO. The Islamic Resistance Movement, also known as **Hamas**, is an offshoot of the **Muslim Brotherhood** and, like the **Islamic Jihad** of Palestine group, has never been a part of the PLO. It should be noted, however, that individual members of these latter organizations may have overlapping memberships in PLO groups.

After the signing of the September 1993 Oslo Accords, the PLO generally dominated the Palestinian Authority, established to administer the autonomous areas of Gaza and the West Bank created with Israeli's withdrawals over time. On 20 January 1996 elections were held for the 88-seat Palestinian Legislative Council and for president of the Palestinian Authority, in which al Fatah won 66 of the 88 council seats and Arafat won 88 percent of the vote to Samiha Khalil's 11.5 percent. Under the Oslo Accords' electoral provisions, the members of this council would be automatically considered members of the Palestine National Council. On 12 February 1996 Arafat was sworn in as president of the PA interim government. On 22 April 1996 the Palestine National Council convened in Gaza for its 21st session, for the first time on Palestinian soil since 1966, with 558 delegates representing Palestinians both in the diaspora and within the lands under the Palestinian Authority or still under Israeli control.

The 21st PNC voted on 24 April 1996 by 504-54, with 14 abstentions, to annul anything in the PLO Charter calling for the destruction of the State of Israel. This PNC meeting was attended by PFLP leader George Habash and DFLP leader Nayef Hawatmeh, both critics of the Oslo Accords; by Muhammad Abbas, also known as Abu Abbas, leader of the PLF; and by Muhammad Daoud Odeh, who led the Black September assault on the Israeli Olympic team in the 1972 Summer Munich Olympics. The PFLP-General Command, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad in Palestine were not members of the PNC and so not represented. Following the Wye River Accord, the PLO Central Council met on 10 December 1998 to vote to abrogate Articles 9, 15, 19, and 22 of the PLO Charter, which in essence require armed struggle to destroy the State of Israel as the basis for Palestinian statehood. The PNC had to reconvene in December 1998 to endorse by open vote this abrogation of these articles, which was done on

14 December 1998 by show of hands in the presence of President Bill Clinton.

In 2007 the growing rift between Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas, who became the head of both al Fatah and the PLO following the death of Arafat in 2004, and Ismail Haniyah, the Hamas member elected as Palestinian prime minister, led to Abbas dismissing Haniyah from the PA government on 14 June 2007. With the subsequent outbreak of civil war between the PA, dominated by al Fatah's Mahmoud Abbas, and Hamas, which seized control of the Gaza Strip from Palestinian forces loyal to al Fatah and the older PLO leadership, al Fatah has asserted its authority over the PA and sought through both the Arab League and the United Nations to denounce and isolate Hamas.

While the creation of the Palestinian Authority would have seemed to be the prelude for the members and functions of the PLO to have been absorbed and replaced by the new PA institutions, the effective civil war between the **Islamic fundamentalist** Palestinian groups and the secular groups that make up the PLO could lead either to a revival and strengthening of the PLO, as a core group distinct from the PA structure, or else to its demise if it proves unable to maintain its control over the West Bank and its influence within the Palestinian diaspora. Although the U.S. State Department does not list the PLO as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO), nor has placed it on an exclusion list, the U.S. Congress on 2 January 2006 declared the PLO to be a terrorist organization according to the definition of terrorist organization given in Title 22, U.S. Code, Chapter 61, citing as evidence six PLO-sponsored attacks in the period 1970–1985, including the 1985 *Achille Lauro* hijacking. The U.S. ambivalence toward the PLO exists not only between its executive and legislative branches but also within the executive branch; the U.S. State Department has kept the PFLP listed as an FTO even though the PFLP forms the second-largest faction of the PLO, which itself is not designated as an FTO. The 27 November 2007 meeting in Annapolis of President George W. Bush with PA President Mahmoud Abbas and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert indicates the recognition by the United States and Israel that keeping the PA government under PLO control is necessary both to keep the Israeli-Palestinian peace process alive and also to prevent the takeover of the rest of the Palestinian territories by the more intransigent Hamas movement.

PAN AM FLIGHT 103 BOMBING. On 21 December 1988 Pan American World Airways (Pan Am) Flight 103, a Boeing 747 flying from London to New York, exploded at about 30,000 feet over Scotland. All 259 aboard perished, while the falling debris of the aircraft killed 11 people in the Scottish village of Lockerbie. Reconstruction of the **bomb** from the debris that was scattered over a large area of southwestern Scotland revealed that the bomb was made with Semtex explosive concealed in a Toshiba radio-cassette player, identical to bombs made by the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command** (PFLP-GC) group of Ahmad Jibril that had been seized by West German police in a raid on a PFLP-GC cell on 26 October 1988. Knowing from this the type of timing device used in the bomb, investigators determined that the bomb had been intended to explode once the airplane was over the Atlantic Ocean. A delay in departure of 25 minutes at London's Heathrow Airport caused the plane to explode instead over land, which made reconstructing the bomb and identification of its source possible. Forensic analysis of the luggage in which the bomb was placed revealed that the bomb had been loaded onto the plane in luggage booked for a connecting flight in Frankfurt and that the original source of the luggage was Malta.

While investigators had been certain that the bomb was manufactured by the PFLP-GC, an **entrepreneurial** terrorist group having ties with Iran, Libya, and Syria, this alone did not establish directly that the same group had itself planted the bomb nor did it reveal which state, if any, had sponsored the **bombing**. Originally, credit for the bombing was claimed by telephone in the name of the **Guardians of the Islamic Revolution**, causing suspicion to center on Iran, which was seen as having a sufficient motive in avenging the deaths of 290 passengers and crew killed when the USS *Vincennes* shot down Iran Air Flight 655 on 3 July 1988 by mistake. The Maltese origin of the luggage, however, also suggested Libyan sponsorship.

Following further investigations, the United States issued indictments on 14 November 1991 against two Libyan officials, charging the Libyan government with **state sponsorship** of the bombing. In its April 1992 report on global terrorism, the U.S. State Department published evidence linking the Libyan regime with the bombing, while **Muammar Qaddafi** at first refused to **extradite** the two officials named in those indictments. The refusal of Libya to extradite

the two men, the intelligence official Abdel Basset Al Megrahi and the diplomat Al-Amin Khalifa Fahimah, as well as its refusal to cooperate in the investigation of the **UTA Flight 772 bombing**, led to imposition of UN Security Council Resolution 731 on 21 January 1992, condemning Libyan intransigence, and also Resolution 748 on 31 March 1992 imposing an air traffic embargo on Libya, banning arms sales and other military aid to Libya, and limiting Libya's diplomatic ties with other nations if it did not comply by 15 April. On 30 April 1992 Qaddafi announced that he would not hand over the suspects. By 11 November 1993 the UN Security Council tightened the economic sanctions on Libya, which, by Qaddafi's own admission, caused losses to Libya of \$23.5 billion by mid-1997.

Economic isolation together with falling oil prices led to 600 percent inflation in the period 1997–1999 and severe shortages of basic goods. When Libya announced that it would hand over the two suspects for trial before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the Netherlands, both the United States and Great Britain rejected this on the grounds that either a Scottish or U.S. court should have jurisdiction given that the bombing occurred within Scottish territory and killed several residents of Lockerbie and given that it was a U.S. air carrier and the majority of victims had been U.S. citizens.

During 1998 both Great Britain and the United States came to accept the condition of holding the trial for the two Libyan suspects before the ICJ at The Hague on the condition that they be tried by a panel of three Scottish judges under Scottish law and that the suspects be liable to imprisonment in Scotland should they be found guilty, conditions that Qaddafi rejected. After South African President Nelson Mandela met and conferred with Qaddafi, Libya announced to the United Nations, on 19 March 1999, that it would hand over the two suspects for trial in the Netherlands.

On 5 April 1999 the two suspects were flown to Utrecht to be held at a stockade at Camp Zeist, an old North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air base that would be treated as Scottish territory for the duration of their trial, which satisfied U.S. and British demands that Scotland have jurisdiction over the accused. Shortly after their arrival at Camp Zeist aboard an Italian 707 with UN markings, Scottish police formally charged the two men with conspiracy, murder, and violation of the Air Security Act of 1982. The trial began on 3 May 2000. On 31 January 2001 the three judges ruled that the diplomat

Fahimah was not guilty but unanimously found Al Megrahi guilty. Fahimah returned to Libya the next day, and Al Megrahi remained imprisoned at Camp Zeist while his appeal process moved the case to the five-judge Scottish Criminal Cases Review Commission. On 28 June 2007 the Commission moved the case to the Scottish Court of Criminal Appeals for review, while Al Megrahi continues to serve the remainder of his 27-year sentence in Glenrock Prison, Scotland.

On 15 August 2003 Libya's ambassador to the United Nations, Ahmed Awn, submitted a letter to the UN Security Council admitting responsibility "for the actions of its officials." Libya then paid compensation of \$8 million to each of the families of the victims. The United Nations lifted all remaining sanctions, and on 15 May 2006 the United States removed Libya from its list of **state sponsors of terrorism** and resumed diplomatic relations.

PATRIOTIC PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT (PPM). The PPM was a left-wing Sinhalese organization whose terrorist activities had the limited aim of sabotaging the 1987 Indian–Sri Lankan military accord. Activities included intimidation against Sri Lankan supporters of the agreement that allowed Indian troops into Sri Lanka to quell the Tamil separatist groups. On 18 August 1987, two members of the PPM fired at least one shot and threw two hand grenades at President J. R. Jayewardene and members of his cabinet as they were entering the parliament building, killing one member of the parliament and injuring 15 others, including Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa and several cabinet members. A PPM communiqué to the British Broadcasting Corporation stated the attack was in retaliation for the Sri Lankan government entering into an accord with Tamil separatists brokered by India allowing the Tamil minority greater autonomy. The PPM campaign of threats against voters during the 1988 presidential elections appeared to generate a backlash that may well have brought about the electoral victory of Premadasa. The group then became defunct. *See also* LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM.

PEOPLE AGAINST GANGSTERISM AND DRUGS (PAGAD). PAGAD was a South African group composed mainly of Muslims of East Indian, Malay, and some ethnic African origins, who sought the limited aim of fighting drug traffickers in Cape Town's Cape Flats area. Following the end of the apartheid regime in April 1994, South Africa experienced soaring crime rates, and PAGAD began its activi-

ties in 1995 when its members staged public marches on the homes of suspected drug dealers. This was followed on 4 August 1996 with the vigilante murder of Rashaad Staggie, leader of the Hard Livings criminal gang, whose body was then burned. This was followed by more lynchings of suspected drug dealers and pornography vendors, but none of the group's members were charged for those offenses. Eventually PAGAD expanded its targets to include moderate Muslims, synagogues, gay bars, and even South African police and judicial officials investigating the group.

PAGAD appears to have emerged out of the group Qibla, a small radical Islamic group led by Achmad Cassiem who, inspired by Iran's **Ayatollah Ruhallah Khomeini**, founded Qibla in the 1980s to establish an Islamic state in South Africa. The memberships of PAGAD and Qibla tended to overlap, and although PAGAD developed a much larger following than the 250 or so adherents of Qibla, it appeared that Qibla co-opted PAGAD's larger following to its own anti-Western stances and took over much of the leadership of PAGAD. Consequently the mass media tended to treat the two groups as if they were one group. The U.S. Department of State believed that both groups had ties to Islamic extremists in the Middle East.

About 50 gunmen were associated with PAGAD, and both Qibla and PAGAD operated mainly in the region of Cape Town. Qibla routinely criticized U.S. policies toward the Muslim world and used state radio station 786 to promote its own message and to mobilize Muslims. PAGAD was suspected of conducting 170 **bombings** and 18 other violent acts in 1998 alone. Qibla and PAGAD were suspected of having conducted the 25 August 1998 bombing of the Planet Hollywood lounge and dance hall in Cape Town, but no PAGAD member was ever prosecuted for this attack. The groups often used the front names Muslims Against Global Oppression (MAGO) and Muslims Against Illegitimate Leaders (MAIL) in their anti-Western campaigns. Qibla organized protests against the state visits of President Bill Clinton and British Prime Minister Tony Blair in 1999.

In early 1999 the South African government issued emergency antiterrorist legislation strikingly similar to that of the antiterrorist legislation of the apartheid regime directed specifically at Islamic radical groups such as these. Following a car bombing of the Obz Café in Cape Town's nightclub district on 4 September 2000, one of the judicial officials investigating PAGAD, Judge Pieter Theron,

was murdered in a drive-by shooting on 8 September 2000. The last major attack by PAGAD was the 16 November 2002 bombing of the South African Police Services serious crimes office, located in the Cape Town district of Bishop Lavis, which did not result in any deaths or serious injuries. In total, PAGAD was held responsible for killing three people and injuring more than 100. Since 2002 the group has been inactive due to a crackdown on the group by South African police and due to vigorous prosecutions by the courts.

PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (ERP). The Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo was the armed wing of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, or Workers Revolutionary Party of Argentina, a Trotskyite political party founded in 1965. This group sought to launch a **revolution** in the 1970s to overthrow the military regime in Argentina. Although doctrinally Trotskyite, the ERP sent members to Cuba in the early 1960s to establish links with the regime of Fidel Castro. In Havana many of the ERP's main cadres conferred with their compatriot **Ernesto "Che" Guevara**. During the 1970s the ERP also collaborated with leftist Peronist groups and had some contact with the **Sandinistas**.

As part of its short-term tactics, the ERP sought to embarrass and stymie the Argentinean military regime, to force foreign investors to bear the costs of the revolution through **kidnapping** and **extortion**, and to win popular support by forcing foreign firms to engage in highly publicized distributions of goods and services to the urban poor in exchange for the lives of their local executives, whom the ERP held hostage. In these actions the group imitated the **Tupamaros** of Uruguay, and some analysts believe many Tupamaros had made their way into the ERP following their suppression in Uruguay.

During the 1970s the ERP became the most effective and boldest Latin American guerrilla group, in large part due to the charismatic **leadership** of Roberto Santucho. The ERP organized itself into cells to carry out urban terrorist operations and viewed itself as the army of the masses. Beginning in 1970 the ERP was mainly active in the urban areas of Buenos Aires, Cordoba, Santa Fe, and Tucumán. By 1975 it had expanded its operations from purely urban terrorism to include rural guerrilla operations spread throughout many of Argentina's provinces. By October 1977, however, the ERP had been eradicated from all areas except metropolitan Buenos Aires.

A brief history of ERP operations follows: The ERP initiated its career in 1969 and carried out a series of bank robberies in Rosario during 1970. During 1972 the ERP discovered the more lucrative expedient of kidnapping foreign businessmen for ransom while **targeting** members of the military government for **assassination**. On 10 April 1972 the ERP killed both General Juan Carlos Sánchez in Rosario and Dr. Oberdan Sallustro, president of the Argentinean branch of Fiat, whom they had kidnapped two weeks before. On 30 April 1972 the ERP assassinated Rear Admiral Hermes Quijada.

In the next two years, the ERP changed its tactics from urban terrorism to carrying out open military assaults upon various garrisons and small towns to build up its material strength and to begin creating an ERP-controlled zone in the mountainous areas. These attacks culminated in the 23 December 1975 attack on the barracks and armory of Monte Chingolo, which was defeated by Argentinean military and security forces. On 19 July 1976 the leader of the ERP, Roberto Santucho, was killed in Buenos Aires along with his deputy commander, after which the fortunes of the group declined. Within a year the **insurgency** had been smashed. Leadership of the ERP passed to Enrique Gorriarán Merlo, who fled the country in 1977, apparently to Nicaragua where he worked with the **Sandinista** regime's security forces.

Remnants of the ERP went into exile and formed a leftist hit team for hire, calling themselves Red Action. On 17 September 1980, seven members of Red Action led by Gorriarán assassinated the exiled Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle along with members of his entourage as they drove through Asunción, Paraguay. Red Action was foiled in a kidnapping attempt in Mexico in 1981 and several of its members were captured. In 1987 Gorriarán took advantage of an amnesty to return to Argentina, where he became a leader of the Movimiento Todos por la Patria (MTP), or All for the Fatherland Movement. On 23 January 1989 Gorriarán led 40 MTP members, mainly former ERP members, in an armed attack on the La Tablada military barracks, supposedly to prevent a right-wing military coup. By the time the Argentinean army retook the barracks, 39 people had been killed and about 60 injured. Gorriarán escaped and later was arrested in Mexico in October 1995 and then was tried and convicted for charges arising from the attack. His sentence was eventually commuted, and he was released on 23 May 2003. *See also* DIRTY WAR; MONTONEROS; POPULAR RESISTANCE FRONT.

PEOPLE'S WAR GROUP. *See* NAXALITES.

PERUVIAN JAPANESE EMBASSY HOSTAGE CRISIS. On 17 December 1996 about 14 guerrillas of the **Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement** (MRTA) stormed the residence of the Japanese ambassador in Lima, Peru, just as a reception honoring the birthday of Emperor Akihito began, taking about 490 guests hostage, among them the head of the Supreme Court, the Peruvian ministers of agriculture and foreign affairs, six members of the Peruvian Congress, the ambassadors of Austria, Brazil, Bolivia, Cuba, Japan, South Korea, and Venezuela, six U.S. embassy officials, and the mother, sister, and brother of President Alberto Fujimori. Some of the MRTA members entered disguised as delivery personnel bringing in crates of champagne while others blasted a hole in the wall of the compound and entered from a nearby home. The rebels threatened to kill their hostages if 400 of their jailed comrades were not released. The attackers were being led by the MRTA's leader, Néstor Cerpa Cartolini. Several people escaped before the MRTA could secure a perimeter, while the bodyguard assigned to Fujimori's family bolted past his captors when they opened the residence door to receive some Red Cross officials. Fujimori's relatives were among the first hostages to be released by the captors.

This raid came as a great shock because the MRTA had seemed to fade into insignificance beside the **insurgency** of the **Sendero Luminoso**, which President Fujimori had successfully contained. Among the 400 MRTA prisoners whose release was being sought by the hostage takers was Víctor Polay Campos, the founder of the MRTA, who had been captured in 1989.

The MRTA captors began releasing captives, 38 on 21 December and 225 on 23 December, until only 74 hostages remained by 23 January 1997. On 12 January 1997 the Peruvian government announced it was setting up a negotiating commission. In fact, U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Peruvian counterterrorism agents were using the deliveries of Red Cross food, beds, and other supplies, as well as the "negotiators," both to buy time and to gather intelligence on the hostage takers. By the end of January, two more hostages had been released, bringing down to 72 the total number left in the hands of the MRTA.

On 3 March 1997 President Fujimori, who had paid a sudden visit to Fidel Castro in Cuba, announced that the MRTA captors would

be allowed to leave for **asylum** in Cuba. However, the captors grew nervous as it became evident to all that government forces were tunneling beneath the residence compound, and talks between captors and negotiators would start and stop fitfully throughout March. At 3:30 p.m. on 22 April 1997, as the female captors were watching television and several of their male comrades were playing soccer in the living room, about 150 counterterrorist Peruvian troops initiated their rescue action by exploding a charge set under the living room, killing the eight soccer players and giving the rescue team access to the residence. Néstor Cerpa was shot to death as he was racing up the stairs in order to slay the hostages. Those remaining terrorists who were not killed in the initial assault were summarily executed, and only two soldiers and one hostage, the former Supreme Court Justice Carlos Giusti Acuña, were killed as a result of the raid.

With this successful raid and the killing of the top leader of the MRTA, the organization was largely destroyed, with fewer than 100 cadres remaining at large.

PESHMERGA. A Kurdish word meaning “(one who puts himself) in front of death,” *peshmerga* is a generic term used to refer to Kurdish guerrilla fighters among the **Kurdish Workers’ Party** (PKK), Kurdistan Democratic Party, and other Kurdish armed groups, whether of leftist or nationalistic complexion. Like the Arabic term *Fida’i* (plural, *Fida’iyin*; also spelled *Fedayeen*, meaning “one who offers [self-] sacrifice), the term has been so generally appropriated by various and often opposing Kurdish groups that, by itself, it gives little clear identification of which group a particular peshmerga may represent.

PHALANGE. The Lebanese Phalangist Party, also known by its Arabic name, the Kata’ib, was a right-wing Lebanese militia with the aims of preserving the dominant political and social position of Maronite Christians within Lebanon, repressing other confessional or political groups that might challenge Maronite supremacy, and preserving the independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon from encroachment by Syria, the Palestinians, or other outsiders. The Phalange was founded by Pierre Gemayel in 1936 on the model of other Phalangist groups in Spain and Italy, which were Fascist paramilitary political parties. By the 1970s the relative growth in the population of the non-Maronite groups in Lebanon and the transformation of southern Lebanon into a bastion for **al Fatah** guerrillas made Maronite

supremacy in Lebanese politics untenable and led to the outbreak of civil war on 13 April 1975. Unable to match the combined strength of the Palestinian and non-Maronite forces, the Phalangists invited the Syrians to intervene, which occurred on 1 June 1976. Syria afterward alternated its **state sponsorship** between other groups, such as the Shi'ite and Druze militias, and the Phalange in order to maintain Syrian dominance in Lebanon. Pierre Gemayel's older son, Bashir Gemayel, became head of the Phalange in August 1976 and later was elected president of Lebanon in September 1982.

The Phalangists had been supported by the United States as a group that had been generally pro-Western and also by Israel since the enmity between the Phalange and the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) disposed the Phalange to act as a tactical ally of Israel. Following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and siege of Beirut, the Phalangists undertook a two-day-long massacre of the Palestinian inhabitants of the Shatila and Sabra refugee camps on 16 September 1982 to avenge the **bombing** attack by Syrian agents that killed their leader, Bashir Gemayel, two days earlier. At least 800 people perished, most of them unarmed civilians. The Phalangist commander responsible for carrying out this massacre, Elie Hobeika, was **assassinated** by a car bomb in the Beirut suburb of Hazmiyeh on 24 January 2002. Amine Gemayel, the younger son of Pierre Gemayel, was elected president by the National Assembly on 21 September 1982, serving until his term ended on 23 September 1988. Following the death of Pierre Gemayel in 1984, the Phalange began to split into rival factions.

In 1989 most of the parliamentary deputies of Lebanon gathered in Taif, Saudi Arabia, to work out a compromise to end the Lebanese civil war. The agreement that was concluded allowed a de facto partition of Lebanon, with Maronite Christians being allowed control over their enclave east and northeast of Beirut, and the election of a Maronite as president. Although Elias Hrawi, a Phalangist, was elected president, the commander of the Phalangist force, General Michel Aoun (1935–), refused to accept the partition plan and defected from the Phalange to form his own party, the Free Patriotic Movement. On October 1990, while Israel was too preoccupied with the Persian Gulf crisis to come to the aid of its Lebanese ally, President Hrawi called on Syria to deploy its forces in a massive attack on Aoun's headquarters in which over 800 of his troops were killed and he himself fled. While the Phalangists continued to exist as a political party, both

their political and military influence markedly declined following this event for the remainder of the 1990s.

Amine Gemayel, who left Lebanon after his presidential term had ended, returned to Lebanon in 2000 and began organizing his own faction of the Phalange, seeking reconciliation with other Phalange factions that viewed President Emile Lahoud as being too subservient to Syria. Following the assassination of Rafik Hariri on 14 February 2005, the reconstituted Phalange Party took part in the “Cedar Revolution” demonstrations against the Syrian occupation of Lebanon and became a party in the March 14 Alliance. In the 29 May–20 June 2005 parliamentary elections, the Phalange gained three seats in the 128-seat National Assembly. As a partner in the March 14 Alliance, which won 72 seats, the Phalange became part of the governing parliamentary government. Pierre Amine Gemayel, the son of Amine Gemayel, became Minister of Industry but was assassinated on 21 November 2006 by a machine-gun attack by pro-Syrian gunmen. Antoine Ghanem, another Phalangist member of the government, was also assassinated on 19 September 2007 by a car bombing. Both Syria and the Shi’ite Islamic fundamentalist **Hezbollah** party, which has vowed to avenge itself on all Phalange leaders for alleged past injustices as well as to undermine the existing Lebanese government coalition, are suspected of complicity in these assassinations.

PHINEAS PRIESTHOOD. Label used by **white supremacist** and anti-state extremists who violently oppose sexual relations between whites and nonwhites, “sexual immorality” (in particular, homosexuality), and abortion. Although those who call themselves Phineas priests also subscribe to the anti-Semitic tenets of **Identity Christianity**, ironically, they take their name from an Israelite hero, Phinehas, the grandson of the Israelite high priest Aaron. The notion of the Phineas Priesthood as a model of right-wing extremism comes from Richard Kelly Hoskins, a businessman in Lynchburg, Virginia, who advocated the concept in his 1990 book *Vigilantes of Christendom: The Story of the Phineas Priesthood*. In the biblical account in the book of Numbers, chapter 25, verses 7–13, Phinehas moved God to stop a plague that he had inflicted upon the Israelites as a divine punishment for their intermarriage with the idolatrous Midianites, by killing the chief offender among the Israelites along with his Midianite wife. As a divine reward

for this act of zeal, Phinehas and his descendants were rewarded with the high priesthood in perpetuity.

It is not known whether there is a network of related Phineas Priesthood groups or whether the name is simply used by a number of phantom cell groups to confuse authorities. However, in 1991, after six men made an **arson** attack on a gay book and video store in Shelby, North Carolina, in which three patrons along with the bookstore owner were shot dead and the store burned down, credit for the attack was claimed in the name of the Phineas Priesthood.

In the period April–October 1996, a gang of four men calling themselves the Phineas Priesthood conducted two bank robberies in Spokane, Washington, and **bombed** the Spokane City Hall, a local newspaper, and Planned Parenthood clinic but without causing injuries to anyone. Three men, Verne J. Merrill, Charles Barbee, and Robert Berry, were identified and arrested on 8 October 1996 after a foiled bank robbery attempt near Portland, Oregon. After a mistrial on 2 April 1997, the three were eventually convicted in Federal District Court in Spokane on 24 July 1997 on charges of conspiracy, illegal possession of hand grenades, and interstate transportation of stolen vehicles. A fourth suspect in the Planned Parenthood bombing, Brian Ratigan, was tried and convicted separately later. On 21 May 1999 the Ninth Circuit Federal Court of Appeals upheld the convictions of all four men.

On 10 August 1999 a white supremacist, Buford O’Neal Furrow, opened fire with a semiautomatic gun on the North Valley Jewish Community Center in Los Angeles, injuring five people and later killing a postal worker. Although Furrow did not identify himself as a Phineas priest at the time of his arrest, a search of his car revealed a copy of Hoskins’s book along with five rifles and hundreds of rounds of ammunition.

PHYSIOLOGICAL (STIMULUS-REINFORCEMENT) MODEL

OF TERRORISM. A psychological model explaining recruitment into terrorism, as well as the terrorist **contagion effect** that uses a physiological model of individual-level response to terrorist stimuli seeking also to take account of social experiences and the upbringing of those attracted to terrorism. Kent L. Oots and Thomas C. Wiegeler, in their article “Terrorist and Victim: Psychiatric and Physiological Approaches from a Social Science Perspective” (*Terrorism: An International Journal* 8, no. 1 [1985]: 1-32), noted four factors that

together may account for any psychological satisfactions associated with perpetrating terror:

1) Biological predisposition: Being male and being relatively young (17–22 years) seem to be frequent attributes of most terrorists. 2) Individual psychological background: In their reviews of the psychiatric and criminological literature, Oots and Wiegele noted that terrorists frequently came from single-parent homes or had frequent run-ins with the law as juveniles, as well as having certain narcissistic personality traits, such as unrealistically high self-esteem and a low regard for the intelligence or feelings of others. 3) Political cause or pretext: All terrorists claim that their acts of violence are justified as being in the service of a higher political or moral cause. 4) Reinforcement: The terrorist act gives relief to the hormonal stresses of the terrorist. The aggression and anxiety produced by high testosterone levels produces increased levels of norepinephrine and epinephrine, the **fight-or-flight response** neurohormones. Engaging in violence (or flight) produces “release” from these stresses by triggering release of endorphins—naturally occurring morphine-analogue painkillers—which creates a natural “high” or euphoria. With repetition, these feelings of release and exhilaration from committing terrorist acts are reinforced, becoming stronger and more pleasant.

This model, if correct, has sobering implications: there is no way to predict exactly which individuals out of the population of susceptible, young, narcissistic males will turn into terrorists. Since political causes are merely invoked as pretexts for acting out physiologically and psychologically driven rages, there is no guarantee that terrorism would cease even if all purported political and social root causes for grievances were addressed and resolved. Finally, there is no way in a free and democratic society to forestall the contagion effect caused by media attention to the terrorist act.

POLITICAL OFFENSE EXCEPTION. Legal doctrine that allows nations to refuse requests for **extradition** in cases in which the person being sought for extradition is being persecuted for his or her race, religion, nationality, ethnic affiliation, or political opinion and who cannot secure legal protection from such persecution in the country from which he or she is fleeing. Such a person has the right to request political **asylum** in the country to which she or he has fled. The political offense exception, which would grant such refugees a

right to remain in the country to which they have fled and protect them from deportation or extradition to the country of origin, may not include serious nonpolitical offenses, such as murder, assault, or participation in acts of persecution against others on account of race, religion, nationality, ethnic affiliation, or political belief. The rights of refugees to asylum and obligations of nations are specified in the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951 and also the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees.

POLITICAL REFUGEE STATUS. *See* ASYLUM.

POPULAR FORCES OF 25 APRIL (FP-25). The Forças Populares do 25 Abril was a Portuguese Communist terrorist group formed in 1980 by Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, one of the leaders of the revolution of 25 April 1974 against the Salazar dictatorship. The FP-25 group was dedicated to overthrowing the post-1975 democratic Portuguese government in favor of some sort of revolutionary Marxist state. It also opposed Portugal's participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and was anti-American. The group was not known to have any ties with sponsoring states or other terrorist groups, although it has been speculated that the FP-25 had collaborated with **Basque Fatherland and Liberty** (ETA) and the **Red Army Faction** (RAF) and that it had received some support from Libya. The name refers to the 25 April 1975 military coup that ended the former right-wing regime. The FP-25 also used the names Autonomous Revolutionary Groups and Armed Revolutionary Organization.

FP-25 incidents in 1980–1986 included 26 **bombings**, including firebombings, five armed attacks involving mortars and antitank rockets, and four **assassinations**, while the remaining five were miscellaneous actions such as a prison breakout, a **kidnapping**, some robberies, and the like.

On 28 October 1984 the FP-25 tried to fire two antitank rockets at the U.S. embassy but failed due to a malfunction in the launching mechanism. On 25 November 1984, the ninth anniversary of the failed Communist coup attempt, the group fired four mortar rounds at the U.S. embassy but only hit two vehicles. On 9 December 1984 it fired four mortar rounds at the NATO Iberian Atlantic Command headquarters outside Lisbon, damaging some buildings and one car. On 28 January 1985 it fired three mortar rounds at six NATO ships at anchor in Lisbon harbor, failing to hit any of them.

During 1984 Portuguese counterterrorism units managed to arrest 56 members, and in June 1984 authorities arrested the leader of the group, Otelo, who was then convicted on charges arising from the attacks by the FP-25 group. In July 1985 one of the key prosecution witnesses, a defecting FP-25 member, was murdered before he could testify, and in September 1985, 10 imprisoned members managed to escape. In the following year, the group made another attempt to bomb the U.S. embassy and to bombard the NATO Iberian Atlantic Command with mortars but without success. In September 1986 a group calling itself the Armed Revolutionary Organization appeared, which authorities believed to be the FP-25 group under a new name. According to U.S. State Department analyst Dennis Pluchinsky, the FP-25 probably ceased to exist in 1987 and was certainly defunct by 1992. In 1989 Otela was amnestied, and in 1992 the Portuguese government granted a general amnesty to all remaining FP-25 members.

POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE (PFLP). Founded on 11 December 1967, the Jabhah al-Sha‘biyyah li-Tahrir Filastin, or Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, has been the main rival of **al Fatah** within the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**. Led by Dr. George Habash until 29 April 2000, when he resigned in favor of Abu Ali Mustafa Zubari, the PFLP stresses Pan-Arabism and considers the Palestinian struggle as only one part of a broader **revolution** against both imperialism and reactionary politics within the Arab world. The organization currently has about 800 members, down from about 1,000 previously, and has operated in Lebanon, Israel and the territories occupied by Israel, the rest of the Middle East, and Europe. In the past, it received most of its funds and weapons from Libya and Syria.

The PFLP is a self-proclaimed Marxist organization and, unlike al Fatah, has not refrained from intervening in the politics of Arab host countries. PFLP intrigues and challenges to the Jordanian regime led eventually to the ouster of the PLO from Jordanian territory beginning in October 1970. Once the PLO relocated its forces in Lebanon, the PFLP alliance with leftist militias in Lebanon against the right-wing **Phalange** helped precipitate the Lebanese civil war in 1975, dragging the entire PLO into the conflict. While al Fatah has tried since 1974 to limit its terrorist attacks to Israeli **targets** within the borders of the former Mandate of Palestine, and to avoid involving

itself in extraneous politics or revolutionary movements, by contrast the PFLP has carried out joint operations with revolutionary leftist terrorist groups in Europe and elsewhere, among them the **Japanese Red Army**, the **Red Army Faction**, the **Revolutionary Cells**, and the Nicaraguan **Sandinistas**. Due to its own commitment to a secular Arab nationalism, the PFLP has eschewed support for **Islamic fundamentalist** movements generally and disowned any identification of the Palestinian struggle with notions of a religious **jihād**. With the ascendance of Palestinian groups having an Islamic fundamentalist agenda, such as **Hamas** and **Islamic Jihad** of Palestine, the PFLP has become increasingly a more marginal force among the Palestinian factions. In the 2006 Palestinian legislative elections, the PFLP won only 4.2 percent of the vote and three of the 132 seats of the Palestinian Legislative Council.

The PFLP opposed al Fatah for the latter's increasing emphasis on diplomacy rather than armed struggle and also opposed al Fatah's willingness to settle for a "mini-state" in Gaza and the West Bank rather than the whole of the former Mandate of Palestine. In 1974 the PFLP established the **Rejection Front** to oppose PLO participation in any negotiated settlement. The **PFLP-General Command**, the **Arab Liberation Front**, the **Palestine Liberation Front**, and the **Popular Struggle Front** all joined this opposition group. Opposition to the Camp David Accords drew these groups back closer to al Fatah, and the PFLP rejoined the PLO Executive Committee in 1981 after having boycotted it. Upset over an al Fatah-sponsored accommodation reached between the PLO and King Hussein of Jordan in 1985, the PFLP set up the **National Salvation Front** (NSF), composed of other groups opposed to al Fatah's diplomatic approach. The PFLP broke ranks with the NSF, however, to rejoin the mainstream PLO at the 18th Palestine National Council meeting in Algiers in 1987. The PFLP finally acceded to al Fatah's diplomatic approach and renunciation of terrorism outside Israel and territories occupied by Israel at the 19th Palestine National Council meeting held on 12–15 November 1988 in Algiers.

From 1968 until 2006 the PFLP engaged in at least 131 major actions, including 90 **bombings**, one of them a bombing of an airplane in flight; 12 **hijackings** and one failed attempted hijacking; 16 armed attacks, including one maritime rocket attack and a dinghy landing attempt scuttled by the Israeli navy; six **kidnapping** or hostage situa-

tions; and four **assassinations** and one attempted assassination. Since the second **intifada**, the PFLP, beginning in September 2001, has also sponsored at least six **suicide bombing** attacks in the name of the Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa Brigade. These include the 16 February 2002 bombing of a pizza shop in Karnie Shomron, West Bank, killing three Israelis; the Netanya market bombing on 19 May 2002, killing three Israelis; the 25 December 2003 bombing of the Geha Junction station in Petah Tikva, killing four Israelis, and the 1 November 2004 Carmel market bombing in Tel Aviv, killing three Israelis. With the adoption of effective preventive measures by Israel against suicide bombings, since 2004 the PFLP has relied increasingly on rocket-propelled explosives launched from the Gaza Strip against neighboring Israeli towns.

The actual record is confused by the tendency of PFLP splinter groups, such as Wadi al Haddad's PFLP-Special Operations Group and the Arab Nationalist Youth Organization, to claim their actions in the name of the PFLP. Among the PFLP's more notorious actions are the following: On 6 September 1970 the PFLP simultaneously hijacked three airliners, one each from Trans World Airlines (TWA), Swissair, and the British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) to Dawson's Field, north of Amman, Jordan, and a fourth airplane, a Pan American World Airways (Pan Am) flight, to Cairo. Originally the hijackers held around 310 passengers and crew hostage to force the release of imprisoned terrorists elsewhere but released all but 56 who consisted of the flight crews and Jewish passengers. These were later released in exchange for the freeing of Leyla Khaled, a comrade who had been captured in a foiled PFLP attempt to hijack an El Al flight as part of the original hijacking plan. On 12 September the hijackers blew up the captured airplanes, an event broadcast by the international mass media. While this operation was a terrorist tour de force, it also backfired since it completely exasperated King Hussein, who dispatched his armed forces to expel the Palestinians. On 30 May 1972, acting at the behest of the PFLP, three Japanese Red Army members carried out a massacre at Lod airport, killing 28 people and injuring 76 others. On 21 December 1975 **Carlos the Jackal** led a joint PFLP and Red Army Faction (RAF) group in the **OPEC Secretariat siege**. On 27 June 1976 the PFLP together with members of the Red Army Faction carried out the **Entebbe hijacking**, seizing an Air France Tel Aviv-to-Paris flight and diverting it to Entebbe, Uganda, where 240 passengers were held hostage until rescued by Israeli commandos

on 1 July 1976. Likewise, terrorists of the PFLP and RAF hijacked a Lufthansa plane to Mogadishu, Somalia, on 13 October 1977 to force the German government to release several imprisoned RAF terrorists held in Germany, but commandos of West Germany's counterterrorism strike force Grenzschutzgruppe-9 (GSG-9) foiled these hijackers in the 18 October 1977 **Mogadishu hijacking rescue**.

The brutality of these operations, which were directed very deliberately at innocent civilians, drew forth so much international condemnation and caused such embarrassment to the backers of the PFLP that, by the end of the 1970s, the PFLP came around to the al Fatah position that terrorist actions should be confined to Israeli targets within the boundaries of Israel and those territories under Israeli occupation. Dr. George Habash was highly esteemed throughout the Palestinian community and was considered a figure of integrity as well as the outstanding representative of the more radical Pan-Arabist position within the PLO. Therefore, his decision to acquiesce in, or else to resist, the PLO's renunciation of terrorism outside Israel and Israeli-occupied territories carried great weight and had far-reaching consequences.

Habash resigned as PFLP chair in 2000 in favor of Abu Ali Mustafa Zubari, whom Israel allowed to return to the West Bank after 32 years' exile in Damascus, but Zubari was killed by an Israeli helicopter gunship attack on the PFLP office in Ramallah on 27 August 2001 in retaliation for the PFLP assassination of Meir Lixenberg, a leader of four Israeli settlements in the West Bank. In retaliation for the killing of Zubari, the PFLP assassinated the Israeli minister of tourism, Rehavam Zeevi, on 17 October 2001. Zubari was succeeded as leader of the PFLP by Ahmad Saadat, who was arrested by the Palestinian Authority in January 2002 in response to U.S., Israeli, and British demands that the perpetrators of the Zeevi assassination be brought to justice. When Palestinian officials refused to **extradite** Saadat, Israeli Defense Forces raided the Jericho Prison, seizing Saadat and five other inmates, whom they removed to Israel for trial.

The Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades of the PFLP carried out two suicide bombings in the West Bank during 2002, one at Karnei Shomron on 16 February, killing three Israelis, and the other at Ariel on 7 March, which left several wounded. It also carried out a suicide bombing in Netanya, Israel, on 19 May 2002, killing six Israelis. On 25 December 2003 it carried out a suicide bombing in a bus station in Petah Tikvah, Israel. Another suicide attack on 1 November 2004

at the Carmel market in Tel Aviv left three Israelis dead. The PFLP has been critical of al Fatah in its conflict with Hamas and, in turn, Hamas has allowed the PFLP freedom within the Gaza Strip. On 17 October 2008 the PFLP held a rally in Khan Younis, in the Gaza Strip, to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the assassination of tourism minister Zeevi.

POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE-GENERAL COMMAND (PFLP-GC). The PFLP-GC, led by Ahmad Jibril, split away from the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)** in April 1968 when Jibril became disenchanted with the preoccupation of the PFLP leader, George Habash, with issues of **ideology**. While this group claimed that its primary mission was the total destruction of Israel and establishment of a Palestinian state in its place, its leader appeared quite ready to hire out the services of the group on an **entrepreneurial** basis without regard for the politics of his patrons. The group joined the Rejection Front in 1974 but was expelled from it in 1977. It was also expelled from the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** in 1983 and has remained opposed to the PLO, although it ceased direct attacks on the PLO after 1990. From 1983 to 1989 it was sponsored by Libya and Syria. After being ordered out of Libya in 1989, it then received Iranian **state sponsorship** along with state support from Syria.

Ahmad Jibril, a Palestinian, was a former captain in the Syrian army and head of the original **Arab Liberation Front**, which had helped form the PFLP in 1967. While agreeing with Habash's principle of pursuing armed struggle and rejecting a negotiated settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, Jibril has always been more interested in perfecting the mechanics of armed attacks. Because of its wayward tendency to promote factionalism within the PLO, this group was excluded from the PLO in 1983. Although the PFLP-GC has excellent operational capabilities and an impressive record of actions for so small a group (now fewer than 300 members), it has become a marginal actor within the politics of the Palestinian resistance. Internal dissension led to the splitting off of an anti-Syrian faction, the (second) **Palestine Liberation Front**, in 1976. Israel has failed in its attempt to **assassinate** Ahmad Jibril, who continues to serve as the leader of the group, although his son and presumed heir, Jihad Ahmad Jibril, was assassinated by a car bomb on 20 May 2002.

The PFLP-GC imparted good commando training and used some sophisticated and exotic hardware, such as SA-7 anti-aircraft missiles, heavy artillery, ultralight aircraft, and hang gliders. It carried out numerous cross-border assaults as well as operations in Israel's declared "security zone" in southern Lebanon. Commandos were prepared for **suicide** missions in which they are ready to kill themselves rather than be captured. In November 1987 a PFLP-GC member infiltrated Israel by crossing the security zone in a powered hang glider and succeeded in killing six Israeli soldiers and wounding seven others before he was killed.

A favorite **tactic** of this group has been to seize Israeli civilians or soldiers as hostages to force the release of Arab prisoners by Israel. On 11 April 1974 three PFLP-GC members seized an apartment building in Kiryat Shemona, demanding the release of 100 Arab prisoners by Israel. The three killed 18 hostages and injured 16 before killing themselves by setting off explosive charges wrapped around their belts when Israeli soldiers stormed the building. In the case of four Israeli soldiers captured in Lebanon, the PFLP-GC was able to negotiate their exchange for Arab prisoners, once in March 1979, exchanging one Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) soldier held one year for 76 Arab prisoners, and again in May 1985, exchanging three IDF soldiers held since September 1982 for 1,150 Arab prisoners. The PFLP-GC cooperated with the Lebanese Hezbollah group in carrying out attacks on Israeli forces in southern Lebanon during the 1980s and early 1990s.

On 26 October 1988 West German police raided a PFLP-GC cell in Frankfurt, arresting 14 members and seizing a number of weapons, Semtex explosives, and bomb detonators. Evidence obtained there linked one of those captured, Hafiz Qassim Dalkamoni, who was also a member of the PFLP-GC Central Committee, with two **bombings** of U.S. troop trains in Germany in 1987 and 1988. Following the 21 December 1988 aerial bombing of **Pan Am Flight 103** over Lockerbie, Scotland, the PFLP-GC came under suspicion as having been the agent responsible for the action when it was learned that the bomb that destroyed Pan Am 103 was very similar to those assembled by this one PFLP-GC cell. While the bomb may have been assembled by the PFLP-GC, this alone did not mean the group itself planted the bomb on the doomed airplane, and suspicion for that act was later shifted to Libyan state agencies.

During its existence, the PFLP-GC has been responsible for at least 15 terrorist attacks causing 163 fatalities and 43 injuries. Its last known attack was the bombing of an Israeli convoy in southern Lebanon on 8 July 1993, causing two deaths and three injuries.

POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE-SPECIAL COMMAND (PFLP-SC). One of three splinter groups that emerged from the Special Operations Group of the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine** (PFLP-SOG), which fell apart after the death of its leader, Wadi Haddad, in 1978. The other two groups were the **May 15** group and the **Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Factions** (FARL), both now defunct. All three groups were critical of the diplomatic approach taken by more moderate Palestinian groups since 1982.

Formed in 1979, the PFLP-SC operated mainly in Western Europe and the Middle East, claiming credit for various terrorist attacks. In April 1985 the PFLP-SC bombed a restaurant in Torrejón, Spain, killing 18 Spanish civilians. This group enjoyed Libyan and Syrian state support and was believed to have ties with the **Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia** (ASALA), Abu Nidal's **Fatah Revolutionary Council**, and FARL. The size of the group was estimated at about 50 members but after 1985 it became defunct.

POPULAR LIBERATION ARMY (EPL). The Ejército Popular de Liberación was a Maoist **revolutionary** group that sought to overthrow the Colombian state through prolonged popular warfare. It was a rural guerrilla movement founded in 1967 as the armed wing of the Communist Party of Colombia-Marxist-Leninist, a Maoist political splinter group that broke away from the pro-Moscow Communist Party of Colombia (PCC) in July 1965. Although the EPL claimed to look to Beijing for leadership, sponsorship by the People's Republic of China consisted more of moral than material support, including propaganda leaflets printed in China. During the post-Mao Zedong era, the EPL continued to espouse the Maoist line, which secured it a loyal following among a small circle of leftist intellectuals and academics. Following its return to nonviolent political participation in 1991, the EPL became a less radical left-wing political party.

The numbers of EPL guerrillas have been variously estimated from 350 to as high as 800 members. The EPL operated four fronts in the Antioquia, Cordoba, and Risaralda departments. The deaths of key

leaders in the 1970s led to internal dissent, resulting in an unstable strategic approach and consequent tactical weakness. An example of this instability can be seen in the EPL's equivocation in choosing to abide by the May 1984 government-sponsored truce, which it adhered to but did not sign.

During the late 1970s the EPL engaged in sabotage, bank robberies, **kidnappings**, and **bombings**. Many of its military clashes have been with members of the **Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia** (FARC), the armed wing of the pro-Moscow PCC. In December 1982 the EPL kidnapped a Colombian land magnate for a \$2 million ransom. In March 1984 it killed eight peasants accused of being army informants as well as killing the mayor of a small town in northwestern Colombia. After the EPL leader, Ernesto Rojas, was murdered in May 1985 by unknown **assassins**, the EPL ended its tacit compliance with the May 1984 cease-fire by attacking a town in northeastern Colombia, killing four people. In December 1985 the EPL kidnapped two U.S. citizens working for Bechtel Corporation; one died in captivity the following May and the other was later released. In June 1986 the EPL bombed the Colombian-Soviet Friendship Institute in Medellín as retaliation for attacks by FARC against EPL forces. The same month the EPL also bombed the Medellín residence of the Honduran consul, who was seriously injured.

In early 1987 the EPL turned the Uraba region into one of its more active theaters in Colombia and maintained an urban support infrastructure in Bogotá, Cali, Convención, Medellín, Pereira, Popayan, and Tierra Alta. By 1990 it entered a cease-fire and began dialogue with government mediators. In July 1991 the EPL demobilized following peace negotiations with the government and became a political party, Esperanza, Paz y Libertad (Hope, Peace and Freedom), but a dissident faction broke off and continued armed struggle. During 1994 there were 31 kidnappings attributed to this EPL splinter group. During 1997 it kidnapped 12 mayors for ransom. More recent attacks by the dissident EPL included 12 attacks in the 1990s and 10 attacks from 2000 onward, the most recent being an armed assault on a police station in Norte de Santander on 15 August 2005, resulting in four fatalities. The members of the Esperanza Party have been attacked by FARC, the **National Liberation Army** (ELN), and also the dissident EPL faction as being traitors to the revolutionary cause, with about 348 Esperanza members having been assassinated after 1991.

POPULAR MOVEMENT OF UNITED ACTION-LAUTARO. *See* LAUTARO YOUTH MOVEMENT.

POPULAR RESISTANCE FRONT. The Frente de la Resistencia Popular was an Argentinean leftist group responsible for the 23 January 1989 attack upon the Third Mechanized Infantry Regiment base at La Trablada on the southwestern outskirts of Buenos Aires. The group was composed of remnants of the **People's Revolutionary Army (ERP)**, led by Enrique Haroldo Gorriarán Merlo (1942–), the second-in-command of the ERP. Gorriarán was among the ERP remnants forming the Red Action **assassination** squad that murdered former Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza in Paraguay on 17 September 1980.

The group, numbering some 69 men and women, crashed the gates of the base, seized several recruits as hostages, took over six buildings, and fought a group of officers for three hours until police, along with army tank and artillery units, attacked the base, retaking it after 24 hours of fighting. In all, 28 attackers, nine soldiers, and two policemen were killed. About 14 people surrendered, four of whom were soldiers who had been held hostage. During the fighting Gorriarán escaped. This incident greatly shocked the Argentinean public, who believed that the leftist groups had been wiped out during the **dirty war** of the military junta of General Jorge Videla.

On 1 February 1989 the Popular Resistance Front published a communiqué in an Uruguayan leftist paper claiming responsibility and stating that its motive was to deter a military plot to launch a coup d'état against the government of President Raul Alfonsín. The communiqué identified the group as being composed of members of the All for the Fatherland Movement, founded in 1988, composed of remnants of the ERP under Gorriarán's leadership.

On 28 October 1995 Gorriarán was arrested in Mexico City and **extradited** to Argentina, where he arrived at El Palomar military base on 29 October 1995. Although a general amnesty had been issued by Argentinean President Carlos Menem in 1989, this applied only to crimes committed by either the leftist insurgents or the army during the course of the dirty war, which ended in 1983 and would not apply to Gorriarán's assault on the Third Infantry regiment base in La Trablada on 23 January 1989. Gorriarán's sentence was later commuted and he was released in 2003. *See also* PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.

POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (EPR). The Ejército Popular Revolucionario is a **revolutionary** leftist nonstate group that seeks to overthrow the current Mexican state in favor of a Marxist-Leninist regime. This group was formed in May 1994 from about 14 extreme-leftist groups centered around the former Partido Revolucionario Obrero Campesino Unión del Pueblo (PROCUP; Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Party-People's Union), which was formed by radical university students in the Mexican states of Oaxaca and Guerrero in the 1970s and which **bombed** multinational firms in Mexico in 1991 including Citibank, Nissan, Sony, and IBM. PROCUP followed a very doctrinaire Marxist-Leninist line, insisting on the need for armed struggle over electoral **tactics**, and it also gained an insidious reputation for murdering leftists whom it viewed as compromisers or revisionists. In 1994 PROCUP **kidnapped** Alfredo Harp Helu, president of Mexico's largest bank, who was released after his family paid a \$30 million ransom. The leader of PROCUP, who is assumed to also lead the EPR, is Felipe Martínez Soriano, the former rector of the state university in Oaxaca, who was imprisoned for the murders of two newspaper security guards by his followers.

The EPR appeared in the town of Coyuca de Benítez in Guerrero State, located on the Pacific coast, on 28 July 1996 when 50 armed and uniformed ERP members interrupted a memorial service commemorating the anniversary of a massacre of peasant organizers the previous year to read their own manifesto calling for the overthrow of the Mexican government. After the Mexican government publicly belittled the group as insignificant, the EPR ambushed a Mexican army transport on 16 July 1996 near Tixla, Guerrero State. After the Mexican government suggested that the EPR members were merely regional malcontents lacking any national base of support or scope of action, the EPR held a clandestine news conference on 7 August 1996 in the Sierra Madre Oriental mountains somewhere in the states of Veracruz or Tamaulipas, located on the Gulf of Mexico. Then on 28 August 1996 the EPR executed simultaneous military operations throughout the states of Chiapas, Guerrero, Mexico, and Oaxaca, killing 13 soldiers or police and wounding 23 others. On 30 August 1996 the EPR also struck a military convoy in Michoacán State, which is located in central Mexico some distance from the former attacks. Not only did these attacks demonstrate that the group was large, well organized, and able to carry out operations over an extensive area,

but the timing also upstaged the state of the nation speech due to be delivered on the first day of September by President Ernesto Zedillo, whom the EPR had called upon to resign.

The EPR differs from the **Zapatista** movement in that it seeks a broader change in the Mexican political system rather than seeking more specific and limited redress of grievances; it is more heavily armed, better financed, and its members better trained and indoctrinated. Both the leaders of the EPR and the Zapatistas claim there is no connection between the two groups, and while the EPR commanders claim that they respect the Zapatista movement, they also disagree with its decision to revert to nonviolent means to seek piecemeal solutions to their demands. Also, whereas the Zapatistas recruited entire Indian villages but had a very decentralized **network** form of organization based on community consensus, the EPR followed the more classical **cellular organization** in which about 12 men per cell undergo military training and political indoctrination but never see leaders other than their cell commander.

While the last EPR action noted in the RAND terrorism database as of 2007 was an attack in 1998, in August 2007 the EPR claimed responsibility for two bombings in Oaxaca, one of a Sears department store and another of a bank branch, and later claimed responsibility for six bombings on 10 September 2007 of oil and gas pipelines of Petróleos Mexicanos (PEMEX), Mexico's state-owned oil company, in the states of Veracruz and Tlaxcala.

POPULAR STRUGGLE FRONT (PSF). The PSF, also called the Palestine Popular Struggle Front, was a Palestinian terrorist group that broke away from the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** in 1974 but later rejoined it in 1991. The PSF joined the Rejection Front in 1975 and the **National Salvation Front** in 1985 to oppose an accord reached between the PLO and King Hussein of Jordan regarding a possible future settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In common with other members of the Rejection Front, the PSF rejected any accommodation with Israel in forming a Palestinian homeland out of the occupied territories, vowing instead total destruction of Israel and, until recently, opposing the PLO. The PSF is based in Damascus, Syria, with most of its forces in the Bekaa valley of Lebanon, and is believed to be under Syrian **state sponsorship** while also enjoying Libyan support.

On 28 June 1975 the PSF **kidnapped** U.S. Army Colonel Ernest R. Morgan in Beirut, Lebanon, and passed him to the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command** (PFLP-GC), another Rejection Front member. Eventually the PLO, which regarded the **kidnapping** as an unnecessary and dangerous provocation to the United States, pressured the PFLP-GC to release Colonel Morgan. The PSF also has carried out guerrilla attacks within Israel, bombing the Ain Fashha resort in May 1975, bombing a tourist bus in Jerusalem in March 1979, and carrying out a rocket attack against the northern Israeli town of Metullah. This latter attack occasioned an Israeli air force bombing raid against PSF bases near Bar Ilyas in the Bekaa valley and in Shamlan near Beirut.

The PSF at one time numbered around 300 members and has been led by Dr. Samir Ghosheh since 1974. On 30 October 1984, six PSF members trying to infiltrate Israel from Lebanon were killed by the Israeli Defense Forces. On 30 August 1988 a four-member team dispatched to seize hostages in Israel was intercepted by South Lebanese army forces, who killed two of the PSF members and took the other two captive. Another attempt by a PSF squad to infiltrate Israel in December 1989 failed when the terrorists' boat capsized and they drowned. In addition to documented attacks, the group has made some claims for other attacks on Israel that have never been confirmed. Since 1989 the group has been relatively inactive.

POSSE COMITATUS. Posse Comitatus (Latin for “power of the county”) was a nonstate, **revolutionary** taxpayer protest group in the United States. The public agenda of the group appeared limited to eliminating state and federal individual income taxes, abolition of the power of judicial review by the federal judiciary, abolition of the Federal Reserve System, and the restoration of the gold standard. Insider accounts of the organization revealed a more revolutionary agenda of replacing the current federalist system, which the group considers to be Communist and unconstitutional, with supremacy of government at the county level. These goals proceeded from an eccentric interpretation of the Posse Comitatus Act of 1878 and a belief in the superiority of the “organic constitution,” consisting only of those articles and amendments in force prior to the Civil War. The group’s **ideology** viewed the modern U.S. monetary, fiscal, and

banking systems to be part of an anti-Christian conspiracy to defraud and enslave ordinary white Christians. Although the Posse Comitatus is not an **Identity Christian** or **neo-Nazi** movement, its views are congruent with the anti-Semitic and **white supremacist** beliefs held by the Identity Christian and other right-wing extremist groups with which Posse Comitatus cooperated.

Posse Comitatus was formed by former neo-Nazi Henry Lamont Beach in 1969 from remnants of the **Minutemen** organization, which had fallen apart following the conviction of its founder, Robert dePugh, on federal firearms violations. During the 1970s Posse chapters spread throughout every state, instructing members in stratagems to avoid paying taxes legally as well as more questionable methods such as resorting to unrecorded barter transactions. Posse members also used to file harassment suits against Internal Revenue Service (IRS) officials and law enforcement officers to obstruct these officials from performing their duties. Posse also tried to create unchartered barter- and bullion-based “banks” for its members as an alternative to the existing banking system.

Following the crackdown initiated under the IRS Illegal Tax Protestor Program begun in 1980, Posse **tactics** grew more violent. In May 1983 Gordon Kahl, a North Dakota farmer and Posse member already once jailed on conviction for tax resistance, killed two federal marshals who sought to serve him subpoenas. On 3 June 1983 Kahl died in a shoot-out with state and federal agents in an Arkansas cabin. On 20 August 1986 a pipe bomb intended for U.S. Federal District Court Judge Paul Benson, who had sentenced Kahl and other Posse members previously for tax resistance, was intercepted in Fargo, North Dakota.

The Posse has produced at least one major splinter group, namely, the Arizona Patriots. Members of this group were indicted in December 1986 of plotting to bomb the western regional office of the IRS in Ogden, Utah, using a vehicle packed with explosives; to bomb several targets in Los Angeles including the FBI office and the Simon Wiesenthal Center; and to bomb two offices of the **Jewish Defense League** and a synagogue in Phoenix.

Due to their distrust of the federal government, Posse members have taken pains to avoid creating “paper trails” and have kept outsiders ignorant of the structure and leadership of their organization. Members avoid the use of standard identification cards, such as driver’s licenses and Social Security cards. By the mid-1980s, membership

was variously estimated between 1,000 and 3,000 nationwide, but Wisconsin Posse leaders claimed to have more than 2,000 members in their chapter alone. The Posse found a major portion of its potential recruits from Midwestern farmers who suffered as a result of unfavorable market conditions and bank foreclosures on mortgaged farms. One Louis Harris poll commissioned by the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League of rural residents of Iowa and Nebraska in February 1986 found that 25 percent of this sample of Midwesterners followed the activities of Posse Comitatus even if they were not openly affiliated with it and essentially accepted its core beliefs.

The heyday of Posse Comitatus activity appears to have been during the farming crisis of the 1980s. Several Posse members have joined other similar movements, including the “**common-law courts**” and the **militia movement**, and a few have surfaced in various schemes to defraud creditors, whether banks or the IRS. James P. Wickstrom, who was both a Posse leader in Michigan and an Identity Christian minister, was tried in 1991 for attempting to distribute counterfeit currency during a 1988 **Aryan Nations** event and sentenced to 38 months' imprisonment. Terry Nichols, later convicted for his role in the **Oklahoma City bombing**, attempted to pay credit card bills using bogus financial instruments proceeded by the Wisconsin Posse Comitatus affiliate, the Family Farm Preservation society.

Following his release from prison, James P. Wickstrom tried to revive the Posse Comitatus movement. After the death of Aryan Nations founder Richard Butler in 2004, the leader of the Pennsylvania-based faction of the Aryan Nations, Charles Juba, appointed Wickstrom as “chaplain” of the group. Other members of the far-right patriot movement viewed Wickstrom and the Posse as outdated and defunct.

POWER LAW. Contemporary terrorism appears to follow a power function, or power law, which is a mathematical relation between numbers of events, such as military attacks, and intensity of events, such as fatalities or other measures of destruction due to an attack. In 1948 when mathematician Lewis Fry Richardson plotted the fatality statistics for 82 wars, from the Napoleonic wars to World War II, he found that there was an inverse curvilinear relationship between numbers of wars (classified according to their size by numbers of combatants) and their corresponding lethality when the figures were plotted as logarithms. The almost straight-line inverse relationship in

this analysis revealed that while there would be many smaller wars of relatively low lethality, there would also be fewer numbers of wars with high lethality. This power function relationship has held even for the wars from World War II to the Vietnam War.

Neil F. Johnson, a physicist at Oxford University, along with six colleagues, published research in May 2006 under the title “Universal Patterns Underlying Ongoing Wars and Terrorism” (published at <http://xxx.lanl.gov/abs/physics/0605035>), based on data from the guerrilla **insurgency** in Colombia led by such groups as **M-19**, the **National Liberation Army**, and the **Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia**; the post-2001 insurgencies by **al Qa’eda in Iraq** and the **Taliban**; and global rates of terrorism both in Group of Eight (G8) nations and non-G8 nations. Their results revealed that modern insurgent and terrorist attacks similarly follow their own power law inversely relating numbers of attacks to the intensity of such attacks.

Based on the data from all post-2001 conflicts, excluding the Iraq conflict, their results showed that when individual conflict events, such as a guerrilla raid or a terrorist attack, are classified according to the resulting numbers of fatalities, n , then the number of such conflicts in any given year will be proportional to n raised to the power of the constant (-2.5) , or $n^{-2.5}$. For the Iraqi insurgency the exponent was found to be -2.3 , indicating more fatalities for each type of event compared to similar ones outside Iraq. Yet Johnson and his associates found that over time the Iraqi exponent appeared to be converging with the constant of -2.5 found for events outside Iraq. Thus, the number of conflicts causing 10 fatalities would be equal to the average number of conflicts times $10^{-2.5}$ while the number of conflicts with 20 fatalities would be proportional to $20^{-2.5}$.

Earlier in 2006 University of New Mexico researchers Aaron Clauset and Maxwell Young, in their paper “Scale Invariance in Global Terrorism” (published as physics/0502012 at <http://xx.lanl.gov>), also had found a power law relationship for the period from 1968 to the present between fatalities from acts of terrorism and numbers of such events but found different exponents describing that relationship for G7 nations and the relationship for events within non-G7 nations. This indicated that the numbers of attacks within developed nations tended to be fewer but also much more lethal than attacks occurring in developing nations. Clauset and Young also found that from 1989 onward these two power laws have been converging to a common power

relationship indicating that wars, insurgencies, and terrorist attacks are all converging to a universal pattern of several smaller attacks of lesser mortality as opposed to fewer larger conflicts of high mortality.

The implications for both international security and **counterterrorism** policy include the following: Despite the different **ideological, ethnonationalist**, or sectarian motivations of the various insurgencies and terrorist movements throughout the world, all of these different groups are converging toward a common mode of operations. The new form of warfare involves smaller nonstate groups executing multiple attacks and amplifying their effectiveness through the **force multiplier** effects of **netwar**, the **contagion effect** of mass media, **Internet** coverage, and emergent **intelligence**. This result seems confirmed by Robert Pape's research, which found that **suicide terrorism** is not a monopoly of **Islamic fundamentalists** but is being adopted by dissimilar groups throughout the world. Also the evident convergence over time between the power functions for wars, insurgencies, and terrorism would indicate that while there will be fewer major high-intensity conflicts, there will be growing numbers of **low-intensity conflicts**. The convergence of the two power functions, one for terrorism within developed nations and the other for terrorism in developing nations, would seem to indicate that the lethality of conflicts will lessen over time in the developing nations but may increase over time in developed nations. This would seem to explain the increase in mass-casualty attacks observed in the developed nations, such as the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**, the **Madrid railway bombings** of 2004, and the **London Underground bombings** of 2005. Counterterrorism efforts should then be directed more to identifying small terrorist groups and preempting their actions as well as finding ways to disrupt or offset the **netwar** coordination of smaller groups.

PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACTS. Originally passed by the British parliament after the **Irish Republican Army (IRA)** expanded its **bombing** campaign from Northern Ireland to England in 1974, later expanded in 1984 and in 1989, and supplemented by the Northern Ireland Emergency Provisions Act of 1996, together these acts criminalized the withholding of information about terrorism from police or military authorities unless the person having such information could claim duress or other "reasonable excuse." British authorities used these acts to force family members and acquaintances of

suspects to give information to the security forces about the suspects and their whereabouts. However, these statutes do not give the police authority to force defense lawyers or investigative reporters into revealing confidential information. Once the IRA began using car bombs, these acts were then amended in 1987 to require victims of carjacking or auto theft to report the theft immediately lest the stolen car or truck be used for a car bombing. These acts also allowed the police to detain suspects for up to seven days for questioning in cases where there was a more probable cause than the mere “reasonable suspicion” requirement of the Emergency Provisions Act. It also allowed British authorities to ban suspected individuals from the British mainland. In 2000 these acts were replaced with the more permanent **Terrorism Act of 2000**. *See also* DIPLOCK COURTS; SUPERGRASS SYSTEM.

PRIMA LINEA (PL). The Prima Linea (Front Line) was a group of Italian **anarchistic leftist** terrorists active from November 1976 until 1981, second only to the **Red Brigades** as a major domestic terrorist threat. Like the Red Brigades or the **Red Army Faction**, they rationalized their terrorism in revolutionary leftist terms but appeared to pursue terrorist violence as an end in itself rather than as a strategy to achieve **revolution**. While they did not appear to have **state sponsorship**, the group did collaborate with **Direct Action** and the Red Brigades.

In **ideology** and organization the PL greatly resembled the Red Brigades, perhaps because one of its leaders, Corrado Alunni, was also a leading Red Brigades figure. The PL differed from the Red Brigades in maintaining open contacts with the Italian left rather than going underground. Its initial act was an attack against the Fiat plant in Turin on 29 November 1976. Its first known **assassination** was of a moderate leftist politician of Milan, Enrico Pedenovi, who was ambushed and shot by PL gunmen in Milan on 29 April 1976. By the end of 1978 the PL had carried out at least 25 operations. On 29 January 1979 the PL murdered Milan Assistant Attorney General Emilio Alessandrini. Like the Red Brigades, the PL also specialized in **kneecapping**, one of its victims being the Italian manager of the Chemical Bank of New York in Milan, who was shot four times in the legs on 11 May 1978, and 10 other victims being hostages seized in the Turin School of Industrial Management on 11 December 1979. After 1980 the PL began concentrating more on assassinations, particularly of judges and jurors who had convicted leftist terrorists.

The group originated in Turin and spread to Florence, Milan, and Naples. Due to the police crackdown following the **kidnapping** and murder of former prime minister Aldo Moro in early 1978 at the hands of the Red Brigades, Italian police were able to identify about 165 PL members, who were largely apprehended by October 1982, so ending the organization.

PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (PIRA). Name adopted by the modern **Irish Republican Army** group that split from the “Official” IRA in December 1969. Once the older Official IRA declared its cease-fire in the summer of 1972, the Provisional IRA group became the de facto IRA, and “IRA” has been used to designate that group from 1972 onward rather than the more awkward “PIRA.”

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QADDAFI, MUAMMAR (1942–). Leader of the coup d’état that overthrew King Idris of Libya on 1 September 1969, Colonel Muammar Qaddafi is the de facto head of state of the Libyan Arab Republic, also called by Qaddafi the Libyan People’s Arab Socialist Jamahariyyah. Qaddafi is of Bedouin background and although he presents himself as a devout Muslim, he has opposed **Islamic fundamentalist** groups such as the **Muslim Brotherhood** and has aided Algeria in its campaign against Salafist rebels. His government was also the first to issue an arrest warrant for **Osama bin Laden** after **al Qa’eda**–affiliated Libyans murdered two German tourists in 1991.

As a youth Qaddafi greatly admired Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser and so his pronounced anti-Western sentiments appear to spring from his ardent Pan-Arabism and hatred of Israel. Accordingly, he ordered U.S. military forces out of Libya in 1970, canceled the British-Libyan military accord in 1972, nationalized U.S. oil companies’ holdings in Libya, and played an instrumental role within the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in raising producer oil prices. Qaddafi’s involvement with **state sponsorship** of terrorist groups began in the same period with aid to **Black September** in its attack on the Saudi Arabian embassy in Khartoum on 1 March 1973 and in its attack on Athens airport on 5 August 1973. Libya also supported the terrorists responsible for the **OPEC**

Secretariat siege in December 1975, allowing them to deposit their ransom in Libya and later permitting them **sanctuary** there. The Venezuelan terrorist Ilich Ramírez Sánchez, also called **Carlos the Jackal**, who led the OPEC siege, disappeared from public view at that time and was not captured until 1994.

In 1975 Qaddafi broke off relations with the **Palestine Liberation Organization** and began to back the renegade **Fatah Revolutionary Council** led by **Abu Nidal**. Consequently Qaddafi was suspected of complicity in the 23 November 1985 **hijacking** of an EgyptAir airplane to Luqa airport in Malta and the massacre of holiday travelers at Rome and Vienna airports on 27 December 1985. Libya also supported the **Irish Republican Army** with shipments of arms and Semtex explosives, revealed by the interception in 1987 of a merchant vessel, the *MV Eskund*, destined for Ireland.

Qaddafi clashed with the United States over the question of Libyan claims to sovereignty over the Gulf of Sidra. U.S. naval exercises in those waters led to confrontations between Libyan and U.S. forces in March 1986. The United States held Libya responsible for the 5 April 1986 **bombing** of the La Belle Discothèque in West Berlin, a favorite nightclub of U.S. service members, in which three people were killed and 230 others injured. In retaliation, the U.S. Air Force conducted bombing raids on Benghazi and Tripoli, striking one of Qaddafi's residences and apparently killing one of his foster children. Qaddafi became uncharacteristically reticent after this incident but did not renounce sponsorship of terrorism. On 14 April 1988 the Jihad Brigades, a unit of the **Japanese Red Army** acting under Libyan sponsorship, carried out a retaliatory bombing against a United Service Organizations (USO) club in Naples, killing five patrons.

On 14 November 1991 the United States issued indictments against Libyan officials, charging the Libyan government with sponsorship of the **Pan Am Flight 103 bombing** on 21 December 1988, and the U.S. State Department published evidence in its April 1992 report on global terrorism linking the Qaddafi regime with the bombing. On 30 April 1992 Qaddafi announced he would refuse to **extradite** the two officials named in those indictments. On 5 April 1999 both suspects were finally handed over, through United Nations mediators, to Scottish police in Camp Zeist in the Netherlands and their trial began on 3 May 2000, leading to the acquittal of one and conviction of the other on 31 January 2001.

Both Great Britain and the United States also have had concerns over Libyan state terrorism against anti-Qaddafi Libyans living as permanent residents or students in those countries. During 1980 Libyan agents murdered at least 10 anti-Qaddafi dissidents in Great Britain and Western Europe. Later, such agents also tried to hire **assassins** to kill dissidents within the United States. During anti-Qaddafi demonstrations outside the Libyan embassy in St. James Square, London, on 17 April 1984, members of the Libyan “People’s Bureau” opened fire with automatic weapons on the crowds outside, injuring 11 Libyan protestors and killing a young British policewoman, Yvonne Fletcher. Both Britain and the United States retaliated for such incidents by expelling and blacklisting Libyan diplomats involved in such behavior. In 1986 the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) arrested members of the **El Rukn** gang in Chicago for involvement in a Libyan-sponsored plot to attack U.S. government offices and to shoot down U.S. airliners within the United States.

The economic sanctions imposed on Libya in April 1992 under UN Security Council Resolution 748, which were tightened on 11 November 1993, inflicted over \$23.5 billion in damages on Libya’s economy and led to shortages of basic goods and inflation rates of 600 percent or more. The decade of economic sanctions and increasing unpopularity at home forced Qaddafi to curtail the adventurism of his regime outside Libya and to try to come to terms with the United States, Britain, and other nations he had previously challenged and confronted. The Islamic fundamentalist **insurgency** in Algeria may also have led Qaddafi to seek a tactical accommodation with the West, for Qaddafi was an inveterate foe of the Muslim Brotherhood and similar movements and cooperated strongly with Algerian and French authorities to counter the activities of the **Armed Islamic Group** and **Islamic Salvation Front**.

By 1997 Qaddafi had forced Abu Nidal to leave Libya, and by 1999 he had closed down the camps of hard-line Palestinian factions and had given the British files on the Irish Republican Army as well as promising to help British police investigate the fatal shooting of the British constable that occurred outside the Libyan embassy in London in 1984. Qaddafi also assisted France in identifying and bringing to trial those Libyan agents responsible for the **UTA Flight 772 bombing** that occurred in September 1989. Qaddafi’s cooperation in handing over the two suspects wanted for the bombing of Pan

Am Flight 103 resulted in the lifting of the United Nations (UN) sanctions on 5 April 1999. Many Arab diplomats have stated that Qaddafi has become a more mature and responsible leader and appears to have given up much of his previous involvement in state sponsorship of terrorism. Following the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, Qaddafi announced that Libya would cease pursuing its weapons of mass destruction program, which included a program for the development of nuclear weapons. On 15 August 2005 Libya's ambassador to the United Nations presented a letter to the UN Security Council accepting responsibility for the actions of its officials with respect to the 1988 Pan Am Flight 103 bombing, and Libya proceeded to pay \$8 million in compensation to the families of each victim. The United Nations lifted all remaining sanctions, and on 15 May 2006 the United States removed Libya from its list of **state sponsors of terrorism** and resumed diplomatic relations.

QA'EDA, AL. Alternative spelling Al Qa'ida and full Arabia name Al Qa'ida al Sulbah, "the solid base" is the **Islamic fundamentalist** organization led by **Osama bin Laden**. The various goals of this group are reflected in the multitude of names it has used, such as the Islamic Army for the Liberation of the Holy Places, the Group for the Protection of the Holy Sites, and the World Islamic Front for Jihad against Jews and Crusaders, among others. Its terrorism has been directed both at government and civilian **targets**, such as the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**. It targets primarily Western nations, such as the United States, perceived as enemies of Islam. Secondly, it targets pro-U.S. Muslim governments, such as Saudi Arabia or Egypt, perceived as apostate regimes. Finally, it targets rival Muslim groups and secularized Muslim elites. It seeks to restore the caliphate, a pan-Islamic state based on Sunni Muslim precepts.

The group was formed by Sheikh Abdullah Azzam, a Palestinian Islamic fundamentalist in Jordan's **Muslim Brotherhood** who entered Pakistan in 1979 to aid the Afghan resistance. Joined by Osama bin Laden, together they first founded the Maktab al Khidamat (MAK) or Services Office, in 1984, renamed al Qa'eda in 1987–1988, to recruit Arabs and other Sunni Muslims to fight the Soviets. After the end of the Afghan jihad, the MAK sought to maintain unity among the veterans who were committed to using revolutionary violence to achieve their own Islamic fundamentalist political program. Azzam

was **assassinated** by a **bombing** in 1989 and then bin Laden assumed full control of the group.

The United States supported various **mujahideen** groups through Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) covert operations, often through the mediation of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) agency. Several mujahideen groups received support from different **state sponsors** with conflicting strategic objectives: Iran supported the Islamic Party (Hizb-i Islami) of Gulbiddin Hekmatyar, while the Persian Gulf Arab states supported the Islamic Revolutionary Movement (Harakat-i Inqilab-i Islami) group led by Muhammad Nabi Muhammad. The United States funneled support to groups led by native Afghans that were more nationalistic than fundamentalist, such as the National Liberation Front and the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan. Saudi Arabia funded groups having a more fundamentalist character whose rank and file incorporated large numbers of Muslim volunteers from the Arab world, such as the MAK. Bin Laden himself has denied that he or his group ever accepted aid from the United States, nor have documents been produced demonstrating any direct link between the CIA and the MAK. While bin Laden claims that he always opposed the United States for its support of Israel, al Qa'eda only began operations against U.S. forces and interests following the U.S. intervention in Kuwait and Iraq during the 1991 Gulf War. Cable News Network (CNN) journalist Peter Bergen, who was the first Western journalist to interview bin Laden in 1997, confirmed that the CIA had little knowledge of bin Laden until 1996.

Al Qa'eda follows the Wahhabi interpretation of the Hanbali Sunni school of law favoring literalist interpretations of the Koran and of the received oral traditions but rejecting rationalism, mysticism, and anything not part of primordial Islam. It is close to other Sunni Salafist groups such as the **Islamic Group** of Egypt, the Egyptian **Munazzamat al Jihad** group, and others. Despite Wahhabi scruples rejecting Shi'ite Islam as heresy, al Qa'eda has not shunned contact with Lebanon's **Hezbollah** or with Iranian operatives. Al Qa'eda seeks not so much to establish Islamic rule within one existing Muslim nation-state but rather to overthrow the nation-state system in favor of one caliphate embracing all Muslim nations.

Al Qa'eda has publicized its program in several **fatwas**, or Islamic religious judicial decrees, as well as periodic videotapes of communiqués from Osama bin Laden or al Zawahiri. On 23 February 1998

one such fatwa was faxed to the London Arabic-language newspaper, *Al Quds Al Arabi*, signed by bin Laden and three others, declaring it “the religious duty of every individual Muslim to kill Americans everywhere, whether soldiers or civilians, to free the holy cities of Islam from the presence of foreign, non-Muslim troops.” Although bin Laden himself is not recognized by reputable Muslim religious leaders as being a scholar competent to issue fatwas, these statements struck a resonant chord among Muslims throughout the world of all social classes who often have blamed the problems of their nations on the United States. These fatwas identify the general objective of countering U.S. power but not the concrete steps to achieve this. Intermediate-range goals, found in the *Encyclopedia of the Afghan Jihad*, include radicalization of Islamic groups throughout the world; overthrowing of “apostate” Muslim governments; support for Muslim insurgents in countries around the world; destroying Israel; destroying the United States; and finally, restoration of the Islamic caliphate uniting all Muslim nations. More practical, concrete **tactics** to attain these goals are given in the *Al Qa'eda Training Manual*. Other documents indicate al Qa'eda's desire to obtain or else develop **weapons of mass destruction**. Even without more exotic weapons, al Qa'eda has developed great expertise in using explosives and creativity in turning Western technology into mass-casualty weapons, as in seizing the four airliners used as flying **bombs** in the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**.

While Osama bin Laden is al Qa'eda's Emir, or “commander,” his deputy, Muhammad Atef, headed its military committee and masterminded the 1998 **East African U.S. embassy attacks** but was later killed in U.S. air raids in November 2001. Ayman al Zawahiri, an Egyptian doctor who led the Jihad group, is bin Laden's personal physician and chief counsel. He also heads the Islamic study committee and now is believed to be the acting second-in-command after bin Laden. Another al Qa'eda figure, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the mastermind of the September 11, 2001, attacks, was captured by Pakistani forces on 1 March 2003 and remanded to U.S. investigators. It is estimated that roughly two-thirds of al Qa'eda's core leaders were killed or captured during the operations in Afghanistan beginning in October 2001.

After 1996 the al Qa'eda base outside Jalalabad held about 600 followers, while graduates of the training camps were estimated to number around 10,000 or more in over 25 countries. Al Qa'eda operations

included recruitment, logistical support, fund-raising, propaganda, and training fighters in special camps in unconventional warfare. Al Qa'eda has maintained extensive businesses and charities as front organizations and traditional financial channels for flows of funds and communications needed to keep its network of allied groups functioning effectively. Some are entities created by al Qa'eda, but in many cases it has infiltrated and taken over existing charities, banks, and businesses. Finally, al Qa'eda has committed terrorist attacks that won it notoriety.

Prior to the September 11 attacks, al Qa'eda engaged in these attacks: On 29 December 1992 al Qa'eda bombed a hotel in Aden, Yemen, housing U.S. troops headed to Somalia. In June 1993 Jordanian police discovered an al Qa'eda plot to assassinate Crown Prince Abdullah. On 3 October 1993 al Qa'eda forces crossed into Somalia from Kenya and attacked U.S. forces, killing 18 Americans and many Somalis. The 26 February 1993 **World Trade Center bombing**, killing six and injuring more than 1,000, was planned and executed by Ramzi Yousef, an al Qa'eda operative captured in one of bin Laden's safe houses in Pakistan in February 1995. On 24 June 1993 al Qa'eda members were arrested for the **Holland Tunnels bomb plot** in New York City. The Egyptian cleric **Omar Abdul Rahman**, whose Islamic Group in Egypt aligned itself with al Qa'eda, was arrested and later convicted for his role in these plots. On 6 January 1995 a police raid on Ramzi Yousef's Manila apartment exposed "Plan Bojinka," which included plots to **assassinate** Pope John Paul II during his visit to the Philippines and also against both U.S. President Bill Clinton and Philippines President Fidel V. Ramos. The plotters also planned to bomb 11 U.S. airliners over the Pacific Ocean after they had succeeded in a trial-run bombing of a Philippines Airlines flight on 11 December 1994, which killed one Japanese passenger and forced the plane to land at Naha Airport, Okinawa. On 26 June 1995 Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak survived an al Qa'eda assassination attempt during a state visit to Ethiopia.

On 13 November 1995 the **Riyadh bombing** of the Saudi Arabian National Guard office used a car bomb, killing seven foreign employees while injuring 42 bystanders. On 25 June 1996 U.S. military housing in the **Khobar Towers**, in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, was truck-bombed, killing 19 U.S. citizens and wounding some 500 people. On 7 August 1998 in the East Africa U.S. embassy bombings,

two near-simultaneous truck-bomb attacks on the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, killed 291 people and injured about 5,000 in the Nairobi attack and killed 10 people and injured 77 in the Dar es Salaam attack. On 14 December 1999 U.S. Customs arrested an Algerian, Ahmad Rassam, for smuggling explosives from Canada, which exposed an al Qa'eda plot to bomb Los Angeles International Airport as well as other targets in North America and Europe during the upcoming millennium celebrations. Earlier, on 30 November 1999, Jordanian police discovered an al Qa'eda plot to bomb the Radisson Hotel in Amman on New Year's Eve, where a large millennium celebration was certain to attract many foreigners.

Two bombers attempted to sink the USS *The Sullivans* anchored in Aden, Yemen, on 3 January 2000 by piloting an explosives-laden boat, but the operation was botched when the overloaded boat was swamped and sank. A second attempt succeeded on 12 October 2000 when the USS *Cole* was badly damaged by a large bomb deployed by two suicide bombers in a skiff that killed 17 sailors. Finally, al Qa'eda carried out the September 11, 2001, attacks in which suicide bombers hijacked four American domestic flights, crashing one into the World Trade Center north tower and another into the south tower, and another into the east side of the Pentagon while the fourth crashed in a rural area of Pennsylvania.

After U.S. forces occupied Afghanistan, al Qa'eda has been less able to muster terrorist operations on the scale of those before the September 11 attacks, although al Qa'eda-affiliated groups have been active: On 13 October 2002 the al Qa'eda-linked **Jemaah Islamiyah** group carried out the **Bali bombings** of several nightclubs in Indonesia, killing 202 people, including 88 Australian tourists and seven U.S. tourists. In Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on 12 May 2003, al Qa'eda-affiliated groups carried out three simultaneous bombings at a housing complex for foreign workers, killing 23 people as well as the 12 suicide bombers. **Al Qa'eda in Iraq** was behind the 19 August 2003 bombing of the United Nations (UN) offices in Baghdad that killed 23 people, including Sergio Vieira de Mello, the top UN envoy to Iraq. The **Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat** (GSPC) was responsible for double car bombings in Algiers, once on 12 April 2007 and again on 11 December 2007, targeting both Algerian government and UN offices. Al Qa'eda affiliates were also responsible

for the Riyadh suicide attacks of 12 May 2003 and the al Khobar massacres of foreign contractors on 29 May 2004. The al Qa'eda in Iraq affiliate also conducted the 9 November 2005 suicide bombings of three luxury hotels in Amman, Jordan, as well as the two bombings of the al Askari Mosque in Samarra, Iraq, on 22 February 2006 and on 13 June 2007. Al Qa'eda is also believed to have been involved in the 27 December 2007 assassination of former Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. The **London bombings of 7 July 2005** were also carried out by suicide bombers recruited by al Qa'eda.

One must distinguish the central core group of al Qa'eda centered around bin Laden from the network of affiliated organizations operating outside Afghanistan and Pakistan. These other organizations seek to coordinate operations with the main al Qa'eda group, while al Qa'eda also exploits a third layer of "walk-ins" consisting of young, committed Islamic fundamentalists attracted to al Qa'eda who volunteer for martyrdom actions with no prior Afghan war experience or training. Acceptance by al Qa'eda requires that one must be a believing Muslim, but acceptance into a leadership position requires proficiency in the Arabic language and some ties of family, friendship, or past shared combat experience to vouch for one's integrity to the cause. Prior to al Qa'eda, most terrorist organizations had a central leadership with command and control branches linked to several compartmentalized "cells" that operated independently but ordinarily could not coordinate attacks due to their mutual isolation. Bin Laden created a system whereby allied groups outside Afghanistan and cells of al Qa'eda operatives in various countries functioned as independent cells but could coordinate their actions through a **netwar** system of human couriers that eluded the electronic surveillance upon which most Western **intelligence** agencies relied. This system works because the members of these different groups and cells share bonds of trust forged in their common experience fighting together in the Afghan war. Most leaders of the allied regional groups formed friendships with bin Laden during the Afghan war, as well as with other al Qa'eda leaders.

The al Qa'eda core consists of bin Laden, other leaders, and the roughly 1,000–1,500 men who completed the al Qa'eda training program, passed its rigorous physical and mental tests, and who have sworn personal fealty, or *bayat*, to bin Laden as their leader, imposing religious obligations of obedience to him unto death. This core provides the bodyguards, internal security force for preventing infil-

tration, and also the staff who control the group's personnel records and financial affairs. The basic organization is headed by bin Laden, assisted by his chief counsel, al Zawahiri. Under the emir is the *shura majlis*, or consultative assembly, of roughly 10–15 men who run the various executive committees. While 25 different radical Islamic groups have been named as forming part of the al Qa'eda network, only a few show consistent compliance with the core group. They include the Ittihad al Islamiya in sub-Saharan Africa, the Jemaah Islamiya group in Malaysia and Indonesia, and the Munazzam al Jihad in Egypt. While the Lebanese Hezbollah group has provided al Qa'eda with instruction on mass-casualty bombing attacks and use of suicide bombers, their mutual relations are those of equals rather than one in which al Qa'eda is dominant. In other cases, al Qa'eda has co-opted existing Algerian and Egyptian networks in Western Europe, such as the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat. Al Qa'eda has severed links with other groups when their behavior has proved scandalous. In 1998 al Qa'eda ceased supporting the **Armed Islamic Group** in Algeria after it embarked on massacres of Muslim civilians. It also abandoned the **Abu Sayyaf Group** in the Philippines for degenerating into a criminal gang interested more in robbery and kidnapping for ransom than in fighting for an Islamic state.

Al Qa'eda planted its own cells throughout North America, Great Britain, and Europe, consisting of “families” of al Qa'eda operatives picked from similar national backgrounds who have trained or fought together in Afghanistan. They are carefully trained in assuming a cover identity and maintaining a plausible occupation, residence, and behavior consistent with that cover. Mindful of possible police surveillance of immigrant Muslim communities, they are advised to avoid mixing with local Muslim populations and to avoid attending prayer services in existing Islamic centers or mosques.

Like **Ayatollah Khomeini** before him, bin Laden believed that the more fundamental conflict between the Muslims and their enemies requires the various fundamentalist groups to set aside their own doctrinal differences for the sake of unity. Thus, al Qa'eda has collaborated with Shi'ite Muslims such as the Lebanese Hezbollah and official Iranian representatives, despite its Wahhabi Salafist orientation. Generally al Qa'eda avoids contact with non-Muslims, but it has contacted the **Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam** to acquire better suicide-bombing expertise and has contacted organized criminal

syndicates to raise funds and, in some instances, to attempt to buy nuclear materials. However, such contacts with Shi'ites and various non-Muslim groups are short-term tactical accommodations rather than part of their long-term strategy.

The relationship of al Qa'eda to current or former **state sponsors of terrorism**, such as Iran, Iraq, and Libya, has been low-level and sporadic, more in the nature of tactical accommodation than effective control by any state sponsor. Although Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence formerly had al Qa'eda contacts and helped create the **Taliban**, after the September 11 attacks the Pakistani government aligned itself with the U.S. campaign against the Taliban and al Qa'eda. In the past, the ruling elites of Saudi Arabia tolerated fundraising for al Qa'eda and limited activities within their borders on the implicit understanding that in return al Qa'eda would not directly attack them but with post-2001 al Qa'eda attacks on Saudi targets, including planned attacks within the holy city of Mecca, the question of passive Saudi support for al Qa'eda also became moot. Ironically, Libya was the first nation to issue an arrest warrant for bin Laden in 1998 following the 1994 murder by al Qa'eda of a German couple vacationing in Surt, Libya. The Libyan leader **Muammar Qaddafi** has always repressed Salafist groups in Libya and even aided the Algerian government in its war upon its Salafists in the 1990s by interdicting Salafists operating along Libya's western border with Algeria and through intelligence cooperation.

Following the September 11 attacks, questions were raised about Iraqi support for al Qa'eda and in particular about possible Iraqi sponsorship of those attacks. On 16 September 2003 U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld stated there was no evidence of Iraqi involvement in the September 11 attacks but that there was evidence of earlier Iraqi aid to al Qa'eda in bomb construction and training in the use of chemical and biological weapons. With the overthrow of Saddam Hussein by U.S. troops in April 2003, the issue of Iraqi state sponsorship of terrorism in general was ended. However, there has been some evidence of intermittent Iranian aid to al Qa'eda: Hezbollah trainers and Iranian Ministry of Intelligence and Security agents trained al Qa'eda fighters in their camps in Sudan, in Hezbollah camps in Lebanon, and in training bases within Iran. Imad Maghniyah, the Hezbollah mastermind of the 23 October 1983 **Beirut bombing** of the U.S. Marines encampment, was known to have

instructed al Qa'eda in his bombing expertise. Recovered records of al Qa'eda's international telephone calls show that over 10 percent of its calls were routed through Iran. During October 2003 one of bin Laden's sons, as well as Abu Musab al Zarqawi, the future leader of al Qa'eda in Iraq, and Turki al Dandani, wanted for the 12 May 2003 Riyadh bombings, were known to be hiding in Iran despite Iranian claims to the contrary. The support of the now-defunct Taliban regime in Afghanistan was more that of a **co-opted** state than an equal with al Qa'eda. Since having been expelled from Afghanistan in late 2001, the core al Qa'eda group is believed to be hiding in the tribal areas of northern and southern Waziristan in Pakistan, which is outside the effective control of the Pakistani government.

According to the July 2007 National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) presented by Mike McConnell, Director of National Intelligence, to the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, the central al Qa'eda group continues to remain the most significant threat to U.S. **homeland security** while its leadership continues to develop high-impact plots and to seek to expand its influence over extremist Sunni communities worldwide. Despite al Qa'eda's losses of personnel following the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan, this NIE presented evidence that the central al Qa'eda organization had substantially regenerated its ranks and that the leadership located in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, far from being isolated, retained effective communications with its affiliates worldwide and was continuing to establish cells in other countries. The former head of Great Britain's security service, known as MI5, revealed in November 2006 that British intelligence had knowledge of at least 30 plots directed to destroy British lives and Britain's economy that were traced back to the al Qa'eda leadership in northwestern Pakistan. See also ORGANIZATION OF TERRORIST GROUPS.

QA'EDA IN IRAQ, AL (AQI). The AQI group is an **Islamic fundamentalist** group, affiliated with the main **al Qa'eda** group, made up predominantly of non-Iraqi fighters involved in the post-2003 **insurgency** against U.S., Iraqi government, and other coalition forces in Iraq, as well as attacks on both Shi'ite and Sunni civilians viewed as disloyal to the insurgency. The group has adopted a number of names and aliases, being originally known in 2003 as the Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad, or Divine Unity and Jihad Group, until 17 October 2004

when it pledged allegiance to the main al Qa'eda group and changed its name to the Tanzim Qaidat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn, or al Qa'eda Organization for Jihad in the Land of the Two Rivers, which is reported usually as al Qa'eda in Iraq or al Qa'eda in Mesopotamia. It also adopted the name of the Mujahideen Shura Council in January 2006 in an attempt to forge an alliance with five other Sunni insurgent groups. Failing to create a lasting alliance of insurgents, the AQI in October 2006 then adopted the name al Dawlat al Iraq al-Islamiyya, or Islamic State of Iraq, which continues to be the name under which it claims credit for its attacks.

The group was founded by Abu Musab al Zarqawi, a Jordanian who entered Afghanistan just after the exit of Soviet forces and who became a beneficiary of al Qa'eda, which funded his terrorist training camp for fellow Jordanians near Herat, in western Afghanistan. During the October 2001 U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan following the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**, al Zarqawi suffered wounds to his leg and fled to Iraq where he received medical treatment and apparently enjoyed de facto **asylum** by the government of Saddam Hussein. After al Zarqawi was killed by U.S. forces on 6 June 2006, leadership of the AQI passed to an Egyptian, Abu Hamza al Masri.

According to the Memorial Institute of Terrorism database, the AQI was responsible for at least 216 terrorist incidents causing 1,888 deaths and injuring 3,764. These are conservative figures, and there is disagreement over the extent of AQI attacks, with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency claiming much higher figures, which in turn have been challenged by the U.S. Congressional Research Service as having been inflated for political purposes. The AQI has used a number of **tactics**, including use of rocket-propelled grenade attacks on armored vehicles, use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) in **bombings** of U.S. and Iraqi government forces, **assassinations**, **suicide attacks**, **kidnappings**, and videotaped beheadings of foreign workers, diplomats, and captured U.S. soldiers. The AQI gained notoriety for the televising of a videotape showing the beheading on 7 May 2004 of Nicholas Berg, an American civilian whom they captured in Iraq. The AQI ceased its beheadings of captives following its October 2004 merger with al Qa'eda, apparently due to al Qa'eda's criticism of this tactic, which was alienating Muslim public opinion. Another questionable tactic of

AQI was its targeting of Iraqi Shi'ites with the aim of overturning the emerging post-Saddam Iraqi government by attempting to incite civil war between Iraqi Sunnis and Shi'ites.

Some of the more noteworthy AQI attacks include the following: The AQI is believed to have been behind the 19 August 2003 suicide bombing of United Nations offices in the Canal Hotel in Baghdad, which killed 23 people, including Sergio Vieira de Mello, the top UN envoy to Iraq. On 19 August 2005 the AQI fired Katyusha rockets against the USS *Kearsarge* and the USS *Ashland* docked in the Jordanian port of Aqaba, as well as into the neighboring city of Eilat in Israel, but failed to hit either naval vessel. On 9 November 2005, three AQI suicide bombers struck the Grand Hyatt, Radisson, and Days Inn hotels in Amman, Jordan, killing 60 victims and injuring 115 more. On 22 February 2006 AQI agents disguised as Iraqi security forces bombed the al Askari Mosque in Samarra, Iraq, a major Shi'ite shrine holding the tombs of the Tenth and Eleventh Imams of the Twelve-Imam Shi'ite sect of Islam, destroying the shrine's golden dome and severely damaging three-quarters of the remaining structure. Although this bombing caused no direct deaths or injuries, it incited sectarian attacks of Shi'ites upon Sunni individuals and mosques, resulting in Sunni retaliatory killings of Shi'ites and attacks upon Shi'ite mosques. On 13 June 2007 the al Askari Mosque was bombed once more by the AQI, resulting in the destruction of the two main minarets of the mosque. Again, although the bombing caused no direct deaths or injuries, the incident led to renewed Sunni-Shi'ite killings and attacks. The AQI has also bombed many Shi'ite mosques throughout Iraq, attempted an assassination on 23 March 2007 of Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Salam al Zaubai, and carried out the 12 April 2007 suicide bombing of the Iraqi parliament building that killed eight, including three legislators. The AQI has also assassinated several Sunni tribal leaders who had begun to align themselves with U.S.-led forces against the AQI, as well as their family members, in al Anbar Province.

Since late 2007 the influence of the AQI has been in serious decline not simply due to the reported surge of U.S. forces but also arguably due to the group's own tactical and strategic errors. First, although the AQI succeeded in inciting the desired Sunni-Shi'ite sectarian strife, the AQI proved unwilling or simply unable to provide any effective protection to the many Sunni civilians who were now

being attacked and killed by angry Shi'ites. Second, the puritanical version of Salafist Islam embraced by the AQI was repugnant to most of Iraq's Sunnis, whom al Zarqawi derided as "lacking firm principles" and being "mercurial" in their religious faith. Third, the AQI's attempted alliance with Sunni tribal leaders involved heavy-handed attempts to cement these alliances with marriages between AQI leaders and daughters of the tribal leaders, a practice used by al Qa'eda in Afghanistan to cement ties between the local **Taliban** leaders and the group's internal constituent national groups, such as Egyptians and Saudis, but which was rejected by Iraqi tribal leaders as alien to their own marriage customs and as presumptuous behavior by the AQI leaders. Consequently, several Sunni insurgent groups in al Anbar and Diyala provinces that previously fought with the AQI against U.S. troops tactically realigned themselves with U.S. and Iraqi government forces against the AQI, at least temporarily. Fourth, the targeting of Muslim civilians by the AQI, which was strongly condemned by Ayman al Zawahiri, the second-in-command of the main al Qa'eda group, turned Muslim public opinion both within and outside Iraq against the AQI. Finally, the tactic of the surge of U.S. forces has led to the killings and captures of several high-level AQI commanders, weakening the organization.

QA'EDA IN THE ISLAMIC MAGHREB, AL. *See* SALAFIST GROUP FOR PREACHING AND COMBAT.

QAHTANIYA BOMBINGS. On 14 August 2007 four **suicide bombings** using explosives-packed vehicles were coordinated, striking the towns of Qahtaniya and Jazeera in Iraq just northwest of Mosul. The bombings killed at least 796 people and injured another 1,562, mainly members of the Yazidi religious minority, who also are members of the Kurdish minority. This was the largest mass-casualty attack in Iraq since the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq and was believed to have been carried out by **al Qa'eda in Iraq** (AQI), although no group accepted responsibility for the attack. One possible motivation for the attack involved religious discrimination by Sunni Muslims against the Yazidis as a religious minority that had been denounced by the AQI as an "un-Islamic group," while Iraqi President Jalal Talabani believed it to be the work of Sunni Muslim insurgents seeking to undermine the efforts of Prime Minister Maliki's efforts to forge a consensus among the political factions within the Iraqi government.

QIBLA. *See* PEOPLE AGAINST GANGSTERISM AND DRUGS.

QUEBEC LIBERATION FRONT (FLQ). The Front de Libération du Québec was a French Canadian group seeking independence for the province of Quebec from the rest of Canada along with creation of a socialist regime there. From 1962 to 1980 the FLQ was the single largest source of political violence in Canada, accounting for over 50 percent of all domestic terrorist incidents in Canada, most of which occurred before 1972. Most incidents involved **bombings** of Canadian federal buildings and **arsons** of Canadian police stations, businesses in Quebec owned by American and Canadian Anglophones, and military installations, but eventually progressing to **kidnapping** and murder. The group enjoyed moral and limited material support from Cuba and Algeria.

The FLQ was founded in February 1963 by three Quebec separatists disgruntled with existing separatist organizations. On 21 June 1970 the group botched an attempt to kidnap the U.S. consul general in Montreal. On 5 October 1970 they kidnapped James Richard Cross, the British trade commissioner in Canada, whom they released on 3 December 1970. On 10 October 1970 they kidnapped Pierre LaPorte, Quebec's minister of labor, who was also the acting provincial premier while the actual premier was away from Quebec on official business. In response to these FLQ actions, the Canadian government imposed the War Measures Act on 16 October 1970, suspending ordinary civil liberties and allowing police and military forces extraordinary powers to conduct searches without warrants and to apprehend suspects without formal charges. It should be noted that the War Measures Act was originally legislated to allow for the internment of enemy civilians during World War I and was later used during World War II to intern Japanese Canadians. The kidnapers murdered LaPorte on 17 October 1970, and his body was found the following day in the trunk of a car. The five kidnapers eventually negotiated safe passage to Cuba in exchange for the life of James Cross.

The murder of LaPorte greatly shocked English-speaking Canadian and Québécois public opinion and created a backlash against the FLQ even in Quebec. The outrage against the FLQ was heightened by the separatist Parti Québécois's impressive gains in recent elections, it having secured 23 percent of the provincial election votes in 1970, which made the recourse to terrorism seem pointless and counterproductive. Although Canadian public opinion was incensed

by the actions of the FLQ, many Canadians nonetheless criticized the government of Pierre Trudeau for imposing the War Measures Act as being an excessive response, and, particularly within Quebec, as a measure that discriminated against French-speaking Canadians. By 29 December 1970, around 453 suspects had been arrested and held under the War Measures Act, although only 18 of them were ever formally charged and prosecuted for FLQ-related activities. The War Measures Act expired in January 1971, but ordinary police powers resulted in a dozen arrests of key FLQ members that year. FLQ theoretician Pierre Vallières (1938–1998), who had publicly repudiated the FLQ on 10 December 1970, surfaced in December 1971, calling on FLQ members to desist from terrorism. The FLQ was dormant from then until the electoral victory of the Parti Québécois in provincial elections in 1976, by which time most former FLQ members had opted to seek separatism through the Parti Québécois. From 1963 to 1971, when the bombings stopped, the FLQ killed about nine people and carried out almost 200 bombings, as well as numerous bank robberies and the two political kidnappings.

Following the narrow defeat on 30 October 1995 of the Parti Québécois–sponsored provincial referendum on secession from Canada, a former convicted FLQ bomber, Raymond Villeneuve, formed a new group, the Quebec National Liberation Movement (Mouvement de Libération Nationale du Québec), urging French-speaking Québécois to use harassment, and other forms of intimidation or violence, to drive English speakers from the province so that French speakers could achieve independence by whatever means possible. In 2000 the group known as the Brigade d'Autodéfense du Français (BAF), or French Language Self-Defense Brigade, led by Rhéal Mathieu, one of the founders of the FLQ, firebombed three Second Cup coffee-shop outlets and a church hosting a meeting of the Alliance Quebec, an Anglophone-rights advocacy group, for which Mathieu was convicted in 2001 and sentenced to serve six months in prison. Following Mathieu's conviction, the BAF firebombed seven McDonald's restaurants. Both McDonald's and Second Cup were targeted for using their incorporated English trade names within Quebec. Since then this group has remained inactive.

QUTB, SAYYID (1903–1966). Egyptian Muslim theologian, social thinker and activist, and leader within the **Muslim Brotherhood**.

Sayyid Qutb exercised a cardinal influence on the development of **Islamic fundamentalism** through his writings and directly influenced the theory and practice of such fundamentalist groups as the various branches of the Muslim Brotherhood, the **Munazzamat al Jihad** group, and others who have used Qutb's doctrine of **jihad** to justify terrorist actions against "apostate" Muslim governments and rulers as well as against perceived external enemies of Islam.

In his seminal work, *Ma'alim fi al Tariq* (Milestones), Qutb advanced the argument that since the main object of jihad was enforcing full enactment of the Islamic law, rather than defense of Muslim lands or conquest of non-Muslims as such, there was no reason for Muslims to abstain from initiating military force to advance Islam in the world. Qutb's works also demonized Westernizing and secular nationalist Muslim political leaders as agents of a revived *jahiliyyah* (pre-Islamic heathenism) who therefore were to be counted among those enemies of Islam who could be lawfully attacked at will by true believers. The Munazzamat al Jihad group incorporated Qutb's thoughts into its doctrine and enacted them with the **assassination** of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat on 6 October 1981.

Sayyid Qutb joined the Muslim Brotherhood in 1951 but was imprisoned in 1954 due to a crackdown on the Brotherhood following an unsuccessful assassination plot against Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Qutb was released in 1964 but was directly implicated in another assassination plot against Nasser in 1965 and executed on 29 August 1966.

The influence of Qutb was also perpetuated by his brother, Muhammad Qutb, who wrote several books advancing his brother's viewpoint and who influenced many as a teacher at King Abdul Aziz University in Saudi Arabia, where he introduced **Osama bin Laden** to the works of Sayyid Qutb. Sayyid Qutb was also a mentor of Mahfuz Azzam, the uncle of Ayman al Zawahiri who in turn instructed his nephew in the tenets of Qutb's thought. For these reasons, Sayyid Qutb is held by many to have had a major influence on the development of the guiding ideology of **al Qa'eda** and aligned Salafist Islamic fundamentalist groups. It should be noted that Sayyid Qutb has also been criticized, both by secularists within the Islamic nations, who found his thought reactionary, and by religious traditionalists, who have criticized him for his facile statements about Islamic law given his own lack of formal instruction in Islamic jurisprudence.

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RACKETEER INFLUENCED CORRUPT ORGANIZATIONS

(RICO) ACT. The federal Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act, Chapter 96 of Title 18 U.S. Code 1963(a), was originally passed on 15 October 1970 to address organized crime but since then has been amended several times to make it applicable to antiabortion violence, inner-city youth gangs, and domestic terrorism. The RICO statutes were used in 1987 to convict Joseph Murray and Robert Anderson, two members of the **Irish Republican Army (IRA)** who were involved in smuggling drugs into the United States to finance IRA activities. Members of the Bruder Schweigen Strike Force II (**The Order**) were convicted on RICO charges for **bombings** carried out in northern Idaho in 1987. During the period 1982–1989, over 40 percent of the charges against 1,363 terrorists tried in the United States were based on federal antiracketeering (30.2 percent) or RICO statutes (9.3 percent). The Anti-Terrorism Act of 2001, Title III, Subtitle A, Section 304 expands the scope of RICO predicate offenses to include all terrorist offenses under federal statutes.

A Joint Terrorism Task Force of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in Charlotte, North Carolina, used the RICO Act to convict 26 members of a **Hezbollah** procurement and fund-raising cell for immigration fraud, visa fraud, cigarette smuggling, interstate transportation of stolen property, fraud, bank fraud, bribery, money laundering, racketeering, and providing material support to a terrorist organization. The FBI investigations of Sami al Arian, the head of the World Islamic Studies Enterprise, an alleged front for **Islamic Jihad** of Palestine, led to the February 2003 arrest of al Arian, Sameeh Hammoudeh, Hatim Naji Fariz, and Ghassan Ballout following a 50-count indictment for RICO and material support of terrorism violations.

RATIONAL-CHOICE THEORY. Theory of political and social behavior that regards individuals as the main unit of analysis for understanding political behavior and their tastes, preferences, and desires as the fundamental motivators for collective actions undertaken by individuals as the most cost-effective means of gaining their desired ends.

Empirical studies of ordinary political and social behavior do not support rational-choice theorists' belief that one can eliminate cultural, **ideological**, or religious beliefs from a cogent explanation of human

behavior. In the analysis and explanation of terrorist events, groups, and motivations, rational-choice theory seems particularly barren. While terrorism appears to have paid off as a political strategy for certain groups, such as the **Irish Republican Army** and the **Palestine Liberation Organization**, which have moved from pariah status to becoming partners in negotiations with the very states that once anathematized them, there are scores of other groups whose actions failed to achieve success and whose **tactics** and behavior cannot be understood in rational-choice terms. Moreover, this approach cannot easily explain the actions of **suicide bombers** or the tactics of **Holy Terror**, in which individuals sacrifice themselves to achieve a transcendental ideal that outsiders cannot fathom. The most convincing work applying rational-choice analysis has been that of Marsha Crenshaw, who argued that the **contagion effect** of terrorism can be understood as a variation of the “free-rider problem,” a concept elaborated by rational-choice theory. Crenshaw has also argued that the internationalization of terrorism by **Islamic fundamentalist** or national-separatist groups that formerly operated within more constrained geographical boundaries can be best explained by a rational-choice calculus of these groups internationalizing their conflict in order to gain more attention and possible benefits to their respective causes.

RED ARMY FACTION (RAF). The Rote Armee Fraktion, also known in the popular press as the Baader-Meinhof Gang, was a group of German **anarchistic leftist terrorists** active from 11 May 1972 until 20 April 1998. While the RAF did not originally appear to have **state sponsorship**, evidence found in East German government files following the reunification of Germany showed that in the preceding 10 years the German Democratic Republic provided logistical support, **sanctuary**, and training to the RAF. In the period 15–30 June 1990, East German police arrested 10 fugitive RAF members who had been given **asylum** by the former Communist regime. Even in the formative Baader-Meinhof period, however, the group was clearly dependent on the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)**, which itself received Soviet and other Eastern Bloc assistance, for initial training. The RAF did collaborate with **Direct Action** and the **Communist Combatant Cells**, both now defunct, and later appeared to collaborate with the **October First Antifascist Resistance Group**.

This group was formed out of the student unrest and leftist activism of 1968 when Andreas Baader (1943–1977), imprisoned in 1968 for firebombing a Frankfurt department store, escaped on 14 May 1970 with the help of Ulrike Meinhof (1934–1976), a left-wing journalist. Along with another comrade, they went to the Middle East where they underwent terrorist training in camps run by the PFLP. On their return to Germany they engaged in **assassinations, bombings, and kidnappings** before being arrested in 1972. Those RAF members remaining at large continued terrorist activities to pressure the German government to free their imprisoned comrades. After her arrest in 1972 and conviction and imprisonment in 1974, Ulrike Meinhof committed suicide on 8 May 1976 by hanging herself.

On 27 June 1976 RAF members together with members of the PFLP carried out the **Entebbe hijacking**, seizing an Air France Tel Aviv-to-Paris flight and diverting it to Entebbe, Uganda, where 240 passengers were held hostage until rescued by Israeli commandos on 1 July 1976, an operation in which all seven hijackers were killed along with approximately 20 Ugandan soldiers. On 13 October 1977 PFLP terrorists accompanied by the RAF carried out the **Mogadishu hijacking** of Lufthansa Flight 181, a plane flying from Mallorca to Frankfurt, diverted to Mogadishu, Somalia, on 13 October 1977, to force the German government to release RAF leaders Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, and Jan-Karl Raspe, who had been convicted on 30 counts of murder on 28 April 1977 and who were serving their life sentences in Stammheim-Stuttgart Prison. After the hijackers were foiled on 17 October 1977 by West German Grenzschutzgruppe-9 (GSG-9) **counterterrorism** commandos, sometime in the early hours of 18 October 1977 the three RAF first-generation leaders all committed suicide. A fourth RAF member in the same prison, Irmgard Möller, also attempted suicide but was unsuccessful. While the members of the group never had referred to themselves as the Baader-Meinhof Gang, following the deaths of Meinhof and Baader the press began referring to the surviving group as the Red Army Faction. Irmgard Möller was eventually released on 1 December 1994 on medical grounds as no longer posing a threat to society.

The RAF committed 53 noteworthy actions from 1972 to 1991, over half of which involved bombings, while about a quarter involved assassinations or armed attacks. Only one notable instance of hostage taking is noted, namely, the kidnapping of Hanns-Martin Schleyer on 5 September 1977, and two hijackings, the Air France

Flight 139 Entebbe hijacking on 27 June 1976 and the Lufthansa Flight 181 Mogadishu hijacking on 13 October 1977, in which the RAF played a supporting role.

Bombing targets have included a U.S. Officers' Club in Frankfurt (11 May 1972); an attempted bombing-assassination of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Commander General Alexander Haig (25 June 1979); U.S. Air Force headquarters in Ramstein (31 August 1981); and the Rhein-Main Air Force Base car-bombing attack carried out jointly with Direct Action (8 August 1985). Assassinations have included the killing of German Supreme Court President Günter von Drenkmann (9 November 1974); German Federal Prosecutor Siegfried Buback (7 April 1977); Deutsche Bank Chairman Alfred Herrhausen (30 November 1989); an attempt on Interior Ministry State Secretary Hans Neusel (27 July 1990); and Detlev Rohwedder, a West German businessman involved in the liquidation and sale of former East German state enterprises (1 April 1991).

The RAF was the oldest of the anarchistic leftist terrorist groups that sought to destroy the capitalist state but without any strategy to help build a successor socialist state. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the repeated failures of the RAF to build effective alliances with similar groups outside Germany led to what Dennis Pluchinsky described as "strategic confusion" and "ideological burn-out." The Persian Gulf War briefly breathed zeal back into the remaining militants, who, on 13 February 1991, assaulted the U.S. embassy in Bonn with 250 rounds of small-arms fire in protest against the U.S.-led invasion. There remained little reason for them to carry on the armed struggle except, perhaps, to free their remaining imprisoned comrades. But the initiative of Justice Minister Klaus Kinkel to release those RAF prisoners, who by now were either nearing the ends of their sentences or else simply too old or too debilitated to engage in terrorism, effectively removed this motive for continued struggle for the RAF members remaining at large.

A long communiqué dated 10 April 1992 was issued by the "Commando" of the RAF, the first half consisting of a self-criticism of the strategy of the group and the second half containing a conditional unilateral cease-fire. Follow-up communiqués of 29 June 1992 and a 58-page document issued in August 1992 reiterated the cease-fire and outlined reasons why the group decided it would no longer engage in antistate terror. Yet on 27 March 1993 RAF members bombed and

destroyed the new women's prison under construction in Wieterstadt. On 27 June 1993 German police arrested RAF member Brigit Hogefeld and shot to death Wolfgang Grams, who was resisting arrest. On 16 September 1999 Austrian police shot and killed Horst Ludwig Meyer, who was one of five suspected members of the RAF at large and unaccounted for, near Vienna.

Although this group was estimated to have had only 10 to 20 actual fighters at any given time, it succeeded in creating a support **network** of hundreds of Germans, many of whom were well-educated professionals. The RAF had also succeeded in perpetuating itself through two generations of leadership, which gave it a longevity that few other anarchistic leftist terrorist groups achieved. However, on 20 April 1998 a final memorandum sent to the Reuters news agency confirmed that the remaining members of the group had dissolved their organization and that they and their cause had now "become history."

RED ARMY FOR THE LIBERATION OF CATALONIA (ERCA).

The Ejército Rojo Catalán de Liberación is believed to have been a Marxist-Leninist offshoot of the **Terra Lliure** Catalan separatist movement. As such it shared with Terra Lliure the **ethnonationalist** goal of reconstituting an independent Catalan homeland in Catalonia, which would embrace also the Spanish provinces of Valencia and the Balearic Isles as well as the French province of Roussillon.

During 1987 ERCA **bombed** several U.S. **targets** in Barcelona. On 13 May the General Electric office was bombed, causing no injuries. On 14 October the U.S. consulate general was bombed, injuring eight Spaniards. On 26 December a youth lobbed two grenades of Danish manufacture into a United Service Organizations (USO) club, killing one U.S. serviceman and injuring five other servicemen as well as three bystanders. This group is believed to be defunct.

RED BRIGADES (BR). The Brigate Rosse was a group of Italian **anarchistic leftist terrorists** founded in 1970 and active from 18 April 1974 until 23 April 1988. The BR adopted parallel political and military organizations: The national structure was made up of a Strategic Directorate and Executive Committee, under which there was a Column Command. The "columns" were modeled after the Italian partisans of World War II and each column was responsible for specific areas, usually one per major city, and each was to be self-sufficient and compartmentalized, with a six-member director-

ate and four-member “brigades” to conduct political organizing among workers, students, and low-income neighborhoods. To handle specialized problems, each column had “fronts,” such as a logistical front to find safe houses, procure fake identification cards, and carry out bank holdups; a counter-revolution front to spy on the police; and a prison front to maintain contacts with imprisoned comrades and help them escape. The organization had permanent militants, which included all who were wanted by the police and had gone underground as well as those militants who were not yet known to the police and who often continued to hold ordinary jobs. The occasional militants were those who lived a normal life but served as a support network for the permanent militants.

The BR operated by campaigns that consisted of concentrated and coordinated actions to achieve goals set by the Strategic Directorate: columns and fronts would decide on appropriate **targets** and **tactics** and, after conducting surveillance and careful planning, would carry out those attacks. Highly complex “central actions,” such as the **kidnapping** of former prime minister Aldo Moro, involved recruiting a group of 10 highly experienced militants who ordinarily came from the more specialized fronts but some of whom came from the simple brigades. While the central action was taking place, other columns would distract the police with scores of other tactical actions, including **arsons**, **kneecappings**, and even **assassinations**. While the BR did not appear to have **state sponsorship**, it had contacts in the mid-1970s with Uruguayan **Tupamaros**, later collaborated with **Direct Action** and the **Red Army Faction**, and also cultivated links with Palestinian terrorist groups, in particular the **Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Factions**. After the collapse of the BR in Italy, it appeared that some fugitive BR members joined forces with the **October First Antifascist Resistance Group**.

The BR viewed itself as the vanguard for a proletarian party that would spontaneously appear once the group had paved the way by destroying the “SIM,” the Italian acronym for “imperialist state of multinationals,” and by raising the revolutionary consciousness of the working classes through acts of **armed propaganda**. Founded in 1970, the BR struck at the Italian state through assassination and kneecappings of judges, prosecutors, and jurors and also through attacks on the Christian Democratic Party. About 75 percent of the BR’s attacks, however, were directed at businesses, with threats of

arson, kidnapping, kneecapping, or murder if protection money was not paid. The BR seldom made use of **bombing**, except on 3 May 1979 in attacking the Christian Democratic Party headquarters in Rome, although it used firebombs to initiate acts of arson.

During the period 1974–1988, there were at least 50 noteworthy attacks committed by the BR, as well as 47 assassinations, 19 cases of kneecapping of victims, and 13 kidnappings. Four kidnappings for ransom alone netted the BR around \$6 million. Like the Red Army Faction, the BR undertook many of its kidnappings and attacks on behalf of imprisoned comrades, either to pressure the judicial system to release them or else to take revenge on jurists and police involved in their capture and convictions. The waves of assassinations of jurists eventually caused Italian magistrates to go on strike in July 1980 in protest over their lack of security. During 1978–1980, called by Italians the “years of lead,” hardly a day went by without an armed attack, political murder, kidnapping, or other terrorist action due to the Brigades, similar leftist groups, and imitators, as well as by Italian neo-Fascists, such as the **Avanguardia Nazionale**, **Black Order**, and the **Revolutionary Armed Nuclei**.

Three events stand out in the history of the Brigades: Inspired by the Red Army Faction’s kidnapping of Hanns-Martin Schleyer, the BR kidnapped the head of the Christian Democratic Party and former prime minister, Aldo Moro, on 16 March 1978, killing five of his bodyguards. Moro was killed 55 days later. While the BR viewed this as a great victory, Italian society at large viewed it with revulsion and the Italian government empowered its security forces to suspend certain civil liberties to crack down on the Brigades and similar groups. On 17 December 1981, in Verona, the BR kidnapped U.S. Army Brigadier General James Dozier, who was rescued by Italian counterterrorist police in Padua on 28 January 1982. The decision to kidnap a senior North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) officer had been inspired partly through a desire to show solidarity with the **Palestine Liberation Organization** by striking at an “imperialist” target. The BR connection with Palestinian terrorists was more obvious when on 15 February 1984 the group assassinated an American, Leamon Hunt, the director of the multinational observer team stationed in the Sinai Peninsula charged with overseeing the peace accord between Egypt and Israel, apparently with weapons provided by **Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Factions** agents. Following this murder, the BR carried out another three assassinations of

prominent individuals as well as an attempted assassination. In the first week of September 1989, Italian police arrested several brigadists, after which BR activity appeared to cease.

By 1989 about 1,300 BR members had been imprisoned. By 1994 about 400 remained in jail, and by 1997 only 181 remained. On 21 November 1997 Greek police in Athens arrested Enrico Bianco, one of the BR members once thought to have been responsible for the kidnapping and killing of Aldo Moro. Although he had been cleared of those charges in January 1981, Italy sought his **extradition** on other criminal charges. On 7 October 1998 Renato Curcio, the founder of the Red Brigades and the last major BR figure to remain in prison, was freed after serving 24 years of a 30-year sentence.

In April 1984 the imprisoned leaders of the original BR issued a communiqué calling on their comrades to lay down their arms, stating that “the international conditions that made this struggle possible no longer exist.” While most analysts believe this marked the end of the original group, there remained two factions that claimed the legacy of the BR: the New Red Brigades-Communist Combatant Party (BR-PCC), and the Red Brigades-Union of Combatant Communists (BR-UCC). On 20 May 1999 unknown assailants in Rome shot and killed Massimo D’Antona, a senior adviser of Italy’s prime minister, Massimo D’Alema, and later responsibility for the murder was claimed in the name of the BR-PCC. Many of the former BR members, including Adriana Faranda, who had served 14 years in jail for her role in the Moro assassination, stated that they believed the cycle of armed revolutionary violence in Italy was over and doubted that any original BR members were involved in this attack. On 20 March 2002 the BR-PCC also assassinated Professor Marco Biagi, economic adviser of Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi. On 23 October 2003, three days after the BR-PCC attacked a business target, the last known action by the group, Italian police were able to arrest six BR-PCC members. On 1 June 2005 four BR-PCC members were sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of Biagi.

RED GUERRILLA RESISTANCE (RGR). The RGR was a nonstate U.S. **anarchistic leftist** group that engaged in **bombings** during the mid-1980s for the limited purpose of protesting U.S. and Israeli “imperialism,” militarism, and South African apartheid. Most of the bombings carried out in the name of this group occurred in New York

City, although one occurred in Washington, D.C., on 20 April 1984, when a bomb exploded at the Washington Navy Officers' Club. On 5 April 1984 the RGR bombed the Israeli Aircraft Industries plant. On 26 September 1984 the group bombed the South African consulate. On 23 February 1985 it bombed the New York City Police Benevolent Association offices. None of these bombings caused harm to life or limb, and after the last bombing in 1985 no further attacks were claimed in the name of the RGR. Some analysts believe that the Red Guerrilla Resistance was a nom de guerre of the **May 19 Communist Coalition**.

RED HAND COMMANDOS. The Red Hand Commandos were an Ulster Protestant terrorist militia established in 1972 by John McKeague after his expulsion from the **Ulster Defence Association**. This group and the **Ulster Volunteer Force**, with which it worked in tandem, functioned as anti-Catholic **death squads** in the Belfast area and were banned by the British government in 1973. In April 1975 the Commandos **bombed** a pub in a Catholic district, killing six. The Red Hand Commandos were also suspected in the 17 May 1974 bombings of downtown Dublin and Monaghan, which killed 30 and injured 151.

McKeague was unsuccessfully prosecuted under the Stormont Parliament's Incitement to Religious Hatred Law. Shortly after his acquittal in January 1982, McKeague was killed by militants of the **Irish National Liberation Army**. The group is known to have killed six people in the period 1992–1995 and is believed to have been associated with another group, the Loyalist Retaliation and Defence Group, which terrorized shopkeepers who sold the official newspaper of Sinn Féin, *An Phoblacht* (The Republic), killing two of them in 1991. In total, the Red Hand Commandos killed 12 civilians and one of their own members.

On 3 May 2007 the Red Hand Commandos announced, along with the Ulster Volunteer Force, that they would renounce violence and disband as a military organization. Rather than disarming, the group promised to put its arms under the control of the leadership of the Ulster Volunteer Force, which the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning rejected as insufficient compliance.

RED HAND DEFENDERS (RHD). The RHD is a small Ulster Protestant Loyalist group that came into existence in 1998 and is believed to consist of members of the **Loyalist Volunteer Force**, the **Ulster Defence Association**, and the **Ulster Freedom Fighters** who op-

posed the Good Friday Agreement of 10 April 1998. The RHD first appeared when it claimed responsibility for the 7 September 1998 **bombing** that killed a Royal Ulster Constabulary officer, Frankie O'Reilly. A further action was the shooting death of a Catholic man, Brian Service, on 31 October 1998, the timing of which appeared to have been intended to stall the faltering peace talks and to sabotage the cease-fire being observed by the **Irish Republican Army** (IRA) and major Ulster militia groups. The RHD also claimed responsibility for the murder of Rosemary Nelson, a Catholic human rights lawyer, killed by a car bomb in Lurgan on 15 March 1998.

During 2000 the RHD carried out two bombings without causing injuries or death. During 2001 the RHD carried out 16 attacks of which seven were shootings, five were attempted bombings, and four were successful bombings. The RHD targeted Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) gyms and soccer fields and Catholic postal workers, taxi drivers, and families living in Protestant areas. The RHD shot to death a Catholic politician, Ciaran Cummings, on 4 July 2001, a Protestant teenager outside a GAA gym on 29 July 2001, and a Catholic journalist, Martin O'Hagan, on 28 September 2001. On 22 August 2001 the group attempted to **assassinate** Sinn Fein leader Martin McGuinness, who later became deputy first minister of Northern Ireland in May 2007. In 2002 the RHD assassinated one Catholic postal worker and attempted two pipe bombings, with its last known attack being an attempted pipe bombing of a Catholic home on 19 December 2002. The group used homemade pipe bombs but also had access to grenades and handguns.

The RHD appeared at the same time as the Orange Volunteers, and many observers believe that the membership of these two groups overlapped. Observers believe that the RHD is a means for members of the larger Protestant paramilitaries, which have nominally subscribed to a renunciation of violence, to allow their members to continue terrorist attacks on Catholics and Republican **targets**.

REJECTION FRONT. In 1974 the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine** (PFLP) established the Jebhe al-Qawwa al-Filastiniyya al-Rafez al Hulul al Istisalam, or Front Rejecting Capitulationist Solutions, to oppose the participation of the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) in any negotiated settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The **Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine**,

the **PFLP-General Command**, **al Sai'qa**, the **Fatah Revolutionary Council**, the **Arab Liberation Front**, the **Palestine Liberation Front**, and the **Popular Struggle Front** also joined this opposition group. This coalition never succeeded in replacing or weakening **Yasir Arafat's** control over the PLO. Given the acquiescence of the PFLP and several of these other groups with the resolutions of the 19th meeting of the Palestine National Council on 15 November 1988 recognizing UN Resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis for a Middle East settlement; the waning of the Arab Liberation Front, al Sai'qa, and the Fatah Revolutionary Council as significant actors; and the rise of rival Palestinian **Islamic fundamentalist** groups, such as **Hamas** and the **Islamic Jihad** of Palestine, the Rejection Front must be regarded as defunct.

RELATIVE DEPRIVATION THEORY. Theory that ordinary crime or political violence is directly or indirectly motivated by perceived or actual conditions of economic, social, and political inequality. This theory has been cited as a possible explanation of terrorism as a special case of political violence or unrest. Ted Robert Gurr investigated the impact of relative deprivation on civil unrest in his seminal study, "A Causal Model of Civil Strife: A Comparative Analysis Using New Indices" (*American Political Science Review* 62 [4 December 1968]: 1104–24). This study, which statistically analyzed cases of civil unrest in 114 nation-states, showed that it was not simply worsening economic conditions that led to **revolution** but rather perceptions of worsening economic conditions that set the stage for unrest. Even if economic conditions were improving, when perceptions of economic deprivation were joined to perceptions of government illegitimacy, civil strife would follow. To explain civil unrest, the idea of relative deprivation had to embrace not only economic deprivation but social and political deprivation as well. Gurr also found that when relative deprivation was accompanied by political agitation by **revolutionary** groups, **state sponsorship** for such groups, and internal **sanctuaries** for such groups, then his statistical model almost doubled the amount of civil unrest that it explained. These results appear to demonstrate that relative deprivation is neither sufficient nor necessary to explain political violence, much less terrorism. Profiles of members of terrorist groups show rather that terrorists often come from backgrounds with higher rather than lower socioeconomic status and usually higher-than-average education. Social

and political deprivation, rather than purely economic deprivation, may facilitate political unrest, but terrorism proper requires the mobilizing forces of **ideology**, **leadership**, and **organization** to transform inchoate disaffection into organized political violence.

RENAMO. The Resistência Nacional Moçambicana, or Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), was a Mozambican insurgent group formerly sponsored by Rhodesia, when it was under the Ian Smith regime, and later by South Africa. RENAMO eventually became an ordinary political party in 1994. Members of this group are largely anti-Marxist Mozambicans, including both native Africans and Portuguese colonials, as well as disaffected former FRELIMO (Mozambican Liberation Front) members seeking to change the regime. The South African sponsors of RENAMO viewed it primarily as a means of pressuring Mozambique to stop giving **sanctuary** and **state sponsorship** to the **Umkhonto we Sizwe** guerrillas fighting South Africa, who were associated with the **African National Congress** (ANC).

When Mozambique was granted independence by Portugal on 25 June 1975, the new Marxist government began giving aid and **sanctuary** to Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) guerrillas fighting the Ian Smith regime. Rhodesia countered by sponsoring the creation of the MNR in 1976, which recruited both native African and Portuguese colonial Mozambicans to attack the anti-Rhodesian guerrillas in their bases within Mozambique. Beginning in 1978 the MNR began attacking the economic infrastructure of Mozambique as well as seeking to destabilize the FRELIMO regime. After the transition of power in 1980 that created the new state of Zimbabwe from the former colony of Rhodesia, the MNR found a new sponsor in South Africa, which also wished to pressure Mozambique to stop supporting the ANC-backed guerrillas. In 1982 the MNR changed its name to RENAMO and spread its area of operations into Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Zambia. From having started with a few thousand members in 1976, RENAMO expanded to more than 20,000 guerrillas by the end of the 1980s. South Africa extended safe haven and logistical support to RENAMO. Neighboring states, such as Malawi, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe, countered by stationing some of their troops within Mozambique.

The RENAMO campaign was marked by calculated, consistent, and extreme brutality directed toward noncombatants. An analysis of 47 noteworthy incidents from 1979 to 1987 showed that 51 percent

involved **kidnappings**, 15 percent involved **assassinations**, and 4 percent involved **bombings**. The remaining 30 percent involved armed attacks and sabotage operations. Kidnappings generally involved foreign nationals, such as aid and development workers, relief workers, and missionaries, some of whom were killed in captivity or died of disease or malnutrition, and four of whom disappeared. African nationals of Mozambique and neighboring lands have also been, in effect, enslaved by RENAMO for use as human porters. In August 1979 RENAMO murdered five Soviet advisers and in June 1982 murdered a Portuguese engineer. On 14 October 1983 RENAMO derailed a train and murdered dozens of passengers. In July 1987 RENAMO carried out a massacre at Homoine, killing more than 400 civilians. RENAMO also engaged in mutilation of its victims.

By 1990, as the South African government gradually came to terms with the ANC, its support for RENAMO came to an end. RENAMO had meanwhile built up a support network in Europe and elsewhere among private individuals and groups. During 1991 negotiations between RENAMO and the Mozambican government were under way and hostilities there had been partly suspended. Although the RENAMO leader, Afonso Marceta Dhlakama, and Mozambique's president, Joaquim Alberto Chissano, signed a cease-fire in Rome in October 1992, sporadic fighting continued between RENAMO and government forces until the elections of 27–28 October 1994, in which Chissano was elected president by 53 percent of the vote while Dhlakama won 33 percent. In the 250-seat Assembly of the Republic, FRELIMO won 129 seats while RENAMO won 112, and the smaller Democratic Union won nine seats. Despite a disclaimer that RENAMO might reject the election results if it did not win, it acquiesced to become the opposition to a FRELIMO-led government and has since acted as a political party.

RENDITION. Sending a suspect to a nation where the suspect is wanted on criminal charges or merely for investigation, whether by legal means or extralegal. Rendition covers all forms of **extradition**, deportation, or return of a suspect by national authorities apart from a formal extradition procedure, as well as illegal actions such as **kidnapping** and transporting a suspect back to the nation seeking that person. In the case of the rendition of Ilich Ramírez Sánchez, also known as **Carlos**, the Sudanese authorities agreed to allow French

agents to arrest Carlos and return him to France for trial without the formal legal extradition procedure. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) used the **Hostage-Taking Act** of 1984 to arrest Fawaz Younis, a suspected **hijacker**, in September 1987 but did so without relying on the cooperation of Lebanese authorities. Younis was lured out to a yacht off the Lebanese coast, where he was arrested by FBI agents and then transported to a U.S. naval vessel and brought back to the United States for trial.

Cases of rendition in which the country seeking the suspect asserts extraterritorial jurisdiction and bypasses reliance on local authorities are controversial because they violate the territorial sovereignty of the nation from which the suspect is taken and are probably only justifiable where the local government has given sanctuary to terrorists or else has been incapable of asserting effective authority over its territory. Most cases of rendition involve the extradition process or some other form of cooperation with the local authorities.

Since the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**, the United States has also employed “extreme rendition” or “extraordinary rendition” as a means of obtaining information from captured enemy combatants. This means either sending, or threatening to send, a captured combatant to a nation allied with the United States employing allied nationals to conduct interrogation using means not ordinarily permitted under U.S. civil and military codes of justice.

Cases of extreme rendition have been protested by human rights activists and civil libertarians, who claim this practice violates both due process under the U.S. Constitution as well as provisions of the United Nations Convention Against Torture (UNCAT). The rendition in 2002 of a Canadian Muslim suspect, Maher Arar, to Syria for interrogation created a political crisis in Italy due to the fact that the plane carrying Arar had made a 37-minute stopover in Rome, leading to the resignation on 21 February 2007 of Prime Minister Romano Prodi. Controversy within Canada over the role of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in handing over files on Arar to U.S. officials led to the resignation of RCMP chief Giuliano Zaccardelli on 6 December 2006. On 9 October 2007 the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal of Khaled al-Masri, a German citizen who had been kidnapped by the Central Intelligence Agency and sent to an interrogation center in Afghanistan.

REPUBLIC OF TEXAS. Group of antistate residents in Fort Davis, Texas, who claimed that the state of Texas was illegally annexed by the United States and who declared their own “Republic of Texas” in 1997. Led by Richard L. McClaren, this group of at most two dozen was headquartered in a trailer home and an abandoned fire station 15 miles outside Fort Davis in the Davis Mountains. Like the **Freeman** of Montana, they declared themselves independent of the United States after running afoul of authorities by creating bogus financial instruments and filing bogus liens to harass Texas and federal authorities and whomever they deemed to be their enemies.

On 27 April 1997 McClaren ordered the seizure of Joe Rowe and Margaret Ann Rowe, against whom McClaren had litigated unsuccessfully, after the local sheriff’s department had arrested one of his followers, Robert J. Scheidt, on trespassing and firearms charges. Up to 300 Texas public safety officers and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents besieged the McClaren compound. On 3 May 1997 McClaren and all but two of his followers, who escaped into the Davis Mountains, surrendered to authorities. On 31 October 1997 McClaren and his chief lieutenant, Robert Otto, were found guilty in state district court for organized criminal activity and for the abduction of Joe and Margaret Ann Rowe, and on 4 November 1997 McClaren was sentenced to 99 years’ imprisonment and Otto to 50 years.

Three factions lay claim to be the current Republic of Texas but none of them have continued the bogus lien and harassment tactics of McClaren and since 1997 are no longer viewed as a threat to public security by Texas law enforcement. In 2003 the three groups merged back into a single entity, but on 31 August 2005 unknown individuals burned down the group’s headquarters in Overton, Texas. In order to attract new members, the current Republic of Texas has been trying to exploit the growing anti-immigration sentiment in Texas by forming their own citizen border patrols similar to those of the recent **Minutemen** movement. *See also* “COMMON-LAW COURTS.”

RESURGENCE MOVEMENTS. Also called Revitalization Movements, attempts by a group to recover its cultural, political, or social identity through nonpolitical, political, violent, or nonviolent means. The various **ethnonationalist** political and military movements, **identity politics** within a nation-state, and fundamentalist religious movements, such as **Islamic fundamentalism** and Protestant Chris-

tian revivalism associated also with **millennialism**, are all examples of resurgence movements. Resurgence movements have variously succeeded or failed in preserving a community and its way of life. The **Ku Klux Klan** and **militia movement** are examples of movements seeking to restore pre-Civil War norms of **white supremacy**, state-centered federalism and antiforeigner nativism. The various **Sikh militant groups** and Kurdish militant nationalist movements, such as the **Kurdistan Workers' Party**, seek to create new nation-states based on their respective religious or ethnic communities.

Nationalist movements, such as those of Zionism in the period 1897–1948 and Irish nationalism in the 19th and 20th centuries, have often involved attempts to revive the original language, place-names, and culture of the national group in order to boost the distinctive identity of the national group and to reinforce its claims to territory and the right of self-government: Jewish settlers in Palestine opted to revive Hebrew as the primary language of the Jewish community in Palestine in preference to English, German, Yiddish, Ladino, or other languages being used by Jews as a lingua franca throughout the world. Similarly, the Irish nationalist movements sought to revive the use of the Gaelic language in preference to English as a means of fostering an Irish identity distinct from the British identity shared by the peoples of Great Britain but failed to displace the use of English as the primary language within Ireland.

REVOLUTION. A transformation of the political system of a society in which the majority of the people in the affected society withdraw their recognition of the legitimacy of the prerevolutionary political system in favor of the system that replaces it. Revolution differs from a coup d'état insofar as a coup need only replace the main personalities governing the state without otherwise changing the state system or the basic political and social institutions of the nation. Revolutions usually involve some political violence, even in those movements that seek to use only nonviolent civil disobedience, since the defenders of the existing regime usually will violently resist attempts to overthrow that regime.

Several theories of revolution have been proposed, ranging from the historical-materialist thesis of Karl Marx and his followers to the theory that revolutions are the result of **ideological** movements among the intellectual elites, who have grown alienated from the

political status quo. It should be noted that since most theories of revolution attempt to explain political and social movements that encompass a significant portion, if not the majority, of the people of a nation-state or colony, whereas terrorist activities and **insurgency** usually involve smaller groups, theories of revolution do not satisfactorily address the phenomenon of terrorism.

Throughout this dictionary, groups are described as having revolutionary goals even if their aim is secession or independence for a nationalist homeland rather than the political transformation of the entire society or economic-social order. In the case of the **Irish Republican Army (IRA)**, its goals included the unification of the northern and southern counties of Ireland and total separation of a united Ireland from Great Britain. The IRA's intention to destroy the legitimacy of the Northern Irish government and force the unification of Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland would force the British to acquiesce in the redefinition of the British state as well. Similarly, the transformation of an authoritarian and bureaucratic Iranian state under the shah to a theocratic state under the rule of Shi'ite clergymen must also be counted as a revolution even if such a transformation does not meet historicist expectations of some linear scheme of tentative progress. There is no a priori reason to designate only leftist groups as being revolutionary while designating all rightist groups as counterrevolutionary. *See also* ALIENATION; RELATIVE DEPRIVATION THEORY.

REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF COLOMBIA-PEOPLE'S ARMY (FARC, or FARC-EP). The Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo, is a nonstate guerrilla group dedicated to creating a Marxist-Leninist **revolution** in Colombia. FARC is considered to be the best equipped, best trained and most effective guerrilla group in South America. Its headquarters are now believed to be in the vicinity of the town of San Vicente de Caguá, located in Meta Department. The main FARC-controlled region lies in south-central Colombia consisting of the eastern portions of Meta and Guaviare departments as well as Caquetá, Vaupes, and Putumayo departments. In the northwest region bordering Panama, FARC controls much of Chocó, Córdoba, Sucre, and Antioquia departments. Another zone controlled by FARC is along Venezuela's southern frontier with Colombia in Arauca and Vichada departments. FARC has been able to strike at **targets** throughout Colombia even outside these regions.

FARC's origins go back to 1964 when Colombian Communist Party (PCC) Central Committee members Manuel Marulanda Vélez (d. 2008), Jacobo Arenas (d. 1990), and Rigoberto Losada (d. 1992) founded FARC as an independent guerrilla group. In 1966 the PCC adopted FARC as its military wing. This move was taken in reaction to the creation of the Castroite **National Liberation Army** in 1964. In the period 1966–1968, FARC numbered some 500 combatants. The normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and Colombia weakened FARC, which could no longer count on external aid. In 1982 the group reorganized itself from being loosely coordinated bands of ragtag militias into a more hierarchically structured “people’s army” with ranks, uniforms, insignia, and more systematic training of its recruits and officer-cadres. This reorganization was brought about largely by Jacobo Arenas, a university-educated leftist who also created the Patriotic Union political front for FARC in the mid-1980s. Arenas believed that in order to pursue an effective double-edged political and military strategy, the military wing of FARC had to adopt the standards for recognition as a legitimate **belligerent** set forth in the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949. By 2001 the ranks of FARC were estimated to be 16,000, of which about 5,000 were conscripted child soldiers under the age of 18.

Its members have been drawn mainly from the middle-class intelligentsia. FARC has undercut its appeal by its tactics of **kidnapping** and of killing peasants who do not cooperate with it. During the early 1970s FARC began financing itself through kidnapping for ransom of foreign nationals and wealthy Colombians and through extortion of foreign-affiliated businesses. During this resurgence FARC organized itself into operationally independent units known as “fronts,” having five fronts by 1978, which increased to 27 fronts by 1987, 40 fronts by 1988, and around 80 fronts by 2007. One of these fronts, the **Ricardo Franco Front**, broke with the main body of FARC in March 1984 over the question of seeking a negotiated settlement with the government and became an independent terrorist organization.

The group has attacked both Colombian domestic and U.S.-affiliated targets. In February 1977 it kidnapped a U.S. Peace Corps volunteer in La Macrena, who was released three years later only after payment of a \$250,000 ransom. In August 1980 it kidnapped a U.S. banana grower in central Colombia, who was released three months later after payment of a \$125,000 ransom. In April and August 1983, two

U.S. citizens residing in La Meta Department were also kidnapped and released only on payments of ransom.

In May 1984, FARC, along with the **Popular Liberation Army** and **M-19**, signed a cease-fire with the Colombian government that did not require members of these groups to surrender their weapons. Various FARC fronts, as well as the Ricardo Franco Front, continued terrorist killings, extortionism, and kidnappings, as well as attacking military units.

During February 1985 eight U.S. businesses were **bombed** in Medellín, including IBM, General Telephone and Electronics, Union Carbide, and Xerox. In the course of these nighttime bombings, one person was killed and another injured. The Medellín bombings may have been the work of the Ricardo Franco Front, which did not feel obligated to follow other FARC fronts in honoring the truce. In August 1985 FARC reportedly kidnapped four engineers and 30 workers of a construction company in Huila Department following the firm's refusal to submit to an \$80,000 extortion demand. In November 1986 a mass grave was discovered in Turbo containing the remains of about a hundred men, women, and children thought to have been killed by FARC. In December 1987 50 FARC members attacked Gaitania using automatic weapons, grenades, and antitank rockets, killing two policemen and injuring five.

While some have seen this continuation of violence by FARC fronts as evidence of duplicity on the part of FARC, another explanation equally consistent with these facts is that the decentralized command structure of FARC and the continuing violence between government troops, drug traffickers, and leftist groups created a situation in which hostilities and settling of old scores were likely to continue.

In late 1985 FARC established the Simón Bolívar Guerrilla Coordination board, an umbrella organization for all leftist insurgents in Colombia that succeeded the National Guerrilla Coordination group from which FARC had been excluded. In 1985 it also created the Patriotic Union (UP) as a political front organization.

FARC has had a problematic relationship with traffickers of the **Colombian cocaine cartels**. FARC's protection of traffickers' interests in exchange for cash can be understood as another form of extortion, especially since drug traffickers later began to sponsor their own terrorist attacks not only against the Colombian government but also against leftist politicians associated with FARC through its Simón

Bolívar Guerrilla Coordination board front: On 11 October 1987 UP member and former presidential candidate Jaime Pardo Neal was killed by agents of José Gonzalo Rodríguez Gacha, a major drug trafficker. On 22 March 1990 traffickers also **assassinated** UP presidential candidate Bernardo Jaramillo Ossa at Bogotá airport.

Although FARC accepted in principle the “national dialogue,” it found that its UP candidates were murdered by the **death squads** of the vengeful Colombian cartels, which resented FARC’s previous kidnappings of their members and extortion in the name of revolutionary taxes. By November 1991 the Simón Bolívar Guerrilla Coordination ended the dialogue to resume terrorist attacks. With the Colombian government’s preoccupation with recapturing Medellín cartel leader Pablo Escobar, terrorist attacks by FARC and other leftist groups left Colombia with the highest number of terrorist incidents of any nation in 1992. In March 1993 FARC kidnapped three American missionaries from Panama, and in fall 1993 FARC and the rival ELN set aside their rivalry to cooperate in a month-long offensive against the government. In July 1994 FARC assassinated a high-ranking Colombian army general and intensified its campaign of kidnapping Colombians and foreigners for ransom. During 1995 the number of leftist-related terrorist acts nearly doubled, from 41 the previous year to 76. In 1995 FARC assassinated Alvaro Gomez Hurtado, head of the Conservative Party.

Around 1995 FARC resumed its **insurgency** in earnest. In the period 1986–2008, the group bombed oil pipelines more than 950 times, spilling over 2.5 million barrels of crude oil, roughly nine times the spillage caused in the Exxon Valdez oil spill. FARC was extorting about \$140 million from oil companies per year and stepped up its attacks on oil pipelines in 1995–2001. Pipeline bombings peaked at 170 in 2001, but in the period 2006–2008 Colombian counterinsurgency efforts have reduced the number of bombing to around two bombings per month.

FARC’s deadliest offensive in over 10 years started on 30 August 1996, and by 31 December 1999 it was in effective control of over 50 percent of Colombia and enjoyed recognition as a belligerent by the Venezuelan government. By 1996 the membership had grown from 5,500 to more than 7,000 and carried its operations into neighboring countries such as Panama, Venezuela, and Ecuador. The increase in FARC’s activity and the inability of the Colombian government to

contain it led President Andrés Pastrana to invite FARC to renewed peace talks in 1998. FARC only agreed on the condition that the government surrender control over five central departments roughly the size of Switzerland. Although the government met this demand, FARC leaders failed to meet with President Pastrana for the scheduled peace talks within this autonomous zone on 7 January 1999. Eventually Pastrana ended the peace initiative on 21 February 2002 and hostilities resumed.

With the election of President Álvaro Uribe Vélez on 7 August 2002, the Colombian government has taken a more aggressive stand against not only FARC but also the other armed groups, such as the ELN and the right-wing **Self-Defense Forces of Colombia**. In the period 2002–2005, FARC undertook a strategic withdrawal, ceding much of Cundinamarca and Antioquia, and reverting to using smaller concentrations of FARC forces in hit-and-run attacks rather than using larger troop concentrations against Colombian army forces. From August to December 2004, the Colombian government and FARC attempted to negotiate a prisoner exchange of captured FARC combatants and leaders in exchange for captured government troops and political hostages but failed to reach any agreement. FARC came under censure on 13 July 2004 by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights for the massacres of peasants in the vicinity of San Carlos in Antioquia Department and again on 28 February 2005 for its indiscriminant killing, torture, and hostage taking of civilians. FARC's novel use of gas-cylinder mortars in several attacks during 16–18 April 2005 led to the displacement of more than 2,000 residents of the town of Toribía, Cauca. FARC was also responsible for the 23 February 2002 kidnapping of presidential candidate Ingrid Betancourt Pulecio, which brought world leaders including French President Nicolas Sarkozy and Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez into attempts to mediate between FARC and the Colombian government for her release. The Human Rights Watch also censured FARC on 22 February 2005 for its increasing use of child combatants. With the reelection of President Uribe on 28 May 2006, the Colombian government continued its campaign against FARC, which continued to adapt by strategic withdrawals and use of more evasive tactics. Analysts also noted that FARC appeared to be trying to regroup in order to control the departments bordering Ecuador and the southern frontier of Venezuela.

The fortunes of FARC have been sharply declining since 2001. By June 2008 FARC had lost over half of its leadership through death or desertion. Tomás Medina, the financial genius of FARC, was killed by a Colombian air strike in eastern Colombia on 1 September 2007. Gustavo Rueda Díaz, leader of FARC's Caribbean bloc, was killed by the Colombia army on 24 October 2007. Iván Ríos was murdered on 3 March 2008 by his own security chief to collect the \$5 million bounty on him posted by the U.S. State Department **Rewards for Justice** program. The subordinate surrendered to the Colombian army with the severed hand of Ríos as proof of his death. Eldaneyis Mosquera, also known as Karina, the leading female commander of FARC, surrendered herself on 18 May 2008.

On 1 March 2008 the FARC second-in-command, Raúl Reyes, was killed along with 16 other FARC soldiers by a Colombian army helicopter raid into Ecuadorian territory from Granada in Putumayo Department. During this raid the Colombian army seized computers and files that revealed the support of Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez for FARC through his receiving FARC commanders Ivan Marquez and Ricardo Granda, allowing Venezuelan territory to be used as sanctuaries and staging areas for FARC, allowing the transport of foreign-bought arms and munitions through Venezuela to FARC-controlled areas on the Colombian border, and also a "loan" of \$250 million to FARC. These files also revealed FARC ties to Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa, who had received \$100,000 from FARC to support his 2006 presidential campaign. This incursion into Ecuadorian territory led to official protests by both Ecuador and Venezuela. Interpol announced on 15 May 2008 that its forensic analysis confirmed the authenticity of the seized documents. In retaliation for Chávez's support of FARC, Colombia cut its meat exports to Venezuela by 98 percent, accounting for half of its needs, forcing Chávez to buy alternate supplies of meat from Brazil using oil for payment. After Reyes was killed, the paramount leader of FARC and its chief ideologue, Manuel Marulanda, died of a heart attack on 26 March 2002.

From a peak troop strength of 16,000 in 2001, defections of troops have averaged around 1,000 per year in the period 2003–2008, with an all-time peak of 2,500 defections in 2007. In addition to waning popular support for the FARC, the success of the Colombian army in cutting FARC's revenues from its cocaine processing and smuggling operations to half their size has resulted in FARC's inability to meet

regular payrolls for its troops. FARC offsets its defections by using its income from cocaine trafficking to recruit unemployed young Colombians to replenish its ranks. FARC strength in early 2009 was estimated by some observers to be around 12,000.

The most severe public relations defeat for FARC recently was the 2 July 2008 covert operation by the Colombian army, aided by U.S. interception and decoding of FARC radio traffic, that led to the freeing of Ingrid Betancourt, held hostage by FARC since February 2002, along with three U.S. captives and 11 Colombian soldiers. This operation won praise from French President Sarkozy, who had been petitioning Chávez to pressure FARC for the release of Betancourt, who also holds French citizenship. A mark of FARC's declining foreign support was a statement by Cuban President Fidel Castro not only praising the freeing of Betancourt but also criticizing FARC for the harshness of its military campaign, its holding of civilian hostages, and its inability to win support for itself through its political fronts. In the same message, Castro continued to criticize the U.S. role in Colombia; however, the United States continued to maintain that its military advisers had played no active role in the 2 July operation.

REVOLUTIONARY ARMED TASK FORCE (RATF). The RATF was a nonstate U.S. leftist terrorist group that sought to force changes in U.S. foreign policy through **armed propaganda** and “consciousness-raising” of the U.S. public. Sometime in 1979, or shortly thereafter, remnants of the once exclusively black **Black Liberation Army (BLA)** merged with the mainly white **Weather Underground** to form the Revolutionary Armed Task Force. This new group attempted in turn to create an outreach umbrella organization, known as the **May 19 Communist Coalition**, for recruiting other leftists or black prison inmates into the RATF or BLA organizations. The May 19 group established contact and fraternal ties with other revolutionary or **ethnonationalist** groups, such as the **New Afrikan Freedom Fighters**, the Puerto Rican **Armed Forces of National Liberation** separatists, and even the **Palestine Liberation Organization**. The RATF financed itself through bank robberies while its **bombing** campaign **targeted** offices of corporations doing business with South Africa, such as IBM, as well as U.S. federal government offices. The group used a number of aliases, such as the Revolutionary Fighting Group, the Armed Re-

sistance Unit, the Red Guerrilla Resistance, and the United Freedom Fighters (not to be confused with the United Freedom Front).

From its robberies conducted from 1979 to 1981, the RATF netted around \$1 million. Members of one RATF cell that was raided in May 1985 had carried out since 1982 at least 16 bombings in the New York and Washington, D.C., areas (including the November 1983 bombing of the U.S. Senate) and, at the time the cell was raided, were planning 12 more bombings of federal facilities in or near Washington, including the U.S. Naval Academy and the Old Executive Office Building.

A summary of the more noteworthy terrorist actions of the RATF follows: On 20 October 1981 the RATF tried to rob a Brinks armored car outside Nyack, New York, but succeeded only in killing one Brinks guard and two policemen. During December 1981 the RATF bombed the South African Airways freight offices at John F. Kennedy International Airport and an IBM office in Harrison, New York. In January 1984 the Revolutionary Fighting Group bombed the office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in New York City. On 6 November 1983 the Armed Resistance Unit bombed the cloakroom of the U.S. Senate, which the group stated was retaliation for the U.S. invasion of Grenada the preceding month.

The arrest of several key members of the RATF destroyed the effectiveness of the remaining organization and greatly demoralized other leftist terrorist groups. In the abortive Brinks robbery attempt, the police captured five of the terrorists, including Kathy Boudin, a Weather Underground terrorist on the FBI's most wanted list for over 10 years. In May 1985 the FBI arrested Marilyn Jean Buck, a member of the cell responsible for the bombing of the U.S. Senate. By February 1986 the FBI had arrested all but one of the 35 people responsible for the Brinks holdup attempt. With the capture of these individuals, authorities also seized papers, including detailed plans and forged travel documents, that exposed the internal workings of the organization and its ties to other leftist, ethnic, or nationalist groups and that revealed the identities of its core membership of 50 people. These raids essentially ended the career of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force.

REVOLUTIONARY BOLIVARIAN MOVEMENT (MBR-200 or MVR). The Movimiento Bolivariano Revolucionario-200 Movement,

founded by Lieutenant Colonel Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías on 24 July 1984, consisted of junior officers in the Venezuelan army who sought to create a socialist and nationalistic **revolution** within Venezuela. The name attempted to link the goals of the MBR-200 with the ideals of the South American national liberator, Simón Bolívar, while the “200” in the name reflected the founding of the movement on the 200th anniversary of Bolívar’s birth. The MBR-200 launched a failed coup attempt led by Chávez on 4 February 1992 against President Carlos Andres Perez. Most of the movement’s 10 other officers and at least 80 enlisted men were arrested, but several officers fled into Ecuador and Peru. Although he was arrested, Chávez was pardoned and released from prison on 26 March 1994. Upon being freed, Chávez said that “the Bolivarian Revolutionary Movement is going to take to the streets, to take political power in Venezuela,” and added that “this military generation . . . is going to show Venezuelan politicians how to lead a people toward the rescue of its destiny.” However, in early March 1995 the Venezuelan government arrested Chávez and other members of the MBR-200, charging them with conspiracy to overthrow the government. The movement was transformed into a political party and renamed the Movimiento V [Quinta] República (MVR), or Fifth Republic Movement. Although Chávez ostensibly rejected electoral politics, he regularly placed close behind President Rafael Caldera in opinion polls ranking respected political leaders. On 6 December 1998, Chávez, as leader of the MVR, was elected president of Venezuela with 57 percent of the vote.

REVOLUTIONARY CELLS (RZ). The Revolutionäre Zellen was a group of German **anarchistic leftist terrorists** active from 12 June 1974 until the late 1980s. The RZ generally held itself aloof from the **Red Army Faction** (RAF) and from groups like the **Red Brigades** or **Direct Action**. There was some evidence of contact with the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine** and the **Irish National Liberation Army** but no firm evidence of direct foreign **state sponsorship**.

While the RZ sprang from the same social grouping of disgruntled leftist university students and shared the RAF’s desire to smash capitalist society, it differed in rejecting the elitism inherent in the RAF’s approach with its vision of itself as the revolutionary vanguard and its authoritarian control over its members. By contrast, the RZ sought

to bring down capitalist society by multiplying cells of militants who would continually engage in small-scale vandalism and harassment locally. The reasoning was that a multitude of cells would be harder for the state to **target** than one conspicuous armed group, while the cumulative effect of *Spaßguerilla* (literally, prank-guerrilla actions) or small-scale terrorism, would prove no less deadly to the state. By advocating these radical anarchistic ideas in its journal, *Revolutionäre Zorn* (Revolutionary Wrath), the RZ hoped to generate a wider generalized state of autonomous antiauthoritarian violence among disaffected individuals outside the ranks of the RZ. Apart from this different operational approach, RZ, like RAF, appeared to pursue terrorist violence as an end in itself rather than as a coherent strategy to produce a new social and political system.

From 12 June 1974 until 1987 there were at least 50 noteworthy incidents for which the RZ was responsible, including 38 **bombings**, usually directed at military bases of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or commercial offices, but usually with minimal injuries; nine involved hoaxes, threats, or vicious pranks; seven **arsons** or firebombings; three **kneecappings**; and one murder, although it appeared that the intent had been to kneecap rather than to kill the victim. This last case involved the shooting death of Heinz Karry, economics minister of Hesse, on 11 May 1981. Other kneecapping incidents took place on 28 October 1986 and 6 February 1987, both occurring in Berlin and in government offices. The overall pattern is one of low-intensity and generally nonlethal violence and harassment. RZ members also engaged in telephone harassment of victims and have resorted to pranks such as mailing victims packages containing human feces or a pig's head. Following 1987 RZ targets shifted to nuclear power plants involving sabotage of equipment at sites under construction and severing of power lines at existing plants. The RZ also vandalized the offices of German immigration authorities for alleged racism against foreigners and **asylum** seekers. RZ members have also participated in attacks on offices of firms involved in genetic engineering.

These statistics can only give a qualitative sampling of the RZ violence rather than a precise quantitative measure, for the RZ did not necessarily seek credit for every action its members committed. It is also not possible to distinguish between violence committed by the RZ itself and similar violence committed by emulators. Since 1980 the Federal Republic of Germany has experienced roughly 200

petty bombings and acts of arson each year that fit the RZ pattern. By 1987 the RZ was credited by West German police with having caused over 200 million deutsche marks' worth of damage. Estimates of the membership in the early 1980s held that there were 50 to 100 cells with a total of some 300 to 500 members. As early as 1978, the German Federal Office of Criminal Investigations (BKA) rated the RZ as "currently the strongest terrorist formation." By April 1995 RZ sympathizers claimed the RZ had been responsible for at least 200 attacks since the group began. With the demise of the **June 2 Movement** in the early 1980s and the disbanding of the Red Army Faction in 1998, only the RZ remained of the three major anarchistic leftist terrorist groups that had not formerly disbanded. On 9 June 1989 Ingrid Strobl, an RZ member, was convicted for terrorist offenses and sentenced to five years in prison.

It should be noted that after 1987 a women's wing of the Revolutionary Cells was formed, called Rote Zora (Red Zora), which continued to operate independently of the rest of the RZ and which also uses the initials RZ. Since the late 1980s members of Red Zora remained active, with firebombings of 10 department stores of the Adler chain due to its alleged exploitation of female textile workers in South Korea, as well as other acts of vandalism. Red Zora differs from the rest of the RZ cells by stressing a militant profeminist agenda.

The most famous RZ member was Hans-Joachim Klein, who also participated in the **OPEC siege** in Vienna in 1975. In an interview in 1978 with the leftist French magazine *Liberation*, Klein described the RZ organizational structure. The organization is believed to have become defunct after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S LIBERATION PARTY/FRONT.

The Devrimci Halk Kurtuluş Partisi/Cephesi (DHKP/C), which until 1994 was better known as Dev Sol, short for Devrimçi Sol, or Revolutionary Left, of Turkey is a Marxist-Leninist **anarchistic leftist** group seeking to unite the Turkish proletariat to carry out a socialist **revolution**. This group has acted largely as a leftist **death squad**, attacking Turkish rightists from 1978 to 1983 and striking at retired Turkish security officials as well as U.S. and other nationals of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries from the late 1980s to the present. The group is not known to have had foreign **state sponsorship**, although it is believed to have had contact with radi-

cal Palestinian groups as well as with Greek leftist terrorists and the **Kurdish Workers' Party**.

Dev Sol emerged in 1978 as a splinter group from Dev Yol (Revolutionary Road), which itself split from the **Turkish People's Liberation Army** in 1975. Dev Sol engaged in numerous murders of rightist politicians, writers, and students. Following the Turkish military coup and crackdown in September 1980, many members of the group were arrested or killed in clashes with security forces. On 2 October 1980 Dev Sol bombed U.S. Army buildings in Izmir, causing minor damages. Two days later an unoccupied U.S. Air Force staff sergeant's car was firebombed by Dev Sol. On 24 May 1981 a Turkish Airlines DC-9 with 112 passengers and seven crew members was **hijacked** by four Dev Sol members from Istanbul to Bulgaria where eventually the terrorists were overpowered by the passengers and captured. On 5 November 1982 the Turkish tourism office in Amsterdam was seized by 10 Dev Sol members who took two hostages for three hours until Dutch police rushed and overpowered the terrorists.

During 1983 to 1989 the group disappeared from view due to the severe repression of leftist terrorists within Turkey in that period. Unlike many other Turkish leftist groups, however, Dev Sol has made a comeback. During 1990–1991 Dev Sol members killed at least four active and retired Turkish generals and some 30 police officers, and beginning in 1991 they resumed attacks on Western businessmen and military personnel within Turkey. During 1991 Dev Sol murdered two American contractors and one British businessman in Turkey, attempted to murder one U.S. Air Force officer in his home in Izmir, and conducted more than 30 **bombings** of Western diplomatic, commercial, and cultural targets in Turkey. In April and July of 1992 Dev Sol launched rockets at the U.S. consulate in Istanbul and also tried to murder an American administrator of a religious hospital with a car bomb in July 1992.

The group suffered both from severe police retaliation, with raids on several of its safe houses, and from internal factionalism and splintering. The remaining active terrorist splinter group renamed itself the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C) and inaugurated a new campaign in January 1996 by **assassinating** a prominent Turkish businessman, Ozdemir Sabanci, in what was thought to be his high-security office building in Istanbul. During 1997 the DHKP/C conducted three attacks using light antiarmor

weapons: on 16 June firing upon but missing the Turkish national police headquarters, on 14 July hitting the Harbiye Officers' Club but without causing significant damage, and on 16 September with another attack on the Turkish national police headquarters but again without effect due to the failure of the rocket to explode on impact.

Most of the DHKP/C's activities have occurred in the environs of Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, and Adana. The group numbers a few dozen armed militants and several hundred supporters who also maintain a support network among Turkish expatriates in Europe.

REVOLUTIONARY POPULAR STRUGGLE. The Greek Epanastatikos Laikos Agonas (ELA) was a shadowy **anarchistic leftist** terrorist group formed in 1973 to oppose the former military junta in Greece. Actual terrorist activities began only in the postjunta period, in which it has sought the limited aims of forcing Greece out of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the removal of U.S. troops from Greece.

During its existence the ELA engaged in more than 200 **bombings** causing property damage and 17 injuries but only two fatalities among targeted victims. From 1975 to 1987 the ELA bombed at least eight U.S. **targets**, usually military targets of little strategic value, such as noncommissioned officers' clubs or commissaries, or U.S. diplomatic properties, such as the U.S. Information Agency office in Athens, or offices of private American firms, such as the American Express office in Athens. In October 1987 ELA members had a shoot-out with Greek police in which one terrorist was killed and two others arrested. The Greek police believed the ELA had connections with the **November 17** group, and it also appeared to work in tandem with the **May 1** group. The last known attack by this group was on 10 July 1994 when it bombed the German-owned Goethe Hellas insurance company office in Athens.

The group was finally destroyed with a series of police raids following a six-month investigation: On 1 February 2003, Kimolos Angeletos Kanas, a 52-year-old electrician, was arrested and on 2 February 2003, Irini Athanassaki, a 48-year-old-tourist agency employee, was arrested. On 4 February 2003 the Athens police arrested the ELA mastermind, Christos Tsigaridas, a 64-year-old architect. The identities of the ELA core cell were revealed to authorities by Sophia Kyriakidou, the former wife of Kanas, who discovered that her ex-husband had been assembling bombs in a central Athens safe house.

REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT (RUF). The RUF was an antistate revolutionary group that sought to overthrow the government of Sierra Leone using remarkably vicious tactics, such as mutilation, rape, and burning alive of its victims, and that did not distinguish between civilian and military **targets**. The group began its activities on 23 March 1991, led by former army corporal Foday Sankoh. It sought to overthrow the president, Joseph Saidu Momoh, who was the weak leader of a corrupt one-party state, and continued to fight against the new government of President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah, elected on 15 March 1996. Although Sierra Leone has great mineral wealth of metal ores, it was in a chronic state of economic collapse, which may account for the RUF's ability to recruit thousands to its ranks. The RUF did not have a coherent **ideology** or alternative program of government but appealed mainly to populist resentments of rural Sierra Leoneans against the elites of Freetown. The signature act of the RUF was cutting off the hands of civilian victims and telling them to go to ask for new ones from President Kabbah. This was a reference to Kabbah's election campaign promise to Sierra Leoneans to "lend them a hand" toward economic recovery.

Although the rebels offered little in the way of political or economic solutions for Sierra Leone's problems, they had remarkable military success and were rumored to have enjoyed covert support from Liberia's president, Charles Taylor, which he denied. In January 1999 the RUF captured Freetown but was driven out a few weeks later by a Nigerian-led military coalition of other West African nations. On 17 May 2000 Sankoh was arrested in Freetown by elite British troops assigned to the UN peacekeeping forces there.

The group's last known operation was on 5 September 2000, when the RUF kidnapped two Italian missionaries in a remote village along the border with Guinea; the missionaries were released unharmed two months later. RUF rebels were disarmed and demobilized beginning May 2001. With the end of the civil war officially declared in January 2002, the RUF was effectively defunct. On 29 July 2003 Foday Sankoh died in prison while awaiting trial for **war crimes**.

REWARDS FOR JUSTICE PROGRAM. Also known as the Counter-Terrorism Rewards Program of the U.S. Department of State, established by the Act to Combat International Terrorism of 1984 (Public Law 98-533, Title 22 U.S. Code, Section 2708). The program offers rewards of up to \$25 million for information leading to the arrest of

terrorists attempting, committing, conspiring to commit, or aiding and abetting in the commission of terrorist acts against U.S. citizens or property worldwide. The Bureau of Diplomatic Security of the U.S. Department of State administers this program. One of the documented successes of this program was the arrest and **rendition** of Ramzi Yousef, one of the main planners of the **World Trade Center attack of 1993**, who was located in 1995 as the result of information provided by a source in response to the Rewards Program.

REX CINEMA ARSON AND MASSACRE. On 19 August 1978 the Rex Cinema movie theater of Abadan, Iran, was set ablaze during a showing of an evening film, resulting in 422 deaths, which until that time was one of the worst terrorist incidents in the modern history of Iran and of the Middle East generally. This event occurred during the early stages of the Iranian revolution when **Islamic fundamentalists** had been regularly carrying out **arson** attacks against movie theaters believed to offer features offensive to Islamic sentiments. When previous arsons of this kind had taken place, however, the arsonists would order the theater to be cleared or would strike when the theater was already emptied after hours. The four arsonists who entered the theater were apparently unaware that the movie operator had chained the fire exit doors to prevent nonpaying viewers from sneaking into the theater, and subsequently three of the arsonists trapped in the theater perished. An inquest into the causes of death indicated that the victims apparently died of suffocation rather than from the flames themselves, possibly from the freon gas released from the air conditioning system, which was ruptured in the fire.

The shah's regime blamed the arson on its fundamentalist opponents, and in turn the Islamic fundamentalists accused the monarchical regime of having staged the arson in order to discredit the fundamentalists. The Rex Cinema arson occurred during the Islamic fasting month of Ramadhan, during which some strict fundamentalists regarded the viewing of movies or other ordinary amusements as being sinful. Those who accused the monarchical regime of having staged the fire pointed out that the theater was showing the film *Gavaznha* (The Elk), which was viewed as critical of the Pahlavi regime. Although a revolutionary court tried and convicted an Iranian army officer, Munir Taheri, for this arson and executed him on 21

February 1979, just 10 days after the overthrow of the monarchy, the families of the victims sensed a cover-up and demanded a more thorough investigation. A subsequent trial from 25 August 1980 to 4 September 1980, presided over by Ayatollah Zia Ruhani, a special prosecutor appointed by **Ayatollah Ruhallah Khomeini**, found the sole surviving arsonist, Hussayn Taki Alizadeh, responsible for the arson. Alizadeh admitted during this trial that neither he nor his three companions had been agents of the former regime but rather had started the fire due to their religious indignation against the viewing of movies during Ramadhan.

RICARDO FRANCO FRONT (RFF). The Frente Ricardo Franco was a Colombian **revolutionary** guerrilla group not enjoying any **state sponsorship**. Formerly it was a front of the **Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia** (FARC) but severed its ties with the main body of FARC in 1984 due to its members' disagreement with FARC's signing the March 1984 peace accord with the Colombian government. The RFF had the same original goal as FARC, that is, creating a Marxist-Leninist revolution in Colombia. It had, however, the additional goals of undercutting FARC's attempts to gain political advantages from the 1984 agreement and to sabotage the national reconciliation process. Sporadic clashes have occurred between RFF and FARC forces ever since the schism occurred.

The Ricardo Franco Front had the strongest anti-U.S. stance of all leftist groups in Colombia and, during 1984–1985, it repeatedly **targeted** U.S. diplomatic and commercial facilities. To embarrass FARC and to sabotage the government's reconciliation scheme, the RFF undertook joint actions in 1985 with the **National Liberation Army** (ELN), the one major group rejecting the truce proposals and procedures, as well as with **M-19** guerrillas.

In May 1984, the RFF **bombed** a Honduran airline office, killing two and injuring 11 people, and also bombed a U.S. diplomatic office. In January 1985 the RFF bombed the Colombian Labor Ministry and the following month conducted eight bombings against U.S. companies in Medellín, killing one person and injuring another. Deploying 150 guerrillas, the RFF tried to occupy the upper-class suburb of Cuba near Bogotá in spring 1985, attempting 26 bombings throughout the city. In June 1985 the RFF **kidnapped** an official of the state oil company for a \$105,000 ransom but killed him only five

days later. In September 1985 the RFF fought for 10 days alongside M-19 guerrillas, afterward consolidating their joint positions in Tolima Department. During the same month the RFF made numerous attacks against the U.S. embassy, other diplomatic missions, and offices of multinational corporations and, in one case, used two small children to plant a bomb at the gates of the U.S. embassy that was deactivated without harm to life or limb.

In December 1985 an internal purge within the RFF led to the mass executions and burials of around 100 RFF dissidents. Colombian security forces discovered and revealed these graves, which led other major leftist groups, such as M-19, to break off relations with the RFF. Since these revelations discredited the Ricardo Franco Front, it has ceased to conduct effective guerrilla operations and apparently has declined from being a political-military group to little more than a criminal gang. Its current membership was last estimated at slightly more than 100, but it is now believed to be defunct.

RICIN. Among the most deadly known natural poisons, ricin is a complex albumin protein polymer derived from castor beans (*Ricinus communis*) that is difficult to synthesize. With the lowest published lethal concentration (LDL_o) of 300 micrograms per kilogram of body weight, a mere 27 milligrams of ricin can kill an adult male of average body weight (180 lbs.). Contrary to lurid press reports that ricin is “5,000 to 6,000 times more lethal than potassium cyanide,” or that ricin poisoning is 100 percent lethal, in reality ricin is only about 10 times as poisonous as potassium cyanide, and most cases of ricin poisoning in castor oil mills, caused by inhalation of airborne ricin particles, have been successfully treated.

Ricin acquired its notoriety in 1978 when the Bulgarian secret police used an airgun-propelled ricin pellet to murder a defector, Georgi Markov, who was working for Radio Free Europe in London. On 28 February 1995, Douglas Allen Baker and LeRoy Charles Wheeler, two members of a right-wing **militia** group, the Minnesota Patriots Council, were convicted of trying to use ricin to murder a deputy U.S. marshal and a sheriff. On 20 December 1995 another man, Thomas Leis Lavy, was arrested on charges of conspiracy to use a **weapon of mass destruction** following an unsuccessful attempt to smuggle 130 grams of ricin across the Canadian border when returning to his native Arkansas from Alaska.

The most publicized case of alleged preparation or procurement of ricin by terrorists for use as a weapon of mass destruction was the case involving police raids in the Wood Green district of London in which British police arrested 23 suspects of North African origin and purported **al Qaeda** connections during 5–20 January 2003 for a plot to manufacture and deploy ricin in an attack on the London Underground. In the course of a raid on 14 January 2003, one of the suspects being arrested, Kamal Bourgass, knifed and killed Detective Constable Stephen Oake. Most of those arrested were released, and on 8 April 2005 Kamel Bourgass was the only person convicted out of the five charged with conspiracy to use ricin as a terrorist weapon; he received a 17-year sentence in addition to the life sentence upon his conviction on 30 June 2004 for the murder of Stephen Oake. In fact, none of the defendants had actual ricin in their possession, although Bourgass had a recipe for manufacturing ricin. Another possible terrorist attempt to use ricin came to light on 3 February 2004 when tests revealed the presence of ricin on mail addressed to the White House and to the then Senate majority leader, Bill Frist, but the concentrations of ricin in the mailed items were too low to be lethal or even harmful.

RIYADH BOMBINGS. There have been at least three terrorist **bombings** against Saudi and U.S. targets in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, believed to have been the work of **al Qaeda**. The first was the Riyadh Saudi National Guard-U.S. Training Center bombing of 13 November 1995. The second was a string of **suicide bombings** on 12 May 2003 against Riyadh residential compounds housing Western contract workers. The third was the 8 November 2003 suicide truck bombing of the Muhaya residential complex in Riyadh.

On 13 November 1995 two powerful bombs detonated one after the other at the U.S. military training center in the center of Riyadh, known as the Office of the Program Manager/Saudi Arabian National guard (OPM/SANG), killing four U.S. federal civilian employees, one U.S. service member, and two employees of the Indian government, and injuring another 60 people. Three groups claimed credit for the attack, including a so-called Movement for Islamic Change.

The primary bomb had consisted of between 150 and 225 pounds of high explosives set in a van parked in front of the OPM/SANG office. A secondary bomb exploded nearby. This was the first terrorist attack on a U.S. military installation in Saudi Arabia, although terrorists had

attacked the U.S. embassy in Riyadh and the U.S. consulate in Jeddah during the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

On 22 April 1996 four Saudi nationals confessed on television to the bombing and stated that they had undergone training in Afghanistan and had been prepared to carry out similar actions to force U.S. troops out of the Arabian Peninsula. All were executed by beheading on 30 May 1996. U.S. authorities came to suspect that these militants were connected with **Osama bin Laden** and his al Qaeda network.

On 12 May 2003 three car bombs were deployed in a suicide attack, one against the Dorrat Al Jadawel compound housing a subsidiary of the British firm MBI International and two others against the Al Hamra Oasis Village and the Vinnell Corporation, which was a Virginia-based U.S. contractor involved in training the Saudi National Guard. Attackers at the Jadawel compound exchanged fire with Saudi guards, leading to the detonation of the car bomb outside the gates of the compound, while the other two car bombs were able to enter the Al Hamra Oasis Village before being detonated. All 12 attackers were killed. A total of 35 people died as a result of these attacks, eight of whom were Americans, while more than 160 others were injured. Al Qaeda claimed credit for this attack. Four days later, similar attacks occurred in Casablanca, Morocco, also claimed by al Qaeda. On 7 June 2003 the Saudi Interior Ministry named 12 Saudi men as being the perpetrators; these charges were based supposedly on DNA evidence collected at the scene of the bombings.

The 8 November 2003 suicide truck bombing of the Muhaya Complex in Riyadh killed 18 people and injured 122. In this case, all of those killed were Arab contract workers mainly from Egypt and Lebanon. This attack alienated many Muslims from support of al Qaeda since those killed were mainly fellow Muslims. *See also* KHOBAR TOWERS BOMBING.

RODRIGO FRANCO COMMAND. The Rodrigo Franco Command was a Peruvian **death squad** linked to the right wing of the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) party. The Command emerged after 1987, when the Aprista politician Rodrigo Franco Montes was murdered by **Sendero Luminoso**, and was originally intended for use against Senderistas. The scope of its attacks broadened to include a defense attorney representing Senderistas, murdered on 28 July 1988, and eventually included even conservative critics of

the APRA. During November 1988 the Command carried out **bombings** and threats in Lima, including an attack on two journalists, one of whom died. On 1 November 1988 the group bombed the home of a French Catholic priest who had ties to the **Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement**. On 28 July 1988 the group **assassinated** Manuel Febre Flores, a politician of the Red Fatherland Party, a Communist group. On 12 August 1988 group members assassinated Miguel Pasache Vidale and Javier Ports Solano, two members of Túpac Amaru, and on 13 February 1989 they also assassinated Saúl Isaac Cantoral Huamani, the secretary general of the National Federation of Mine Workers. After 1990 the activities of this group ceased.

RUKN(S) OR EL RUKN(S). El Rukn (Arabic, meaning “the pillar”), also known as the Black P. Stone Nation, was a Chicago-based criminal gang, a strictly **entrepreneurial terrorist** group, founded in 1960 by Jeff Fort and Eugene Hairston. It was originally known as the Blackstone Rangers but merged with the rival Eastside Disciples. After Hairston was convicted on drug charges on 6 June 1966, the remaining leader, Jeff Fort, renamed the gang as El Rukn and styled himself Caliph Abdul-Malik. The group succeeded in representing itself as a community service organization to the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity, which they defrauded of \$972,000 in community development grant funds. Although some gang members are converts to Islam while others have affected Muslim names and refer to their meeting places as temples, there is no evidence that the group was ever a bona fide Islamic group or sect, and it is believed to have affected the pretense of being a religious organization only to mask its drug-trafficking and extortionary activities.

In 1986 El Rukn contacted a Libyan representative in the United States and obtained Libyan agreement in principle to sponsor terrorist actions by El Rukn in the United States in exchange for Libyan financial rewards. This plot was uncovered by U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents in August 1986, when police raids of a Rukn meeting place uncovered automatic weapons, pistols, hand grenades, and an M-72 rocket launcher. Wiretaps revealed that El Rukn members offered to carry out **bombings** of U.S. government offices and to shoot down a domestic commercial airliner near Chicago’s O’Hare Airport on behalf of Libya in exchange for \$2.5 million. In November 1987 five El Rukn members, including Jeff Fort, were convicted on weapons

violations and conspiracy charges. None of the testimony in this trial revealed any **ideological** or sectarian sympathies between El Rukn and the Libyan regime. This is the first known instance of a domestic terrorist group allowing itself to be recruited by a foreign **state sponsor of terrorism** to attack **targets** within the United States.

The leader of El Rukn, Jeff Fort, was serving a sentence in a Texas prison for cocaine-trafficking charges during the time of El Rukn contacts with Libya. The active membership of El Rukn was estimated to be about 250; however, with most of its leaders having been convicted and imprisoned on various criminal charges, the gang split into several rival factions based mainly in the Chicago area. On 9 March 1995 El Rukn member Melvin Edward Mays, who had been on the FBI's Top Ten Fugitives list, was arrested by the FBI's Chicago Joint Terrorism Task Force in connection with the El Rukn conspiracy to commit terrorist acts on behalf of the Libyan government.

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SA'IQA, AL. Al Sa'iqa (Arabic, meaning "thunderbolt") is a Syrian **state-sponsored** Palestinian splinter group and militia with the **revolutionary** objective of destroying Israel to create a Palestinian state. The group was created in 1968 to allow Syria more influence over the Palestinian movement. While al Sa'iqa has declared itself to be a member of the **Rejection Front** within the **Palestine Liberation Organization**, other Palestinian groups have recognized that Sa'iqa's positions directly reflect those of the Syrian government.

At its height during the 1980s, al Sa'iqa numbered around 2,000 members but currently has fewer than 500 members. Its operations unit bears the name Eagles of the Palestinian Revolution and operated as a pro-Syrian militia during the Lebanese civil war. In the Chopin Express affair, al Sa'iqa took three Jewish hostages in Vienna in September 1973 and forced Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky to close down a transit facility for Soviet Jews emigrating to Israel. In response to the 1979 Camp David negotiations between Israel and Egypt, al Sa'iqa was directed to occupy the Egyptian embassy in Ankara in July 1979. In this attack two guards were killed and 20 hostages held. Al Sa'iqa also struck at the northern city of Tiberias within Israel and bombed Jewish students in two attacks in Paris.

During its history al Sa'iqā committed seven attacks, causing nine fatalities and injuring seven people. Its last known attack was the 8 November 1985 bombing of the Iraqi Airlines office in Nicosia, Cyprus, in which neither life nor limb were harmed.

Al Sa'iqā lacks both an original political program and broad popular support among the Palestinians, largely due to its siding with Lebanese Christians against fellow Palestinians during the siege of the Tel al Zat'ar refugee camp during January–August 1976. Its future depends on the foreign policy options that the Syrian regime will choose to pursue in the wake of the loss of Soviet military aid essential to Syria's role as a player in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Within the Palestinian community, al Sa'iqā is a marginal group. It is considered defunct as a terrorist group.

SALAFIST GROUP FOR PREACHING AND COMBAT (GSPC).

The Groupe Salafiste pour la Prédication et le Combat, which renamed itself in early 2007 as al Qa'eda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), is an Algerian **Islamic fundamentalist** group that broke from the **Armed Islamic Group** (GIA) in 1998 and then formed a covert operational alliance with the main **al Qa'eda** group. As the Maghreb is the generic Arabic designation for the North African region west of Egypt, now occupied by Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Mauritania, the change in name may reflect the broader mission of the group as a fully integrated member of the al Qa'eda worldwide **network**. Originally the GSPC aimed to topple the secular government of Algeria in favor of creating an Islamic fundamentalist regime there but after 2003, when the group aligned itself more openly with al Qa'eda, it broadened its goals, first to include attacking U.S., French, and other European **targets**, second to helping other Islamic movements among the Chechnyans, Iraqis, Palestinians, and Somalians, and also to promoting the establishment of a renewed Islamic caliphate. On 11 September 2006 the al Qa'eda second-in-command, Ayman al Zawahiri, announced the union of the GSPC with al Qa'eda, after which the GSPC changed its name. To help finance its operations, the GSPC is also involved in smuggling and hostage taking for ransom in the south of Algeria and the neighboring states of Mauritania, Mali, Niger, and Chad. The GSPC has operational links with **al Qa'eda in Iraq**, recruiting many North Africans in Algeria and Europe to fight as **insurgents** in Iraq; these

recruits are estimated to make up 9–25 percent of the foreign fighters in Iraq.

Led initially by Hassab Hattab, a regional commander of the Armed Islamic Group, the GSPC broke away from the GIA in 1998 in protest of the increasing targeting of civilians by the GIA. According to the research of Rohan Gunaratna, the GPSC quickly coordinated itself with al Qa'eda to become al Qa'eda's main recruiting and organizing branch in Europe. By 2002 the membership of GIA had shrunk to 800 while the GSPC's was at 1,800, making the GSPC the largest remaining active Islamic fundamentalist insurgent group in Algeria, which continued to reject the truce and amnesty offers from the Algerian government that other Islamic groups had by then accepted. A GSPC plot to launch **bombing** and sarin gas attacks during the 1999 millennium celebrations upon the European Union parliament building in Strasbourg, and also upon the city's cathedral and market, was thwarted by police raids on the Frankfurt-based GSPC cell in charge of that operation. In September 2003 Hattab was ousted as leader of the GPSC by Nabil Sahraoui over the former's reluctance to tie the group even more closely with al Qa'eda. After Sahraoui was killed by Algerian forces on 20 June 2004, Abu Musab Abdulwadood became leader of the group.

According to the Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism database, the GSPC carried out some 47 attacks from 1988 to late 2007, causing 130 deaths and at least 401 injuries. The GSPC was responsible for the May 2003 **kidnappings** of 32 European tourists in six coordinated incidents. Seventeen of the hostages were freed by Algerian forces on 13 May, and the remaining hostages, except for one who had died of heat stroke during captivity, were freed by the GSPC on 18 August, following a \$6 million ransom payment by the German government. On 6 September 2007 the GSPC attempted a **suicide bombing** in a failed **assassination** attempt against Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika during his visit to the northeastern town of Batna, causing at least 15 deaths and injuring at least 70 people. On 11 April 2007 two suicide car bombings in Algiers targeted the prime minister's office, killing 12 and injuring 118, and a police station located near the international airport, killing 11 and injuring 44. On 11 December 2007 the GSPC conducted two more suicide car bombings in Algiers, one attacking the offices of the Algerian Constitutional Court and another against the United Nations

compound and the nearby office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, which was totally demolished, killing 41 people, of whom 17 were UN staff, and injuring 170.

Although the group's membership has declined from a peak of around 28,000 to only a few hundred, according to a 2005 U.S. State Department report, the GSPC remains one of the most active and dangerous Islamic fundamentalist groups in Algeria and neighboring areas of North Africa. *See also* WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

SANCTUARY. The right of sanctuary, or right of **asylum**, or right of political asylum, in which a person or group of people facing persecution in the country of origin enjoy the protection of another state from **extradition** or rendition to the country of origin or other nation seeking their extradition. Those seeking sanctuary could include not only bona fide refugees fleeing ethnic, religious, or political persecution but also terrorists seeking to invoke the **political offense exception** claiming that their actions have been political rather than criminal in nature. While the notion of the right of sanctuary dates back to medieval times, the contemporary legislation and usages are governed by the United Nations 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the later 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. The right of political asylum is recognized in the French Constitution of 1958 and is also protected by Article 18 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union.

The term "sanctuary" is also used to describe remote or inaccessible regions used by a terrorist or **insurgent** group as a base of operations or as a place of refuge from pursuit. Research by Ted Robert Gurr on the causes of civil unrest identified the existence of sanctuary regions for insurgent groups as being an important condition facilitating civil unrest. In the Middle Ages, Christian churches and monasteries were regarded as sanctuaries in which civil officials had no jurisdiction, and in many Latin American nations university campuses, which originally were under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic church, have similarly been regarded as areas in which leftist opponents of the government could recruit and organize themselves without fear of police intervention. The notion of the right of sanctuary has also been appropriated by some civil disobedience movements, such as the Sanctuary Movement active in the United

States in the period 1982–1992, in which Christian congregations would use their church property to house illegal immigrants purportedly fleeing political violence in Central America. More recently, major U.S. cities that refuse to cooperate with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officials in identifying or detaining illegal aliens have come to be known as “sanctuary cities.”

SANDINISTAS (FSLN). The Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional is a Marxist-Leninist political party that overthrew the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza Debayle in 1979 and attempted to create a Marxist-Leninist state in Nicaragua from 1979 to 1990. Before its rise to power, the FSLN maintained ties with the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine** and afterward established close ties with Libya and Iran, both known to have been **state sponsors of terrorism**. The FSLN enjoyed the support of Cuba and also Costa Rica prior to gaining power. Following the **revolution** the United States became the foremost donor of financial aid to Nicaragua until mid-1981, when it became apparent that the Sandinistas had become involved in supporting the Communist **insurgency** in El Salvador. Afterward the Soviet Union and Cuba remained the primary sponsors of the FSLN, while Libya also lent military aid.

The National Liberation Front was founded on 23 July 1960 in Honduras by Carlos Fonseca, Silvio Mayorga, and Tomás Borge Martínez. The name Sandinista was adopted in 1962 to honor Augusto César Sandino, the nationalist general who had fought the U.S. Marines in the 1920s, before being killed by National Guard chief Anastasio Somoza García in 1934. The FSLN made sporadic attempts at starting a rural insurgency in the 1960s and early 1970s, without much success. On 27 December 1974, 13 FSLN members intending to take U.S. Ambassador Turner Shelton hostage crashed a Christmas party given in his honor, only to find he had left. Nonetheless they seized 25 hostages, including the Nicaraguan foreign minister as well as several businessmen and cronies of Anastasio Somoza Debayle. Negotiations through Archbishop Miguel Obando y Bravo gained the release of the hostages in exchange for safe passage to Cuba, \$1 million in cash, and the release of 14 imprisoned Sandinistas.

Disagreements among the Sandinistas in 1975–1977 led to their breakup into three factions, one led by Jaime Wheelock Roman, another led by Tomás Borge, and another led by the Ortega brothers.

The Ortegas' insurrectional strategy, involving the use of spectacular acts of **armed propaganda** to spur broad-based urban insurrection, was to succeed in 1977–1979 in overthrowing Somoza. On 10 January 1978 unknown gunmen shot and killed Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, editor of *La Prensa* and longtime Somoza critic. This sparked massive demonstrations against Somoza, who was believed to be responsible for Chamorro's killing. In this atmosphere the FSLN insurrectionists were able to win support from Nicaraguan liberals, social democrats, and small-business owners. On 22 August 1978 Edén Pastora Gómez led 24 other FSLN commandos in storming the Nicaraguan Chamber of Deputies and seizing 1,500 hostages, who were released in exchange for safe passage to Panama, the release of 59 prisoners, including Tomás Borge, \$500,000 ransom, and the broadcast of a call to insurrection in the name of the FSLN. In the abortive insurrection that followed during September 1978, fewer than 1,500 FSLN guerrillas fought 14,000 National Guard soldiers; about 5,000 people were killed and 16,000 injured, most of whom were civilians.

As Fidel Castro required vanguard unification as a condition for Cuban aid, on 7 March 1979 the three FSLN factions were united under a Combined National Directorate (DNC) composed of nine members, three from each faction. Apart from Cuban support, the FSLN received arms and political support from Venezuela, Panama, and Costa Rica, which not only allowed the FSLN **sanctuary** and staging areas in its territory but also helped to create Radio Sandino, through which the FSLN coordinated the broad-based popular uprising. A combination of rioting in the cities, labor and business strikes, and FSLN attacks on an increasingly demoralized National Guard led to Somoza's resignation and flight from the country on 17 July 1979 and the takeover of Managua by the FSLN on 19 July 1979.

During the 1960s and early 1970s, members of the FSLN collaborated with guerrilla and terrorist groups outside Nicaragua, particularly the Rebel Armed Forces of the **Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union**, with whom FSLN cadres joined forces in fighting government forces in Guatemala from July to October 1966. In September 1970, two FSLN members took part in separate **hijackings** led by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), one of which led to the capture of Leila Khaled when the hijackers were foiled, while the other succeeded in taking a British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) plane to Dawson's Field in

Jordan. On 21 October 1970 Carlos Aguero hijacked a Costa Rican plane and held four United Fruit officials hostage to gain the release of imprisoned Sandinistas. In addition to the attempt to **kidnap** the U.S. ambassador, the FSLN also **bombed** the U.S. military mission in Managua on 11 April 1977.

Up until 1979 the FSLN committed 64 noteworthy actions: 31 were armed attacks initiated by the FSLN; 15 were robberies of banks and businesses; six were **assassinations**; five were hijackings, of which two were unsuccessful; two were bombings; and two were major hostage-taking incidents, namely, the Christmas party raid and the seizure of the Chamber of Deputies. Two instances of **arson** occurred as well as one bazooka attack against Anastasio Somoza's private bunker. Except for the robberies and hijackings, the FSLN appeared to target principally National Guard units and functionaries of the Somoza regime and otherwise avoided random killings of civilians. The two hostage takings resulted in the deaths of 15 guards and military policemen but only one civilian death.

Following the victory of the revolution, the FSLN created the party-controlled Sandinista Popular Army to form the core of the new armed forces. The police force was similarly restructured to become an instrument of party rule, and block watch committees known as Sandinista Defense Committees were created. Under Tomás Borge, the Ministry of the Interior by mid-1985 had at least 186 Cuban advisers and instructors as well as 15 advisers and technicians from East Germany, Bulgaria, North Korea, and the Soviet Union, who proceeded to create a state intelligence and security organization typical of Communist societies.

The General Directorate for State Security (DGSE) of the Interior Ministry also would mobilize members of the Sandinista "mass organizations," that is, Sandinista youth groups, women's groups, and office workers, into mobs that became known as the **turbas divinas**.

Nicaraguan human rights groups and high-level Sandinista defectors have testified that from 1979 to 1981 the DGSE was responsible for at least 114 summary executions of political opponents. The Nicaraguan Permanent Commission on Human Rights, which had amply documented human rights abuses under Somoza, counted 785 cases of disappearances of people arrested by Sandinista authorities from July 1979 to September 1980. The FSLN adopted a heavy-handed relocation policy toward the Miskito, Sumo, and Rama Indians of the Atlan-

tic coastal area. Thousands fled to Honduras where many Indian men joined the **contras** and eventually formed their own contra command. Within the cities, the FSLN persecuted some small religious groups, such as Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons, and Pentecostals, as well as Roman Catholic priests suspected of being antiregime.

Immediately after seizing power, the FSLN became a state sponsor, along with Cuba, of the **Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN)** of El Salvador. On 2 January 1981, during the Salvadoran rebels' final offensive, aerial surveillance by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) revealed direct FSLN logistical support for the transshipment of U.S.-made arms captured in Vietnam to Cuba, from Cuba to Nicaragua, and there to the Salvadoran rebels. On 9 March 1981 a presidential finding authorized CIA covert action to interdict the arms shipments, which led to U.S. support for the contras. On 1 April 1981 the United States ended foreign aid to Nicaragua, which had received at least \$118 million in U.S. aid following the overthrow of Somoza. The FSLN support for the FMLN in the latter's effort to destroy the transitional government of El Salvador gave the Ronald Reagan administration the leverage needed to persuade a skeptical U.S. Congress to support the contras against the FSLN. Throughout the FSLN period, Nicaragua continued to be a transshipment point for Cuban and Soviet aid to the FMLN but also was used as a safe haven for the FMLN, which maintained many of its offices in Managua.

The FSLN also gave moral and material support to the **Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement** of Peru, the **Cinchoneros Popular Liberation Movement** and the **Lorenzo Zelaya Popular Revolutionary Forces** of Honduras, the **Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA)** movement, the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union, the **M-19** group of Colombia, and the **Movement of the Revolutionary Left** of Chile. The FSLN also gave safe haven to fugitives of the **Italian Red Brigades** and the **Red Army Faction** as well as refuge to remnants of the Uruguayan **Tupamaros** and Argentinean **Montoneros**. The presence of Montoneros there in turn led Argentina to send military advisers and aid to help organize the contras in Honduras.

On 17 September 1980 the exiled Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle was murdered along with members of his entourage as they drove through Asunción, Paraguay. His assassins were members of an Argentinean group, the **People's Revolutionary Army**, which had

long-standing relations with the Sandinistas even prior to their gaining power.

Quite soon after taking power in Nicaragua, the FSLN undertook training and outfitting of Marxist rebels seeking to overthrow the governments of Honduras and Costa Rica. The Honduran police raided a safe house of the **Morazanist Front for the Liberation of Honduras** in Tegucigalpa on 27 November 1981 and captured documents indicating the formation of the terrorist group under FSLN direction and that it had received funds and explosives from Nicaraguan authorities. During July–August 1982 the main power station in Tegucigalpa was sabotaged and several U.S.-affiliated businesses bombed. A Salvadoran arrested in this case indicated the explosives had been supplied by the Nicaraguans along with arms for Honduran rebels. On 27 July 1982 Costa Rica declared three Nicaraguan diplomats *persona non grata* for their role in supplying explosives and instructions to a Colombian terrorist responsible for the 3 July 1982 bombing of the Honduran national airlines.

In an address to the Sandinista Trade Union on 13 December 1987, Daniel Ortega stated that in the event the FSLN ever lost an election it would turn over the government, but not effective power, to whomsoever won. Although the Sandinistas lost the 25 February 1990 election to Violeta Chamorro, the FSLN retained the Sandinista Popular Army under its own command for a 10-year period and sporadically continued to transfer arms to the FMLN guerrillas prior to the end of the insurgency in El Salvador.

Even during Chamorro's presidency, the Sandinistas carried out many terrorist actions. From April 1995 to January 1996 at least eight Roman Catholic churches were bombed by Sandinistas opposed to the pending 7 February 1996 visit of Pope John Paul II, whom the Sandinistas had jeered on his previous visit in 1983. Many people believe that Pope John Paul II played an instrumental role in helping bring about the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, which in turn weakened the leftist insurgencies in Central America and helped force the Sandinistas to relinquish their monopoly of power in 1990. Protests by Sandinista and leftist student groups continued up to the pope's visit but ceased during the visit itself, which was concluded without incident.

During the presidential election year of 1996, gunmen wearing the red-and-black FSLN army uniforms fired upon Arnaldo Alemán, the

presidential candidate of the right-wing Liberal Alliance party. While missing Alemán, they hit and killed his bodyguard. During the 20 October elections, Alemán won 51 percent of the vote while the Sandinista candidate José Daniel Ortega Saavedra won 38 percent. During May 1993 and March 1997, huge arms caches were discovered in Nicaragua but apparently were supplies left over from the Central American conflict of the 1980s and were not intended for subversion within Nicaragua nor connected with FSLN disagreements with the Alemán administration.

In the 5 November 2006 general election, the FSLN returned to power democratically, with its presidential candidate, Daniel Ortega, winning 38.1 percent of the vote to the 29.0 percent won by the Alianza Liberal Nicaragüense (ALN), or Nicaraguan Liberal Alliance, of Eduardo Montealegre. The FSLN won 32 seats in the 92-seat National Assembly, giving it the largest bloc, while the Constitutionalist Liberal Party took the second-largest grouping with 25 seats and the ALN took 23 seats. The FSLN victory was possible in large part due to the splitting of the former Liberal Alliance coalition of the Constitutionalist Liberal Party with the National Liberal Alliance, which had occurred following the revelation of extreme corruption surrounding the former Nicaraguan president Arnoldo Alemán, who had been removed from office in 2002. Alemán apparently retaliated by forming a strategic alliance of his followers within the Constitutionalist Liberal Party with the FSLN to undermine his successor, Enrique José Bolaños, and other erstwhile conservative political allies. The splitting of conservative votes between these opposing factions of the former Liberal Alliance ensured the FSLN victory in the 2006 presidential and legislative elections.

While the new FSLN administration retained some of its anti-U.S. rhetoric and maintained warm relations with Cuba's Fidel Castro and Venezuela's Hugo Chávez, there is no indication that the FSLN has resumed sponsorship of insurgent groups elsewhere. During his years in opposition, Daniel Ortega moved away from doctrinaire Marxism in favor of a more moderate vision of democratic socialism. Also, Ortega has grown more socially conservative, as evinced by his recent enactment of laws banning all forms of abortion.

SELF-DEFENSE FORCES OF COLOMBIA (AUC). The Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia, also known as the United Self-Defense

Forces of Colombia, the Peasant Self-Defense Groups of Córdoba and Urabá, “paramilitaries,” “paracos,” and “paras,” is a grouping of right-wing paramilitary **death squads** that seeks to counter militarily the leftist **insurgents** of the **Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia** (FARC) and **National Liberation Army** (ELN) and also to stymie Colombian government efforts to revive a national peace dialogue with the leftists that effectively ended in 1994. The AUC began in April 1997 with about 800 men and was organized by Carlos Castaño Gil (1965–2004), who was from a landowning family in Pereira in Antioquia Department. The group expanded to more than 20,000 fighters at its height in 2003. Castaño reportedly was once close to Pablo Escobar, a leader in the **Colombian cocaine cartels**, against whom he later turned, and himself was suspected of involvement in the cocaine trade.

The AUC was credited with pushing the leftists out of three of Colombia’s departments but frequently engaged in summary executions of people suspected of having helped the leftists. AUC raids often involved public hangings, decapitations, or quarterings of the bodies of their victims. The group began its death squad activities in earnest in 1996. In the first nine months of 1996, about 19,688 homicides were reported in Colombia, of which 2,492 were politically motivated. About 59 percent of these political murders were the work of the AUC and similar groups, while leftist rebels accounted for 34 percent, the remainder being the work of the police and military. On 25 November 1996 the Human Rights Watch/America group released a report alleging U.S. support for the creation of so-called self-defense forces or antileftist paramilitaries that would engage in death squad attacks on leftist forces and their civilian supporters, a tactic also used in Guatemala and Peru. Castaño allegedly was a graduate of the School of the Americas in Fort Benning, Georgia, which human rights activists assert had instructed military officers of Latin American nations in inhumane or illegal techniques of suppressing insurgents.

In July 1997 the AUC killed 30 peasants at Mariripán in Meta Department, and on 4 May 1998 the AUC ransacked the town of Puerto Alvira, also in Meta Department, killing at least 21 people. On 17 May 1998 the AUC struck the Atlantic coast town of Barrancabermeja, killing 11 people and abducting 39 others, who are presumed to have been killed. Clashes between FARC and the AUC over control of the Urabá corridor joining Colombia and Panama,

which is essential for control of the flow of drugs, occurred in June 1998, leaving 700 people homeless. The AUC has maintained control of this region since 1996, and FARC failed to displace the group.

On 16 February 1999 the AUC **assassinated** Jaime Hurtado, head of Ecuador's Popular Democratic Movement, a Marxist party, on the steps of the Ecuadorian Congress building in Quito. In a March interview with the Bogotá newspaper *El Tiempo*, Castaño said he ordered the killing of Hurtado because the Ecuadorian was allegedly the biggest supplier of arms to FARC. Castaño then said he would also extend the conflict into Venezuela due to the apparent closeness of President Hugo Chávez with FARC guerrillas. In May 1999 the AUC claimed to have dispatched 2,000 fighters to the border of the San Vicente del Caguán region, which the Colombian government had effectively ceded to FARC control in late 1998 in an attempt to sway the rebels to enter negotiations. Both the ELN and the AUC have demanded to be admitted as equals with FARC in any such negotiations. In response, FARC tried a second offensive in June 1999 to overrun Castaño's headquarters in Córdoba, which again failed. On 13 August 1999 the AUC assassinated Jaime Garzón, Colombia's most popular humorist and radio-show entertainer, who was a close friend of President Andrés Pastrana and who was appointed by him to participate in the planned negotiations with FARC. Garzón had previously mediated with the ELN for the release of hostages and was considered too close to the leftists by the AUC. As of 5 October 2001 the U.S. State Department added the AUC to its list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations.

After an assassination attempt on Castaño on 16 April 2004, he disappeared from sight the following month. His body was later found on 1 September 2006 and identified through DNA tests. He apparently had been murdered on the orders of his brother, Vicente Castaño, who opposed his attempts to extricate the AUC from the cocaine drug trade, which had been a demand of the Colombian government in exchange for reducing criminal charges against AUC leaders.

Prior to the disappearance of Carlos Castaño, the AUC had entered peace talks with the Colombian government in early 2004 to negotiate the demobilization of AUC units in exchange for guarantees of reduced sentences for AUC leaders and protection from **extradition** to the United States on charges arising from their involvement in the U.S. cocaine trade. In May 2004 the Colombian government agreed to grant the AUC leaders a 142-square-mile (368-square-kilometer) safe

haven centered around Santa Fe de Ralito, Córdoba Department, where they would enjoy a safe haven comparable to the one granted in 1998 to FARC in the San Vicente del Caguán municipality of Meta Department, with the main difference being that, apart from the AUC leaders enjoying immunity from arrest for past offenses, the region would remain under Colombian law enforced by the regular police forces.

During 2005 these disarmament talks proceeded slowly, but by early 2006 at least 17,000 of the estimated 20,000 AUC forces had surrendered their arms and demobilized. Human rights groups and critics of the Colombian government were alarmed by sporadic proposals to reintegrate AUC troops into the regular Colombian military. On 12 April 2006 some 1,700 fighters turned in their weapons in the town of Casibare, followed by similar demobilizations in other towns. On 10 December 2006 the surrender of the 1,425-member Catatumbo Bloc led by Salvatore Mancuso, the main military leader of the AUC, marked the final scheduled ceremony in the demobilization effort. Despite this official demobilization, some supposedly demobilized AUC fighters continued to engage in extortion, **kidnaping**, drug smuggling, and murder. Although the Colombian government threatened to allow U.S. extradition requests to proceed against AUC leaders such as Vicente Castaño and Salvatore Mancuso if they would not restrain the AUC remnants from lawlessness, these leaders protested that they lacked any power to control those former troops. In a plea deal, Mancuso pleaded guilty to reduced domestic criminal charges before a Colombian civil court in exchange for immunity from extradition to the United States and was subsequently sentenced to a maximum-security prison in Antioquía. Meanwhile, Vicente Castaño went underground and in 2006 set up a new criminal group composed of an estimated 4,000 former AUC members calling themselves the *Águilas Negras* (Black Eagles), who have continued the drug trafficking and other criminal enterprises of the former AUC.

SELF-DEFENSE, RIGHT OF. Justification cited by the United States, and other nations, for launching military retaliation upon nations known to sponsor terrorist actions or against the bases of suspected terrorist groups. The right of individual or collective self-defense has been acknowledged in customary international law since the writings of Hugo Grotius and the development of classical international law from the middle of the 17th century. Although nations that subscribe

to the United Nations Charter renounce the right to initiate warfare, under Article 51 they retain the right to use military force to defend themselves against foreign military attacks, to repel invasions, or to defend other signatory nations that are being attacked by an aggressor. The United States invoked this doctrine to justify its military attacks on Libya on 15 April 1986 in retaliation for the **bombing** of a West Berlin discothèque on 5 April 1986. This doctrine was also invoked to justify the 20 August 1998 U.S. retaliation against the bases in Afghanistan used by **Osama bin Laden** following the 7 August 1998 **East African U.S. embassy attacks** involving mass-casualty bombings by bin Laden's followers. A more controversial notion is that of preemptive or anticipatory self-defense, in which military action is initiated against another nation, or subnational group or entity, on the grounds that the nation or party being attacked poses a clear and present danger to the nation initiating the attack. The 19 March 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq was rationalized by the administration of George W. Bush as an exercise in preemptive national self-defense owing to the potential threat of **weapons of mass destruction** supposedly being wielded by the regime of Saddam Hussein. This position is presented and defended in John Yoo's "International Law and the War in Iraq," in the *American Journal of International Law* 97, no. 3 (July 2003), 563–76.

SENDERO LUMINOSO (SL). The Partido Comunista del Perú, or Communist Party of Peru, better known as the Sendero Luminoso, or Shining Path, was a Maoist guerrilla movement that sought to create a total Marxist-Leninist **revolution** within Peru. It differed from other leftist insurgencies in Latin America in neither having accepted assistance from other leftist Latin American states, such as Cuba or Nicaragua under the **Sandinistas**, nor associating itself fraternally with Marxist regimes or movements elsewhere. In part this was due to the extremely dogmatic and authoritarian nature of the Senderista leadership, which precluded much collaboration with other leftist groups. While there was some evidence of former limited contacts with the Colombian **M-19** and the now-defunct **Alfaro Vive Carajo** group of Ecuador, the Sendero Luminoso was preeminently a homegrown, inward-looking, and highly xenophobic phenomenon. It attacked Soviet, Cuban, Chinese, and North Korean **targets** along with U.S. and other Western targets.

The SL was also the most brutal and violent of the recent leftist **insurgencies** in Latin America and made the most effective use of terrorism as part of its overall strategy. Insofar as Sendero Luminoso once established de facto control over its “liberated zones” in the interior Andean plateau and used terror to maintain control over the subject population, it may be said to have used repression to achieve quasi-**state terror** as well as pursuing its revolutionary goals.

The Sendero Luminoso was founded in 1969 by Manuel Rubén Abimael Guzman Reynoso, also known as Comrade Gonzalo, regarded by his followers and himself as the “fourth sword of revolution” after Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin, and Mao Zedong. Guzman was a philosophy teacher at Huamanga University, primarily a teachers’ training college, in the interior city of Ayachuco. After Guzman became personnel director of the university in 1971, he systematically built up a faculty who supported his own version of revolutionary Marxism. Also responsible for the first-year course of teachers’ instruction, Guzman and his fellow faculty members indoctrinated the student teachers, who in turn indoctrinated an entire generation of schoolchildren in remote towns and villages throughout the Andean interior of Peru. Guzman is said to have remarked that it made more sense to educate children into revolutionary Marxism than to indoctrinate adults since children did not need to be politically reeducated. Guzman carried out his program of recruitment, indoctrination, and outreach into the rural communities for 10 years before the SL embarked on actual revolution.

Guzman exercised a highly personalistic and charismatic control over his followers, who accepted Comrade Gonzalo’s word as law and obeyed his promptings without equivocation. Dissenters within the SL were summarily expelled or executed. Guzman and the other Senderista leaders showed little inclination to collaborate with other leftists, much less to enter into any dialogue with the regime they fought.

Apart from its highly dogmatic Marxist component, SL doctrine also incorporated within itself an Indian, nativist component that fed off the resentments of the Indian and mixed-blood Peruvian population, who had been largely excluded from political participation and deprived of basic benefits by the Peruvian ruling elites. Originally the SL was known as the Revolutionary Student Front for the Shining Path of Mariatégui, the reference being to José Carlos Mariatégui, one of the founders of the Peruvian Communist Party. Mariatégui had claimed in his writings that Peruvian socialism had to be built on the communal-

ism of the pre-Columbian Peruvian Inca Indian civilizations and attributed most of the social injustices in Peru to the European-imposed feudal and capitalist culture. While many leftist groups elsewhere in Latin America have usually treated the Indian communities with disdain, the SL pioneered an extensive outreach to the native communities in which SL activists would learn Quechua and other Indian tongues, and go to live among the Indians to gain their trust.

The SL began its terrorist campaign on 17 May 1980, just as democratic rule was being restored to Peru, attacking polling places in the villages around Ayacucho. By the end of 1980, the SL had conducted between 300 and 400 operations and, until June 1986, averaged between 30 and 40 operations per month. It had about 5,000 well-armed militants but avoided direct engagements with the Peruvian military. In its terrorist activities, the SL relied on five-member cells, always with at least one woman in each cell. The SL financed itself through robberies, extortion, and a “war tax” levied on coca producers and smugglers in the “liberated zones.”

In its rural campaign, SL activists typically would move into a village and hold mock trials of local officials or landowners, who would then be executed in some gruesome manner and their mutilated remains left exposed as a lesson to others. Five-member councils ruled the villages and administered summary justice. The SL intervened in areas where peasants had once been terrorized by Colombian smugglers and coca buyers, to promote a measure of equity on behalf of the coca-growing peasants and also to extort war taxes from the coca buyers. Economic infrastructure and investment projects promoted by the Peruvian government were **bombed**, a favorite target being the power pylons that supplied the major cities.

While the SL originally conducted only rural operations on the theory that encirclement of the cities would consummate a successful rural guerrilla war, it began a parallel campaign in the cities prompted by the appearance of a rival urban guerrilla organization, the **Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement**, in 1984. In its urban campaign the SL also sought out high-visibility targets, specializing in the **assassination** of members of the prominent American Popular Revolutionary Alliance Party (APRA) or of high-ranking members of the counterinsurgency forces. On 14 August 1990 the SL drove a car bomb into the presidential palace in Lima, exploding it and causing extensive damage to the building, although the newly

elected president, Alberto Fujimori, was unharmed. Afterward, when the SL decreed a strike in Lima on 14 February 1992, Maria Elena Moyano, the deputy mayor of the Villa El Salvador district and outspoken critic of the Senderistas, defied the ban by organizing a peace march. The next day she was murdered by Senderistas and her body blown up with dynamite. On 16 July 1992, marking the end of the first 100 days of Fujimori's emergency rule, the SL exploded two car bombs in Lima's wealthiest district, killing 18 and injuring 140 others, while around 100 SL fighters struck police stations throughout Lima. The SL has not hesitated to attack and kill foreign aid workers, diplomats, priests, missionaries, and family members of targeted victims.

From 1980 to 2000, around 69,280 people perished and \$22 billion in damages and lost revenues was suffered due to the SL insurgency. Since overcoming its setback in the urban campaign caused by the penetration of its Lima cells in 1986, the SL showed increasing organizational sophistication, relying more on front organizations, called "generated organisms," to penetrate and co-opt other leftist groups and to gather more potential recruits. It set up legal aid and educational institutions in the slums surrounding Lima and used the newspaper *El Diario* as its unofficial mouthpiece.

Originally the ineptitude of the Peruvian counterinsurgency program helped to boost recruitment into the SL due to the military's tendency to exact retaliation upon Indians and mestizos when it could not find the actual SL perpetrators of an action. Beginning in the mid-1980s, the Peruvian military began to rethink its **intelligence** requirements and started to have some success in penetrating the Senderista organization. By November 1989 the Peruvian military recaptured the Upper Huallaga valley. On assuming office in 1991, President Fujimori made the insurgency the top priority of his administration, and on 13 September 1992 Peruvian security forces captured Guzman and his top lieutenants during a strategy-planning session in Lima.

The Shining Path was an enigma. It emerged just after the leftist military regime of General Juan Velasco Alvarado had completed Peru's most extensive land reform and at the very time Peruvian democracy had been restored, a time when some Peruvian leftists had begun to despair of armed revolution. The success of the SL in destroying Peru's fragile economy may well have contributed to the collapse of the presidency of the once highly popular Alan García.

Its threat to the state prompted the assumption of unconstitutional powers by President Fujimori on 8 April 1992. During a time when Communism was collapsing in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and revolutionary Marxism apparently discredited, the Shining Path began to attract support from die-hard leftists throughout the world, just as previous generations of revolutionary leftists used to embrace the **Sandinista** revolution or the Cuban revolution. International support groups known as Peru People's Movements sprung up in Europe while Maoist groups, such as the Communist Party of Turkey-Marxist Leninist and the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A., embraced the Shining Path movement, together forming a Revolutionary Internationalist Movement that included other pro-Senderista Maoist parties in Germany, Sweden, France, Switzerland, and Mexico. These ties were actively cultivated by Senderista representatives living abroad, who claimed political refugee status. Senderista activities have straddled the border with Bolivia while pro-Senderista factions have appeared in Ecuador, Colombia, Argentina, and Chile.

The capture of Abimael Guzman on 13 September 1992 curtailed the SL's prospects within Peru as well as limiting the development of any international Senderista movement, although many observers believed that the SL had developed sufficient resources to survive even the loss of its charismatic leader. In fact, after Guzman recanted in prison and called on the SL to lay down its arms, the movement's leadership was assumed by Óscar Ramírez Durán, also known as Feliciano, who continued to direct the movement even after the remaining Central Committee had been captured. During November 1994 the SL bombed two branches of the country's largest bank as well as the air force officers' club in Lima, but no one was hurt.

In 1990 there were an estimated 6,000 to 8,000 active SL members and about 25,000 sympathizers, but by March 1995 there were estimated to be about 2,000 active members and 5,000 to 10,000 sympathizers. Following the 1992 capture of Guzman, the Fujimori government offered **amnesty** to SL members, which was accepted by 5,000 former SL guerrillas. In March 1995 the remaining SL members carried out a renewed terror campaign to disrupt the 9 April 1995 presidential elections, striking not only targets in Lima, including detonating a one-pound dynamite bomb outside the U.S. embassy and similar bombs outside the Chilean and Argentinean embassies, police stations, and power stations, but also attacks in the Huallaga valley, their former

stronghold, where 20 people were killed, and attacks on the town of Huánuco. Apart from the SL's desire to disrupt the elections, another reason for the increased SL activity in the hinterland was due to a withdrawal of counterinsurgency forces from there during a border dispute with Ecuador, which, however, had been resolved by 1995, allowing the redeployment of forces to the Huallaga valley to respond to the SL revival. In July 1999 Óscar Ramírez Durán, one of the remaining SL leaders, was captured by an army patrol in the jungles of Huancayo to the east of Lima. Other attacks have continued by an SL remnant group known as Proseguir, or Onward, which operates in three fronts, one in northern Peru, another in southern Peru, and another in the central zone. On 9 June 2003 an SL group attacked a camp of the Argentinean Technit company outside Ayacucho, seizing 68 hostages, who were freed two days later by a military counterterrorist unit. In July 2003 the SL commander Jaime Zuñiga was captured, and by the end of 2003 six Senderistas had been killed and 209 captured, although eight people had been killed by SL attacks. On 22 December 2005 the SL attacked police in the Huánuco region, killing eight officers, but on 19 February 2006 police ambushed and killed the leader of the 2005 attack, Héctor Aponte. In an attack on 11 November 2007, police killed another SL commander, and by the end of 2007 the group's remaining strength was estimated to be only about 300.

SIKH MILITANTS. A number of different Sikh religious extremist and **ethnonationalist** groups that had a common goal of creating an independent Sikh homeland in the Punjab region to be known as Khalistan appeared in the 1980s. The more prominent of these groups included the following:

1. Babbar Khalsa: A small Sikh terrorist group originally formed for the limited purpose of avenging the deaths of Sikh fundamentalist followers of Sant Jarnail Bhindranwale who were killed on 13 April 1978 by Nirankari Sikhs after the latter had been attacked by Bhindranwale's followers as heretics. The moving figure of the group was Bibi Amarjit Kaur, a widow of one of those slain, who became embittered toward Bhindranwale and refused to cooperate with him. The group otherwise embraced the same goals held by Bhindranwale of creating an independent Sikh homeland of Khalistan and **assassinating** perceived enemies of Khalistan among both Sikhs and non-Sikhs.

The group consisted of only a few scores of youths operating out of the sanctuary of the Golden Temple complex in Amritsar prior to its being overrun by the Indian army in its raid of 5 June 1984. Bibi Amarjit Kaur, along with 400 other Sikh activists, surrendered in the course of the Indian army attack. Following the death of Bhindranwale during this attack, he achieved the status of a Sikh martyr, and Babbar Khalsa activists maintained that Bibi Amarjit Kaur and Bhindranwale had buried their differences in the face of the Indian army siege of the Golden Temple. Some Sikh terrorist actions in India, Canada, and Germany have been claimed in the name of Babbar Khalsa, though very little is known of the actual membership of this group.

2. Dal Khalsa: A Sikh political-religious group that sought the creation of an independent state of Khalistan as a Sikh homeland out of the current Punjab State in India and certain adjacent Punjabi-speaking areas. This group resorted to terrorism to radicalize Sikh opinion, to gain public attention to its demands, and to avenge certain alleged wrongs committed against Sikhs or the Sikh religion. Oddly enough, this group, which seeks to carve a state of Khalistan out of the Union of India, originally had covert support from the ruling Congress Party, which sought to use radical Sikh groups to rob the dominant Shiromani Akali Dal Party of moderate Sikhs of voter support in order to promote Congress Party candidates in the Punjabi state elections. The Dal Khalsa was believed to have **state sponsorship** from Pakistan even though the irredentist claims for Khalistan would have encompassed the Punjab districts of Pakistan as well.

In Sikh history the original Dal Khalsa, literally the Army of the Pure, was an assemblage of Sikh clans (*misl*) who all submitted to the command of a common leader for accomplishing some limited purpose, originally to battle the Mughals. The modern Dal Khalsa began as the result of an intramural sectarian quarrel among the Sikhs. On 13 April 1978 several Nirankari Sikhs held a religious gathering in the Sikh holy city of Amritsar. A prominent Sikh religious leader, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale (1947–1984), who anathematized the Nirankari Sikhs as heretics, led a demonstration to break up the Nirankari gathering. Thirteen of Bhindranwale's followers armed with swords were shot dead by the Nirankaris. Bhindranwale turned his attention to taking vengeance on the Nirankaris and on the moderate Sikh and Hindu politicians who protected them. This disaffection led him later to endorse the idea of an independent Khalistan.

In August 1978 several Sikh political youth groups, disaffected with the ineffectiveness of the moderate Shiromani Akali Dal party in securing Punjabi interests against the central government, formed a group assuming the historically charged name of the Dal Khalsa. Their proclaimed goal was to preserve the purity of Sikhism from Nirankari influence, which in practical terms meant opposing those who tolerated the Nirankaris, that is, the Shiromani Akali Dal. In the elections to the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC), that is, the high Sikh council that oversees management of the Sikh shrines, Bhindranwale backed the Dal Khalsa, while Congress Party leaders encouraged both Bhindranwale and the Dal Khalsa in the hope of weakening the Shiromani Akali Dal party.

The idea of Khalistan came to the fore on 16 June 1980, when a National Council of Khalistan announced its formation. On 13 March 1981 the Dal Khalsa endorsed the idea of Khalistan to upstage the more hesitant Shiromani Akali Dal. That year witnessed a rise in communal tensions between Sikhs and Hindus when the head of the All-India Sikh Students' Federation (AISSF), who was closely connected to Bhindranwale, demanded special laws to protect the sanctity of Amritsar. Bhindranwale led a demonstration on 31 May 1981 that ended in a clash with police, leading to several deaths. The subsequent assassination on 9 September 1981 of a Hindu publisher, whose paper heaped scorn on the idea of Khalistan and who happened to be an enemy of Bhindranwale's, led to Bhindranwale's arrest on 20 September 1981 on suspicion of murder.

On 29 September 1981, five Dal Khalsa members **hijacked** Indian Airlines Flight 423, a Boeing 737 flying from Delhi to Srinagar with 111 passengers and six crew members, to Lahore, Pakistan, where they released 66 passengers but held the rest pending the release of Bhindranwale. The hijackers were overcome by Pakistani soldiers on 30 September 1981. Bhindranwale was released from custody on 15 October 1981 but not before many shootings, **bombings**, and attacks between Hindus and Sikhs in Punjab took place. Bad federal relations between Indira Gandhi's government and the Punjab state government added to these sectarian and communal tensions. Due to the role played by the Dal Khalsa in instigating anti-Hindu violence in Punjabi cities, the organization was banned on 1 May 1982, while the head of the AISSF was arrested on 19 July 1982.

Beginning on 20 July 1982 Bhindranwale joined other Sikh leaders in the Golden Temple of Amritsar to make a “peaceful agitation” to seek redress of Sikh grievances. While Bhindranwale remained within the temple sanctuary, outside the effective reach of the law, his followers, presumably with his blessing, began a campaign of terrorism against religiously lax Sikhs, political opponents, and Hindus living in Punjab. Two hijackings were attempted while an assassination attempt was made against the chief minister of Punjab. On 25 April 1983 Deputy Chief Inspector of Police Atvar Singh Atwal, who had visited the Golden Temple to worship, was shot dead as soon as he left its premises. The Indian government held Bhindranwale and his followers responsible for this and for the massive outbreaks of sectarian violence that the Dal Khalsa often instigated. Bhindranwale moved into the innermost sanctum of the Golden Temple, the Akal Takht, on 15 December 1983, and on the following day the Indian government issued a warrant for his arrest. On 5 June 1984 the Indian army began Operation Blue Star, in the course of which they overran the Golden Temple complex and heavily damaged the Akal Takht, or inner sanctum of the shrine, with tank fire. All told, about 700 soldiers perished along with 5,000 civilians, among them Bhindranwale.

Following the desecration of the Golden Temple, Sikh extremists began killing not only Indian government officials known to have participated in formulating or executing Operation Blue Star, but also moderate Sikhs willing to settle for anything less than an independent Khalistan. On 10 August 1986 the Dal Khalsa claimed credit for the assassination of General A. S. Vaidya, who was the chief of the Indian army staff during Operation Blue Star. In June 1987 Dal Khalsa members killed at least 12 people in two attacks in the village of Udhwuk. Indira Gandhi was herself assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards on 31 October 1984, although their action was not connected with any of the Sikh militant groups.

The Dal Khalsa remained under a ban until 1998, after which it renounced use of violence to pursue its political and religious goals. The original leader, Gurbachan Singh Manochahal, remained at large but was eventually cornered by Indian security forces and killed on 28 February 1993. His successor, Gajinder Singh, who was one of the hijackers of the Indian Airlines jetliner in 1981, remains in hiding, presumably in Pakistan, and ceded leadership of the Dal Khalsa on 30 September 2005, allowing another Dal Khalsa founding member,

Satnam Singh Paonta, to be elected president of the group on 2 October 2005. The organization is estimated to have had between 500 and 1,000 members and has carried out its activities largely within India, although it also has a branch in the United States. The AISSF, with 40,000 members, was banned in March 1984, but the ban was lifted one year later.

3. Dashmesh Regiment: The Tenth Regiment is reputed to be a Sikh militant group that aims to establish an independent nation-state of Khalistan as a homeland for the Sikhs in present-day Punjab and adjoining Punjabi-speaking areas. This group has been credited with the assassinations of prominent individuals, including other Sikhs, who have criticized the cause of Khalistan. Groups using this and other names have also terrorized Hindus living in, or traveling within, their designated area of Khalistan and have engaged in at least one bombing of a commercial air carrier. The name Dashmesh means “tenth,” referring to the tenth Guru of the Sikhs, Guru Gobind Singh, who transformed the Sikhs into a warrior society.

Knowledge about the origins, composition, and leadership of the Dashmesh regiment is fragmentary and conjectural. Unlike the Dal Khalsa or the AISSF, this group has no history prior to the onset of secessionist troubles in the state of Punjab, and some observers within India have concluded that it is a phantom group, a name being used to hide the culpability of those actually responsible for terrorist actions or to throw outsiders off their scent.

It is believed the group was founded in 1984 with the blessing of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, a Sikh fundamentalist leader who became closely identified with the Khalistan idea (*see* above, 2. Dal Khalsa): As Bhindranwale was also closely associated with the banned Dal Khalsa and AISSF groups, it is likely that if the Dashmesh Regiment exists, it has drawn its leaders and members from these groups or from the immediate circle of Bhindranwale’s followers.

On 28 March 1984 the Regiment claimed credit for the shooting death of Harbans Singh Manchanda, a pro-Congress overseer of the New Delhi Sikh temple. A letter purportedly written by the Dashmesh Regiment addressed to the *Indian Express* in April 1984 threatened to assassinate Indira Gandhi. On 14 April 1984 Sikh extremists attempted to burn down at least 34 railroad stations, actions credited to the Regiment. The Regiment also claimed credit for the shooting death on 12 May 1984 of Ramesh Chander, editor of the

Hind Samacher newspaper and son of an enemy of Bhindranwale who had also been assassinated on 9 September 1981.

In the years following the Indian army's June 1984 assault on the Golden Temple, in which Bhindranwale was killed and the Akal Takht (the Golden Temple's holy of holies) severely damaged, a number of murders, massacres, and pillagings have been perpetrated both by Sikhs against Hindus and by Hindus against Sikhs. By the Punjab Home Department's estimates, in 1985 there were 61 deaths due to such terrorism; in 1986 there were 520 such deaths; 1987 witnessed 1,199 deaths; and 1988 1,964 deaths. The Dashmesh Regiment claimed credit for at least five major incidents following the attack on the Golden Temple, including an assassination attempt on Rajiv Gandhi on 2 October 1986. But the identities of parties responsible for other terrorist actions have been masked by their use of noms de guerre. For example, on 30 November 1986 Sikh gunmen stopped a bus and shot dead 24 Hindu passengers. This was repeated on 7 July 1987 with two buses, killing 38 and injuring 32 in one, and killing four and injuring 32 in the other. Although these actions were claimed in the name of the Khalistan Commando Force, the perpetrators turned out to be AISSF members. Similarly, the Regiment may in fact turn out to be an extension of Dal Khalsa, AISSF, or other Sikh groups.

Most of these actions have been confined to India, mainly to the Punjab and nearby Haryana State. The Dashmesh Regiment claimed responsibility for two major terrorist actions outside India, the premature explosion of a bomb intended to be loaded onto an Air India Boeing 747 at Tokyo's Narita airport and the 23 June 1985 **Air India Flight 182 bombing** of a Boeing 747 carrying 329 people from Toronto, Canada, to London. Wreckage of this plane found off the coast of Ireland indicated it may have been bombed. In 1985 the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reported that it had foiled a Sikh extremist plot to assassinate Indira Gandhi during her visit to the United States in August 1982 as well as a later plot to assassinate the chief minister of Haryana State during his visit to New Orleans.

These international terrorist events appear to be anomalies. Although militant Sikh separatists have had ample opportunity to strike at Indian targets outside India, such as diplomatic or government-managed commercial offices abroad, Sikh militants abroad have largely limited themselves to making demonstrations outside Indian embassies and consulates. It appears likely that Sikh militants realize

such terrorist actions would alienate world opinion from the cause of Khalistan and would compromise the position of the diaspora of Sikh merchant communities abroad that form a valuable support network.

Since mid-1992, terrorist activities by the various Sikh militant groups have declined by 95 percent since the all-time high of terrorist-related killings of 3,000 in 1991. This is credited largely to more effective Indian army, paramilitary, and police actions as well as due to disenchantment among ordinary Punjabis with the excesses of the Sikh militants. During 1997 there were 25 bombings throughout New Delhi, mainly in older marketplaces and buses, which killed 25 people and injured around 200. Although a previously unknown Sikh group, the Saheed Khalsa Force, claimed responsibility, these attacks coincided with a period of rising tensions between India and Pakistan over the unresolved status of Kashmir, and India accused Pakistan of complicity in many of the bombings that occurred during 1997.

Since 1997 there has been little pro-Khalistan secessionist agitation in Punjab and little known activity by the various Sikh militant groups. Ironically, much of the most vocal support of Sikh militancy is found in the Sikh diasporas in Europe and North America, whereas within India and Punjab proper, most Sikhs have accepted the status quo and lessened support of the militant Khalistan secessionist movement. The election of Manmohan Singh, a Sikh, as prime minister of India, in May 2004 indicates to what extent Sikhs have secured their place within Indian society since the tumultuous period in 1984 following the assassination of Indira Gandhi.

SKINHEADS. Skinheads are young white males usually organized in gangs who, among other things, shave their heads, wear Doc Marten steel-toed boots, and listen to punk-music bands playing violent and oftentimes racist lyrics. Like many other youth phenomena, skinheads grew more by imitation than by conscious propagation, originating in Great Britain in the 1960s and spreading by the 1980s to continental Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand. While not all skinheads are necessarily racist, most skinhead gangs have engaged in harassment and sporadic violence aimed at Asians, blacks, Hispanics, homosexuals, and Jews.

Viewed in isolation, most incidents of skinhead violence appear to be **entrepreneurial**, being aimed at the perpetrators' gratification from bullying minority scapegoats or at the gains of petty robberies.

Yet insofar as the skinhead gangs have been increasingly courted by, and drawn into, the **white supremacist** and **neo-Nazi** movements, such violence has increasingly taken on the motivations and tactics of right-wing **revolutionary** terrorism.

Tom Metzger, the former Grand Dragon of the California branch of the Knights of the **Ku Klux Klan**, left the Klan in 1980 to form a neo-Nazi group called the White Aryan Resistance (WAR), based in San Diego. His son, John Metzger, headed the group's youth auxiliary known as the Aryan Youth Movement (AYM). The younger Metzger displaced a local skinhead leader in San Diego in May 1987 and began to co-opt other skinhead gangs nationwide through AYM chapters established on 20 U.S. college campuses. Following the November 1988 murder of Mulugeta Seraw, an Ethiopian attending college in Portland, Oregon, who was beaten to death by skinheads wielding baseball bats, the victim's family filed a civil lawsuit against the Metzgers and WAR for having encouraged the skinhead youths in question to commit racial violence.

Allied with AYM is the neo-Nazi American Front, which controls many skinheads in the San Francisco Bay Area. In June 1985, CASH, the Chicago Area Skinheads, participated in a local neo-Nazi group's demonstration and had contact with Robert Miles, a former Ku Klux Klan leader and currently a leading proponent of **Identity Christianity**.

During the 1990s, the numbers of skinheads nationwide remained around 2,500–3,500, with gangs active in at least 40 states. Numbers of gangs and memberships of individual gangs fluctuate greatly due to the mobility and lack of permanent residences of most skinheads. Moreover, as police pressure has increased against them, many skinheads have started to grow their hair out, making their identification more difficult. With their induction into white supremacist political terrorism, skinheads are now recruiting youngsters more actively. The appeal of the skinhead movement is not confined to youngsters from depressed economic backgrounds, since many come from middle-class, and even affluent, homes. Rather, a more striking commonality among skinheads is a broken home with an absent father, which has also been commonly observed among the members of black urban gangs.

On 27 June 1995 the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith released a report, *The Skinhead International: A Worldwide Survey of Neo-Nazi Skinheads*, that claimed that the skinhead movement

embraced 70,000 people in more than 30 nations. By 2000 the same organization found that the overall numbers of skinheads worldwide had not increased but that the skinhead movement had spread to a total of 33 countries. The report found that while the various skinhead groups are not linked by an overt organizational structure, the predominant number of them share a preference for neo-Nazi **ideology** and subscribe to neo-Nazi literature they call “skinzines.” Although the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) documented that Ku Klux Klan groups had declined from 186 to 140 in the period 1995–1996, it also spotted a rise in racist skinhead groups from 30 to 37 in the same period. By 2000 the SPLC estimated there were 40 racist skinhead groups in the United States. A number of incidents seem to support the fear that the skinhead movement will pose a significant risk of violence and domestic terror. In 1996 German skinheads numbered 6,400, an increase of 200 over the previous year, according to figures issued by Germany’s Office for the Defense of the Constitution.

Among the many acts committed by skinheads, some have stood out: On 23 July 1994 eight German skinheads rioted at the Buchenwald concentration camp memorial, chanting Nazi slogans, stoning visitors, and threatening to burn alive a memorial supervisor. Three of these youths were sentenced to short or suspended jail sentences in October 1994. On 10 May 1995 French police arrested five skinheads in connection with the murder of a Moroccan, whom they had thrown into the Seine River where he drowned in the course of a May Day **National Front** march in Paris.

Active skinhead groups that are organized and politically violent include the Hammerskin Nation, which claimed to have up to 21 chapters across the United States as well as affiliated chapters in Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain, and Switzerland; the Fourth Reich Skinheads, which has been dormant in recent years, though its active members have joined other skinhead and white supremacist groups; and the American Front, which has multiple branches within California as well as branches in Arkansas, Florida, Maryland, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Washington State.

The Hammerskins have been involved in several attacks on members of minority groups: In the summer of 1988 the first Hammerskin group, which had formed in Dallas, Texas, originally known as the Confederate Hammerskins, harassed and attacked minority group

members trying to enter Robert E. Lee Park and vandalized a Dallas synagogue. On 7 June 1991 Confederate Hammerskins in Arlington, Texas, murdered Donald Thomas, a young African American man, shooting him with a shotgun in a drive-by attack. On 17 March 1999, six Hammerskins in Temecula, California, attacked Randy Bowen, a 23-year-old African American man, who managed to escape after being repeatedly stabbed and slashed. The four adults involved in this attack were later charged in August 1999 with attempted murder and conspiracy to commit murder and eventually were convicted in March 2001 with sentences enhanced due to the commission of a **hate crime** and gang-related violence under state law. On 10 December 2000, three Hammerskins in Jacksonville, Florida, beat and threatened John Newsome, a 44-year-old African American, for which they were arrested on battery charges. On 12 January 2002, one Hammerskin was arrested in York, Pennsylvania, for attempted vehicular homicide when he drove his car into a crowd of antiracist demonstrators protesting a white supremacist rally of Hammerskins, the National Alliance, and the World Church of the Creator.

While the Fourth Reich Skinheads apparently broke up after the arrest of its founder, Christopher Daniel Fisher, along with four of his lieutenants, for a July 1993 plot to **assassinate** Rodney King, Louis Farrakhan, and Al Sharpton, several of its members have apparently merged into other skinhead groups or joined the World Church of the Creator. The American Front Skinheads have proved to be a well-organized group and very effective in recruiting due to the experience and leadership of founder Bob Heick, who had been involved in the British **National Front** in the 1980s. American Front activities included a plot to assassinate several Portland, Oregon, police officers in 1991 and several **bombings**: On 20 July 1993 the group bombed a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) office in Tacoma, Washington, and on 22 July 1993 bombed the Elite Tavern, a gay bar, in Seattle, Washington. Three American Front members were convicted in 1993 for these attacks, which the prosecution revealed to be a conspiracy to incite a racial war. After Bob Heick withdrew from Skinhead activism in 1995 in order to raise his family, leadership of the American Front passed to James Porrazo, who moved the American Front headquarters from San Francisco to Harrison, Arkansas. Since then the American Front has enhanced its neo-Nazi

and white supremacist message with diatribes against Zionism, capitalism, and globalization.

SKY MARSHAL PROGRAM. The Federal Air Marshal Service (FAMS) began in 1968 and allows armed U.S. marshals to fly undercover on selected flights in order to be able to counter **hijackers** attempting to seize aircraft in flight. From 1968 until 1985, the Sky Marshals only flew on domestic U.S. flights. Following the hijacking of Trans World Airlines (TWA) Flight 847 by **Hezbollah** operatives on 14 June 1985, the Sky Marshals were also deployed on U.S. carriers involved in international flights. Following the **World Trade Center and Pentagon Attacks of September 11, 2001**, the U.S. government began to take steps to increase the numbers in the Sky Marshal Program, which had only 33 active agents on 11 September 2001, to several thousand active agents, as one of several measures to deter further hijackings as well as to restore public confidence in the safety of air travel. On 16 October 2006, the Sky Marshal Program was transferred from Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) within the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. *See also* AIR TRAVEL SECURITY.

SOCIAL NETWORK RECRUITMENT THEORY. One explanation for the **contagion effect** of terrorism and recruitment of ordinary people into political extremism or violence offered by Charles Tilly, in which community ties explain why previously politically indifferent individuals will become mobilized into collective action. In studies of right-wing extremist groups in Idaho and neighboring Rocky Mountain Basin states, sociologist James Aho found that the most frequent reason given by interviewed individuals for joining such groups was a previous tie of family kinship, personal friendship or romance, or acquaintance from school or the workplace. Individuals who had been indifferent or moderate in their political views would join the extremist organization to maintain a social tie and gradually come to absorb the indoctrination of the group. This theory suggests that groups whose members go “underground” and cut off ties to family and former friends will have greater difficulty recruiting new members to sustain the organization than groups that continue to exist openly. The theory may also explain why **ethnonationalist** groups, which are rooted in families and organic communities, have

been growing while more clandestine groups based primarily on **ideology** rather than **identity politics** have been in decline.

SOLDIERS OF JUSTICE. An Iranian state-sponsored Shi'ite group based in Lebanon that had the revolutionary goal of overthrowing the Saudi Arabian monarchy in favor of an Iranian-style Islamic Republic. The group is based in Lebanon and is composed of Shi'ite Muslims from Lebanon and Saudi Arabia. It is thought to have been formed under the tutelage of the **Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps** contingent present in Lebanon.

On 27 December 1988, Soldiers of Justice gunmen injured an official at the Saudi Arabian embassy in Karachi, Pakistan. They claimed credit for killing a Saudi diplomat in Bangkok, Thailand, on 4 January 1989, an action also claimed by the **Islamic Jihad in the Hijaz** organization. On 29 March 1989 Abdullah Ahdal, the Saudi Arabian rector of the Islamic Cultural Center in Brussels, Belgium, who in the course of an interview on Belgian television on 20 February 1988 had denounced the **fatwa** of **takfir** promulgated by Ayatollah **Ruhallah Khomeini** against British author Salman Rushdie, was shot to death along with his assistant Salim Bahri, for which the Soldiers of Justice claimed responsibility. The Islamic Republic of Iran had been engaged in agitational propaganda against the Saudi dynasty during the Hajj pilgrimages from 1979 to 31 July 1987, when rioting killed more than 400 people in Mecca. On 26 April 1988 Saudi Arabia severed diplomatic relations with Iran and greatly reduced the size of the Hajj pilgrimage contingent permitted to the Iranians.

One explanation for the appearance and activities of the Soldiers of Justice is that such groups were being sponsored by hard-liners within Iran opposed to the apparent conciliatory foreign policy of the Rafsanjani government (1989–1997) toward conservative Arab regimes in the period following the death of Khomeini. Such terrorist actions would have been intended to sabotage any rapprochement between Iran and Saudi Arabia.

SOUTH AFRICAN STATE AND ANTISTATE TERRORISM. In 1996 the South African government created an independent Truth and Reconciliation Commission, chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and including 17 others, to bring to light the various cases of terrorism that had occurred from the early 1960s, when the **African National Congress (ANC)** began armed struggle and the South African state

intensified its police repression of antiapartheid activists, until 1994. The scope of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission included both antistate terrorism by opponents of the former regime and **state terror** perpetrated by the former South African regime and its allies. The terms of the Commission allowed anyone who volunteered testimony, even of a self-incriminating nature, immunity from prosecution provided that the testimony was complete and truthful. Later in the work of the Commission there would be controversy regarding whether or not remorse or contrition had to be presented in cases of self-incrimination for immunity to be granted. Out of 6,441 petitions for amnesty, only 849 were granted while 5,392 were refused. Other petitions of an original total of 7,112 were either withdrawn or had become moot.

The Commission's 3,500-page report, issued on 28 October 1999, placed most of the blame for the disappearances and murders on the all-white apartheid regime. Nonetheless, it also found that the African National Congress, Winnie Mandela, the former wife of President Nelson Mandela, the Inkatha Freedom Party of the Zulu nation, and the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, as well as numerous prominent public and private citizens of different racial backgrounds, had been involved in various forms of terrorism and repression. The last president of the apartheid regime, F. W. de Klerk, was also cited as an accessory after the fact in the **bombings** of ANC institutions, which charge he adamantly denied. When former South African president P. W. Botha refused to appear before the Commission, he received a fine and suspended sentence, both of which were overturned on appeal. The family of Steve Biko, an ANC activist allegedly murdered in police custody during the apartheid period, brought a lawsuit before the South African Supreme Court in an unsuccessful attempt to have the Commission declared unconstitutional and its amnesties overturned.

Although in theory the work of the Truth Commission was intended to clarify unsolved cases and to bring closure and healing to South Africa, many of the members of families of victims believed that the testimony of former South African military and police officials was selective, self-serving, and falsified and that the work of the Commission was incomplete and flawed. *See also* BOER ATTACK FORCE; UMKHONTO WE SIZWE.

STATE CO-OPTATION. Discussion of state terrorism ordinarily involves two main types: first, **state terror** in the form of internal

repression, use of active measures, and surrogate groups outside the state's national boundaries; and second, **revolutionary** terrorism by groups enjoying **state sponsorship** fighting a given regime, whether in a domestic or an international arena. Both extremes ordinarily assume that the sponsoring state or the state being attacked is strong relative to its antagonists. In many developing nations, however, the state may be so weak that nonstate groups can effectively usurp control over state bodies or agencies, making the penetrated state agency, in effect, a surrogate actor for the penetrating group. In such cases where the state organs are being used to perpetrate terrorism, it would be misleading to speak of state sponsorship of terrorism since both society and the state as a whole are being attacked or usurped by the terrorists.

In the case of El Salvador during the 1980s, the transitional regime that seized power on 15 October 1979 tried to dissolve government-run **death squads** such as the **ORDEN** militia. Nonetheless, Salvadoran oligarchs opposed to the government's proposed land reforms enlisted the aid of military and police security personnel, who maintained several death squad organizations despite official government policy. In the case of Northern Ireland, the Ulster Defence Regiment, an official armed forces unit, became dominated by sectarian Protestant Ulstermen, including members of the proscribed **Ulster Freedom Fighters** and **Ulster Defence Association**, who then exploited access to Ulster police files and weapons to pursue their own vendettas against the Irish Republican groups and nationalist population. In the case of the Islamic Republic of Iran, it appeared that radical **Islamic fundamentalist** factions within the Iranian government had a greater role in influencing the actions of the students holding the U.S. embassy hostages than did the president of Iran or the Iranian interior and foreign ministries. Each of these is an example of state co-optation.

The reality of state co-optation presents U.S. policymakers with dilemmas in dealing with co-opted states. While the perpetration of internal terror or external terrorism by agencies nominally under the control of the weak state would ordinarily call for punishment of that state as the responsible party, in effect this often plays into the hands of the penetrating groups, which only gain if the state is further weakened. Failing to respond to such terrorism, however, also would have the effect of emboldening the penetrating group to continue its terrorist abuses.

STATE SPONSORS OF TERRORISM. The U.S. government currently lists Cuba, Iran, Sudan, and Syria as state sponsors of terrorism, also called terrorist states. The list formerly also included Iraq, Libya, North Korea, and South Yemen. Iraq, which was listed as a state sponsor in the period 1979–1982 and then relisted after its 1990 invasion of Kuwait, was officially delisted on 20 October 2004. Libya was removed from the list on 28 June 2006 as it discontinued its support for terrorist groups and also took steps to discontinue its program to acquire **weapons of mass destruction**. On 26 June 2008 the U.S. government announced its intention to remove North Korea from the list, which was then effected on 11 October 2008 despite perceptions that North Korea was not fully in compliance with conditions for being delisted, in particular, for not releasing Japanese and South Koreans abducted and held by North Korea. South Yemen, the former People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, was automatically delisted in 1990 following its merger on 22 May 1990 with North Yemen, the former Yemen Arab Republic, to form the Republic of Yemen, a non-Marxist regime that has not supported terrorist groups.

This list is maintained and updated pursuant to Section 620A of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, Section 40 of the Arms Export Control Act of 1976, and Section 6 (j) of the Export Administration Act of 1979, and according to factual findings certified by the U.S. Department of State each year. Testimony and evidence are reviewed to determine whether such governments are continuing to provide terrorists with safe haven, travel documents, arms, training, and/or technical expertise and also whether such governments themselves directly engage in terrorism as a tool of domestic and foreign policy. A lower degree of support consists not so much of active cooperation with terrorists but rather a passive tolerance by governments, or **state co-optation**, in which the government chooses to allow terrorists to reside in, travel through, or carry out logistical and recruitment efforts without official hindrance within its sovereign jurisdiction.

In reviewing the status of nations designated as state sponsors of terrorism, the U.S. State Department does not limit itself to considering a given nation's sponsorship of groups abroad but also **state terror** within its borders, its compliance with minimal standards of human and civil rights, and its compliance with measures to prevent the proliferation of **weapons of mass destruction**. Thus, although North Korea was not known to have been engaged in sponsorship of

terrorism since the 29 November 1987 bombing of Korean Air Flight 858, the country continued to be listed due to its involvement in the abduction of Japanese nationals and its harboring of four **Japanese Red Army** terrorists. Its delisting in 2008 was justified by the U.S. Department of State due to steps taken by North Korea to end its nuclear arms program. Although Sudan desisted from allowing the Egyptian **Islamic Group**, the **Munazzamat al Jihad**, and **al Qa'eda** training facilities and **sanctuary** in the 1990s, its continued support of the **Lord's Resistance Army** active in Uganda and its allowing the recruitment of fighters for the Iraqi **insurgency** have caused it to remain on the list of state sponsors. In 2005 the U.S. State Department found that Iran remained the leading state sponsor of terrorism due to its support of **Hezbollah** in Lebanon, **Hamas**, and the **Islamic Jihad** of Palestine, while the **Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps** have been directly involved with such groups as well as the planning and support of terrorist attacks. Syria remained on the list due to its being an active facilitator of Hezbollah in Lebanon, Hamas, Islamic Jihad of Palestine, the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine**, and the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command**. Cuba has remained on the list due to its granting of sanctuary to members of **Basque Fatherland and Liberty** and the **Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia**, as well as U.S. fugitives from justice including former **Black Panthers** and members of the **Black Liberation Army**. *See also* STATE SPONSORSHIP OF TERRORISM.

STATE SPONSORSHIP OF TERRORISM. State sponsorship of terrorism is defined as the support by a nation-state government of terrorist agents, including nonnationals, whether individuals or groups. Such support is counted as state sponsorship when it receives either the explicit sanction or the tacit approval of the ultimate legal and political authorities of the sponsoring regime who, in either case, have sufficient knowledge and approval of the types of activities by its agents and who maintain effective control over these agents. The operational definition of state sponsorship of terrorism developed by the RAND Corporation is as follows: "State sponsorship of terrorism is the active involvement by foreign governments in the training, arming, and providing other logistical and **intelligence** assistance, as well as **sanctuary**, to terrorists for the purpose of carrying out violent acts on behalf of that government

against its enemies. State sponsored terrorism is therefore defined as a form of surrogate warfare.”

Specific forms of support include: financial support intended to underwrite terrorist activities; provision of weapons and/or military training; **intelligence** support needed to carry out actions on behalf of the sponsor; cover facilities, such as safe houses, the use of diplomatic pouches or offices, and false identity documentation including passports and falsified travel itineraries; sanctuary and/or asylum; and **ideological** support in the form of legitimizing propaganda or disinformation activities to maintain the sponsoring state’s plausible deniability.

In developing and expanding the ITERATE (International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events) database, terrorism analyst Edward F. Mickolus has identified five levels of possible state support. First, there is the role played by *intimidated governments*, which in effect allow terrorists to make use of their territory through the host nation’s lack of will or of enforcement capabilities, or due to its fears of retaliation by the terrorists if it dares to oppose them. This is what this dictionary refers to as **state co-optation** of nation-states by terrorist groups. Second is the role of *ideologically supportive regimes*, which do not merely allow terrorists to operate in their territory but fail to **extradite**, arrest, or prosecute known terrorists within their territory and which moreover give moral and rhetorical support to such terrorists. A third level of support is that of *generally facilitative regimes*, which permit terrorist groups to have training facilities in their territory and which give training, arms, and financial support to such groups. The fourth level of support is *incident-specific support* in which the sponsoring state uses its diplomatic facilities and military and intelligence resources to assist groups in carrying out specific actions. Finally, there is the level of *official participation* in which the sponsoring regime uses its own intelligence and security personnel to plan and carry out the operation and to hold hostages seized by the terrorists. *See also* ASYMMETRIC WARFARE; STATE SPONSORS OF TERRORISM.

STATE TERROR. Nation-states can engage in state terrorism, also known as establishment terrorism, by sponsoring nonstate groups to carry out operations against enemies beyond their boundaries or else by creating their own special operations units to carry out terrorist activities as covert actions abroad. National governments can also direct terrorism internally against their own citizens or subject

peoples to subdue political opposition, which may be called state terror to distinguish it from **state sponsorship of terrorism** outside its borders. In its cruder forms, state terror can involve the use of **death squads**, torture, or **genocide**. In more developed and systematized forms, state terror makes extensive use of secret police and informers, some pretense of judicial procedures, and repression involving loss of employment, internal exile, or imprisonment in labor camps. The Soviet Union developed the additional refinement of committing dissidents to psychiatric hospitals for indefinite “treatment.”

Ordinarily such state terror has been viewed by governments of Western liberal democracies as being mainly a human rights problem and as an internal affair of the offending state and is rarely viewed by these governments as a threat to their national security on the order of transnational state sponsorship of terrorism or the terrorism of nonstate groups. Even so, public revulsion over open and notorious state terror often has compelled Western governments to join in international censure as well as diplomatic and economic sanctions against offending states, as they did in imposing sanctions against the pre-1994 South African regime for its apartheid policies.

State terror, however, has also **targeted** émigrés involving state or state-sponsored actors operating outside the borders of the offending state. For example, during 1980 Libyan agents murdered at least 10 anti-**Qaddafi** dissidents in Great Britain and Western Europe. Later such agents also tried to hire **assassins** to kill dissidents within the United States. On 17 April 1984, during anti-Qaddafi demonstrations outside the Libyan embassy in St. James Square, London, members of the Libyan “People’s Bureau” opened fire with automatic weapons on the crowds outside, injuring 11 Libyan protestors and killing a young British policewoman. Such extraterritorial state terror not only violates the sovereignty of other nations as well as the human rights of victims, but also threatens the national security of those nations and the rights of their citizens, who could equally be targeted by virtue of personal or business associations with targeted émigrés. *See also* DEMOCIDE; GENOCIDE; SOUTH AFRICAN STATE AND ANTISTATE TERRORISM.

STERN GANG. *See* LEHI.

STOCKHOLM SYNDROME. Named after a three-day hostage-holding incident in the Stockholm Kreditbank in August 1973

after which it was observed that the former hostages had developed affection and protective attitudes toward their former captors. Psychologists have also termed it “protective affiliation” and “traumatic bonding,” and have explained it as a reaction to feelings of helplessness and total dependence on one’s captors and as an emotional transference that makes the captives view their own well-being as depending on the happiness and well-being of their captors, whom they begin to love as well as to fear. Although this phenomenon was observed in the case of the Stockholm hostages and in the case of the Iranian hostages of the Arab terrorists who occupied the Iranian embassy in London in 1980, it has been long understood by students and practitioners of brainwashing and interrogation techniques. One of the dangers of this syndrome is that former hostages will find themselves unable or unwilling to provide police with information needed to arrest former captors or to provide testimony needed to prosecute apprehended hostage takers. *See also* SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY.

SUDAN PEOPLE’S LIBERATION ARMY (SPLA). The SPLA is a guerrilla group and political party comprising non-Muslim tribal peoples living in the southern parts of Sudan who opposed the policies of the central government, which promoted the use of Arabic at the expense of native languages and imposed an **Islamic fundamentalist** regime upon the nation. Christians and animists, who make up about one-third of Sudan’s population, have repeatedly accused the Sudanese government of deliberate discrimination and **genocidal** policies against them. They had already fought an insurgency from 1954 until 1972, at which time regional autonomy had been granted to them. Fighting resumed in 1983 when the SPLA was formed in reaction to the central government’s attempt to impose Islamic law on the entire nation.

The SPLA began its career during the rule of Ja’far Nimeiry (1969–1985), a pro-Western president who began to implement Islamic law to build support among Islamic fundamentalists and to offset criticism of his pro-Western stance. During this time the SPLA found support from **Muammar Qaddafi**, one of Nimeiry’s enemies. Under President General Omar Hasan al Bashir, the National Islamic Front, a group affiliated with the **Muslim Brotherhood**, intensified the government’s Islamic fundamentalist policies. During the period from 1983 to 2001, the SPLA committed 14 noteworthy terrorist

incidents. Seven of these involved **kidnappings** of Western foreigners, usually aid workers, technicians, or missionaries. In most cases the kidnap victims were released within a month or less. On 15 November 1983, the SPLA decided to hold 11 kidnapped technicians as hostages. On 2 February 1984, the SPLA attacked a barge carrying foreign technicians building a canal for the Sudanese government, killing three and injuring seven others. On 16 August 1986, the SPLA downed a domestic Sudanese air carrier with a SAM-7 missile, killing all 57 passengers and three crewmen.

Starting in 1990, under the supervision of Iranian **Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps** advisers, the National Islamic Front began building its own militia, the People's Defense Force, which was then deployed against the southern rebels. In addition, Sudan has retaliated against Uganda for supporting the SPLA by supporting an antigovernment group in northern Uganda known as the **Lord's Resistance Army**. Because of Sudan's involvement in supporting Islamist rebel movements in Eritrea and Ethiopia, both of these governments have allowed their territories to be used as staging areas for the SPLA and other rebel forces. Beginning in 1991 the SPLA formed an alliance with northern opposition groups in fighting the Sudanese regime.

By 1995 more than one million people had died due to famine associated with the war. Over two million people have been displaced in the government-controlled northern part of Sudan, more than 650,000 have been displaced in the south, and another 200,000 people have fled into neighboring countries. In July 1996 the Sudanese government lifted a ban on flights into the rebel-controlled zone in order to allow the World Food Programme to fly in a C-130 cargo plane to drop food supplies into Bahr el-Ghazal Province, where a half-million people faced starvation. During late 1996 Bill Richardson, then a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from New Mexico, negotiated the release of three Red Cross workers held prisoner by a rebel faction led by Kerubino Kwanyin Bol, who was also at war with the dominant SPLA rebel faction, led by John Garang.

On 12 January 1997 both the SPLA, led by Garang, and the northern opposition Ummrah group, led by the former prime minister, Sadiq al-Mahdi, ousted in 1989, coordinated attacks and threatened the hydroelectric installation at Damazin on the Blue Nile, some 255 miles south of Khartoum, which supplied most of the capital's electric power. In late 1997, seven key rebel leaders, including Riek Machar, who

controlled the southern region around the town of Nasir bordering Ethiopia, signed separate peace agreements with the Sudanese government, concluding negotiations carried out by the Sudanese vice president, Lieutenant General al-Zubeir Mohammad Saleh, but these were not implemented due to Saleh's death on 12 February 1998. In May 1998 representatives of the Sudanese government and SPLA met in Nairobi, Kenya, for peace negotiations, which produced an agreement in principle to allow a referendum under international supervision in the south in two years to allow the people there to decide on the issue of self-determination. Both sides did not reach a truce, however, until 15 July 1998, when a three-month cease-fire was arranged to allow emergency food relief for the famine-stricken Bahr el-Ghazal Province.

In May 2004 the SPLA undertook a cease-fire with the Sudanese government and resumed negotiations that led to a peace agreement on 9 January 2005 granting effective autonomy to southern Sudan. On 9 July 2005 Garang was sworn in as vice president of Sudan under a constitutional arrangement making him de facto leader of southern Sudan, but on 30 July 2005 he was killed in the crash of a Ugandan Mi-172 helicopter while returning from a visit with President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda. He was succeeded by Salva Kir Mayardit, who became commander-in-chief of the SPLA and vice president of Sudan and the effective leader of southern Sudan. While the SPLA formed a coalition with the National Congress Party of President Omar Hasan al-Bashir as part of the 2005 peace agreement, in which one-third of cabinet positions were held by SPLA members, the SPLA withdrew from the unity government on 11 October 2007, citing what it claimed were violations of the peace agreement by the central Sudanese government.

At its height the SPLA had 60,000 armed members. Its last known terrorist attack occurred on 23 August 2001 with the **bombing** of an oil pipeline in eastern Sudan. It is not designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization by the U.S. State Department nor regarded as a Proscribed Group under the British **Terrorism Act of 2000**.

SUICIDE TERRORISM. Suicide terrorism generally has consisted of **bombings** in which the bomber willingly sacrifices himself or herself by carrying a bomb, or driving an explosives-laden vehicle, to a **target** and then detonating the explosive device, knowing that he or she will be killed along with the intended victims. While this is a tactic specifically associated with **Islamic fundamentalist** groups,

in fact non-Muslim groups in the Middle East have also used it, as well as the **Irish Republican Army** (IRA) in Northern Ireland. The motive for the suicide bomber need not be religious or **ideological** zeal: **Syrian Social Nationalist Party** (SSNP) suicide bombers were often motivated by personal shame and the desire to redeem one's honor, while the typical IRA suicide bomber was an exposed informant whose family was threatened with death unless he performed the mission and who would face summary execution by the IRA in any case if he did not perform the mission.

Suicide bombings have been associated mainly with Middle Eastern terrorism, both in the 1980s in Lebanon and as of 1994 in Israel and the occupied territories, when **Hamas** and **Islamic Jihad** in Palestine adopted this tactic with great effect, leading the more secular and nationalist group **al Fatah** to develop its own **al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade**. The Arabic designation from the Arabic word *intihar*, meaning "suicide," for suicide volunteers is in the singular *Intihari*, and in the plural *Intiharioun*, terms used among **Hezbollah** militiamen for people willing to undertake suicide attacks, usually as drivers of vehicle bombs. The truck-bomb attacks on the U.S. embassy in Beirut on 18 April 1983 and against the U.S. Marine encampment at Beirut International Airport on 23 October 1983 both involved intihari drivers, with credit for these attacks being claimed by Islamic Jihad, a *nom de guerre* for Hezbollah.

Although intihari attacks have been rationalized as a form of Islamic martyrdom, even Islamic clergymen supportive of Hezbollah, such as Muhammad Hussain Fadlullah, have pointed out that deliberate suicide is contrary to Islamic law, whereas bona fide martyrdom, or *ishtihad*, involves death that is both unavoidable and unsought. Following the withdrawal of U.S. and French multinational units from Lebanon, Hezbollah apparently switched to **kidnapping** hostages as its preferred **tactic** for ridding Lebanon of Western influence and later extensively used remotely detonated roadside bombs against Israeli Defense Forces units in southern Lebanon rather than intihari volunteers. Following the release of Western hostages in December 1991, Hezbollah again resumed car-bomb attacks with the 17 March 1992 bombing of the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires and the 18 July 1994 attack on the Argentine-Israeli Mutual Aid society, also in Buenos Aires, which both involved suicide bombers. On 12 April 1996 there was an attempted suicide bombing by Hezbollah in Jerusalem that

went awry when the bomb prematurely detonated, leaving the would-be bomber alive, so clearly Hezbollah has not completely renounced the use of this tactic.

Intihari attacks are not a monopoly of Shi'ite militias. The Syrian Social Nationalist Party has developed and deployed its own corps of intiharioun, while in 1987 the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command** (PFLP-GC) deployed intihari hang-glider attacks against Israeli forces in Lebanon and settlements in Galilee. The Mujahideen-i Khalq have also used intiharioun to kill government officials and proregime clergymen in Iran. The **Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam** have made extensive use of suicide bombers, one of whom succeeded in **assassinating** former Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi in Tamil Nadu State on 21 May 1991.

On 4 October 1994 Hamas made its first use of suicide terrorism with a car-bomb attack on a group of Israeli soldiers and in April 1994 began to use this tactic against civilian targets as well. According to interviews of Professor Joseph Ginat with would-be Hamas suicide bombers who failed to accomplish their missions, the suicide bomber is usually an ill-educated but pious Muslim male burdened with a sense of personal sin due to use of alcohol or illicit sexual conduct who believes he cannot atone for his failings through the usual prescribed prayers, fasting, or pilgrimage. The Hamas sheikh, or Muslim spiritual leader, offers him the suicide mission as an opportunity for plenary absolution of his personal sins through his self-sacrifice. In addition, the intending intihari is told that the personal sins of all members of his extended family will also be atoned for through his act of self-sacrifice. Part of this preparation would involve his being led through a Muslim cemetery by his spiritual guide, who would tell him that he, the bomber, no longer faced the uncertainties associated with death and dying since he would be instantly transported to paradise at the moment of his martyrdom and would bear neither the ordinary pains and fear of dying nor be subject to the torments of the *barzakh*, the transitional purgatory whose pains even pious Muslims must endure but that is waived in the case of martyrs. Professor Ginat's interviews with surviving suicide bombers are shown in the documentary films *Shaheed* and *Diary of a Terrorist*.

The most serious suicide attacks to date have been the **World Trade Center and Pentagon Attacks of September 11, 2001**, in which **hijackers** affiliated with the **al Qa'eda** terrorist network of

Osama bin Laden hijacked four U.S. airline passenger flights and succeeded in using three of these planes as flying bombs that they flew into the twin towers of the World Trade Center and into one side of the Pentagon. The planners of these attacks understood that the full fuel tanks of these planes would make them effective incendiary bombs capable of destroying the structural integrity of the steel girders of the twin towers and so able to bring these buildings down. Suicide bombers present an unusual challenge for antiterrorism officials because most countermeasures ordinarily depend on deterring terrorists through a natural fear of death or other punishment, whereas the suicide volunteer has already embraced death.

Following the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks, Robert A. Pape of the University of Chicago published the results of his quantitative analysis of suicide for the period 1980–2001 in “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism” (*American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 [August 2003]: 20–32), in which he established five findings: First, suicide terrorism has been rationally adopted by a variety of terrorist groups as an effective means of coercing political concessions. It is not a monopoly of Islamic fundamentalists, for Pape found that 43 percent of the perpetrators were motivated by secular ideologies rather than religious fundamentalism. Second, most suicide terrorist campaigns have been pursued to achieve specific territorial objectives. Third, suicide terrorism has been on the rise due to its effectiveness in gaining results. Pape notes among such successes the removal of U.S. and French forces from Lebanon in 1983, the removal of Israeli troops from Lebanon in 1985, the removal of Israeli forces from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, and the Sri Lankan concessions to Tamil separatists from 1990 onward. The one case Pape noted in which suicide terrorism has not paid off was the **Kurdistan Workers’ Party** (PKK) suicide campaign in Turkey, which actually led to greater Turkish repression of Kurdish separatists with no visible gains for the PKK. Fourth, Pape noted that suicide terrorism with more limited **targeting** (i.e., directed toward military and political targets) tended to be more successful than suicide terrorism resulting in indiscriminant killings of civilians. Finally, Pape noted that suicide terrorism seemed to be most effectively countered by measures that reduced the terrorists’ confidence in being able to conduct their attacks successfully. Pape later expanded his quantitative study to include suicide attacks in the period 2001–2005 in his

book *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2006). Bruce Hoffman also outlined the successes and vulnerabilities of the tactic of suicide terrorism in his article “The Logic of Suicide Terrorism” in the *Atlantic Monthly* (June 2003: 40–47), in which he noted the spectacular rise of suicide attacks in Israel following the outbreak of the September 2000 second **intifada** in which more than half of the 750 Israeli deaths since 2000 have been caused by suicide bombings. Hoffman noted that effective counterterrorism **intelligence** by the Israeli Shin Bet (General Security Service) was able to reduce the incidence of suicide attacks by identification of the terrorist infrastructure, including intihari handlers as well as volunteers, so allowing effective preemption of suicide operations before suicide bombers can cross over into Israeli territory. In any case, since 2004 there has been a marked decline in Palestinian suicide operations against Israeli targets. Another research finding has been that Israeli targeting and killing of the leaders of Hamas and Islamic Jihad of Palestine either in retaliation for suicide operations or else preemption of them was much less effective in reducing the recruitment of suicide volunteers than the mere arrest and indefinite preventive detention of leaders of Palestinian groups responsible for suicide operations. *See also* RATIONAL CHOICE THEORY.

SUPERGRASS SYSTEM. The term “supergrass” evolved from London slang dating to the 1930s to refer to informers who were viewed as being “snakes in the grass.” In the 1970s English journalists then coined the term “supergrass” to refer to high-profile mobsters who had turned into informants against London’s organized crime syndicates in order to receive reduced sentences. Beginning in 1981, British authorities in Northern Ireland resorted to the general **tactic** of turning a captured suspected terrorist, facing substantial charges, into a prosecution witness with immunity from prosecution for his own crimes if he would denounce, and testify in court against, several of his erstwhile colleagues. The arrest of **Irish Republican Army** (IRA) member Christopher Black in 1981 resulted in his turning into a supergrass informant, leading to the arrests of 38 IRA suspects and the conviction of 22 of them in August 1983. By the end of 1982 another 25 supergrass informants led to the arrests of more than 600 suspected members of the IRA, the **Irish National Liberation Army**, and the **Ulster Volunteer Force**. Although both the Irish

Republican terrorist groups and the Ulster Protestant militias had harsh codes of silence and enacted severe punishments, including executions, against people regarded as willing informers, these terrorist organizations had also begun to attract scores of quasi-criminal recruits motivated more by the gains of extortion from belonging to these groups than by **ideology**. When arrested, such mercenary recruits could be turned into informers much more easily than was the case with the more ideologically committed terrorists captured in the early years of the renewed Irish troubles.

This system has used trials without juries, known as the **Diplock courts**, and the uncorroborated testimony of one witness to effect scores of convictions. While many of these convictions have been overturned on appeal, the tactic has sowed much distrust, mutual re-creminations, and internal discord within the affected Republican and Loyalist terrorist groups and so hampered their efficiency. By 1985 authorities in Northern Ireland discontinued the supergrass system when it became evident that most convictions obtained on the basis of supergrass informant testimony were being overturned.

SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY (SLA). The SLA was a revolutionary **anarchistic leftist** group in California that won notoriety with its **kidnapping** on 4 February 1974 of Patricia Hearst, daughter of newspaper publisher William R. Hearst Jr. The SLA brainwashed Ms. Hearst, who then, assuming the revolutionary sobriquet of “Tanya,” became an active participant in their bank robberies and **bombings**. A nationwide dragnet for Ms. Hearst and the SLA led police to an SLA safe house in Los Angeles, where six SLA members, including their leader Nancy Ling Perry, perished on 17 May 1974 when police tear-gas canisters caused the safe house to burn to the ground. Patricia Hearst was later arrested in September 1975 and tried and convicted for her role in one of the group’s bank robberies.

Prior to Hearst’s kidnapping, the SLA had **assassinated** Dr. Marcus Foster, the superintendent of education of Oakland, California, on 6 November 1973 by shooting both him and his assistant, Robert Blackburn, with cyanide-tipped bullets. Blackburn was seriously injured but not killed; the two SLA members responsible for this attack were arrested on 10 January 1974 and later convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. The subsequent kidnapping of Patty Hearst was originally conceived as a means of pressuring authorities

to release the two imprisoned SLA members. On 15 April 1974 the SLA robbed the Hibernia Bank in San Francisco of around \$10,000, and Patty Hearst appeared to be a participant. During her trial her defense team argued that she was not culpable for her actions due to brainwashing. An expert witness, Dr. Margaret T. Singer, a clinical psychologist and expert on brainwashing, testified in defense of Patty Hearst that her apparent conversion and recruitment into the SLA was due to **Stockholm syndrome**, a claim that failed to convince the jury, which convicted her of armed robbery on 20 March 1976. Hearst served only 21 months of a seven-year sentence that was commuted by President Jimmy Carter. Hearst was later pardoned by President Bill Clinton.

Other members of the SLA included James Kilgore, Josephine Bortin, Martin Bortin, and William and Emily Harris. Josephine Bortin was in fact the sister of Kathleen Soliah, one of the original members of the SLA who went underground and who surrendered to authorities only on 16 June 1999 after her profile was broadcast on the television program "America's Most Wanted." On 21 April 1975 the SLA robbed a bank in Carmichael, California, in the course of which they killed a customer, Myrna Opsahl. According to Patty Hearst, James Kilgore, an erstwhile member of the **New World Liberation Front**, had participated in this robbery. Kilgore was also a suspect in the bombing of the car of two sheriff's deputies at the Marin County Civic Center in 1974. In part to throw authorities off track, the SLA members began to use the name of another leftist group, the New World Liberation Front, with which they had no direct link. Actually, very little is known about what connections, if any, the SLA had with other contemporary leftist groups.

Kathleen Soliah was arrested in 1999 and pleaded guilty to possession of explosives, for which she received a prison term of 14 years. James Kilgore was arrested in South Africa on 8 November 2002 and **extradited** to the United States. On 14 February 2003 Soliah, Martin Bortin, William Harris, and Emily Harris were convicted for the 1975 slaying of Myrna Opsahl and each received sentences of seven to eight years' imprisonment. On 26 April 2006 James Kilgore was sentenced to a prison term of four and one-half years on explosives charges and for passport fraud. He also faced possible prosecution for his involvement in the Opsahl slaying.

SYRIAN SOCIAL NATIONALIST PARTY (SSNP). The al-Hizb as-Suri al-Qawmi al-Ijtima'i, or SSNP, was a Lebanese **ethnonationalist** militia dedicated to the incorporation of Lebanon into "Greater Syria," encompassing all of Syria, Jordan, Israel, much of Iraq and Turkey, and the island of Cyprus. The SSNP was founded in November 1932 by a Lebanese Christian intellectual, Antun Sa'adeh, as a right-wing political party modeled on the German Nazi party, whose core members were largely derived from Antiochian Orthodox Christian backgrounds. Suppressed by the Lebanese government after an unsuccessful coup attempt in 1961, it eventually evolved into a militia under Syrian **state sponsorship** with an anti-Israeli and anti-Western agenda similar to those of the Palestinian terrorist groups under Syrian control.

The SSNP undertook many terrorist attacks in the 1980s, including the **bombing** of the **Phalangists'** Beirut headquarters, killing president-elect Bashir Gemayel on 14 September 1982. The SSNP also specialized in car-bombing attacks against Israeli targets in southern Lebanon. The SSNP recruited young Arab women, often pregnant out of wedlock, whom they indoctrinated to become **suicide bombers**. The Syrian state broadcasting service often aired videotaped political testaments of such bombers the day after they accomplished their mission. By 1987 the Israeli Defense Forces had come to view the SSNP suicide car bombers as much more lethal than the **Hezbollah** suicide car bombers. The SSNP is also believed to be responsible for the bombing of Trans World Airlines (TWA) Flight 840 from Rome to Athens on 2 April 1986, which resulted in the deaths of only four passengers since the pilot was able to land the plane despite the damage caused by the bomb.

In 1987 the SSNP split into two factions and experienced internecine conflict until 2000, when the factions reunited under Syrian pressure and joined forces with Hezbollah and Amal in attacks on Israel Defense Forces units in southern Lebanon. In 2005 the SSNP regained legal recognition and participated in the 29 May–20 June 2005 Lebanese parliamentary elections, in which it won two seats in the National Assembly as part of the Resistance and Development Bloc as a coalition partner along with Amal and Hezbollah. The SSNP also has a branch within Syria, where it participates in politics as a junior coalition partner with the Syrian Ba'athist Party. The group is no longer considered an active terrorist organization.

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TACTICS OF TERRORISM. Brian Jenkins of the RAND Corporation has identified six primary terrorist tactics: armed assault, **assassination**, **bombing** and/or **arson**, **kidnapping**, **hijacking**, and hostage taking. The distinction between kidnapping and hostage taking is that the former usually involves capturing a victim who is transported to a secret and safe holding location, while hostage seizures instead involve barricade situations in which the hostage takers and their victims are in a known location. An example of kidnapping would be the kidnapping of former Italian prime minister Aldo Moro by the **Red Brigades**, while an example of hostage taking would be the **Peruvian Japanese embassy hostage crisis** of 1997 perpetrated by the **Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement**. As the distinction between kidnapping and hostage taking appears to be in the accidental circumstances of the seizing of the victim, whereas the essential terrorist action is that of depriving a person of individual liberty with the threat of death or bodily harm, this dictionary considers hostage taking to be just a special case of kidnapping.

Jenkins describes the following as “facilitating crimes” rather than primary tactics: extortion, blackmail, bribery, money laundering, racketeering, drug-trafficking or bootlegging, and smuggling. While these activities may help to finance or to protect the terrorist group, they are unsuitable in themselves to serve as acts of **armed propaganda** since they undermine the legitimacy and credibility that the terrorist group seeks.

TAHRIR AL ISLAMI, AL (HT). The Hizb al Tahrir al Islami, or Islamic Liberation Party, was originally an Egyptian **Islamic fundamentalist** group that developed out of the **Muslim Brotherhood** but which has since spread into more than 40 countries, including Great Britain, Australia, Malaysia, Indonesia, and several European and Central Asian nations. Within Uzbekistan there is some evidence of the HT having overlapping memberships with the **Islamic Movement of Turkistan**. With the suppression of the Muslim Brotherhood within Egypt following the failed **assassination** attempt upon Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser in 1954, thousands of the Brothers fled Egypt for other Arab lands. In Amman the Muslim Brotherhood became a strong presence in the University of Jordan

among both students and faculty. Sheikh Taqieddin al Nabhani, a former judge of the Islamic law court of Haifa, who settled in Nablus under Jordanian control following the 1948 war, founded the Islamic Liberation Party in 1953, which came to include many members of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan. This party went beyond the Muslim Brotherhood in teaching the necessity of seizing state power, eliminating rival parties, and imposing observance of Islamic law by force. While the HT remains banned in Egypt, it maintains an underground presence there, while its central organization is now located in Lebanon where it enjoys status as a legal political party.

After Nasser's death in 1970, the new Egyptian president, Anwar Sadat, released those Muslim Brothers still imprisoned within Egypt and allowed exiled Egyptian members of the Brotherhood to return to Egypt. A Jordanian of Palestinian origin named Salih Siriya formed cells of the Islamic Liberation Party in Cairo, recruiting around 140 members. On 18 April 1974 Siriya and 20 armed followers took over the Egyptian Military Technical College in the Heliopolis suburb of Cairo, killing 11 and injuring 27 people. The group apparently wanted to assassinate Sadat, who had been scheduled to visit the college, as a first step in fomenting a popular Islamic uprising. Siriya had visited Libyan leader **Muammar Qaddafi** in June 1973 and received funds to overthrow Sadat. In 1976 Siriya and his chief aide were executed for their roles in this uprising. In 1977 al Nabhani died in Lebanon and was succeeded by Abdul-Qadim Zallum, who in turn was succeeded upon his death in 2003 by Ata Khalil Abu-Rashta. Despite former Libyan support for the HT, Libyan agents assassinated a Libyan HT leader in London on 11 April 1980 while arresting and killing known HT members in Libya from 1980 onward.

The HT rejects both capitalism and democracy and seeks to reestablish a Pan-Islamic caliphate to enforce Islamic law within all Muslim nations. While the HT is known to have resorted to arms only on four occasions, with coup attempts in Jordan and Syria in 1969 and in Egypt in 1974, and one attack on Libyan diplomats in Lebanon in 1985, for most of its history it has concentrated instead on building branches in various nations and recruiting and indoctrinating new members. Although the government of Uzbekistan blamed the HT for several bombings in 2004, neither the United States nor Great Britain could confirm those claims; therefore, the HT has not been designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization by the United States

nor has it been banned in Great Britain, where it has been actively engaged in demonstrations against the United States and the government of Tony Blair as well as seeking to increase its presence and influence among Britain's large Muslim population. Authorities in both Great Britain and Germany have investigated the HT on allegations of illegal hate-mongering or **hate crimes** while Russia banned the HT as a terrorist organization in 2003. Despite a Pakistani ban on the group in 2004, the ban has since been lifted and the HT was active within Pakistan in agitating against the government of former president Pervez Musharraf and also U.S. and British interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Following both the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001** and the **London Underground bombings of 7 July 2005**, the British branch of the HT published declarations condemning those attacks as contrary to Islamic law for their **targeting** of civilians, to which the **al Qa'eda**-affiliated **Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group** issued a statement denouncing the HT as being insufficiently Islamic in its commitment.

TAKFIR. This is the Islamic judicial act of declaring someone, or something, to be a *kaffir*, one who deliberately rejects the true faith. Under traditional Islamic law the penalty for deliberate apostasy is death. The Sunni and Shi'ite doctors of religious law reserved for themselves the right to issue religious decrees of *takfir* against those Muslims they deemed to be apostates or enemies of Islam. Such a declaration announced the religious permissibility, and even the duty, of the faithful Muslim with means and opportunity to execute the death penalty against the excommunicated person. When the head of a Muslim state is thus anathematized, the decree in effect authorizes a coup d'état or **revolution** to remove the impious ruler.

The use of takfir has come into prominence twice in the recent history of terrorism. Using an interpretation of takfir developed by the medieval Muslim scholar Ibn Tamiyyah, **Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman**, the religious leader of the Egyptian **Munazzamat al Jihad** group, issued a decree of takfir against Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in 1980. Jihad activists accordingly **assassinated** Sadat on 6 October 1981. On 14 February 1989 **Ayatollah Ruhallah Khomeini** issued a decree of takfir against the Indian-born British author Salman Rushdie for the writing and publication of *The Satanic Verses*, a

novel deemed to libel the character of the Prophet Muhammad and to insult Islam. Khomeini's takfir was later expanded in scope to include the foreign publishers and distributors of *The Satanic Verses* as well as any who gave Rushdie comfort and aid. Reading or possessing the offensive work was also proscribed, and the Iranian government offered a bounty to anyone, Muslim or non-Muslim, who would enforce the decree against Rushdie. This was unusual because ordinarily decrees of takfir are not issued against people or institutions that were never previously Muslim, while obeying such a decree was also neither expected nor demanded of non-Muslims.

On 29 March 1989 'Abdallah Ahdal, the rector of a mosque in Brussels, was murdered for refusing to endorse Khomeini's takfir. On 3 July 1991 Ettore Capriolo, the Italian translator of Rushdie's book, was stabbed in Milan. On 12 July 1991 Hitoshi Igarashi, the Japanese translator of the book, was stabbed to death in Tokyo. On 11 October 1993 William Nygaard, the Norwegian publisher of the book, was shot three times in the back outside his home in Oslo but survived. Several incidents of **arson** against bookstores carrying the anathematized book occurred in the United States and Great Britain. Also, whereas ordinarily the decree of takfir would be automatically nullified by the open and sincere repentance of the excommunicated person, Khomeini specified that the takfir against Rushdie was irrevocable since his offense was deemed unpardonable.

TAKFIR WAL HIGRAH. The Jama'at al Muslimin (Muslim Society) was a Sunni Muslim Salafi, or purist, offshoot of the **Muslim Brotherhood** that advocated total rejection of the contemporary Egyptian social and political system in favor of an **Islamic fundamentalist** state. The more familiar name of Takfir wal Higrāh, or Atonement and Flight (more literally, Excommunication and Exodus), was given to it by Egyptian security organs as more descriptive of its beliefs and practices. Its leader, Shukri Ahmad Mustafa, demanded that members renounce what he regarded as deviations from pure Islam and that they try to remove themselves physically from the midst of an apostate society by living in the desert or in more traditional towns not "corrupted" by the westernization occurring under the free trade and investment policies of Anwar Sadat.

Members of this group took advantage of antigovernment food riots on 18–19 January 1977 to ransack and burn the nightclubs

and casinos that had sprung up as a result of the open-door policies of Sadat. After a government crackdown on all groups critical of Sadat, whether leftist or fundamentalist, about 60 members of this group were imprisoned. In return, on 3 July 1977 Mustafa and some followers kidnapped a former minister of religious affairs, Sheikh Muhammad Hussayn Dhahabi, and demanded the release of their brethren. The government refused their demands. After Dhahabi's body was found on 7 July, Egyptian security forces cracked down on the society, with six people killed and 57 injured in the fighting that ensued. Eventually about 620 members of the group were arrested, including Mustafa and four other key leaders, who were tried and executed in March 1978.

The group had around 5,000 total adherents, many of whom lived in the Upper Egyptian city of Asyut, a stronghold of Islamic fundamentalism. While some aid came to the group from Libya, most of the group's resources came from expatriate Egyptians sympathetic to the group. In October 1981 the organization claimed responsibility for the murder of Anwar Sadat, which actually was accomplished by a different fundamentalist group, the **Munazzamat al Jihad**.

TALIBAN. From Arabic, *Talib*, for “seeker,” with the Persian/Dari *-an* plural ending, generic term for Muslim theological seminary students and also used to designate the group that came to rule most of Afghanistan in the period 1999–2001. The Taliban movement began in September 1994 among the students of Mullah Muhammad Omar of Qandahar who were dissatisfied with the arbitrary rule of the remnant **Mujahideen** factions. By 27 September 1996 the Taliban captured Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, and by the end of 1999 held most of the country, although some northern parts were still loyal to other Afghan leaders. The Taliban are Afghani **Islamic fundamentalist** adherents of Deobandism, an austere and puritanical branch of Sunni Islam similar to Wahhabism that anathematizes any accommodation or synthesis between traditional Islamic law and more contemporary legal and political forms and which also denounces Shi'ite Islam as being heretical or even apostate. Thus, unlike the Islamic rulers of Iran, the Taliban have dispensed with any pretense of a written secular-style constitution, democracy, elections, or judicial equality of the sexes.

The Taliban are connected to terrorism on several counts. They granted **sanctuary** in their territory to “Afghan” veteran fundamen-

talist groups, such as **Osama bin Laden's al Qa'eda** group, to train and equip themselves for attacks in nations outside Afghanistan. The Taliban steadfastly refused to obey U.S. or Saudi Arabian demands to **extradite** bin Laden. Second, there was evidence of collusion between the Taliban and Pakistani security forces in promoting Muslim **Kashmiri separatists** operating in the Indian-controlled portion of Jammu and Kashmir. Finally, after having been overthrown in Afghanistan by U.S.-led forces in late 2001 following their refusal to turn over Osama bin Laden after the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**, they have continued to fight U.S.-led forces within Afghanistan as well as Pakistani security forces in the northwestern tribal areas of Pakistan and are believed to be behind terrorist activities within Pakistan, including the **assassination** of former Pakistani prime minister Benazir Bhutto on 27 December 2007.

Following the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks, President George W. Bush called upon the Taliban on 17 September 2001 to surrender Osama bin Laden and other members of his al Qa'eda network to U.S. authorities. After the Taliban refused to do so, the United States launched operations on 7 October 2001 against Taliban and al Qa'eda forces within Afghanistan. After six weeks of heavy U.S. air strikes, forces of the Northern Alliance advanced and occupied Mazar-i Sharif on 9 November and Herat on 11 November, and entered Kabul by 13 November following the retreat of Taliban forces. By mid-November, the Taliban were abandoning the cities and towns of Afghanistan and apparently regrouping in the mountains or fleeing the scene.

Taliban forces were estimated to be 30,000 to 40,000 fighters prior to the U.S.-led invasion in October 2001. It is estimated that at least 10,000 Taliban forces were killed during the operations leading to the capture of Qandahar, after which most Taliban forces dispersed into the Afghan countryside or fled into the neighboring tribal regions of northern and southern Waziristan in Pakistan. During 2002 about 1,500 people, mainly Afghan civilians, were killed by Taliban and al Qa'eda forces. During 2003–2004 the Taliban appeared to be on the defensive and without any coherent strategy, while the new Afghan government appeared to be consolidating stability and legitimacy.

Beginning in 2005, however, the Taliban and al Qa'eda forces began a resurgence with numerous attacks on Afghani and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces under the command of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) created in 2003.

These attacks involved numerous **suicide bombings**, use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) or rocket attacks, and much-improved tactical cunning apparently due to emergent **intelligence** based on the experiences of Islamist and other **insurgents** fighting U.S.-led forces in Iraq. In 2005 at least 1,300 civilians and combatants were killed, while in 2006 monthly attacks by Taliban forces increased fourfold, leading to between 3,700 and 4,000 deaths, of which about 1,000 were Taliban and al Qa'eda forces and 100 were ISAF troops, while the remainder were civilian casualties.

Estimates of Taliban forces by late 2006 ran as high as 40,000, but approximately 25–50 percent of the renewed Taliban forces appeared to consist of Pakistani recruits supplementing the largely Pushtun ethnic base of the group, causing some analysts to speak of a “neo-Taliban.” Another disturbing development is that many previous non-Taliban Afghan citizens and tribal leaders, who previously had been hostile to the Taliban or else were holding back to see which groups would emerge as winners in the current Afghan conflict, have begun to side with the Taliban for opportunistic reasons. One key motivation for their siding with the Taliban has been the latter's willingness to permit local warlords, farmers, and drug dealers to produce and market opium, in defiance of Afghan government policy, on which the Taliban levy a 20 percent tax to finance buying of weapons, paying of new recruits, and paying of bounties to the families of suicide bombers. Despite a failed offensive from July to October 2006 to regain control of their former de facto capital of Qandahar, by November 2007 the Taliban had effectively regained a permanent presence in 54 percent of the territory of Afghanistan.

Political developments both within and outside Afghanistan appear to have been turning in favor of the Taliban. Within Pakistan, the government of President Pervez Musharraf, itself under siege by both democratic and Islamist opponents, had largely backed away from offensive operations against Taliban and al Qa'eda forces in the northwestern Federally Administered Tribal Areas after negotiating a truce in February 2007 with Baitullah Mehsud, leader of the Pakistani branch of the Taliban movement. By September 2007 Afghan President Hamid Karzai had raised the possibility of negotiations with the Taliban, in part due to pressure from the Afghan Senate to do so. This move comes apparently in response to changing public opinion among Afghans, who have become more resigned to the

likelihood that the Taliban will continue to be an effective force within the nation and that peace can come only through some form of reconciliation or inclusion of the Taliban in some form of a coalition government. An Environics Group poll conducted in 2006 revealed that while 73 percent of Afghans nationwide had negative views of the Taliban, at least 74 percent favored negotiations with the group while 54 percent were willing to support a coalition government with them. President Karzai rationalized his offer to negotiate with the Taliban as a means of splitting apart the more opportunistic Taliban from their more ideological hard-core base. However, the Taliban leaders have refused such offers of negotiation or reconciliation so long as foreign forces remain within the country.

TAMIL TIGERS. Name used by more than 25 different Tamil guerrilla organizations fighting the Sinhalese-dominated government of Sri Lanka. The youth league of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) political party, founded on 14 May 1972, attracted younger, more militant Tamils, who founded the Tamil New Tigers as a more activist clique within the youth league. On 5 May 1976 the Tamil New Tigers reconstituted themselves separately from the TULF as the **Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)**. Approximately 25 different unrelated “Tiger” organizations have appeared since the LTTE began. The LTTE and its rival Tamil Tiger groups engaged in internecine battling from May 1986 to September 1987. By April 1989 the LTTE and the remnants of three other Tiger organizations formed an umbrella group, the Eelam National Liberation Front. The LTTE and other Tamil Tiger groups had enjoyed the **state sponsorship** of Tamil Nadu State in India, but such support ended after the Tamil Tiger groups began attacking Indian army forces sent to Sri Lanka to restore order.

TARGETS AND TARGETING. Terrorism is distinguished from other forms of political violence, such as conventional warfare and guerrilla warfare, in that it is largely carried out by people other than the official military personnel of a nation-state, and also by the tendency of terrorists to attack civilian rather than military targets. The targeting is intended not simply to harm the immediate victims but also to capture and manipulate a target audience through which the terrorists will direct their political demands. Government buildings, military installations, and high-security facilities, such as nuclear power plants, which have armed guards, surveillance perimeters,

fences, walls, barbed wire, or other special barriers, are difficult to attack or to invade and are known as “hard” targets. By contrast, schools, places of worship, shopping malls, or open-air markets, which are frequented by civilians who are largely defenseless and whose premises themselves offer little protection against machine-gun fire or **bombings**, are “soft” targets attractive to terrorists.

Target selection criteria include the following: visibility, vulnerability, shock value, maximum disruption, effect in eroding opposition to the terrorist perpetrator, and ability to provoke government overreaction. Visibility requires targets that will command media coverage and so multiply the psychological impact on the secondary target audience, the foremost example of which would be the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**. Vulnerable targets include large gatherings of defenseless civilians or sensitive technologies, such as airplanes or electrical power grid systems. Shock value can be illustrated by attacks on iconic institutions or events, an example being the **Munich massacre** that occurred during the 1972 Summer Olympics. Maximum disruption can be illustrated by the shutdown of transportation caused by the **London Underground bombings** of 2005 and the **Madrid railway bombings** of 2004. The effect of undermining opposition to the terrorist perpetrator is illustrated by the effective use of the **dirty war** campaign by the Argentinean military against leftist insurgents, even though this was a case of **state terror** rather than terrorism by a nonstate group. Finally the effect of provoking government overreaction can be seen in the Canadian government’s imposition of the War Measures Act in 1970 to crush the **Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ)**, which had the effect of alienating many non-FLQ French Canadians and giving more impetus to separatist sentiments within Quebec.

Originally airplanes, federal courthouses, places of business, parking lots, and underground garages were soft targets and consequently become the objects of **hijackings**, hostage-barricade situations, or **bombings**. The obvious antiterrorism response was to “harden” such targets either by making them less accessible to terrorists, by making them less vulnerable to the effects of an attack, or by providing them with means of self-defense. Airplanes cannot be easily hardened to withstand direct bomb or missile attacks without making them too heavy to fly, so preemption by screening passengers and luggage for weapons or bombs has become standard practice in most developed

nations while onboard security in the form of covert guards, such as the U.S. **Sky Marshal Program**, also serves to deter hijacking.

New U.S. embassies and federal courthouses are now designed without underground garages but with parking lots separated from the main building by terraced expanses of grass that prevent vehicles from being driven up to, or into, the sides of the building. They also have smaller window spaces and Mylar coatings on their windows to reduce the effects of imploding glass shards and have also incorporated multiple independent foundations and supports to ensure that the collapse of one part of the building, say, due to a massive truck bomb or shoulder-launched rocket, would not compromise the structural integrity of the remaining building modules. In addition, such buildings have screening devices at the entrances and also video cameras within and facing out of the building to note suspicious activity or to allow identification of suspects in the event of a terrorist attack.

Target displacement refers to the tendency of terrorists to select alternative soft targets or different tactics in reaction to target hardening. Thus, terrorists would tend to select older, unhardened government offices instead of newer, hardened ones. Investigations following the **East African U.S. embassy bombings** revealed that the terrorists selected those embassies to attack as they were not covered by a U.S. State Department initiative to harden existing embassy and consular buildings, which instead concentrated mainly on those diplomatic facilities found within the Middle East, Europe, and Latin America in which the probability of terrorist attacks was considered most likely. The measures taken to prevent airplane hijackings have caused many terrorists instead either to attempt hijackings from airports in nations that lack security measures or to attempt to bomb planes in flight rather than to seize the plane and its passengers and crew as hostages.

TEMPLE MOUNT OPERATION. In 1983, following the arrest of several **Gush Emunim** members plotting to **bomb** five Arab buses in Israel and the occupied territories, Israeli authorities learned that the group had been plotting during the previous four years to bomb the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem with 28 precision bombs. Earlier, in October 1982, Yoel Lerner, a member of the Kach movement, an offshoot of the **Jewish Defense League**, had been arrested and later was convicted for planning to bomb the Dome of the Rock. On 10 March 1983 Israeli authorities arrested another 10 Jewish militants armed

with machine guns and crowbars attempting to break into the Temple Mount area, while another 35 people suspected of involvement were arrested shortly afterward. On 27 January 1984 another group of six to eight Jewish extremists, known as the Lifta Band, attempted to enter the compound with 36 pounds of explosives, 22 assault rifles, dozens of grenades, and 12 mortar rounds. After Israeli security forces apprehended all of the people involved in this plot, they recovered up to 250 pounds of explosives. These various extremist groups believed that this Muslim shrine, which is the third-holiest place in Islam after the Ka'ba in Mecca and the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, had to be destroyed to clear the site on the Temple Mount for the construction of a Third Temple on the site of the Second Temple destroyed by the Romans in 70 A.D. The conspirators considered this to be necessary in order to facilitate the advent of the promised Messiah, who would inaugurate the Jewish millennial kingdom that they believed was prophesied in scripture. Such an event would also almost certainly have triggered another Arab-Israeli war, which various **Jewish Underground** extremists also hoped for as they believed this would allow for the expulsion of all Arabs and other non-Jews from the biblical Eretz Yisrael. *See also* MILLENNIALISM.

TERRA LLIURE (TL). “Free Land” was a left-wing Catalan group with the goal of reconstituting an independent Catalan homeland in Catalonia that would embrace also the Spanish provinces of Valencia and the Balearic Isles as well as the French province of Roussillon. Formed in the 1970s, it undertook a terrorist campaign in May 1981, shooting a professor of Spanish in Barcelona in the legs. That year the TL also exploded small **bombs** in foreign-owned banks and travel agencies in the cities of Alicante, Barcelona, Tarragona, and Valencia, until December 1981, when Spanish police arrested some of its members.

On 25 July 1987, the last day to file personal income tax returns in Spain, the TL bombed the Finance Ministry office in the Basque Province town of Igalada. Five policemen were wounded along with the local tax commissioner and two civilians. The TL has also claimed credit for the 1987 bombings in Barcelona of the U.S. consulate general and a United Service Organizations (USO) club, for which credit was also claimed by the **Red Army for the Liberation of Catalonia**, a radical TL splinter group. The last known attack by the group was on 2 March 1989 involving the attempted bombing of

a French diplomatic office in Barcelona. In July 1991 the group was reported to have renounced the use of terrorism.

TERRORISM, DEFINITION. No consensus exists on the proper definition of terrorism. In part this is because “terrorism” is not simply a denotative label but also a label of reprobation, such that partisans of a given party or political tendency will hesitate to apply it to those groups that they champion, while applying it quite freely to groups of whose politics they disapprove, even when the actions being committed by the two sets of groups may be substantially comparable. The other difficulty is that nearly all conventional military or **insurgent** forces will occasionally engage in actions, whether by design or accident, that may be plausibly described as terrorist. At what point, then, should a combatant group cease to be counted merely as a **belligerent** and begin to be counted as a terrorist group? The approach used in this dictionary is to regard as terrorists those groups that will ordinarily attack noncombatants or nonmilitary **targets** as freely as military targets. Likewise, their choice of **tactics** reveals whether they distinguish between combatants and noncombatants. Antiaircraft artillery can be used either against warplanes or civilian planes, but using car bombs almost always entails the risk of noncombatant deaths and injuries.

To distinguish terrorism from mere criminal violence, it is not sufficient to define it as politically motivated violence, since other forms of nonterrorist violence, such as **insurgencies**, **revolution**, and mob violence, can also be politically inspired. The specific quality defining terrorism is that it *seeks deliberately to create terror in its victims for a political purpose*, whereas other forms of political violence have as their primary object inflicting harm on objects or people, with terror being only a byproduct. Terrorists cultivate fear in their victims and audiences not as an end in itself nor merely to torment their direct victims but rather to create terror in others who are the “spectators” of the terrorist event. Terrorists seek to force this “audience” to pay them attention and to respond in some manner. Therefore, one definition of terrorism that has been proposed reads roughly as follows: “Terrorism is the use of violence to create terror in others who are not the direct object of violence in order to cause them to act in certain ways” (H. H. A. Cooper, *Evaluating the Terrorist Threat: Principles of Applied Risk Assessment*, Clandestine Tactics and Technology Series [Gaithersburg, Md.: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1974]).

A fundamental distinction is often made between domestic, or territorial, terrorism and international terrorism: Domestic terrorism is limited to given countries or regions and is usually part of an internal insurgency or revolutionary war. International terrorism is nonterritorial in that it is not limited to any one region. An example of a domestic insurgency is found in the case of the **Farabundo Martí Liberation Front (FMLN)** in El Salvador: following its failure to overthrow the Salvadoran government in its ill-fated “final offensive” in 1981, the FMLN retreated to the jungles and then undertook a campaign of **bombing** the economic infrastructure and murdering local officials or notables close to the government. In this case, the bombings can be viewed as a rational tactic for crippling the economic resources of the government, while killing many of the Salvadorans could be rationalized on the grounds of their being functionaries of the government. The **Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance** of Argentina represents an example of a right-wing **death squad** that remained domestic in the scope of its activities.

By contrast, the Chilean **Fatherland and Liberty** group, which was a right-wing **death squad**, not only engaged in domestic terrorism against leftists in Chile, but became international in scope by **assassinating** the former Chilean foreign minister, Orlando Letelier, outside his home in Washington, D.C., in 1976. The campaign of bombings in England and Germany, and attempted actions in Gibraltar carried out by members of the **Irish Republican Army (IRA)** in the 1970s and 1980s expanded the scope of IRA terrorism from being merely domestic to international. The English civilians or British soldiers in Germany who were killed were usually quite unconnected with Northern Ireland, and the resulting damages inflicted no direct blows on the IRA’s enemies, namely, the British government, Unionist politicians, or the Ulster Protestant militia groups. The object of such attacks was rather to create terror and consternation among the British public to incite them to put pressure on the British government to withdraw its troops from Northern Ireland and to allow the Irish to resolve the question of the fate of the northern six counties on their own. Similarly many **Islamic fundamentalist** terrorist groups, such as the **al Qa’eda** group of **Osama bin Laden**, have resorted to terrorism crossing international borders, both in their attempts to impose their vision of Islamic rule on those Muslim nations they have targeted as well as attempts to punish nations they perceive as enemies of Islam, such as the United States and Israel.

Domestic terrorism and international terrorism often differ in that the former usually can be readily identified with some insurgent group that seeks formal recognition in the international community, but in the latter case, more often the acting group is sponsored by governments that wish to maintain a “plausible deniability” of having any connection with the group, since acts of violence against noncombatant civilians in another sovereign jurisdiction are nothing less than acts of war. Another distinction is that while those responsible for acts of territorial terrorism often are seeking recognition as legitimate governments or as new nation-states, such as the Basque separatists in northern Spain or IRA members in Northern Ireland, for international terrorists the reverse is often the case, namely, that they are seeking to attack the nation-state system for tactical or **ideological** reasons. Some key characteristics of international terrorism include the following:

1. It is a form of *psychological warfare* intended to create reactions on the part of its audience. It seeks out civilian victims rather than military targets since this creates greater terror in the target audience. Viewers are supposed to be forced to think, “but for God’s grace there go I!” (H. H. A. Cooper, 1974).
2. It is a form of *communication*. Besides communicating terror, such acts are forms of armed propaganda that force a captive audience to listen to political demands and threats. The object is to get people to think, “Let us hear them out to see what they want,” and then to get them to the point of agreeing to capitulate to certain demands (Brian Jenkins, *International Terrorism: A New Mode of Conflict* [Research paper, California Seminar on Arms Control and Foreign Policy 48, 1974]). For instance, the prolonged holding of Terry Anderson and other hostages by the Lebanese **Hezbollah** group brought some of the hostages’ relatives to try to bring pressure on the U.S. government to make concessions to gain their release.
3. It is also a form of *criminality* but not mere criminality. It would be a mistake to equate the robberies and murders committed by terrorists with those committed by common hoodlums, for the former are instrumental in serving political ends beyond the crimes themselves. On the other hand, when the political nature of the act is made clear, there is the danger of the captive audience mentally capitulating to the act of armed propaganda and

accepting the terrorists' claims that they are actually freedom fighters and that their actions are justified by their allegedly noble aims.

4. International terrorism is really a form of *protracted warfare* being carried out for political aims, often with the sponsorship of hostile governments.

Such political warfare is a form of **low-intensity conflict** that exploits the ambivalence of the Western nation-states toward such forms of conflict falling between the extremes of declared conventional warfare and official diplomatic peace. This warfare is very cost effective for the sponsoring regime but very costly to the targeted countries, where businesses are forced to spend much on protecting their executives and whose citizens are frightened away from traveling abroad. Such warfare allows nations deficient in conventional military strength to use sophisticated technology to strike at their enemies easily, as was shown by the bombing of **Pan Am Flight 103** over Scotland on 21 December 1988 by a small radio bomb.

The ambivalent nature of international terrorism creates policy ambivalence on the part of its victims: If it is considered mere criminality, then it should be treated as a police matter, requiring minimal use of force. But if it is viewed as a military matter, then maximal force ought to be used. And if it is viewed as a political matter, then attempted negotiation, compromise, and capitulation would be in order. In short, terrorism is able to thrive on the very ambiguity that shrouds its nature.

TERRORISM ACT OF 2000. The Terrorism Act of 2000 of Great Britain updates and replaces the previous **Prevention of Terrorism Acts**. The scope of the act is expanded not simply to deal with 15 named proscribed groups in Northern Ireland, including splinters of the **Irish Republican Army** and the various Ulster Protestant paramilitaries, such as the **Ulster Defence Association** and others, but also lists 33 international terrorist groups, most of them **Islamic fundamentalist** groups but also including some surviving **anarchistic leftist** groups, such as **November 17**, and **ethnonationalist** groups, such as **Basque Fatherland and Liberty** and the **Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam**. This act has a more expanded and generic definition of terrorism than did the previous acts. The new act originally allowed for detention

without charges of suspects for 48 hours but in 2006 was amended to allow detention up to 28 days. Section 44 allows the home secretary to allow warrantless searches of people or vehicles in designated areas while Section 58 makes the collection of information in order to facilitate or plan a terrorist attack an offense punishable by up to 10 years' imprisonment. As of 11 August 2006, some 1,047 people had been arrested under the act; 158 of these were then prosecuted under the act while another 174 were prosecuted for nonterrorist offenses.

TERRORIST'S HANDBOOK. Title of a 98-page manual, published by anonymous authors using the pen name Chaos Industries and Gunzenbombz Pyro-Technologies and widely available on the Internet, that details construction of bombs, booby traps, biological and chemical weapons and poisons, and **assassination** techniques. The proliferation of such works as this, the *Poisoner's Handbook*, and *Silent Death*, which detail how to prepare **ricin** and other lethal, natural poisons, and the older *Anarchists' Cookbook*, as well as other materials available on the **Internet**, in books or compact-disc format, have made it possible for the "amateur" terrorist to become as skilled and lethal as his more "professional" counterpart.

TERRORIST STATES. The U.S. government currently lists Cuba, Iran, Sudan, and Syria as **state sponsors of terrorism**, also called "terrorist states." This list is maintained and updated pursuant to Section 6 (j) of the Export Administration Act of 1979 according to factual findings certified by the U.S. State of Department each year. Testimony and evidence are reviewed to determine whether such governments are continuing to provide terrorists with safe haven, travel documents, arms, training, and technical expertise and also whether such governments themselves directly engage in terrorism as a tool of domestic and foreign policy. A lower level of support consists not so much of active cooperation with terrorists but rather a passive tolerance by governments in which they choose to allow terrorists to reside in, travel through, or carry out logistical and recruitment efforts without official hindrance within their sovereign jurisdictions.

TOKYO CONVENTION. The Convention on Offenses and Certain Other Acts Committed On Board Aircraft, concluded on 14 September 1963, pertains to acts that affect in-flight safety of civilian carriers, and defines the rights and obligations of the signatory states

and the pilot and crews of aircraft. The purpose of the convention is to protect the safety of the aircraft and of the people or property on board. The convention empowers the captain/pilot, the members of his or her crew, and, under specific conditions, even the passengers to prevent the commission of **hijacking** or sabotage of the aircraft. The pilot may deliver any offenders to the competent authorities of a contracting state when the aircraft lands. The convention grants the aircraft commander and any crew member or passenger assisting him immunity from prosecution for undertaking the measures needed to ensure the safety of all aboard and of the airplane. The convention attempts to prevent unlawful seizure of aircraft by requiring contracting states not to give **sanctuary** or free transit to hijackers once the plane is landed in their territory and giving jurisdiction over the hijackers to the state in which the concerned aircraft is registered. *See also* AIR TRAVEL SECURITY.

TOKYO SUBWAY GAS ATTACK. On 20 March 1995 members of the **Aum Shinrikyo millennialist** cult punctured plastic bags containing homemade sarin, a lethal nerve gas, which killed 12 people, critically injured five others, severely injured 37 others, and made 984 others moderately ill with transient symptoms, out of a total of 5,510 people treated in Tokyo hospitals. Worse might have happened because Shoko Asahara and his followers had been preparing for an apocalyptic war that they hoped to initiate by deploying whatever **weapons of mass destruction** they could procure, which they believed would lead to Asahara becoming accepted as the Messiah of a new millennium.

Aum Shinrikyo had tried without success to obtain nuclear weapons and weapons-grade sarin from poorly guarded bases of the former Soviet Red Army, and then settled on producing its own biological and chemical weapons. The sect succeeded in culturing and isolating botulinum, one of the most deadly biological poisons known, and tried on nine occasions to deploy it against various **targets**, including the Japanese Diet, the Imperial Household compound, and U.S. military bases in Japan, but without any effect. Following the failure of these botulinum experiments, the sect produced sarin, a much simpler compound that is easier to prepare, and deployed 12 liters of the deadly liquid by vaporizing it from a trunk-mounted heater and fan in the city of Matsumoto on 27–28 June 1994, causing seven deaths

and more than 150 injuries, although as many as 600 people reported symptoms. At that time these deaths and illnesses were believed to have been due to some outbreak of food poisoning, and it was only after the Tokyo subway attacks that Japanese officials realized the Matsumoto incident had been a sarin gas attack.

Shoko Asahara, leader of the cult, knew that he was being investigated by the Japanese police for the 1989 murder of Tsutsumi Sakamoto, a lawyer who had been investigating allegations of brain-washing on behalf of concerned families of members of the cult. On Asahara's orders, cult members had murdered Sakamoto along with his wife and infant son. A siege mentality prevailed in the cult that led them to make the sarin gas attack against the national police headquarters, located in the building under which the four attacked subway lines converged. Asahara sent five two-member teams of cult members to release the liquid sarin in four subway lines, one of which, the Hibaya line, had been assigned two teams, which were to attack two different branches of the line. Followers punctured plastic bags containing sarin on the four subways on trains bound into the city from suburbs on 20 March 1995. The attack failed to produce the disruption intended in part because the sarin used was quite dilute. Nonetheless, the Tokyo subway gas attack was the first widely known use of a chemical or biological agent by a terrorist group.

Following the subway gas attack, Asahara was arrested on 16 May 1995 while found hiding in a cubbyhole in one of his sect's properties. Investigation of the cult's center on the slope of Mount Fuji revealed an elaborate three-story facility built to produce chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction. With the arrest of Asahara and 400 of his followers, who faced charges ranging from **kidnapping**, to illegal production of drugs and weapons, to murder, the Japanese government moved to ban the sect under the Anti-Subversive Law in December 1995. Asahara was sentenced to death on 27 February 2004; seven of those who delivered the sarin gas packets were also sentenced to death and the remaining three were sentenced to life imprisonment. Although Asahara has maintained silence since the trial and did not give his defense lawyers permission to appeal his death sentence, they attempted to appeal without his permission, maintaining that he was mentally ill and not competent to make this decision. On 27 March 2008 the Tokyo High Court turned down the motion by the defense team for the right to appeal on behalf

of Asahara, a decision upheld by the Supreme Court of Japan on 15 September 2006.

TONTON MACOUTES. The *Milice de Volontaires de la Sécurité*, or Volunteers for National Security, was a state-sponsored repressive organization created by the Haitian dictator François “Papa Doc” Duvalier in 1959 to eliminate his enemies and quell open dissent among the people of Haiti. Its more common name, the Tonton Macoute, is Creole, meaning “Uncle Knapsack,” a figure in Haitian folklore who rewards bad children with punishment by carrying them off in a knapsack. Originally it was a personal presidential bodyguard, became an alternative militia to counter possible coups by the Haitian military, and ultimately turned into an instrument of mass repression.

After Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier was deposed from the Haitian presidency in 1985, the Tonton Macoutes were officially disbanded. In reality, the organization continued to exist underground and apparently found another patron in President Henri Namphy. On 11 September 1988 soldiers and Tonton Macoute members stormed the St. John Bosco Church in Port-au-Prince, killing nine worshipers and injuring 77 and setting fire to the church. The parish priest, Jean Bertrand Aristide, was a vocal critic of the Namphy government, but the **tactic** backfired, as it prompted more clashes between citizens and the Tonton Macoutes, leading General Prosper Avril to depose Namphy by a military coup on 17 September. Yet Avril himself did not appear willing to suppress or prosecute the Tonton Macoutes, and he, too, was forced to resign on 10 March 1990. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, elected president on 16 December 1990, promised to prosecute the Tonton Macoutes but was himself ousted by a coup staged by army officers having ties to the Tonton Macoutes on 30 September 1991. The last known leader of the Tonton Macoutes, Luckner Carbronne, died in Miami, Florida, on 29 September 2006.

While the label “Tonton Macoute” is no longer used, a successor organization incorporating many of the same members and methods was created by the military coup leaders, which is known as **FRAPH**, the French acronym for the Revolutionary Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti.

TÚPAC AMARU REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT (MRTA). The Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru was a Marxist urban guerrilla group that sought to create a socialist **revolution** within Peru fol-

lowing the Cuban and Nicaraguan models. It was the main rival within Peru of the **Sendero Luminoso**, from which it differed in rejecting the xenophobia and **ideological** isolationism of the latter group, stressing instead fraternal unity with other Marxist regimes and national liberation movements. The MRTA used terrorism primarily for **armed propaganda**, both to delegitimize the Peruvian regime and to force the U.S. diplomatic and commercial presence out of Peru.

The MRTA was formed by a combination of leftist university students, many of whom went into exile in Cuba and the Soviet Union when Peru was under military rule during the 1970s, as well as former leftist military officers. The group therefore reflected a more Castroite and internationalist perspective than did the Sendero Luminoso. The MRTA was aided by Cuba and the former **Sandinista** government of Nicaragua and was suspected of receiving aid from Libya. The MRTA also once had contacts with the Colombian **M-19** group and is believed to have collaborated with the **Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front** in Chile and with the reconstituted National Liberation Army (**Nestor Paz Zamora Commission**), of Bolivia. The MRTA took its name from an earlier national, anticolonial, and revolutionary hero, the Inca pretender Túpac Amaru, who led Peru's Indian peasants in an abortive anticolonial revolt and who was executed by the Spaniards in 1782. Although Túpac Amaru based his revolt on an appeal to Indian nativist resentment against Spaniard domination, there was little evidence that the MRTA made any systematic appeal to Indian nativism as did its rival, Sendero Luminoso.

Formed in the early 1980s by former military officers of the left-wing dictatorship of Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968–1975) and a small Castroite guerrilla group, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left-Militant, the MRTA became active on 31 May 1982 with a bank robbery in Lima, although it did not claim responsibility for its actions until 1984. Of 51 confirmed MRTA terrorist actions conducted from 1984–1991, 37 involved **bombings**, four involved armed attacks using automatic weapons or light artillery, three involved car bombings, and seven involved takeovers of radio stations, news agency offices, or churches to force publication of MRTA propaganda. At least nine of these attacks were directed at U.S. diplomatic property and persons, giving the MRTA the distinction of making the most attacks on U.S. diplomatic facilities of any group in Latin America. The MRTA distinguished itself from

other revolutionary leftist groups in Peru by maintaining a traditional hierarchical military command and discipline, with its cadres wearing uniforms with insignia of rank, and by its attempts to avoid the **targeting** of civilians in its operations.

On 28 September 1984, three MRTA gunmen machine-gunned the exterior of the U.S. embassy. On 9 November 1985 MRTA gunmen threw dynamite sticks at the U.S. embassy and raked it with machine-gun fire. On 4 April 1986 the MRTA made a similar attack on the Peruvian-U.S. Cultural Institute, wounding a guard, as well as attacking two Citibank offices, an IBM warehouse, and a Sears office. On 9 June 1990 the MRTA launched mortars at the U.S. ambassador's residence, and on 18 July 1990 bombed the U.S. embassy, wounding three guards. The MRTA also bombed the courtyard of the Interior Ministry on 25 July 1985 and attacked the Presidential Palace and the airplane carrying newly elected President Alberto Fujimori in November 1991.

At its peak, the MRTA had 1,000 to 2,000 members but following the crackdown of the Fujimori administration, more than 400 of its cadres, including its founder, Víctor Polay Campos, were arrested and imprisoned. Whereas the MRTA was mainly active only in Lima during the 1980s, in the 1990s it carried out activities in Cuzco, Peru, and in areas bordering Bolivia. The appearance of the MRTA in highly visible urban operations in 1984 may have moved Sendero Luminoso to open its campaign within the cities rather than relying solely on the rural guerrilla strategy of encircling the cities in order to prevent its new rival from taking center stage within Peru. The most dramatic action of the MRTA was the 17 December 1996 takeover of the Japanese ambassador's residence during a diplomatic reception in honor of the Japanese emperor's birthday, in which 14 MRTA members initially seized around 490 guests, including many ambassadors and high-ranking Peruvian government officials, including Carlos Giusti Acuña, a member of the Supreme Court. With the Peruvian government's successful hostage rescue raid on 22 April 1997 in which the top MRTA leader, Néstor Cerpa Cartolini, was killed along with his fellow hostage takers, fewer than 100 MRTA cadres were left at large and so the organization was thought to have been destroyed. In fact, afterward there were still sporadic MRTA attacks, including one upon Radio Caracas Television in Venezuela on 10 September 1998, an attack on two Peruvian radio stations on 5 October 1999, and another upon a foreign news agency's office in Peru on 5 October 1999; the most recent attack

was the failed attempt to set off three bombs in the suburbs of Lima on 8 April 2001, each of which was aimed at securing the release of imprisoned comrades. On 6 December 2001 Víctor Polay Campos was put on trial for terrorist offenses and on 22 March 2002 was convicted on 30 separate charges. *See also* PERUVIAN JAPANESE EMBASSY HOSTAGE CRISIS.

TUPAMAROS (MLN). The Uruguayan Movimiento de Liberación Nacional was a leftist **revolutionary** guerrilla group that sought to overthrow the Uruguayan state and to drive out foreign, particularly U.S. and Brazilian, interests. The group first surfaced on 31 July 1963 with an attack on a gun club and carried out robberies and precise **bombings** against U.S. and Brazilian diplomatic vehicles and against the homes of high-ranking civilian politicians and bureaucrats. Because the group was believed to have Cuban backing, Uruguay severed diplomatic ties with Cuba in September 1964.

In 1966 the MLN embarked on a campaign of urban terrorism and took the name Tupamaro from that of the Peruvian Inca pretender Túpac Amaru, who was executed by the Spaniards in 1782. From January 1968 to July 1972, the Tupamaros engaged in the bombings of institutional targets and conducted nine major bank robberies. The Tupamaros also conducted a campaign of distributing money seized from their robberies to the urban poor and of publishing financial records they had stolen documenting alleged corruption among the ruling circles of Uruguay.

Tupamaro terrorism became of international concern with the kidnapping on 31 July 1970 of a U.S. Agency for International Development employee, Daniel A. Mitrione, who was murdered on 9 August 1970. On 8 January 1971 British ambassador Geoffrey Jackson was abducted and held eight months in a Tupamaro “people’s prison.” The Tupamaros had contacts with the Chilean **Movement of the Revolutionary Left** (MIR) and the Argentinean **People’s Revolutionary Army** (ERP).

By 1972 the Tupamaros began to **target** members of the Uruguayan military and security forces, a move that drew a declaration of internal war by the Uruguayan government, which unleashed the military on the Tupamaros. By May 1972 the military had penetrated the Tupamaro network, uncovering an impressive infrastructure of more than 200 safe houses, including a clandestine hospital complete

with operating theater and a covert arms factory. By November 1972 some 2,600 members and supporters were arrested and 42 killed. The last known Tupamaro attack was the attempted **hijacking** of a Uruguayan airplane in Argentina on 20 October 1973. After the Tupamaros' leader, Raul Sendic Antonaccio, was captured, the movement collapsed. Ironically, although the Tupamaros had succeeded in destroying Uruguayan democracy, since the military seized power shortly after the crackdown on the Tupamaros, once in power the military then pursued its own ruthless suppression of leftists and subversives that precluded any mass-based leftist revolution. Following the restoration of civilian rule in 1984, a general amnesty was declared in 1985. Upon his release from prison, Sendic and other surviving Tupamaros reconstituted themselves as a legal political party, the Movimiento de Participación Popular (Popular Participation Movement), becoming a part of the left-wing Frente Amplio coalition that won the parliamentary election of 31 October 2004. Although Sendic had died in 1989, two former Tupamaro leaders, José Mujica and Nora Castro, became presiding officers of the Senate and Chamber of Representatives, respectively, of the National Congress following the 2004 election.

LAS TURBAS DIVINAS. The “divine mobs” were Nicaraguan state-sponsored groups used to intimidate and suppress domestic opponents of the **Sandinista** regime in Nicaragua. These mobs consisted of Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) activists and members of the Sandinista Defense Committees, a network of block-watch organizations. The *turbas divinas* and Defense Committees were under the control of Department F-8 for Mass Organizations within the General Directorate for State Security (DGSE).

During the first year after the 17 July 1979 Sandinista victory, the FSLN appeared to share power with a number of non-Marxist democratic groups. As hard-line Marxist Tomás Borge Martínez consolidated FSLN control over the Interior Ministry, toleration of non-FSLN political groups ended. On 7 November 1980 organized mobs attacked an opposition rally at Nandaime led by Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (NDM) leader Alfonso Robelo, and on 9 November mobs attacked the offices of the NDM, destroying files and equipment and torching an NDM vehicle. When the non-FSLN paper *La Prensa* sought to publish details of the attack, it was censored by

the Interior Ministry. Sandinista National Directorate member Daniel Ortega was reputed to have dubbed these FSLN-organized mobs the *turbas divinas* and, after his election as president, publicly threatened to unleash the turbas upon Nicaraguan opposition groups.

The turbas divinas destroyed the home of NDM leader Robelo, who later left Nicaragua and joined the **contras**. In March 1981 the turbas began painting slogans and insults each night on the walls of the home of Violeta Chamorro, widow of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Cardenal, the *La Prensa* editor believed to have been murdered by right-wing Somoza supporters before the Sandinista revolution. Also in 1981 the turbas stoned the jeep of Archbishop Miguel Obando y Bravo, a critic of the Sandinistas. On 20 July 1982 the turbas beat up the auxiliary bishop of Managua and in August 1982 stripped Reverend Bismarck Carballo, the archbishop's spokesman, along with a female parishioner and paraded both of them naked in front of photographers, claiming they had been caught in adultery. In late 1982 the turbas attacked and vandalized a Mormon church in the San Judas neighborhood of Managua. In March 1983, during the visit of Pope John Paul II to Nicaragua, the turbas mobbed the pope and drowned out his public address in Managua with revolutionary and anticlerical slogans. In January 1985 the turbas attacked the Conservative Party headquarters after the Conservatives accused the FSLN of rigging the national elections. In August 1987 the turbas attacked two human rights groups, the Permanent Commission on Human Rights and the January 22 Movement of Mothers of Political Prisoners.

The turbas generally attacked the homes and businesses of anyone suspected of being anti-Sandinista, often beating or maiming their victims as well. One of the last major actions by the turbas was on 4 February 1990 in the city of Masatepe, about 30 miles south of Managua, where a political rally in support of Violeta Chamorro was attacked by turbas wielding machetes and clubs and throwing stones. With the electoral defeat of the FSLN and the installation of Violeta Chamorro as Nicaragua's president on 25 February 1990, the turbas ceased to be a **state-sponsored** group and their activity largely ceased.

TURKISH PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY (TPLA). The Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu was a Soviet-sponsored Turkish leftist revolutionary group that specialized in **kidnappings** of U.S. servicemen

stationed at North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) bases within Turkey and **assassinations** of right-wing Turks, as well as bank robberies and **bombings** of right-wing and U.S. **targets**. The group was founded in 1968 or shortly thereafter by five leftist students from the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, who underwent guerrilla training in **al Fatah** camps within Jordan and Lebanon and who also established contacts with leftist army officers and cadets. Following the abduction of four U.S. servicemen on 4 March 1971, later released unharmed, about 18 members of the TPLA, including its leader, Deniz Gezmiş, were arrested.

Gezmiş was executed along with two comrades on 6 May 1972, but when a general amnesty in 1974 led to the release of the rest of his colleagues, they reactivated the organization. The TPLA members expanded their ranks by recruiting from leftist university students in Ankara and Istanbul, who then received training and arms from Soviet-bloc countries. By 1977 TPLA assassinations against perceived right-wing targets had claimed up to 260 lives. In 1979 around 2,000 people were killed due to **death squad** activities of the TPLA, other leftist groups, and opposing right-wing groups. The military crackdown on 12 September 1980 led to the suppression of most activities of the TPLA. Its last known attack was on 15 November 1980, in which it assassinated a U.S. Air Force sergeant outside a NATO military base. After this last known attack the TPLA ceased to be active.

Disagreements within the TPLA led to the splitting off in 1975 of a faction, known as Dev Yol, or the Revolutionary Road, which did not engage in terrorism or violence. In 1978 a split emerged in Dev Yol, leading to the creation of Dev Sol, or Revolutionary Left, now known as the **Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front**, which acted mainly as an antirightist death squad in the environs of Ankara and which was one of the few leftist terrorist groups in Turkey that survived the crackdown of 1980, making a comeback in the late 1980s.

TURKISH PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT (TPLF). The Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Partisi ve Cephesi was the armed wing of the Turkish People's Liberation Party. Like the **Turkish People's Liberation Army**, with which it had no direct connection, the TPLF sought to overturn the constitutional democracy in Turkey in favor of a Marxist-Leninist state, and its members also received training in **al Fatah** camps as well as covert Soviet-bloc support. On 17 May 1971

the TPLF **kidnapped** Ephraim Elrom, the Israeli consul general in Istanbul, who was later murdered on 22 May.

The leader of the TPLF, Mahir Çayan, escaped after briefly being imprisoned and on 27 March 1972 kidnapped three North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) radar technicians, who were later murdered by the terrorists, to force Turkish officials to release another comrade still in prison. Instead the Turkish police hunted down and killed Çayan and nine of his companions in their hideout near the Black Sea. Çayan's widow subsequently helped found the **Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda Unit** (MLAPU).

TPLF members later **hijacked** two Turkish airliners, once in May 1972 and again in October 1972, demanding the release of imprisoned comrades in exchange for the hostages' lives. On each occasion the Turkish government refused their demands and the hijackers took their planes to Bulgaria, where they sought political **asylum**. On 6 August 1977 the group attacked the Intercontinental Hotel in Istanbul with a machine-gun assault without harm to life or limb, while on 13 April 1979 they killed one U.S. soldier and injured another in a drive-by machine gun attack on the streets of Izmir. The TPLF continued to operate until September 1980, when it was suppressed in the overall crackdown of the Turkish military against leftist groups. In the period 1991–1999 the group committed five **bombings** of business, tourist, and government targets, resulting in one fatality and one injury, after which the group became inactive.

TURNER DIARIES. Novel written in 1978 by William L. Pierce (1933–2002), a leader of the **neo-Nazi** National Alliance, under the pen name of Andrew MacDonald, which depicts an extreme right-wing **revolutionary** movement against the government of the United States. The novel has been used by many U.S. domestic right-wing extremists as a sort of handbook of antigovernment extremist **tactics**. The leader of **The Order**, Robert Mathews, reportedly copied the “point system” for the killings of purported enemies of the white race from the *Turner Diaries*. The novel exults in a **white supremacist** and anti-Semitic assault on the U.S. government, which is portrayed as a virtual Zionist Occupation Government hostile to ordinary white, Christian Americans. Timothy McVeigh reportedly was an avid reader of this book and sold or gave copies of it to other like-minded people. The Southern Poverty Law Center's Klanwatch project has

noted 10 major parallels between the **Oklahoma City bombing** and the terrorist **bombing** attack depicted in the *Turner Diaries*, including choice of **target** (a federal law enforcement building), type of bomb used (fuel oil and ammonium nitrate), timing of explosion (around 9:00 a.m. when casualties would be maximized), and the **ideological** motivations of the perpetrators. This suggests that Timothy McVeigh consciously modeled his attack on the Murrah building on the attack depicted in the novel.

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ULSTER DEFENCE ASSOCIATION (UDA). The UDA is a Northern Irish Protestant militia founded in September 1971, committed to maintaining Protestant supremacy in the political and social life of Northern Ireland, although its ostensible purpose is to protect Protestant neighborhoods from **Irish Republican Army (IRA)** attacks. While most of its numbers and resources are devoted to defending Protestant neighborhoods, it is widely believed to support **death squad** activities involving smaller, specialized units that often assume their own names and maintain a purported independence from the UDA; such is believed to be the case with the **Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF)**, in reality merely a UDA front. The UDA enjoyed effective state support from the Ulster Defence Regiment, an official security organization dominated by sectarian Protestant **militia members**. The relationship with the British army was more problematic, since from September to October 1972 the UDA had considered the British army to be in league with its Catholic enemies. From the end of the Unionist general strike of May 1974 until 1988, the UDA maintained an effective truce with British forces. This may explain why the UDA of all Northern Irish paramilitary groups maintained a legal status until 10 August 1992, when both the UDA and its UFF branch were proscribed under the Special Powers Act of 1922 following the discovery that the UDA had smuggled a large quantity of arms into Northern Ireland from South Africa. The membership of the UDA at its height in the 1970s was estimated at 30,000 but currently numbers perhaps several hundred, with a few dozen being active in the UFF branch, which the UDA officially disbanded on 11 November 2007.

The former UDA leader, Andy Tyrie, explained the UDA mission as follows: “We’re a counterterrorist organization. The only way we’ll get peace here is to terrorize the terrorists.” The UDA financed itself partly through protection rackets, ironically the same way the IRA financed itself. The UDA was affiliated with the New Ulster Political Research Group (NUPRG), which made contingency plans for creating an independent Ulster state in the event Ulster Protestants decided to create an independent Ulster Protestant republic to forestall a feared betrayal by Westminster. In June 1981 the Ulster Loyalist Democratic Party replaced the NUPRG, and in 1988 the party again changed its name to the Ulster Democratic Party (UDP), removing Andy Tyrie from the top leadership position, which was taken over by an inner council of six members.

The UDA demonstrated its political power during the prounionist Ulster Workers’ Council general strike in 1974, directed against a British-sponsored plan to share power in Ulster with Catholics. The UDA openly joined ranks with proscribed death squads such as the **Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF)**, **Red Hand Commandos**, and other illegal militias to form an Ulster Army Council to enforce the general strike. By setting up roadblocks throughout Northern Ireland, the UDA effectively shut down large sections of the country.

Beginning in mid-1980 and lasting into 1981, an **assassination** campaign was waged against republicans and nationalists in the north. John Turnley, a nationalist member of the Westminster parliament who had unseated the ultraunionist Ian Paisley in 1979, was shot dead in June 1980. On 16 January 1981 Bernadette Devlin McAliskys, the former republican member of the Westminster parliament, and her husband were injured by gunmen in their home. UDA men were later convicted of the Turnley murder and attempted murders of the McAliskys. Three other nationalists were also killed this way, suggesting that the UDA was behind the wave of killings. IRA supporters believed that the UDA had to have enjoyed the cover of British army patrols to have been able to penetrate the largely Catholic areas in which these murders took place.

During the period 1990–1994 the UFF stepped up its attacks on Catholics and republicans, also **targeting** members of the Social Democratic Labour Party, a Catholic group seeking equal rights for Catholics but opposing the tactics of the IRA. The UFF killed five Catholics on 27 March 1972, three on 14 November 1992, and six in

two days during March 1993, followed by an attack on the predominantly Catholic village of Greysteel in County Londonderry on 30 October 1993 that killed six Catholics and one Protestant. The UDA along with the UFF joined other Protestant paramilitary groups in declaring a cease-fire on 13 October 1994 in response to the IRA cease-fire. This earned the UDP a place in the multiparty talks beginning in May 1996. However, when the UDA and UFF broke the cease-fire in December 1997 and January 1998, the UDP was expelled from the talks and only readmitted once the UFF declared a renewed cease-fire on 23 January 1998. Both the UDA and UFF reluctantly agreed to the Good Friday Agreement, which the UDP endorsed in April 1998.

On 13 November 2005 the UDA indicated it would “consider its future” in response to the steps taken by both the IRA and the Loyalist Volunteer Force to decommission their weapons and to desist from violence. On 1 February 2006 the Independent Monitoring Commission issued its eighth report in which it reported that the UDA was continuing to engage in organized crime, including extortion, drug trafficking, and other criminal activities. In order to repair its public image, the UDA announced on 20 June 2006 the expulsion of several of its members for their involvement in organized crime. On 11 November 2007 the UDA declared that it was standing down its military wing, the UFF, and putting its weapons “beyond use,” although it stated that it was not decommissioning those arms. At that time the UDA had approximately 4,000 members while its last known attack had occurred on 5 September 2005.

Throughout the duration of the Northern Ireland conflict (1968–1998), the UDA was responsible for 261 killings, which includes killings claimed by the Loyalist Retaliation and Defence Group during 1991 and by the UFF. All Protestant paramilitary groups together accounted for 1,020 of the 3,524 killings that occurred during this conflict.

ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTERS (UFF). The UFF was actually nothing more than the **death squad** covertly operated by the **Ulster Defence Association (UDA)** allowing the UDA “plausible deniability” for killings that it had ordered. Like its parent group, the UFF was an anti-Catholic militia formed of Ulster Protestants but marked by more open violence and rowdyism.

The UFF not only murdered **Irish Republican Army (IRA)** activists and sympathizers but also carried out random killings of Catho-

lics not associated with antiunionist groups to terrorize the Roman Catholic community. In 1976 it murdered a former Sinn Fein activist, Marie Drumm, in her bed at Belfast's Mater Hospital. On 14 March 1984 it shot and injured Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams as he was being driven through downtown Belfast. On 7 November 1986, two **bombs** planted by the UFF exploded in garbage cans on Dublin's main street but caused no injuries, and two others were found and deactivated. These bombs had been planted to protest the recently concluded Anglo-Irish Agreement. On 12 February 1989 UFF members entered the home of a prominent Catholic lawyer, Pat Finucane, and killed him in the presence of his family at the dinner table. While they claimed that he had been an IRA member, this appeared to be another example of the UFF campaign of killing prominent Catholics of whatever political complexion.

The UDA announced on 11 November 2007 that the UFF would be disbanded that day and that its weapons would be "put beyond use," although it did not commit itself to decommissioning these arms.

ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE (UVF). The UVF was a Northern Irish Protestant **death squad** used to repress suspected **Irish Republican Army (IRA)** members. It had effective **state support** from the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR), an official security organization dominated by sectarian Protestant militiamen. The original UVF was formed from the unification of all Ulster Protestant militias in 1913 to oppose the grant of an autonomous government to Ireland in which Protestants would have formed a minority. At that time many British officers gave the UVF covert support. Upon the partition of Ireland under the Irish Free State Act of 1922, the Royal Irish Constabulary was dissolved throughout Ireland, while the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) took its place in the north. Most UVF members entered the RUC at that time and continued to fight those IRA members who rejected partition. Although the UVF ceased to exist officially, the corps of its members remained within the RUC and also later entered the Ulster Special Constabulary.

A former British military policeman, Augustus Spence, declared the UVF revived in 1966 in a special newspaper advertisement on 21 May 1966. This ad declared the UVF "a military body dedicated to upholding the constitution of Ulster by force of arms if necessary" and declared war on all IRA members, threatening to kill them

summarily. By the “constitution of Ulster,” Spence meant Protestant supremacy in the political and social life of Northern Ireland rather than any constitutional rule of law as such. The new UVF engaged in a campaign of **arsons** of Catholic homes and businesses. The Special Powers Act (1922) banning the IRA was amended on 23 June 1966 to proscribe the UVF as well. On 26 May 1966 the UVF shot one John Scullion, who died two weeks later, for singing republican songs in public. On 25 June 1966, Augustus Spence and other UVF members shot four Catholics leaving a pub in the Shankill area, killing one. The UVF then carried out a **bombing** campaign in 1969, which was blamed on the IRA, that forced the moderate prime minister of Northern Ireland, Terence O’Neill, to resign.

The UVF was legalized again in 1973. On 31 July 1975 UVF members murdered three members of the southern Irish Miami Showcase Band outside Newry. The UVF had rigged the band’s van with a bomb, which detonated, killing two of their own numbers as well. One of the two UVF dead happened to be a sergeant in the Ulster Defence Regiment, the successor to the Ulster Special Constabulary. The overlapping membership of the UDR and UVF and the direct material support given by UDR members to the UVF made the latter, in effect, a state-sponsored group. The UVF also had relations with the **Red Hand Commandos**, who were suspected of bombing downtown Dublin and the southern Irish town of Monaghan on 17 May 1974, killing 30 and injuring 151.

The UVF had perhaps 1,500 members at its height. In 1976 the UVF pledged to refrain from violence; however, in the following three years, 43 members were tried and convicted on charges ranging from illegal possession of arms to murder.

In 1991 the UVF joined the Combined Loyalist Military Command. In October 1994 the UVF endorsed the cease-fire declared by the Combined Loyalist Military Command, although observers have reported the killings of more than 30 people, mainly members of rival Ulster Protestant militias, since the cease-fire. Several disaffected UVF members broke away in 1996 to form the **Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF)**, which carried out an ongoing feud with the UVF that ended only on 30 October 2005 when the LVF announced it was disbanding. Due to UVF involvement in rioting, in which UVF members reportedly fired handguns, Secretary for Northern Ireland Peter Hain declared on 14 September 2005 that the British government

regarded the UVF cease-fire as having been violated. On 3 May 2007 the UVF declared that it was renouncing violence and putting its remaining weapons, believed to consist mainly of small arms, “beyond reach.” Throughout the duration of the Northern Ireland conflict (1968–1998), the UVF was responsible for 426 killings, including those claimed by the Red Hand Commandos.

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (MK). The Spear of the Nation was the military wing of the **African National Congress (ANC)** established by Nelson Mandela in 1961. Following the withdrawal of Portugal from Mozambique and Angola in 1975, the MK was afforded **state sponsorship** by the African national regimes established in those lands, channeling aid to it through the ANC as well as through Cuban military training and material support from the Soviet Union and eastern bloc. The object of the MK was to destroy the South African apartheid regime through political agitation, sabotage, and terrorism.

From 1961 to 1977 the MK confined its attacks largely to sabotaging power pylons and commercial property and avoided **targeting** civilians. In 1977, in response to the South African Defense Forces’ killing of hundreds of blacks in South African townships, the MK started its “second campaign,” in which it targeted police and military officials as well as property. In this phase, lasting until 1983, the MK conducted more than 200 terrorist attacks. In 1977, the MK shot two whites in Johannesburg and embarked on more extensive **bombing** operations. On 1 June 1980 the MK bombed the three South African Coal, Gas and Oil Conversion (SASOL) plants simultaneously at midnight, one in the Orange Free State and two in Transvaal, causing \$7 million in damages and injuring one guard. On 13 August 1981 the MK launched several rockets against the Voortrekkerhoogte military academy near Pretoria, causing damages but only two casualties. On 8 January 1982 the MK exploded four bombs in the Koeburg nuclear plant near Capetown, which was fueled but not in operation at that time. On 20 May 1983 the MK carried out a car bombing of the South African air force headquarters outside Pretoria, in which 17 people were killed and around 200 injured, although virtually no damage was inflicted on the military facility itself. Attacks were also made on civilian targets, such as the 20 May 1983 Church Street bombing, killing 19 people; the 14 June 1986 car bombing outside Magoo’s Bar in Durban, killing three people and injuring 73 others; the 24

June 1986 bombing of Wimpy Burgers in Johannesburg, injuring 17 customers; and the bombing of the Holiday Inn–owned President Hotel, also on 24 June, in which two people were injured. From 1985 until 1987 the MK mined several roads in Northern Transvaal to attack security forces, resulting in at least 30 explosions and 23 deaths. The MK desisted from this campaign due to the high rate of civilian casualties, most of whom were generally black workers.

Since 1983 the program of the MK had been to terrorize white farmers, to sabotage the industrial base of South Africa, to terrorize black policemen and politicians as collaborators of the apartheid regime, and to conduct terrorism in the white-inhabited urban areas. As is often the case with mass-based movements, a number of terrorist incidents against whites and black collaborators also occurred for which no group claimed credit. In the late 1980s, black “football clubs” were formed, which were, in fact, youth gangs that would terrorize or kill blacks who did not support the ANC. A particularly grisly form of murder called necklacing was perpetrated against blacks suspected of being police informants in which an automobile tire filled with gasoline-soaked rags would be placed around the victim’s neck and set afire.

With the legalization of the African National Congress and Nelson Mandela’s release from prison in February 1990, the Umkhonto we Sizwe suspended its actions on 1 August 1990. Mandela and other ANC leaders had threatened in mid-1992 to resume its **insurgency** if what they claimed were South African police–inspired killings of black nationalists continued. However, with the transition of power from the apartheid regime to a democratically elected government in April 1994, there was no further need for guerrilla warfare.

Beginning in 1996 the transitional government mandated an independent Truth and Reconciliation Commission to investigate allegations of terrorist actions by any and all participants in the civil conflict that led up to the end of apartheid. The 17-member commission, which was headed by Nobel Peace Prize laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu, issued a report on 30 October 1999. Among other things, this report documented the torture and execution of ANC political dissidents by the MK in its camps in Mozambique and elsewhere and also its frequent failure to distinguish between military and civilian targets. *See also* SOUTH AFRICAN STATE AND ANTISTATE TERRORISM.

UNABOMBER. Theodore J. Kaczynski (1942–), better known as “Ted” Kaczynski, was the “Unabomber” responsible for 16 mailed parcel-bomb attacks from 25 May 1978 to 24 April 1995 that killed three people and maimed 23 others. These **bombings** were motivated to protect the natural world and promote a nonindustrial anarchistic world in which small autonomous groups and individuals would replace governments and other conventional social institutions. To achieve this, Kaczynski believed he had to destroy industrial society by **targeting** key academics, computer professionals, and business executives in technology-intensive fields. His initial selection of university and airline targets led the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to designate him as the Unabomber.

Kaczynski’s bombs were meticulously crafted, and all detonator components were handmade, making tracing of them through known suppliers and outlets impossible. He also carved the initials “FC” on each bomb and used a nine-digit code name in his letters to allow authorities to authenticate messages sent in his name against possible copycat actions by others. Apparently he also assembled and disassembled each bomb several times to ensure it would work properly and took care to avoid leaving fingerprints.

His first bombings were in the Chicago area: the Engineering department parking lot on 25 May 1978 and the Technological Institute on 9 May 1979, both located at Northwestern University in Evanston. Another bomb on 15 November 1979 caught fire in the cargo hold of a Boeing 727 plane, requiring it to make an emergency landing at Dulles Airport. As an attempted bombing of an airliner is a federal offense, this incident brought the Unabomber case under the jurisdiction of the FBI. Another bombing of an airline executive on 10 June 1980 resulted in injury; another bomb was safely deactivated at the University of Utah on 8 October 1981. A metal pipe bomb injured a professor of electrical engineering and computer science at the University of California–Berkeley on 2 July 1982. A parcel bomb mailed to the Fabrication division of Boeing in Auburn, Washington, was safely deactivated on 8 May 1985. Another bomb at the University of California–Berkeley campus maimed and partially blinded a graduate student on 15 May 1985, while another bomb-rigged package exploded at Vanderbilt University in Tennessee when it was opened by a secretary in the computer department on 5 May 1982.

Deaths and severe injuries caused by the Unabomber included the 11 December 1985 killing of Hugh Scrutton, a computer store owner in Sacramento, California. On 20 February 1987 a bomb maimed another computer store owner, in Salt Lake City. On 22 June 1993 a bomb severely injured a geneticist in Tiburon, California, while another bomb severely injured a professor of computer science at Yale University on 24 June 1993. Parcel bombs killed Thomas Mosser, a New York City advertising executive, at his home on 10 December 1994, and Gilbert Murray, president of the California Forestry Association, on 25 April 1995.

In June 1995 the Unabomber offered to cease his campaign of bombing if the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* would publish his eight-page-long and 35,000-word manifesto, "Industrial Society and Its Future," within three months. At the urging of U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno, both papers did so on 19 September 1995. The FBI hoped that the writing style and content of the manifesto, if widely circulated, would be recognized by those who knew the author. After seven months, Kaczynski's mother and his brother, David Kaczynski, contacted the FBI. Ted Kaczynski was arrested at his cabin outside Lincoln, Montana, on 3 April 1993. His trial began on 12 November 1997, and on 22 January 1998 Kaczynski admitted to being the Unabomber in exchange for being spared the death penalty in favor of life imprisonment without possibility of parole. Kaczynski also faced a wrongful death lawsuit by the family of Gilbert Murray at the time of his sentencing. Kaczynski is currently serving his sentence in a federal prison in Florence, Colorado.

UNITA. The União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola, or National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, was an antistate group that sought to overthrow the Marxist government of Angola and that received **state sponsorship** from South Africa prior to the end of the apartheid regime in 1994. Led by Jonas Savimbi, UNITA had about 71,000 soldiers augmented by material support from South Africa and the United States, which both regarded the support of Cuban troops and Russian advisers for the Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) government headed by President José Eduardo dos Santos as another proxy battle in the cold war. The civil war in Angola between anti-Marxist factions, such as UNITA and the **Cabinda Liberation Front-Cabinda Liberation Forces (FLEC-**

FAC), had been ongoing from 1975 until 1994, when the Lusaka Accord political settlement brokered by the United Nations (UN) seemed to take hold. In the 29–30 September 1992 national presidential elections, Savimbi won 40.1 percent of the popular vote, second to dos Santos's 49.6 percent, while in the parliamentary elections UNITA won 70 of the 220 seats in the National Assembly, making it second to dos Santos's MPLA party, which won 129 seats. Then in June 1998 the political settlement collapsed, and UNITA resumed its attempts to overthrow the ruling government, recapturing half of the countryside and forcing 200,000 Angolans from their villages.

UNITA resumed fighting due to instances of vindictive treatment of former UNITA fighters by government police and officials sent into the areas formerly held by UNITA. Ironically, the Marxist government that formerly looked to the Soviet Union and Cuba for support against the UNITA **insurgency** then turned to United States and Western oil companies for support on the supposition that a UNITA takeover would interfere with their oil-extraction interests. UNITA forces shot down an Angolan government plane near Kuito on 14 December 1998. In nearby Vila Nova, on 26 December 1998, UNITA forces also shot down a C-130 carrying UN observers sent to enforce the 1994 Lusaka Accord. Fighting between UNITA and government troops in this central region of Angola had killed 200 civilians and injured another 400. UNITA also joined forces with Cabindan rebels in attacking Angolan and foreign workers involved in oil extraction in the Cabinda enclave.

Jonas Savimbi was killed by government troops on 22 February 2002. On 31 March 2002 the remaining leaders of UNITA signed an agreement with Angolan officials agreeing to a cease-fire and blanket amnesty for UNITA members, effectively ending the Angolan civil war. Since 2003 UNITA has been led by Isaías Samakuva and appeared to be willing to participate in the parliamentary elections scheduled for 2008 and the presidential elections scheduled for 2009.

UNITED FREEDOM FRONT (UFF). The UFF was a nonstate U.S. **anarchistic leftist** group that engaged in terrorism to protest U.S. policy in Central America and South Africa. Its main terrorist activity consisted of **bombings** against military and defense-related industrial **targets** in the New York metropolitan area. The group was founded by Raymond Luc Levasseur and Tom Manning, two Vietnam War veterans, in 1974 and had at most seven members.

On 12 May 1983 the UFF bombed the U.S. Army Reserve facility in Uniondale, New York. The following night it bombed the Naval Reserve center in Queens. The UFF accomplished its 10th major bombing by 19 March 1984 when it bombed an IBM facility near Purchase, New York, its third such attack on IBM. On 27 September 1984 the UFF bombed a Union Carbide office to protest the company's investments in South Africa. The UFF also bombed facilities of Honeywell, the U.S. National Guard, and a Navy recruiting center. In 1981 Tom Manning and Richard Williams killed a New Jersey state trooper during a traffic stop, the only known fatality caused by the UFF.

Such left-wing groups as the UFF, **Armed Resistance Unit**, and **New World Liberation Front** tended to pick bombing targets for symbolic value and to target property rather than human life. These groups generally would use the terrorist event as **armed propaganda** for specific issues or causes rather than as direct military tactics to achieve **revolution**. Accordingly, the UFF used to deposit leaflets near targets and to call news agencies to give communiqués explaining their motives and cause. Instead of mobilizing widespread discussion of their specific issue of interest, however, the net result of the UFF bombing campaign was to motivate targeted firms and similar companies to adopt costly antiterrorist security measures, such as antibomb blast walls.

The UFF was effectively ended with the arrests of its seven members from November 1984 to April 1985. All seven were convicted on 13 March 1986 on charges arising from the bombings conducted by the group as well as the murder of the New Jersey policeman. Lavasseur was released from prison in November 2004, while Manning and Williams continue to serve their sentences for the murder of the New Jersey state trooper. The similarity of the **tactics** and language used by such groups as the UFF, the Sam Melville-Jonathan Jackson Unit, and the Armed Resistance Unit have led many analysts to conclude that these were either one group or branches of a single original group.

USA PATRIOT ACT OF 2001. This is actually an acronym for the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001, more commonly referred to as the Patriot Act, which was a complex set of legislative measures meant to combat terrorism in response to the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11**,

2001, signed into law by President George W. Bush on 26 October 2001 as Public Law 107-56. The act contains many provisions that civil libertarians claimed would diminish the rights of U.S. citizens and legal immigrants to the United States, while defenders of the act maintained that the measures in question were appropriate and proportionate to the threat posed by terrorism and actually quite limited in their application.

Among the provisions in Title II were Sections 201, 202, 203(b), and 204, which allowed government agencies collecting foreign **intelligence** and those involved in criminal investigations to share information, expanded the scope and availability of wiretap orders to include electronic communications involving computers, and allowed the serving of subpoenas to **Internet** service providers to gather a vast range of information on particular subscribers. Title II, Section 202 also allowed “sneak and peek” searches in which the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), as well as the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Department of Defense, could access the documents of U.S. citizens without immediately notifying the individuals affected of the execution of such search warrants. Section 206 of Title II allowed investigators to use “roving wiretaps” to monitor any electronic communications device being used by the subject named in the wiretap order. Perhaps the most controversial aspect of the Patriot Act was Title V, Section 505, expanding the use of National Security Letters, which would require an organization to turn over various records and data pertaining to individuals without probable cause and would forbid it to inform the person so affected on pains of fines and/or imprisonment. The latter “gag order” provision was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York in *American Civil Liberties Union v. Ashcroft* (2004); the attempt by the George W. Bush administration to appeal this decision was rejected by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. Title IX allows the Director of Central Intelligence to require the Attorney General, or head of any other executive agency, to disclose any foreign intelligence gathered by law enforcement in the course of criminal investigations. Most of the provisions in Title II that were originally set to expire at the end of 2005 were extended until 31 December 2009 by the USA Patriot Act and Terrorism Prevention Reauthorization Act of 2005. The USA Patriot Act Additional Reauthorizing Amendments of 2006 modified and limited

the more controversial positions to address civil liberties concerns. The 2006 amendment of Title II, Section 206, governing roving wire-taps and the amendments of Section 215 giving investigators access to business records allowed for greater judicial oversight and review, while the delay in notification permitted under Section 213, “sneak and peek” searches, should not exceed 30 days and removed mention of the objectionable gag order.

The 2001 act also addressed several other issues, including money laundering, border security, compensation for the victims of terrorism, and other miscellaneous matters that legislators believed to have been inadequately covered by previous statutory law.

UTA FLIGHT 772 BOMBING. On 19 September 1989 at 1:59 p.m., Flight 772, a DC-10 of the now-defunct French air carrier Union des Transports Aériens (UTA), exploded in midflight over Niger, killing all 170 people aboard. The flight originated in Brazzaville, Congo, destined for Paris with a stop at N’Djamena airport in Chad. The DC-10 exploded on the Chad-to-France portion of the flight, killing all aboard, most of whom were French citizens but also seven U.S. citizens and 49 Congolese. One of the American passengers was Bonnie Pugh, the wife of Robert Pugh, the U.S. ambassador to Chad.

On 7 May 1997 French antiterrorism investigators obtained indictments against six Libyans, one of them being Abdallah Senoussi, who was the second-ranking Libyan security official at the time of the **bombing** and who is also a brother-in-law of Libyan leader **Muammar Qaddafi**. Senoussi was believed to have ordered the bombing in retaliation for France’s providing troops to Chad, enabling it to resist a Libyan invasion. Libyan agents had paid a Congolese citizen to check onto Flight UTA-772 from Brazzaville and gave him a Samsonite suitcase with three pounds of pentrite explosive and a detonator. The Congolese man, who had intended to disembark in N’Djamena but was prevented from doing so, was killed with the rest of the passengers when the plane exploded above Niger.

Based on forensic evidence recovered by French antiterrorism investigators from the UTA Flight 772 wreckage spread over hundreds of square miles of desert, and based also on the findings of Judge Jean-Louis Bruguière, who was permitted by Qaddafi to interrogate members of the Libyan intelligence service in July 1996, a French antiterrorism court in 1999 tried and convicted in absentia Senoussi

and five other Libyans for the bombing and issued arrest warrants for them. On 9 January 2004 the Libyan government agreed to pay the surviving family members of those killed on UTA Flight 772 about \$170 million. The families of the seven American victims have refused this compensation and on 19 September 2005 initiated legal proceedings in U.S. federal court against the Libyan government and the six identified Libyans for damages of more than \$2 billion.

– V –

VIPER MILITIA. The Viper Militia was a nonstate revolutionary **white supremacist** “patriot militia” that sought to overthrow the government of the United States through attacks on federal agents and offices. Although most of the groups associated with the **militia movement** seemed innocuous, the Viper Militia group was actually a more activist right-wing extremist group, on the model of the Arizona Patriots and **The Order**.

On 1 July 1996 federal agents arrested 12 members of the Viper Team of the Arizona State Militia for conspiracy to **bomb** the Phoenix, Arizona, offices of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Internal Revenue Service, the Phoenix police department, and the Arizona National Guard Center, as well as illegal possession of four automatic weapons, explosives, and other bomb-making materials. Searches of the home of the two leaders of the group, Randy L. Nelson and Dean C. Pleasant, produced grenades, blasting caps, two pistols, two machine guns, six rifles, and 56 boxes containing 11,463 rounds of ammunition.

Following a complaint to the ATF office from a hunter that armed men in camouflage suits had threatened and ordered him to leave a remote area of the Tonto National Forest, on 13 November 1995 ATF agents found a large crater similar to what would have been made by a homemade ammonium nitrate bomb. An ATF agent, Steve Ott, easily infiltrated the group and secretly videotaped sessions of the group in which they planned to bomb the federal buildings mentioned earlier, as well as the police and National Guard offices. Ott later testified that Viper member Ellen Belliveau had suggested that the group **target** the families of federal agents for possible retaliation

in the event group members were killed or captured while fighting the federal government. On 5 May 1996 Ellen Belliveau, an AT&T employee, volunteered to get the telephone records of federal agents, while Nelson claimed he had gotten access to a computer file with the names and addresses of federal employees. A search of member Gary Bauer's home revealed three assembled bombs, a stick of dynamite, blasting caps, ammonium nitrate, and 55 gallons of nitromethane, another bomb-making ingredient.

By late December 1996, 10 of the Viper militia members pleaded guilty and were given reduced sentences of between two and four years' imprisonment. Two pleaded not guilty, but Charles Knight was found guilty of conspiracy and illegal possession of explosives on 8 September 1997 and sentenced to 57 months' imprisonment and a \$5,000 fine, while on 18 November 1997 the remaining Viper Militia member, Christopher Floyd, was acquitted of the explosives charge and a mistrial was declared on his conspiracy charge.

The arrests and prosecutions of the Viper Militia members, along with arrests of members of a similar group, the Washington State Militia, had a deterrent effect on other militia groups, and militia activities appeared to decline in the late 1990s.

– W –

WAR CRIMES. War crimes include, but are not limited to the following: violations of the laws or customs of war, such as murder, ill treatment, or deportation to slave labor, or for any other purpose, of the civilian population of or in occupied territory; the murder or ill treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the high seas, and the killing of hostages; and the plundering of private or public property, wanton destruction of cities, towns, villages, or other devastation not justified by military necessity.

The taking of civilian hostages and the killing of combatants who have surrendered, the use of children as soldiers, and the use of civilians as human shields are also considered war crimes. The Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 established standards for the treatment of prisoners of war. The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 defined prohibited forms of warfare and the proper conduct of battle, and established general principles of "humanitarian law" for the conduct of war.

The judgments of the Nuremberg Tribunal established as a rule of law that the international laws pertaining to warfare were applicable not simply to sovereign states but also to individuals even if those people were acting under some legal cover as officials of a **belligerent** state or obeying its orders as its soldiers. The London Charter published on 8 August 1945 also defined the categories of “crimes against peace” and “crimes against humanity” committed in the course of wars as offenses distinct from war crimes as such. On 1 July 2002 the International Criminal Court (ICC) was established in The Hague for the prosecution of war crimes from that date forward but several nations, including the United States and Israel, have refused to participate in its proceedings and deny its jurisdiction over their citizens or nationals.

Generally war crimes can be viewed as a special form of **state terrorism** directed by the armed forces, or paramilitary forces, of a nation-state against noncombatants, whether these be civilians or prisoners of war who, although members of combatant forces of a belligerent, are under the protection of their captors and no longer pose a military threat. The International Criminal Court has jurisdiction over specific acts as war crimes only when they are part of a plan or policy or have been “part of a large-scale commission of such crimes.”

WARSAW CONVENTION. Also known as the 1929 Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules Relating to Transportation by Air, this was the first international convention pertaining to protection of air passengers from all hazards associated with air travel and establishing the liability of air carriers for the safety of their passengers. Although this convention did not specifically address issues of air piracy or **bombings**, since the first known **hijacking** did not occur until February 1931, it formed the precedent for future international conventions pertaining to air security, including issues of terrorism directed at planes or passengers, and has been cited in U.S. case law (*Day v. Trans World Airlines Inc.*, 528 F.2d 31, 2d Circuit, 1975) as forming the basis for an air carrier’s liability in the event of a terrorist attack on its passengers. The Warsaw Convention currently is being replaced by the 1999 **Montreal Convention** pending the signing of the new air travel treaty by all nations. *See also* AIR TRAVEL SECURITY.

WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION (WMD). Also referred to as nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons (NBC), or atomic, biological, and chemical weapons (ABC), or chemical, biologi-

cal, radiological, and nuclear weapons (CBRN), these are weapons designed to kill large numbers of **targeted** combatants or civilians. The U.S. Department of Defense, in its *Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (Joint Publication I-02, 12 April 2001), defines WMD as “weapons that are capable of a high order of destruction and/or of being used in such a manner as to destroy large numbers of people. Weapons of mass destruction can be high explosives or nuclear, biological, chemical, and radiological weapons, but exclude the means of transporting or propelling the weapon where such means is a separable and divisible part of the weapon.” The civil legal definition of WMD under Title 18 U.S. Code, Section 2332a, considers WMD to be “(1) Any explosive, incendiary, poison gas, grenade, or rocket having a propellant charge of more than four ounces [113 grams], missile having an explosive or incendiary charge of more than one-quarter ounce [7 grams] or mine or device similar to the above. (2) Poison gas. (3) Any weapon involving a disease organism. (4) Any weapon that is designed to release radiation at a level dangerous to human life.” Although there are several international treaties addressing different types of WMD, there is no single authoritative definition; the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540 of 28 April 2004 condemns as unlawful the use of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons but without providing a generic definition of WMD in its footnotes. Analysts distinguish between nuclear weapons proper, which include fission or fusion thermonuclear devices intended for use either as strategic or tactical weapons, and radiological or “dirty” bombs, consisting of highly radioactive isotopes or waste products made part of a conventional bomb to cause radioactive contamination or poisoning of places or people targeted by such bombs. Biological weapons include not only bacteriological weapons, such as self-reproducing lethal bacteria or viruses, but also poisonous compounds that can only be obtained from living biological sources, such as botulinum and **ricin**.

Prior to the **Tokyo subway attack**, there were only two other instances in which radical or terrorist groups had used chemical or bacteriological weapons: In 1984 followers of cult leader Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh contaminated a salad bar in The Dalles, Oregon, with salmonella bacteria to prevent people from voting in an election that the cult wanted to disrupt. As a result, 751 people became sick with food poisoning. In 1990 the **Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam**

(LTTE) released containers of liquid chlorine to gas Sri Lankan army forces. This attack succeeded in killing and immobilizing many soldiers, but shifting winds caused several of the LTTE units to suffer from the same chlorine gas. The difficulties of precision targeting and long-term goals of political legitimacy do not make WMD the weapon of choice for most groups. Groups committed to some utopian, apocalyptic, or **millennialist** vision might opt to use WMD agents in order to set in motion events that they believe would help achieve their millennialist or utopian vision.

Despite the relatively low probability that terrorists will use WMD agents, the free-floating public fear and ignorance about WMD enable even false WMD threats, alarms, or false claims of their use to create real public panic, incapacitate ordinary business, and even induce psychosomatic distress among suggestible individuals or crowds. On 24 April 1997 the delivery to the B'nai B'rith national headquarters of a foul-smelling envelope with the word "anthrachs" [*sic*] scrawled on it not only led Washington, D.C., fire department officials to shut down those offices but also caused two B'nai B'rith employees to experience what they thought were the symptoms of anthrax infection. In 1997 alone the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) investigated 68 new cases of real or fake attempts to procure or deploy WMD, and in 1998 the yearly figure had reached about a hundred such cases in the United States. While most cases involved anthrax hoaxes, often directed against abortion clinics, schools, courthouses, or other government offices, the FBI regarded the disruptions and emotional distress caused by these hoaxes to be a serious form of terrorism in itself. In October 2001 the first known cases of **anthrax attacks** involving deliberate anthrax poisoning surfaced in the United States, involving five fatalities out of 22 cases of known infection.

It should be noted that although WMD present frightening scenarios of mass carnage, to date most terrorist groups have found machine guns and bombs to be much more cost effective, lethal, and sufficiently terrorizing to serve their political agendas. Therefore in all likelihood these will remain the preferred weapons of most terrorists.

WEATHERMEN/WEATHER UNDERGROUND. The Weather Underground, or Weather Underground Organization, was an **anarchistic leftist terrorist** group active from 7 October 1969 to about 1976 that was formed in the student radicalism of the late 1960s

in the United States, much in the same way the German Baader-Meinhof **Red Army Faction** (RAF) and several other terrorist groups drew their membership from middle-class university students.

The Weathermen emerged out of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a student leftist antiwar group, in 18–22 June 1969 during an SDS conference. Their name is taken from the lyrics of Bob Dylan's song *Subterranean Homesick Blues*, "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows," used as the title of the position paper of the SDS leaders published on 31 December 1969 advocating armed **revolution**. While the majority of SDS members rejected this proposal, the Weathermen core stuck to the proposal, imagining that they would form the vanguard that would kindle revolution at large.

They proposed acts of **armed propaganda** aimed at pitting antiwar youth against the police and planned to incite riots in the so-called days of rage planned for 8 October 1969, that is, a reenactment of the demonstrations and police riot that had occurred a year earlier at the 1968 Democratic Party Convention in Chicago. On 7 October 1969 they **bombed** the Chicago policeman's statue in Haymarket Square. During 8–11 October some 287 Weathermen assembled in Chicago's Grant Park and were arrested for disorderly conduct. During 27–31 December 1969 the Weathermen "war council" decided to go underground and accordingly failed to appear for their trials rising from the Grant Park demonstrations, so becoming fugitives. On 6 March 1970, the Weathermen's hideout in Greenwich Village, New York, blew up due to an error one of them made while trying to assemble a bomb, killing three leaders.

Despite this mishap, the group undertook its program of armed propaganda. The first known bombing by the Weathermen was of several parked police cars in Berkeley, California, on 13 February 1970. On 9 June 1970 the Weathermen bombed the New York City police headquarters. On 1 August 1970 they blasted the exterior of the New York branch of the Bank of Brazil with a pipe bomb. On 13 September 1970 they arranged the jail break of Timothy Leary, who was then smuggled to Algeria. On 8 October 1970 they bombed the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) building on the University of Washington campus, the Santa Barbara National Guard Armory, and a courthouse in San Rafael, California. On 1 March 1971 they bombed the U.S. Senate wing of the Capitol building. On 19 May 1972, the birthday of Ho

Chi Minh, the Weathermen bombed a lavatory in the Pentagon, causing water damage and destroying magnetic tapes holding classified military information. The group also bombed the headquarters of the U.S. State Department on 29 January 1975. All, told the Weathermen conducted 23 bombings from 1970 until 1975.

Sometime during 1970–1971 the group changed its name to the Weather Underground, or Weather Underground Organization, partly to emphasize the members' voluntary decision to go underground but also because of an increasing sensitivity within the group to feminist concerns about sexism. An internal purge destroyed the organization sometime in 1976–1977. The decision to go underground in 1970 left the members isolated from society at large, while the aboveground support network, known as the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, faulted the underground cadre for lagging in their commitment to combating sexism and racism, which had filled the vacuum in the New Left's agenda once filled by the antiwar movement. Weather Underground members then turned upon one another in internal **ideological** purges of the insufficiently "committed." Those original Weathermen leaders who were banished eventually gave themselves up to law enforcement officials: Mark Rudd on 20 January 1977, and Bernadine Dohrn and William Ayers on 3 December 1981. The ideological hard-liners, among whom were David Gilbert and Katherine Boudin, formed the **May 19 Communist Coalition**, which created the **Revolutionary Armed Task Force** by merging the remnants of the Weather Underground and the **Black Liberation Army**. Boudin and Gilbert were arrested shortly after the 20 October 1981 Brinks armored car robbery by themselves and members of the Black Liberation Army, in the course of which two police officers and one Brinks guard were killed and for which Boudin and Gilbert were later convicted and sentenced to prison terms of at least 20 years. With the surrender of Jeffrey David Powell on 6 January 1994, the last of the six Weathermen wanted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation had surfaced. Ayers and Dohrn were released from custody after the case was dismissed for prosecutorial misconduct.

WHITE HAND. "Mano Blanca" was a **state-sponsored** vigilante group established in 1966 to suppress the Communist **insurgency** in Guatemala. The organization was supposedly founded by Colonel Enrique Trinidad Oliva and later led by the national police chief. It

eventually turned into a right-wing **death squad** that **targeted** many prominent citizens suspected of harboring leftist sympathies, including trade union officials and Roman Catholic priests and prelates. The word “Mano” in the group’s name originally stood for *Movimiento de Acción Nacionalista Organizada*.

On 17 March 1968 the White Hand abducted the Archbishop of Guatemala, Monsignor Mario Casariego Acevedo, whom they held for a few days before releasing. The organization had hoped by this action to frame leftist groups to create an antileftist backlash among church and army officials. In 1970 Colonel Carlos Arana Osorio, the counterinsurgency military commander who had destroyed two of the largest leftist guerrilla groups in the countryside, was elected president. During his presidency, the White Hand, along with other right-wing groups, was permitted to conduct a terror campaign against suspected leftist elements in the cities. On 7 April 1970 the White Hand murdered César Montenegro Paniagua, a Guatemalan Communist politician, apparently in reprisal for the **assassination** two days earlier of the West German Ambassador Karl von Spreti by members of the left-wing Rebel Armed Forces (*Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes*, FAR), the principal group of the **Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union**, the main antigovernment leftist insurgent group. This group has become inactive since the end of the Guatemalan insurgency in 1996.

WHITE PATRIOT ARMY (WPA). The WPA was a nonstate paramilitary **white supremacist** organization that sought to undertake a revolutionary “war” against the “Zionist Occupation Government” of the United States. The main leader of this organization was Frazier Glenn Miller, a former Green Beret Vietnam combat veteran, former member of the American Nazi Party, and leader of the Carolina Knights of the **Ku Klux Klan**, from which the WPA drew most of its members. Miller and other members, who later formed the WPA, carried out the 3 November 1979 massacre in Greensboro, North Carolina, in which they shot to death five anti-Klan demonstrators belonging to the Communist Workers Party, a Maoist organization. Two criminal trials of WPA members followed, which ended in acquittals when the defense attorneys were able to persuade the jurors that the Communist Workers Party demonstration had not been peaceful but had been calculated to incite violence. In 1985 a civil lawsuit by relatives and survivors of the massacre against the city of Greensboro for failing to protect

the demonstrators resulted in a \$350,000 judgment, which the city of Greensboro eventually paid to the plaintiffs.

In 1986 Miller and three other WPA members were arrested for conspiracy to steal military explosives to bomb the Southern Poverty Law Center of Montgomery, Alabama, an anti-Klan group that in 1985 had obtained a court order restraining Miller from paramilitary activities. The **bombing** was intended to murder Morris Dees, the director of the Center and personal nemesis of Miller. An inquiry conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) revealed that WPA members were also affiliated with the Carolina Klan and that three of them also were members of **The Order**, from which Miller had accepted \$300,000 in stolen funds. Subsequent searches of Miller's property in Missouri revealed stockpiles of contraband military arms and explosives and Miller was imprisoned for failing to obey the 1985 restraining order. In April 1987 Miller published a letter seeking to rally other white supremacists to resist federal authorities. This action led to his arrest in May 1987 for using the U.S. mail to communicate a threat, for which he was convicted and received a sentence of five years' imprisonment. In a plea deal with federal authorities, he became a state's witness in the 1988 Fort Smith sedition and conspiracy trial against Richard Butler of the **Aryan Nations** and four other white supremacist leaders, which ended in the acquittal of all the accused. Eventually Miller was placed into the U.S. federal witness protection program and he has since then been reviled by other white supremacists as a turncoat and traitor.

While the memberships of the WPA and similar white supremacist organizations are not known with precision due to these groups' secretive nature, the United Press International reported several marches staged by the WPA in North Carolina during 1984, each of which involved more than 300 participants. According to Miller's own testimony, the WPA began to fall apart just before his arrest in 1986 due to his alcoholism and the squandering of the group's resources. After 1987 the group became defunct.

WHITE SUPREMACISM. Or white supremacy, a racist **ideology** that holds that Caucasians are superior to nonwhite peoples by virtue of biology, natural intelligence, or some ascriptive birthright. White supremacists differ over whether the concept of a "white race" includes only those descended from the Celtic, Germanic, and Nordic nations

of Europe, or includes all Caucasian people of European descent, including Eastern European and Mediterranean nationalities. For many domestic U.S. right-wing groups, this ideology is either an essential tenet of the group, as with the **Ku Klux Klan**, **neo-Nazi**, or **Identity Christian** groups, or else this belief is widely held by members of a group but is not necessarily part of the core ideology of the group, as appears to be the case with the **Posse Comitatus** and **Minuteman** groups. Those who hold white supremacy beliefs often hold anti-Semitic beliefs and exclude Jews from their definition of white Caucasian. White supremacist groups exist throughout North America, Great Britain, Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. In South Africa the white supremacists are generally found among Afrikaner groups, such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), or Afrikaner Resistance Movement, which became reactivated in 2008 and opposes the current postapartheid government in favor of the creation of a *Volkstaat*, or whites-only homeland, within South Africa.

While the white supremacist doctrines of North American groups tend to be joined with Identity Christianity, or other fundamentalist Christian beliefs, the ideology of British and European **skinheads** and neo-Nazis is secular, agnostic, and even hostile to Christianity, which Adolf Hitler and many of his close associates viewed as an outgrowth of Judaism, non-European and therefore corrupt. In the United States, the World Church of the Creator, also known as the Creativity Movement, is a white supremacist group that explicitly rejects Christianity even in the Identity Christian form.

WHITE WARRIORS' UNION (UGB). The Unión de Guerreros Blancos (White Warriors' Union), or Unión Guerrera Blanca (White Fighting Union), was a nonstate **death squad** founded in 1976 by Roberto D'Aubuisson for the limited purpose of repressing leftist elements in Salvadoran society. Due to the involvement of the Society of Jesus and other Roman Catholic educators with **liberation theology** and espousal of leftist causes, this group was pronouncedly anti-Jesuit, although it claimed to be loyal to the traditional values of Catholicism. The UGB claimed credit for killing two priests in San Salvador, Father Alfonso Navarro Oviedo, who was murdered on 11 May 1976, and Father Rutilio Grande, S.J., who was killed on 12 March 1977 along with two companions. In 1979 the UGB killed several teachers and also **bombed** the house of a trade union leader.

Roberto D'Aubuisson was a protégé of General José Alberto Medrano, who had organized **ORDEN**, the peasant militia that evolved into a death squad that was officially abolished but not fully suppressed in November 1979. From 1979 until 1982 the UGB was only one of numerous right-wing death squads operating in El Salvador. During this period, killings by death squads sometimes exceeded 800 people each month and included among their victims Archbishop Oscar Romero y Galdamez, killed on 24 March 1980. In 1982 D'Aubuisson founded and led the rightist Republican National Alliance Party (**ARENA**), itself suspected of sponsoring death squad activities. The ARENA party won the largest share of seats in the new Constituent Assembly in 1982. With the ascendancy of ARENA, both the remnants of the UGB and ORDEN were absorbed into D'Aubuisson's new political organization.

WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING OF 1993. On 26 February 1993 at 12:17 p.m., a Ryder van packed with homemade explosives detonated in the parking lot under the north tower of the World Trade Center in downtown Manhattan. The blast killed six people and injured 1,042 and was considered the worst terrorist incident to have occurred within the United States until the **Oklahoma City bombing** of 19 April 1995, which caused far more deaths. The blast crater extended through five stories of the underground parking lot. The **bomb** was estimated to have consisted of 1,500 pounds of explosives manufactured from urea, sulfuric acid, and nitric acid, materials later found in the possession of some of the suspects. The device was also rigged with hydrogen gas cylinders and nitroglycerin blasting caps to amplify the explosion of the resulting fireball. The bomb makers also had mixed sodium cyanide into the explosives in the hope that the explosion would produce hydrogen cyanide gas that could kill more people than would be killed by the explosion alone. The heat produced by the explosion instead destroyed the cyanide.

Forensic analysis of remaining fragments of the vehicle bomb revealed the vehicle identification number, which allowed the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to identify Mohammed A. Salameh as the person who rented the van, and Salameh was arrested within five days of the bombing. Salameh also had rented a storage locker in New Jersey where the bomb-making materials were stored and shared an apartment with Nidal A. Ayyad, the chemical engineer

who mixed the explosives in their apartment. Salameh and Ayyad shared a bank account that funded the purchase of the explosives and rental of the van. A New York taxi driver, Mahmud Abouhalima, who had helped prepare the explosives and who had bought fuel for the van, was arrested in Egypt and **extradited** to the United States. Fingerprints on military bomb-making manuals found in Salameh's apartment and records of Salameh's telephone calls led police to another suspect, Ahmad M. Ajaj, who was imprisoned at the time of the bombing.

Two other key suspects named in federal indictments, Abdul Rahman Yasin and Razmi Ahmad Yousef, had already fled the country. Yousef, who arrived from Pakistan six months before the bombing, was the mastermind behind the bombing and had entered the country with the specific intent of carrying out a terrorist attack on U.S. soil. On 7 February 1995 Yousef was arrested by FBI agents and State Department diplomatic security officers in Pakistan and returned to the United States the following day. On 12 November 1997 he and another associate, Ismail Eyad, were convicted for their roles in the World Trade Center bombing and were sentenced to life imprisonment on 8 January 1998.

Shortly after the arrest of Salameh and Ayyad, it was learned that both had regularly attended a New Jersey mosque, the Masjid as Salaam, where the resident prayer leader was **Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman**, the blind Egyptian preacher and leader of the **Islamic Group** (IG) in Egypt who had issued the decree of **takfir** to members of the **Munazzamat al Jihad** authorizing the killing of Anwar Sadat. Although Sheikh Abdul Rahman was included on an official list of suspected terrorists prohibited from entering the United States, he managed nonetheless to obtain a visa from a U.S. consulate in Sudan. Although Sheikh Abdul Rahman afterward declared the bombing to have been contrary to Islam, such strong circumstantial evidence linked him to the other suspects and to evidence regarding a broader conspiracy to bomb public places that he was arrested in June 1993 to await a separate trial to be held after the trial of the four main suspects in the World Trade Center case.

Not altogether separate from the question of an **Islamic fundamentalist** inspiration behind the bombing was the question of possible **state sponsorship**. Sheikh Abdul Rahman, Salameh, and Ayyad all received funds from unknown sources abroad. Ahmad Ajaj

and Razmi Ahmad Yousef both had guerrilla training with Afghan rebels and possessed several false passports. Investigations by the FBI led to discovery of contacts of the suspects with **Osama bin Laden** and the **Maktab al Khidamat**, which was the original name of the **al Qa'eda** organization. At the time of his arrest, Yousef was living in a guest house where his expenses were being paid by Osama bin Laden. Following the **World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001**, it was learned that Ramzi Yousef was the nephew of Khalid Sheikh Mohammad, the al Qa'eda mastermind behind the 9/11 attacks. The defendants denied outside state support, however, when questioned by U.S. interrogators. *See also* BROOKLYN BOMBING PLOT.

WORLD TRADE CENTER AND PENTAGON ATTACKS OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2001. On 11 September 2001, three teams of five-man **suicide bombers** and one four-man team **hijacked** four American domestic flights, crashing one into the World Trade Center north tower, another into the south tower, and another into the east side of the Pentagon. At 8:46 a.m. American Airlines Flight 11, from Boston to Los Angeles, crashed into the north tower of the World Trade Center, and at 9:02 a.m. United Airlines Flight 175, also a Boston-to-Los Angeles run, crashed into the south tower, causing a massive explosion and fireball. Then, at 9:40 a.m., American Airlines Flight 77, which had taken off from Dulles Airport in Virginia, crashed into one side of the Pentagon, causing portions of that structure to collapse and burn. The fourth flight, United Airlines Flight 93 from Newark to San Francisco, crashed at 10:07 a.m. following an apparent struggle between the hijackers and the passengers. At 9:59 a.m. the World Trade Center's south tower collapsed and at 10:28 a.m. the north tower also collapsed. The falling debris of these buildings engulfed and killed many of the emergency first responders, as well as thousands of civilians who had not yet been evacuated. The catastrophic collapse of these structures also destroyed four other buildings in the World Trade Center complex, namely, No. 4 World Trade Center, Southeast Plaza Building; No. 5 World Trade Center, Northeast Plaza Building; No. 6 World Trade Center, U.S. Customs House; and No. 7 World Trade Center.

At least 2,603 people were killed at the World Trade Center and 125 at the Pentagon. Altogether, 2,993 people were killed, including

all 19 hijackers and the 238 airline passengers who also perished in these attacks. Of those killed in the World Trade Center, 2,192 were civilians, 341 were firefighters, 23 were New York municipal police, 37 were Port Authority police, and 10 were emergency medical services personnel (two from the New York Fire Department and eight from private emergency services). On Flight 11 about 88 people perished. On Flight 77 there were 59 victims. On Flight 93 there were 40 victims, while on Flight 175 there were 59 victims. All told, 2,974 victims died as a result of these attacks, and some 24 people at the World Trade Center remain officially listed as missing. If all these attacks are considered as one integrated planned operation, then it was the worst mass-casualty terrorist attack ever carried out by a nonstate group.

At 9:37 a.m. the White House and Capitol buildings were evacuated, and at 9:48 a.m. the Federal Aviation Administration ordered all aircraft in U.S. air space to land and it put a halt to all further civilian air traffic, a ban that remained in effect for about one week. In a national address before a joint session of the U.S. Congress on 14 September 2001, President George W. Bush declared that an effective state of war existed between the United States and the terrorist perpetrators along with any states that may have assisted them. The same day, the U.S. Congress approved Senate and House of Representatives Joint Resolution No. 23, an authorization for the use of military force against suspected agents and **state sponsors** responsible for the September 11 attacks on New York and Washington, D.C. On 17 September 2001, the Bush administration identified **Osama bin Laden** and his **al Qa'eda** terrorist network of **Islamic fundamentalist** followers as the principals responsible for these attacks and demanded that the **Taliban** regime in Afghanistan hand him over to U.S. authorities.

Following the Taliban's refusal to hand over bin Laden and other al Qa'eda elements within Afghanistan, the United States launched Operation Enduring Freedom on 7 October 2001 against Taliban and al Qa'eda forces within Afghanistan. On 24 October 2001 the U.S. Congress passed the **USA Patriot Act of 2001** (Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001), which was signed into law by President Bush on 25 October 2001. This law, among other things, allowed officials to detain immigrants without charges,

to penetrate money-laundering banks, and to allow sharing of grand jury information with law enforcement and **intelligence** agencies; the act also expanded authority to conduct wiretaps in intelligence cases and expanded the use of wiretaps to intercept all telephone and Internet communications by suspects identified in warrants. The events of September 11 also led to measures to improve **air travel** security and the creation of the Office of Homeland Security to oversee and coordinate **homeland security** measures.

On 27 November 2003 the U.S. Congress created the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, better known as the 9/11 Commission, to investigate the attacks and to make policy recommendations to prevent similar attacks. The commission was constituted as a bipartisan body consisting of five Democrats and five Republicans rather than a nonpartisan body of experts, which led to later criticisms that the commission lacked the expertise needed for such an investigation and was influenced overly by the partisan biases of its members. In its final report, published on 22 July 2004, the commission recommended changes in both the international and domestic policies of the U.S. government. The global strategy would require better identification of terrorist groups and pending threats, the elimination of **sanctuaries** in nations suffering from what has been described as the **gray-area phenomenon**, and support for states threatened by internal Islamic fundamentalist **insurgencies**, such as Pakistan and Afghanistan. The domestic policy recommendations included measures to promote more sharing of intelligence among U.S. federal agencies, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which had formerly compartmentalized and not shared their data, to promote more cooperation of intelligence sharing between U.S. national and state government police and emergency response agencies, and to create a national director of intelligence above the Director of Central Intelligence who would assume the latter's former responsibility for coordinating intelligence and analysis across the various federal agencies charged with intelligence functions. These recommendations led to the passage of the **Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004**, signed into law on 17 December 2004, which created the Directorate of National Intelligence (DNI) and the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC).

ZAPATISTAS. The Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN), Zapatista Army of National Liberation, which undertook an **insurgency** against the Mexican government in Chiapas State on 1 January 1994, has been hailed as the first “postmodern” insurgency involving the systematic use of **netwar** to achieve its political objectives. The name is taken from that of the revolutionary hero of southern Mexico, Emiliano Zapata (1879–1919).

Unlike other former leftist insurgencies, or the contemporary insurgency of the **Popular Revolutionary Army**, the EZLN did not seek a complete **revolution** changing the political regime in Mexico nor to secede from Mexico, but rather sought specific limited redress of grievances. The EZLN also did not seek foreign **state sponsorship** but rather sought moral support from nongovernmental organizations both within and outside Mexico. Whereas previous insurgencies often viewed revolutionary violence as the only legitimate means for seeking their political goals, the EZLN has used insurgent violence primarily to attract the support of various allies in civil society who then have brought tremendous pressure on U.S. and Mexican government officials to desist from military retaliation against the EZLN in favor of dialogue and negotiation.

The “social netwar” used to apply this moral pressure consists of the coordinated actions of various groups sympathetic to the EZLN, such as advocates of the rights of indigenous peoples, environmentalists, human rights advocates, and anti-NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) groups, as well as labor groups and left-wing groups opposed to Mexican government development policies. By adroit use of the **Internet**, such groups coordinated protests outside Mexican consulates in the United States and in Canada, as well as bombarding offices of elected officials and news organizations with protests against the Mexican government and on behalf of the EZLN and its Mayan Indian allies. Finally, unlike traditional leftist insurgencies, the EZLN abandoned a rigid hierarchical structure in favor of a looser network structure in which the combatants play a larger role in forming a community consensus rather than simply obeying a central command.

The EZLN was founded on 17 November 1983 by young intellectuals from northern Mexico involved in the Fuerzas de Liberación

National (FLN), which had been formed in reaction to the government massacre of university students at Tlatelolco in 1968. These leaders formed the EZLN General Command, but most troops consisted of Mayan Indian villagers who had many long-standing grievances against the Mexican federal government and the Chiapas state government over the dispossession of their communal lands, which they feared would eventually be privatized to facilitate foreign investment under NAFTA. Suspicious of outsiders, these Indians would likely have never been recruited were it not for the intervention of Samuel Ruíz, Bishop of San Cristóbal de las Casas. Both the bishop and his diocesan clergy had embraced the cause of the Indians and the EZLN in the name of **liberation theology**. Through the mediation of these monks and priests already serving the Mayan Indian villages, the EZLN leaders, including Subcommander Marcos, who is believed to be Rafael Sebastián Guillén Vicente, were able to gradually recruit the Mayans to their cause.

The EZLN had few military successes. Their initial New Year's Day occupation of five towns and the state capital of San Cristóbal de las Casas by 1,000–2,000 guerrillas was quickly routed by 12,000 federal troops. However, the reaction of Mexican and international nongovernmental groups, including the Mexican-based Coalition of Nongovernmental Organizations for Peace (CONPAZ), put tremendous pressure on the Mexican government to resolve the conflict peacefully. President Carlos Salinas de Gortari ordered a cease-fire on 12 January 1994; the EZLN reciprocated, and negotiations began through a specially created Commission for Peace and Reconciliation.

Negotiations proceeded unevenly with occasional breakdowns, but the EZLN on several occasions used the social netwar tactics of its allies in civil society to force the Mexican government to make concessions it would otherwise never have made. By 14 February 1995, following successful Mexican military strikes against EZLN and the capture of several of its leaders, pro-EZLN public pressure brought President Ernesto Zedillo to release the captured leaders, to replace the governor of Chiapas, itself a long-standing EZLN demand, and to restore peace negotiations. On 13 January 1998 the Mexican army began arresting those Chiapas police officers who fired on pro-Zapatista demonstrators on 12 January 1998, and by 8 April 1999 the EZLN enjoyed such national and international support that it could send 1,000 unarmed Zapatistas to reoccupy Indian villages as a form

of protest without the police intervening or arresting the protestors. The EZLN further underscored its preference for relatively peaceful and more effective social netwar over guerrilla violence by Subcommander Marcos's September 1996 letter stating that the EZLN neither desired nor needed the announced support of the Popular Revolutionary Army.

After the election of President Vicente Fox on 2 July 2000, the Mexican federal government greatly reduced army troops and other federal security forces in the Chiapas region. On 28 March 2001 EZLN representatives concluded a peace accord with the Mexican government in a ceremony attended by President Fox in the lower house of the Mexican Congress in Mexico City. The last major known incident involving the EZLN involved riots on 3–4 May 2006 in Texcoco, in which demonstrators, consisting of EZLN leaders and members of other Mexican antiglobalization groups, who were protesting the scheduled construction of a Wal-Mart store on the site of an indigenous marketplace, clashed with the police force of Mexico state and federal security forces. These clashes led to about 206 arrests and injuries leading to the death of two protestors. Although the EZLN has continued to engage in sporadic political protests since 2005, the organization has become essentially a political group rather than an active insurgency.

ZEALOTS. Also known as the *Sicarii* (dagger wielders), the Zealots were first-century A.D. Jewish religious **ethnonationalists** in the Roman province of Judea who carried out terrorist attacks on Roman officials and Jews viewed as Roman collaborators as well as waging an open **insurgency** against Rome in the period 66–70 A.D. The immediate goal of the Zealots was to purge Hellenistic cultural influences from Jewish life as well as to rid Judea of Roman domination. Their ultimate goal was actually to initiate the advent of the Messiah by forcing an apocalyptic confrontation between Rome and the Jewish nation. As Judea lacked sufficient human resources to withstand Rome's military power, the Zealots believed that by provoking such a crisis they could force God's direct intervention to save the people of Israel, to whom He was bound by the terms of His covenant with the nation of Israel.

The historian Josephus Flavius recorded most of the activity of the Zealots-Sicarii as having occurred in the 25 years preceding the destruction of Jerusalem by Roman forces in 70 A.D. The Gospel

of Luke also mentioned one of the disciples of Jesus as being one “Simon who was called the Zealot” (Luke 6:15), while later Roman historians recorded two subsequent revolts in Judea as late as the second century that recalled the tactics of the Zealots. At least two separate groups were known as the Sicarii while another group was known as the Zealots, but their common tactics and goals suggest that these various groups were either independent manifestations of a continuing **resurgence movement** in Judea or **cellular groups** emanating from the same organized conspiracy.

The **tactics** of the Zealots included **assassination** in broad daylight of Roman officials and members of the Temple priesthood, usually by stabbing with a dagger (*sica*) in the midst of milling crowds into which the assassin then escaped. They also took hostages for ransom and extorted protection payments from Jewish landowners. Finally, they engaged both in guerrilla warfare and in open engagements with Roman troops. The Zealots also resorted to the first recorded instances of the tactic of mass passive resistance by staging sit-in demonstrations involving unarmed men, women, and children in the streets of Jerusalem to protest instances of Roman disregard for Jewish religious sensitivities. The Zealots timed both their assassinations and these protests to coincide with certain holy days during which Jerusalem would be packed with throngs of Jewish pilgrims. Roman officials were faced with the dilemma of backing away from confrontation, in which case more resistance to Roman authority would be encouraged, or employing force against civilians, so providing the Zealots with more instances of Roman sacrileges with which to fuel their cause. These efforts prefigured later efforts by modern urban guerrilla groups to instigate mass uprisings by provoking authorities into indiscriminate repression in reprisal for terrorist attacks.

Despite the success of the Zealots in provoking the mass revolt against Roman rule in Judea, ultimately Roman forces besieged and destroyed Jerusalem, including the Second Temple, and killed or enslaved the surviving Jewish population in the countryside, the surviving members of which were sent into exile. Josephus recorded that more than 900 Zealots were besieged in the fortress of Masada near the southern end of the Dead Sea. When capture of the fortress by Roman forces following a three-year-long siege seemed imminent, the Zealots reportedly committed mass suicide rather than allowing themselves to be enslaved by the Romans. *See also* MILLENNIALISM.

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INTRODUCTION

The current bibliography differs from that of the second edition in three major respects. First, the topic of weapons of mass destruction, which has been acquiring even more urgency since the discovery following the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks of September 11, 2001, that al Qaeda and other terrorist groups have been seeking to acquire biological and radiological materials for carrying out even more devastating mass casualty attacks, now has an entire section within the bibliography separate from that of “Conventional and Nonconventional Operations.” Second, the use of the Internet, both by terrorists as a tool of recruitment, propaganda, fund-raising, and even carrying out attacks, and by counterterrorism scholars, policy makers, and police and national security agencies as a means of research and countermeasures, also has merited the creation of another separate section within the bibliography, “Cyberterrorism and Networks.” Third, the increased involvement of the U.S. government, particularly its legislative and executive branches, in seeking to understand how to counter the terrorist threat has led to an expansion of the section “Selected U.S. Government Documents.”

With regard to the subject of weapons of mass destruction, it should always be noted that although the liberal democracies seem particularly vulnerable to such weapons, which indeed have a catastrophic potential, the actual probability of their use remains very low. Most terrorist groups will continue to use the more tried and proven—and less costly—means of bombs and bullets. The increased use of the Internet by the general public has created a proliferation of public and private information resources dealing with terrorism, but it has also, as noted in the introduction, created both new venues and means for terrorist and insurgent groups to engage in propaganda, fund-raising, mobilization, and netwar actions. The new section on cyberterrorism contains references to the fundamental and cutting-edge research on the subject of networks, including their proliferation and various means to counteract

them. As Internet resources documenting terrorism have also increased, the current edition updates and expands the final section, “Selected Internet Resources.” As in the previous edition, the websites of terrorist or insurgent groups are not directly cited, but the websites listed in this last section provide invaluable information for ordinary readers, counterterrorism scholars, and practitioners and allow interested readers to find links to terrorist websites on their own, if they so wish. It is again noted that as the Internet is a fluid and rapidly changing information environment, so too the links presented in this bibliography may change, be disconnected, or their content radically revamped; the current format of the Internet itself may radically change or even become obsolescent before this edition runs its course. Having made these introductory comments, we can turn to further discussing the bibliography, which retains much of its previous format although the content has been greatly updated.

The literature on terrorism has burgeoned so much within the past quarter-century that a few key bibliographies and general references are necessary starting points for any systematic research of the existing literature on terrorism. The book *International Terrorism: An Annotated Bibliography and Research Guide* by Augustus R. Norton and Martin H. Greenberg covers most of the literature until 1980 fairly comprehensively, with summary descriptions of key works. Amos Lakos’s *Terrorism, 1980–1990: A Bibliography* is comprehensive, while Edward F. Mickolus’s *The Literature of Terrorism: A Selectively Annotated Bibliography* treats the more seminal books and articles and can be used in conjunction with Lakos’s work. Since 1990 the volume of the literature on terrorism has grown so much that few bibliographies published recently can succeed in being both in depth and comprehensive. Indeed, many of the more recent bibliographies and chronologies have tended to cover a more specialized subset of terrorist or insurgent topics, focusing either on a particular geographic region or on a particular set of groups or tactics. Fortunately the demand for fundamental reference works has led to more up-to-date online terrorism bibliographies and chronologies now available without cost, including the *Annotated Bibliography of Terrorism and Counterterrorism Research*, produced by James J. F. Forest of the U.S. Military Academy’s Combating Terrorism Center, the *Annotated Bibliography of Government Documents Related to the Threat of Terrorism and the Attacks of September 11, 2001* by Kevin Motes, and also the online bibliography on terrorism of the University of St. Andrews Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence. Many

of these databases are listed under both “General Reference Works” and “Selected Internet Resources.”

A number of comprehensive databases and chronologies have been produced that simplify greatly the task of researchers and students. Complete chronologies are indispensable, and Edward F. Mickolus’s eight major chronologies spanning the periods 1968–1979, 1980–1983, 1984–1987, 1988–1991, 1992–1995, 1996–2001, 2002–2004, and 2005–2007 supplement much of the material Mickolus included in his ITERATE (International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events) database. Because of their emphasis on international terrorism, however, these chronologies do not deal with purely domestic U.S. terrorism or with terrorist insurgencies that neither cross borders nor victimize foreign nationals. A new online resource providing regularly updated chronologies and incident reports is the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, available at www.start.umd.edu/data/gtd/.

A number of general reference books as well as edited volumes of select studies have been produced that serve as starting points for research. For a detailed treatment of leading terrorist groups and organizations, Peter Janke’s *Guerrilla and Terrorist Organizations: A World Directory and Bibliography* is both comprehensive and scholarly, covering the period before 1982, while Thomas B. Hunter’s *A to Z of International Terrorist and Counterterrorist Organizations* covers groups up to 2000. In 1997 Martha Crenshaw and John Pimlott produced the *Encyclopedia of World Terrorism* while Harvey Kushner in 2003 produced his own *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, each of which attempts to cover comprehensively and in depth the various groups, events, and essential concepts pertaining to terrorism. John R. Thackrah’s *Dictionary of Terrorism* reappeared as an updated and expanded second edition in 2003, having a more succinct but nonetheless thorough coverage of key concepts and categories. Within the public domain, one may find the U.S. Department of State’s annual reports for the period 1985–2003 of *Patterns of Global Terrorism*, each of which includes a basic chronology, descriptive guide to leading terrorist groups, and analyses of terrorism by geographic regions and by state sponsors and, since 2004, its successor, the *Country Reports on Terrorism*. The former *Patterns of Global Terrorism* differs from its successor in its inclusion of special appendices dealing in greater depth with major events or controversies as well as providing statistical summaries using graphs and maps.

The political science literature contains a few journals devoted exclusively to political violence, insurgency, and terrorism. The Crane Russak publishers produced the two journals *Conflict* and *Terrorism*, which were combined in 1992 as a new publication, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, whose first volume (vol. 15, 1992) continued to follow the numbering of issues used in its predecessor *Terrorism*. The Frank Cass publishers produce the journals *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, *Low Intensity Conflict & Law Enforcement*, *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, and *European Security*, while other specialty journals include the *Journal of Conflict Studies* (formerly *Conflict Quarterly*) published by the Centre for Conflict Studies of the University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, as well as the *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* by Intel Publications Group of Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania. The Department of the Army publishes *Military Review*, which often addresses issues of terrorism and low-intensity conflict. Issues of homeland security are now addressed by the specialty publications the *Journal of Homeland Security*, of the federally funded Homeland Security Institute, and the *Journal of Homeland Security and Emergency Management*, both available electronically but the latter only by subscription. In addition, there is *Counterterrorism: Journal of Counterterrorism & Homeland Security International* of the International Association of Counterterrorism and Security Professionals, a professional group of private- and public-sector counterterrorism practitioners.

Occasional papers on various terrorist topics can be found in various issues of the Adelphi Papers of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, the Washington Papers of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and publications of the RAND Corporation. Certain standard periodical indexes, such as the Public Affairs Information Service and the *ABC POLI SCI: Bibliography of Contents, Political Science and Government*, will generally list most titles of occasional articles dealing with terrorism in leading political science and administrative journals.

For experts interested in the state of the discipline of terrorism research, three studies have recently been published: Sundri K. Khalsa's *Forecasting Terrorism: Indicators and Proven Analytical Techniques* (2004) covers the use of qualitative and quantitative methods to predict likelihoods of particular terrorist events. Magnus Ranstrop's *Mapping Terrorism Research: State of the Art, Gaps, and Future Direction*

(2007) surveys the state of terrorism studies. In the *Political Economy of Terrorism* (2005) Walter Enders and Todd Sandler have applied economic theory to develop a rational-actor explanation of contemporary terrorism that belies many of the assumptions and loaded language that passes for analysis in partisan discussions and in the mass media.

For a more concrete understanding of terrorist trends worldwide, as well as of the concrete effects of counterterrorist strategies, there are a number of edited volumes of thematic essays and focused case studies that explore recent and contemporary terrorism. Foremost among these is *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century: International Perspectives*, edited by James J. F. Forest, in three volumes, covering issues of counterterrorism strategies and tactics, the sources and facilitators (both state and systemic) of terrorism, and specific case studies of major terrorist attacks and movements over the past three decades. Another similar work is *Networks, Terrorism, and Global Insurgency*, edited by Robert J. Bunker, which covers both theoretical explanations for modern terrorism and insurgency and then examines empirical studies of the dynamics of the networks of terrorism and transnational criminality.

For an understanding of the historical development of terrorism and its probable future development, the revised and expanded second edition of Bruce Hoffman's *Inside Terrorism* (2006) provides an analytical historical overview of terrorism as well as a discussion of contemporary trends, such as the rise of terrorism in the name of religious causes and the growing threat of nonstate groups willing to escalate mass killings in order to advance their causes. Hoffman's book examines many important historical cases, such as the role of Serbian intelligence in prompting the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand, which sparked World War I, as well as more obscure incidents, such as Operation Temple Mount, a plot by Jewish extremists in Israel to destroy Muslim holy places in Jerusalem that was foiled by Israeli security forces. The new edition deals specifically with the evolving threat of al Qaeda and also reviews the threat posed by white supremacists and far-right radical groups within the United States, which, far from being spent forces, have demonstrated remarkable resiliency and adaptability in an ever-changing political environment.

With regard to terrorism and security within the United States, Philip B. Heymann's *Terrorism and America: A Commonsense Strategy for a Democratic Society* in its updated second edition continues to make the

case that deterring and punishing terrorism does not require extraordinary powers of questionable legality on the part of authorities. Heymann supports his argument through a careful comparative analysis of the various legal and police strategies employed not only in the United States but also in Great Britain, France, Germany, and Israel, revealing how state-of-siege tactics in Israel and Northern Ireland backfired by antagonizing the minority national groups being championed by the targeted terrorist groups. His 2004 book, *Terrorism, Freedom, and Security: Winning without War*, carries forward this argument by stressing the need for better intelligence in combat while avoiding constitutionally suspect methods. Although since the attacks of September 11, public attention in the West has become more focused on the outward threats of militant Islamic groups and movements, George Michael's *Confronting Right Wing Extremism and Terrorism in the USA* (2003) stresses the continuing threat of domestic far-right groups and movements within the United States, while his other book, *The Enemy of My Enemy: The Alarming Convergence of Militant Islam and the Extreme Right* (2006), argues that not only does the external threat of militant Muslims not displace domestic-grown varieties of terrorism, it may even reinforce them. John George and Laird Wilcox's *American Extremists: Militias, Supremacists, Klansmen, Communists & Others* continues to be a fundamental overview of extremist movements in the United States, while Betty A. Dobratz and Stephanie L. Shanks-Meile's *White Power—White Pride: The White Separatist Movement in the United States* will continue to provide valuable insights, particularly in view of the likely resurgence of the extremist right wing in American politics following the election of President Barack Obama and the other recent defeats of more conventional conservative politicians within the United States.

For those readers concerned with information warfare, Jon Arquilla and John D. Ronfeldt's *In Athena's Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age* remains the seminal study of the threat of cyberterrorism; the study of the role played by networks in terrorism has been expanded by Marc Sageman's *Understanding Terror Networks* (2004), while the most thorough study of the use of the Internet as a tool by terrorists is the book *Terror on the Internet: The New Arena, New Challenges* (2006) by Gabriel Wiemann.

With regard to counterterrorism policy, Stephen Sloan's *Beating International Terrorism: An Action Strategy for Preemption and Punishment*, a succinct and thorough examination of the practical problems

of combating terrorism, remains an essential resource. However, the most comprehensive and masterful recent study of counterterrorism policy in its various dimensions of intelligence, public diplomacy, and effective preemptive and reactive tactics is Boaz Ganor's *Counter-Terrorism Puzzle: A Guide for Decision Makers* (2005), which draws upon the long and painful experience of the State of Israel as the world's foremost testing ground of both terrorist and counterterrorist strategies. This volume also deals with the issues of how democracies should best respond to the challenges of terrorism and also the role of international cooperation in defeating terrorism.

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