

HARVEY W. KUSHNER



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**TERRORISM**

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*In memory of*

*Harry Fieman, my grandfather, who valiantly served in France with the U.S. Army,  
501 Engineers, during WWI*

*Albert Kushner, my father, who valiantly served in the Asiatic Pacific Theater of Operations  
with the U.S. Army, 1294 Engineers, during WWII*

*Wolf Yerich, my father-in-law, who valiantly served in Poland with the Red Army during  
WWII*

HARVEY W. KUSHNER  
Long Island University

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**TERRORISM**



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# Reader's Guide

This list is provided to assist readers in locating entries on related topics. It classifies entries into 32 general topical categories. Some entry titles appear in more than one category.

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Mohamed, Khalfan Khamis  
Mohammad, Fazul Abdullah  
Odeh, Mohamed Sadeek  
Swedan, Sheikh Ahmed Salim

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Earth Liberation Front  
Ecoterrorism  
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Central Intelligence Agency (United States)  
Counterterrorism  
Delta Force (United States)  
Department of Justice, U.S. (United States)  
Federal Bureau of Investigation (United States)  
Federal Emergency Management Agency  
(United States)  
FPCON Levels (United States)  
Grenzschutzgruppe 9 (Germany)  
Homeland Security, Office of (United States)

Mossad (Israel)  
 National Security Agency (United States)  
 National Security Council (United States)  
 Operation Eagle Claw (United States)  
 Patriot Act (United States)  
 Rewards for Justice (United States)  
 Sayeret Matkal (Israel)  
 SEAL Team Six (United States)  
 Special Air Service Regiment (Great Britain  
 and Australia)  
 Special Operations Wing (United States)  
 United Nations  
*United States v. Usama bin Laden et al.* Indictment  
 (United States)  
*United States v. Zacarias Moussaoui* Indictment (United  
 States)  
 Wrath of God (Israel)  
 War on Terrorism (United States)

## HAMAS

Arafat, Yasir  
 Ayyash, Yahya  
 Hamas  
 Marzook, Musa (Mousa) Mohammed Abu  
 Palestinian Islamic Jihad  
 Suicide Terrorism

## HEZBOLLAH

Fadlallah, Sheik Mohamed Hussein  
 Hezbollah  
 Mughniyah, Imad Fayez  
 Nasrallah, Sheikh Hassan  
 Suicide Terrorism  
 TWA Flight 847

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Abu Nidal Organization  
*Achille Lauro* Hijacking  
 Hezbollah  
 Hijacking  
 Pan Am Flight 73 Hijacking  
 Palestine Liberation Front–Abu Abbas Faction  
 Palestine Liberation Organization  
 Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine  
 Stockholm Syndrome  
 TWA Flight 355 Hijacking  
 TWA Flight 840 Hijacking  
 TWA Flight 847 Hijacking

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Anderson, Terry  
 Buckley, William  
 Cicippio, Joseph  
 Dozier, James Lee  
 Hanafi Muslim Movement  
 Hearst, Patty  
 Hezbollah  
 Hostage Taking  
 Iranian Hostage Crisis  
 Kilburn, Peter  
 Munich Olympics Massacre  
 Pearl, Daniel  
 Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–General  
 Command  
 Steen, Alann  
 Sutherland, Thomas  
 Waite, Terry

## JIHAD

*Concept of Jihad*  
 Islamic Jihad  
 Jihad  
 “Jihad against America,” *see* Al Qaeda  
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 Mujahideen

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Al Jihad (Egyptian Islamic Jihad)  
 Hezbollah  
 Islamic Jihad  
 Palestinian Islamic Jihad

## KHOBAR TOWERS BOMBING IN DHAHRAN, SAUDI ARABIA, JUNE 1996

Al-Mughassil, Ahmad Ibrahim  
 Al-Nasser, Abdelkarim Hussein Mohamed  
 Al-Yacoub, Ibrahim Salih Mohammed  
 El-Hoorie, Ali Saed bin Ali  
 Khobar Towers Bombing

## LEBANON HOSTAGE CRISIS

Anderson, Terry  
 Buckley, William  
 Cicippio, Joseph  
 Hezbollah  
 Steen, Alann

Sutherland, Thomas  
Waite, Terry

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Hezbollah  
Mughniyah, Imad Fayez  
Suicide Terrorism  
U.S. Marine Barracks Bombing, Beirut

### **MEMBERS OF TERRORIST GROUPS, FREELANCE TERRORISTS, AND TERRORIST SUPPORTERS**

Abbas, Muhammed "Abu"  
Al-Adel, Saif  
Al-Banna, Sabri  
Al-Liby, Anas  
Al-Mughassil, Ahmad Ibrahim  
Al-Nasser, Abdelkarim Hussein Mohamed  
Al-'Owhali, Mohamed Rashed  
Al-Yacoub, Ibrahim Salih Mohammed  
Al-Zawahiri, Ayman  
Ali, Ahmed Mohamed Hamed  
Arafat, Yasir  
Arocena, Eduardo  
Asahara, Shoko  
Atef, Muhammad  
Atta, Mohamed  
Atwa, Ali  
Atwah Muhsin Musa Matwalli  
Ayyash, Yahya  
Baader, Andreas  
Berenson, Lori  
Bin Laden, Osama  
Boudin, Katherine  
Chesimard, Joanne  
Copeland, David  
Coronado, Rodney  
Dohrn, Bernardine  
El-Hage, Wadih  
El-Hoorie, Ali Saed bin Ali  
Ellerman, Josh  
Ellison, James  
Fadhil, Mustafa Mohamed  
Fadlallah, Sheikh Muhammad Hussein  
Ghailani, Ahmed Khalfan  
Goldstein, Baruch  
Griffin, Michael

Guevara, Ernesto (Che)  
Guzmán, Abimael  
Habash, George  
Hawetmeh, Najib  
Hearst, Patty  
Hill, Paul  
Hussein, Saddam  
Izz-al-Din, Hasan  
Jibril, Ahmed  
Kahane, Meir  
Kasi, Mir Aimal  
Khaled, Leila  
Kikumura, Yu  
Marighella, Carlos  
Marzook, Musa (Mousa) Mohammed Abu  
Mathews, Robert Jay  
McVeigh, Timothy  
Meinhof, Ulrike  
Metesky, George  
Miller, Frazier Glenn  
Mohamed, Khalfan Khamis  
Mohammed, Fazul Abdullah  
Mohammed, Khalid Shaikh  
Moussaoui, Zacarias  
Msalam, Fahid Mohammed Ally  
Mughniyah, Imad Fayez  
Nasrallah, Sheik Hassan  
Nichols, Terry Lynn  
Nosair, El Sayyid  
Ocalan, Abdullah  
Odeh, Mohamed Sadeek  
Qaddafi, Muammar el-  
Rahman, Omar Abdel  
Rajneesh, Bhagwan Shree  
Reid, Richard  
Ressam, Ahmed  
Rudolph, Eric  
Sánchez, Ilich Ramírez  
(Carlos the Jackal)  
Scutari, Richard  
Shallah, Ramadan Abdullah  
Shigenobu, Fusako  
Snell, Richard Wayne  
Swedan, Sheikah Ahmed Salim  
Unabomber  
Yasin, Abdul Rahman  
Younis, Fawaz  
Yousef, Ramzi Ahmed  
Zubaydah, Abu

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 Hostage Taking  
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 Nuclear Terrorism  
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 Moro Islamic Liberation Front (Philippines)

New People's Army (Philippines)  
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*Europe*

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 Basque Fatherland and Liberty (Basque region  
 of Spain)  
 Basque Separatists (Basque region of Spain)  
 First of October Antifascist Resistance  
 Group (Spain)  
 German Red Army Faction (Germany)  
 Islamic Army for the Liberation of Holy Places  
 Kosovo Liberation Army (Kosovo)  
 National Liberation Front of Corsica (Corsica)  
 Ordine Nuovo (Italy)  
 Red Brigades (Brigades Rosse) (Italy)  
 Revolutionary Organization 17 November (Greece)  
 Revolutionary People's Struggle (Greece)

*Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia*

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 Aden Abyan Islamic Army (Yemen)  
 Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades (Palestine)  
 Al 'Asifa (Palestine)  
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 Al Qaeda (Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, other  
 Middle Eastern countries; North and  
 South America; Europe; Philippines)  
 Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation  
 of Armenia (Turkey)  
 Democratic Front for the Liberation  
 of Palestine (Palestine)  
 15 May Organization (Palestine, Iraq)  
 Force 17 (Palestine)  
 Great Eastern Islamic Raiders' Front (Turkey)  
 Grey Wolves (Turkey)  
 Hamas (Palestine)  
 Harakat ul-Mujahidin (India-Pakistan)  
 Hezbollah (Lebanon)  
 Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (India-Pakistan)  
 Irgun Zvai Leumi (Israel)  
 Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (Uzbekistan)  
 Jaish-e-Mohammed (Pakistan)  
 Kahane Chai (Israel)  
 Kurdistan Workers Party (Turkey)  
 Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (India-Pakistan)  
 Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (Sri Lanka)  
 Mujahedin-e-Khalq Organization (Iran)

Mujahideen (Afghanistan)  
 Palestine Liberation Front–Abu Abbas Faction (Lebanon, Tunisia, Iraq)  
 Palestine Liberation Organization (Palestine)  
 Palestinian Islamic Jihad (Palestine, Syria)  
 Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (Palestine)  
 Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–General Command (Palestine)  
 Revolutionary People’s Liberation Front (Turkey)  
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 Hanafi Muslim Movement (United States)  
 Jamaat ul-Fuqra (United States, Kashmir, Pakistan)  
 Jewish Terrorist Groups in the United States (United States)  
 Macheteros (Puerto Rico)  
 May 19 Communist Organization (United States)  
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### *South America*

Lautaro Youth Movement (Chile)  
 Manuel Rodriquez Patriotic Front (Chile)  
 Movement of the Revolutionary Left (Chile)  
 National Liberation Army (Bolivia)  
 National Liberation Army (Colombia)  
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 Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Colombia)  
 Shining Path (Peru)  
 Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (Peru)  
 Tupac Katari Guerrilla Army (Bolivia)  
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Al Muhajiroun (United Kingdom)  
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Irish National Liberation Army (Northern Ireland)  
 Irish Republican Army (Northern Ireland)  
 Loyalist Volunteer Force (Northern Ireland)  
 Orange Volunteers (Northern Ireland)  
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 Red Hand Defenders (Northern Ireland)  
 Ulster Defense Association (Northern Ireland)  
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 Ulster Volunteer Force (Northern Ireland)

### **OKLAHOMA CITY FEDERAL BUILDING BOMBING, APRIL 1995**

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 McVeigh, Timothy  
 Nichols, Terry Lynn  
 Oklahoma City Bombing  
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### **PALESTINE LIBERATION FRONT–ABU ABBAS FACTION**

Abbas, Muhammad “Abu”  
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 Patriot Movement  
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 Atta, Mohamed  
 Bin Laden, Osama  
 Militant Islam  
 Mohammed, Khalid Shaikh  
 Moussaoui, Zacarias  
 Reid, Richard  
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 Taliban  
 War on Terrorism  
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Bakunin, Michael  
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Leaderless Resistance  
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State Terrorism  
State-Sponsored Terrorism  
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Aryan Republican Army  
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Ellison, James  
Fort Smith, Arkansas, Trial  
Ku Klux Klan  
Mathews, Robert Jay  
Miller, Frazier Glenn  
The Order  
Scutari, Richard  
Sixteenth Street Baptist Church Bombing  
Skinheads  
Snell, Richard Wayne  
*The Turner Diaries*  
White Patriot Party  
White Supremacy

**WORLD TRADE CENTER  
BOMBING, FEBRUARY 1993**

Nosair, El Sayyid  
Rahman, Omar Abdel  
World Trade Center Bombing (1993)  
Yasin, Abdul Rahman  
Yousef, Ramzi Ahmed

# Foreword

The *Encyclopedia of Terrorism* is a very important addition to our understanding of this complicated subject.

What is terrorism? Why does it exist in the world, and why do so many act out this hatred? These are critical questions that this outstanding work by Dr. Harvey Kushner and Sage Reference helps us answer.

President Ronald Reagan once observed that “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter.” The FBI defined terrorism as “the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a Government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.”

Osama bin Laden and his leadership council claim that their acts of terrorism are on behalf of the Islamic world against the West and specifically against the United States. In bin Laden’s mind, the bombings of the United States embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were attacks on the ultimate evil, the United States. But of the 252 people killed, 225 were Muslims, and only 12 were citizens of the United States. The deaths of 225 Muslims were not important to bin Laden. Fanatical religious terrorists such as bin Laden and his followers have no regard for public opinion, and the killing of large numbers of innocent people, including women and children, does not weigh on their conscience. They have thousands of supporters, some in the United States, who assist outright or applaud from the sidelines.

History hopefully will record 2001 as a turning point in the international fight against terrorism. September 11, 2001 was the bloodiest day in America since the Civil War. The heroic responders from the New York

City Fire Department, the Port Authority Police Department, and the New York City Police Department will never be forgotten, nor will the victims at the Pentagon or those brave patriots who crashed in a Pennsylvania field.

It’s not that these issues were not known; to the contrary, thousands of dedicated patriots worked day and night to protect this country from this threat. It was a combination of the great big heart of our policies, our traditional short memory, a general feeling that “it won’t happen here,” and, the vast silent majority in the United States who did not participate in shaping public policy. I believe the greatest threat to civil liberties and our freedom is our “inability to act” when action is necessary—waiting until events get out of hand or heavy loss of life pushes us into action!

Dr. Kushner has produced an authoritative and easy-to-use resource. It will be a handy reference for students, the media, law enforcement, the intelligence community, and decision makers at the federal, state and local levels, as well as for the public in general, who I pray daily will play a larger role in shaping public policy that contributes to the first responsibility of government—the protection of our country, our way of life, and our children’s futures.

—James K. Kallstrom

Director of the New York State  
Office of Public Security

Former Assistant Director of the  
New York Office of the FBI

# Preface

Work on the *Encyclopedia of Terrorism* began almost one year prior to the events of September 11, 2001. At that time, there was the need for a thumb-through type of reference work that could be consulted on the subject of terrorism. Yes, it is certainly true that for some time the Internet provided a veritable explosion of information, but how does the neophyte judge accuracy? Until such time as cyberspace reliability improves, the encyclopedia will remain the reference of choice for the educated consumer. Unfortunately, the aftermath of September 11 further exacerbated the situation surrounding the accuracy of information pertaining to terrorism; the rush to publish everything and anything purportedly related to terrorism only added to the confusion. Bookstore shelves abound with questionable matter related to terrorism, and cyberspace is full of problematic material. The need for a thumb-through type of reference work remained.

Although not a textbook, and certainly not a monograph, the encyclopedia provides detailed discussions of the who, what, where, when, and why of terrorism, including the September 11 attacks and their ramifications. Providing a comprehensive, global coverage of terrorism with more than 300 in-depth entries, readers have the wherewithal to understand the component parts of terrorism or develop a more exhaustive study of a topic. The latter is made possible by cross-references to related entries at the end of each entry, as well as a detailed list of further readings.

In addition to a variety of valuable appendixes, this volume contains the most detailed list of terrorist events ever assembled in one reference work. This chronology is a handy guide for documenting attacks within the United States and on its interests abroad. No longer will it be necessary to search for a date or place of an incident; it's all here. The value of such easy access should be clear to all, and it will be especially valuable for researchers and law enforcement

authorities. I welcome all who visit the *Encyclopedia of Terrorism* to digest the information within. Keep it nearby as you expand your knowledge of what is currently one of the world's most important topics.

Many people helped make this project possible. At the beginning, there was Jerry Westby, senior acquisitions editor, Sage Publications, who cajoled and convinced me to undertake this arduous, albeit rewarding, project. His advice and counsel will always be cherished. And then there was Rolf A. Janke, vice president and publisher, Sage Publications. Rolf helped me get through deadlines that seemed unattainable and work that appeared insurmountable. I wish every author, as well as anyone else for that matter, such unconditional support. The senior developmental editor, Vince Burns, also provided much appreciated assistance.

Others at Sage also require many thanks for their technical expertise. Diana E. Axelsen, senior books production editor, was invaluable in her coordination efforts. Kate Peterson's copyediting skills were greatly appreciated, as were Nevair Kabakian's proofreading and Mary Mortensen's indexing.

The Moschovitis Group under the careful guidance of Valerie Tomaselli, president of the Publishing Division, and Christos J. P. Moschovitis, chairman and CEO, worked tirelessly to contribute to the making of this encyclopedia. That said, however, it was Moschovitis's executive editor for publishing, Hilary W. Poole, who was my right-hand person and shadowed my every thought about this project. Moschovitis's associate editor, Sonja Matanovic, also provided significant assistance to the team. Editing assistance was also provided by Carole Campbell.

My great fortune continues with a splendid staff of contributing researchers and writers. The list is alphabetical for lack of a better way of highlighting their equally significant contributions: Nancy Egan, Maria Kiriakova, Laura Jin Loo Lambert, Lisa Magloff, Rich

McHugh, Erica Pearson, Ellen Sexton, and Colleen Sullivan. Denise Pagliarulo, a bright, young college student from the University of Pennsylvania, helped with some of the preliminary research and fact checking.

Noted experts also contributed their expertise to help write a number of entries. Alphabetically listed, they were Randy Blazak, Portland State University (Skinheads and White Supremacy); Phil Hirshkorn, producer, CNN (East African Embassy Bombings, *United States v. Usama bin Laden et al.* Indictment, Khalfan Khamis Mohamed, and Mohamed Sadeek Odeh); Richard Horowitz, attorney (Patriot Act); Larry C. Johnson, former CIA officer and deputy director of the U.S. State Department Office of Counterterrorism (Counterterrorism); Pat Jones, U.S. Customs Service (Financing Terrorism); Lester Paldy, Distinguished Service Professor, SUNY at Stony Brook (Nuclear Terrorism, Biological Terrorism, Chemical Terrorism, Weapons of Mass Destruction, and Agricultural Terrorism); Mark Pitcavage, national director of fact finding, Anti-Defamation League (Patriot Movement); and Jonathan Schanzer, Middle East Forum (Al Qaeda, Osama bin Laden, and Militant Islam). As always, merit belongs to their efforts and mistakes fall under my jurisdiction

Along the way to gathering a significant amount of information contained in this encyclopedia, I had the distinct pleasure of discussing matters of terrorism with a wide variety of individuals. They all helped shape my thoughts about the subject matter at hand, lending direction and clarity. Some are fully aware of their impact and others might be hearing about their influence for the first time. Although my thanks are long overdue for the latter group, it is never too late to say thank you to all: Avi Bachar (former head of staff for the Israeli Home Front Command), Eric J. Carrone (U.S. Customs Service), Brian Cremin (Crime Management Group, Ireland), Maximilian Edelbacher

(Federal Police of Vienna, Austria), Jim Hoffer (WABC-TV), Steven Emerson (The Investigative Project), James M. Fox (U.S. Probation), Jerome Glazebrook (former security adviser to Henry A. Kissinger), Bill Jensen (freelance writer), Carl J. Jensen, III (Behavioral Science Unit, FBI), Larry C. Johnson (former deputy directory of the U.S. State Department Office of Counterterrorism), Pat Jones (U.S. Customs Service), James K. Kallstrom (former assistant director, FBI), Moorehead Kennedy (former foreign service officer, U.S. State Department and Iranian embassy hostage), Janusz Kochanowski (LUS ET LEX Foundation and Warsaw University, Poland), Steven Kuhr (former deputy director of the New York City Mayor's Office of Emergency Management), Brian Levin (California State University, San Bernardino), Vernon Loeb (*Washington Post*), Niles Latham (*New York Post*), George Millard (director of police, São Paulo, Brazil), W. A. (Wendy) Nicol (intelligence analyst, RCMP, Canada), the late John P. O'Neill (former deputy director of counter terrorism for the FBI and victim of the September 11 terror attacks), Mark Pitcavage (Anti-Defamation League), Theodore G. Shackley (former associate deputy director of operations for the CIA), John Spice (assistant commissioner, RCMP, Canada), Kenneth S. Trump (president, National School Safety and Security Services), Jonathan R. White (Grand Valley State University), and Nena Wiley (major, Southwest Region, Civil Air Patrol). And always informative, insightful, and helpful was my good friend Bruce Bobbins.

Always there at my side is my partner and my bride, Sara. Her love and encouragement are the stuff that makes it all possible. No thought is kept silent; all is shared. The fruit of our love is our daughter, Meredith Hope. Merry is a lovely young woman who further unites our souls. I have only to confer with them to gain an understanding of how to cut the Gordian knot.

# Introduction

Terrorism, in various forms, has been practiced throughout history and across a wide variety of political ideologies. There are as many definitions for the word *terrorism* as there are methods of executing it; the term means different things to different people, and trying to define or classify terrorism to everyone's satisfaction proves impossible. However, most definitions of terrorism hinge on three factors: the method (violence), the target (civilians or the government), and the purpose (to instill fear and force political or social change).

The adoption of terrorist techniques by insurgent groups, especially in the developing world, led to a perception of terrorism as a natural outgrowth of the anticolonial struggle—merely another weapon of revolutionary guerrillas in their campaigns for independence. This understanding—or, in the eyes of many terrorism experts, misunderstanding—of the term *terrorism* is also expressed in the cliché, “One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter.”

Although terrorism is often thought of as the province of relatively small nongovernmental groups, governments may use terrorism for a variety of reasons: to maintain political power, to put down struggles of liberation, or to pacify populations after an annexation. Some would even argue that the United States itself conducts terrorist activities against selected targets while attacking other countries for promoting terrorist activities.

Defining state terrorism is complicated because all nations rely on violence to some degree. War, for example, is a violent and deadly way for countries to settle their differences. All functioning governments have systems of law enforcement that rely on various forms of violence—for example, armed police, imprisonment, forced labor, and the physical mutilation or killing of certain criminals—to maintain order. State terrorism differs from these forms of violence in part because of the unpredictability and secrecy with which it is carried out. Its goal is usually to strengthen

government control by complete intimidation of the population.

## ORIGINS OF TERRORISM

Terrorism as a practice is thought to have begun in first-century Judea, where Jewish men would use a short dagger (*sica*) to slit the throats of occupying Romans and their collaborators in full view of the public. *Sicarii*, as these dagger-men were called, were among the group known as Zealots, who opposed Roman occupation. Hidden in crowds, the Zealots would also attack wealthy Jews and kidnap their servants for ransom. Later on in seventh-century India, members of the thuggee cult (the origin for the modern-day word *thug*) ritually strangled their victims in an apparent act of sacrifice to the Hindu goddess Kali.

The philosophical antecedents of modern-day terrorism were also formed by the Russian revolutionary Mikhail Bakunin in the middle of the 19th century. In his *Principles of Revolution* (1869), Bakunin wrote that no other action except terrorism by individuals or small groups could cleanse the Russian soil. Later in 19th-century Russia, the anarchist organization known as Narodnaya Volya, or People's Will, launched a wave of bombings and assassinations. The group targeted the czar, the royal family, and other government officials, whom it believed to be the embodiment of a corrupt regime.

At the turn of the 19th century, terrorism in the form of political assassination became a major global phenomenon. In the post-World War II years, other types of terrorism became strategies of choice for nationalist groups in the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia in their struggles for independence. In predominantly agrarian societies, this terrorism took the form of guerrilla warfare, with China and Indochina as the classic examples. In urban areas such as Palestine and Cyprus, acts of terror were committed within city limits.

A number of these national political movements, which owed much of their success to violence, adopted a strategy that would have lasting significance in the war of semantics surrounding the use of violence. These newly created Third World countries, as well as their brethren from the communist bloc states, advanced the argument that their fight against colonial oppression was not terrorism but rather the hard work of dedicated freedom fighters.

The 1960s saw terrorism spring up throughout the world. This upsurge was not limited to Europe and Asia. It affected the United States in a number of ways. Frustrated with the slow pace of social change (and, in the eyes of some, simply bored with their middle-class privilege), some radical activists broke off from Students for a Democratic Society to found the violent group Weatherman. Puerto Rican nationalists and Jewish extremists also became active in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1980s, a variety of terrorist groups espousing a virulent philosophy of white supremacy became active throughout the United States, as did single-issue terrorist organizations such as the ecoterrorist group Earth First!. Although a combination of aggressive law enforcement and a lack of support by the general public weakened these groups toward the end of the decade, the ranks grew again in the 1990s, inspired by events at Ruby Ridge, Idaho (a bungled federal government attempt to arrest a white separatist) and at Waco, Texas (the tragic FBI siege of the Branch Davidian compound).

Throughout the 1960s and the 1970s, many Middle Eastern terrorist groups sent their recruits to the Soviet Union for training in low-intensity warfare, which is a benign-sounding name for terrorism. The Soviets viewed terrorism as compatible with their efforts to support wars of national liberation, even though violence against civilian populations is inconsistent with traditional Marxist-Leninist thinking on class struggle. The Soviets also hoped that their support of Palestinian terrorism against Israel would enhance their position within the Arab world. For nearly a decade, Soviet-trained and -supported terrorism operated with impunity in the Middle East and, to a lesser extent, in Europe. However, as events in the Middle East or Europe threatened to affect public opinion—or more significantly, threaten to inspire U.S. intervention—Soviet leaders reined in their client terrorists.

A significant turning point in the history of terrorism was the formation of Hezbollah (Party of God),

formed in 1982 in response to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. This Lebanon-based radical Shi'a group takes its ideological inspiration from the Iranian revolution and the teachings of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Its members not only were interested in carrying out the goals of the revolution but also were concerned with the social conditions of their fellow Shiites throughout the Middle East. Hezbollah's outreach in Lebanon during the 1980s solidified Lebanese Shiite support and helped spawn smaller terrorist groups, the most recognizable of which was the Islamic Jihad.

Hamas, the main Islamic movement in the Palestinian territories, was formed by Sheik Ahmed Yassin in 1987 during the first *intifada*, or uprising, against Israeli occupation of the territories. Hamas members seek their identity in their Islamic roots. Hamas is uncompromising and maximalist, insisting on the total liberation of the sacred land of Palestine they interpret as demanded by Allah, who will repay martyrs for this cause with life everlasting.

The militancy of Hamas is a common feature of the new terrorists. When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979 to prop up an embattled communist government, thousands of young warriors of Islam, including the Saudi Osama bin Laden, from as far away as Algeria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the United States answered the call to fight a jihad (*jihad* is commonly translated as "holy war") at the side of their Afghan brothers. Stirred by the preaching of incendiary clerics, 10,000 or more Muslims streamed into Peshawar, Pakistan, for weapons training and indoctrination. Veterans of these Afghan classrooms have taken their jihad abroad not only to Sudanese terror camps but also to Algeria, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Bosnia, Myanmar, Egypt, India, Morocco, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Tunisia, Uzbekistan, Yemen, and the United States.

The new terrorists are less hierarchically organized than their secular predecessors and, consequently, more difficult to spot, track, and intercept. In the past, terrorist groups organized themselves very much like a large corporation, that is, pyramidally and linearly, with a discernible descending or ascending power structure. Knowing the structure of the terrorist group made fighting terrorism easier. Law enforcement and intelligence agencies could contain terrorist organization by infiltrating them at either the top or the bottom. It is much more difficult for today's law enforcement agencies to infiltrate militant Islamic groups, such as bin Laden's Al Qaeda, that are fluid

and not structured the same way as secular groups of earlier periods

However, the lack of obvious hierarchy does not mean that the work of this new breed is less devastating than earlier generations of terrorists—indeed, the willingness of members of terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda to participate in suicide attacks opens up heretofore unknown possibilities for devastation. Without a doubt, the events of September 11, 2001, illustrate in no uncertain terms the extent of their destruction. In many ways, the destructive capabilities of this new breed of terrorists will exceed terrorist events of the past and will be considerably enhanced by new opportunities created by innovation and invention.

These new terrorist organizations live and operate in a world made smaller by cheap airline tickets and carriers that circumnavigate the globe in hours rather than days. Their global reach is further enhanced by instantaneous financial transactions, economical

telecommunication systems, and continuous worldwide media coverage. Unfortunately, extraordinary technological advances that further enhance humankind's capabilities also open up new venues for terrorist use and abuse. Cyberspace is particularly illustrative of this new frontier of vulnerabilities.

Innovation and invention in this new century will clearly necessitate international cooperation to deal with the scourge of terrorism. The use of the Internet to recruit potential terrorists is widely practiced throughout the world. Incendiary rhetoric in cyberspace excludes not even those lacking computer access. All will be affected by the cyber reach of the terrorist. No longer is it possible to withdraw into political or geographical isolation. Communicating, or for that matter, tampering with cyberspace, affects the world in much the same way as the threat of nuclear or radiological terrorism. This is the reality, as well as the alarming reach, of the new terrorism.



# About the Author

**Harvey W. Kushner** is Professor and Chair of the Department of Criminal Justice at Long Island University. An internationally recognized authority on terrorism, Kushner has shared his expertise with numerous government agencies, including the FBI, Federal Aviation Administration, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and U.S. Customs Service. He currently works as a special consultant to the U.S. Probation Department/Eastern District of New York on matters related to criminal investigations, intelligence, and terrorism. He has also advised and lectured on matters of international terrorism at the Naval War College, the FBI Academy, the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit, and the United Nations in Vienna, Austria, among others.

Kushner has experience with a variety of high-profile court cases involving international terrorism. He wrote the expert's report, for example, in a successful multi-million-dollar civil litigation arising out of the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center. He also served as an expert during the U.S. embassy bombing trial and wrote the expert's report in a landmark matrimonial case involving the risk of international terrorism after the destruction of the World

Trade Center. After the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, Kushner was asked to testify on terrorism and safety in New York City's public spaces before the Committee of Public Safety of the Council of the City of New York.

A variety of publications, including the *New York Times*, have called Kushner the "go-to guy" for plain talk about the subject of terrorism. He can be seen regularly on CNN, the Fox News Channel, and MSNBC and in articles in the Associated Press, the *Washington Post*, and the *New York Times*. As a member of the working press, Kushner writes a monthly column on civil aviation security for the *Airport Press*. A widely published author on the subject of terrorism, his latest books include *Terrorism in America* (1998), *The Future of Terrorism* (1998), and *Essential Readings on Political Terrorism* (2002). He also edits an annual issue on terrorism for *American Behavioral Scientist* and serves on the journal's distinguished editorial board.

Kushner holds a B.A. degree from Queens College, City University of New York, and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in political science from New York University.



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## **ABBAS, MUHAMMAD**

**“ABU” (1948– )**

**aka Muhammad Zaidan**

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Muhammad “Abu” Abbas is the leader of the Palestine Liberation Front–Abu Abbas Faction (PLF), a Marxist militant group perhaps best known for its hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* cruise ship in 1985. Abbas was a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) executive committee for many years, remaining loyal to Yasir Arafat during the 1980s when many other militant Palestinian leaders split with the PLO.

Abbas was born in 1948 in Haifa, in what is now Israel. He has often told interviewers that he was just 13 days old when his family fled to a refugee camp in Lebanon. He reportedly joined the PLO’s army in 1964, and fought with the Vietcong against U.S. forces in Vietnam.

Abbas joined Ahmed Jibril’s Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–General Command (PFLP–GC) in the late 1960s. In 1977, he became alienated by the pro-Syrian leanings of the PFLP-GC and left to form the PLF. As a leader of the PLF, Abbas plotted several unorthodox attacks on Israel. In 1981, PLF members attempted to invade Israel by flying over the Lebanese border in hang gliders and a hot air balloon; both attempts were foiled by the Israeli military.

Abbas was deputy secretary of the PLF when the group split into three factions: pro-Arafat and his Palestine Liberation Organization, pro-Syrian, and pro-Libyan. Abbas led the pro-PLO faction and remained loyal to Arafat during the 1980s when

many others began to defect from the PLO leader’s control.

Abbas became a member of the PLO executive committee in 1984, and his close association with Arafat and the PLO soon came under international scrutiny. Four PLF members hijacked the *Achille Lauro* on October 7, 1985, off Port Said, Egypt, as it sailed toward Israel. Abbas’s men demanded the release of 50 Palestinians held in Israel and threatened to blow up the ship. They held hundreds of passengers hostage for two days. During the ordeal, the hijackers shot and killed an elderly Jewish man in a wheelchair named Leon Klinghoffer and threw his body overboard.

While the *Achille Lauro* was in the hands of the hijackers, Abbas negotiated with Egyptian officials and secured safe passage to Tunisia for himself, the hijackers, and another PLF official in return for the hostages’ release. An EgyptAir plane carrying the PLF members took off for Tunisia, but U.S. Air Force fighter jets forced the plane to land in Sicily, where Italian forces arrested three of the hijackers. Abbas and other PLF members, however, fled to the former Yugoslavia with the help of Italian authorities, provoking protests by the U.S. government.

Abbas has repeatedly claimed that the hijacking was a mistake and that he had planned for his men to travel undercover on the *Achille Lauro* until it docked at Ashdod, Israel. The PLF subsequently moved its base of operations to Iraq.

Abbas has never served time in jail, although an Italian court tried him in absentia for his leadership role in the *Achille Lauro* hijacking and sentenced him to life in prison. The U.S. Department of Justice dropped its international warrant for Abbas’s arrest

after the Italian conviction, saying that there was not enough evidence to try him in a U.S. court.

Abbas left the PLO in 1991, after a foiled PLF raid onto an Israeli beach created a diplomatic crisis between the PLO and Washington. He did support the Oslo Accords in 1993 and publicly supported the peace process in 1996. He has announced that the PLF now follows a political path.

In 1998, Israeli officials allowed Abbas to travel through Israel to the Gaza Strip for a Palestinian National Council meeting. At the meeting, he voted to revoke the parts of the PLO's charter that call for Israel's destruction and soon returned to establish himself and the PLF in Gaza City. He reportedly now travels regularly between Gaza and his old base in Baghdad.

The U.S. Department of State continues to consider the PLF a terrorist group, and it included the organization in its most recent report on global terrorism. In November 2001, Israeli forces arrested at least 15 PLF members and accused them of plotting bombing attacks.

*See also* *ACHILLE LAURO HIJACKING; PALESTINE LIBERATION FRONT—ABU ABBAS FACTION; PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE—GENERAL COMMAND*

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## ABDULLAH, ABDULLAH AHMED (1963– )

aka Abu Mohamed al-Masri, Saleh, Abu Mariam

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Born in Egypt, Abdullah Ahmed Abdullah is an alleged Al Qaeda conspirator said to be a top lieutenant and adviser to Osama bin Laden. He

was indicted by the United States for his role in the August 7, 1998, bombings of U.S. embassies in the African countries of Kenya and Tanzania. The FBI lists him as one of 22 "most wanted terrorists" for his role in those attacks.

According to the indictment, Abdullah is a member of Al Qaeda's tightest circle and sits on bin Laden's consultation council, or *majlis al shura*. Al Qaeda, an Arabic word meaning "The Base," is a violent international network bent on driving the United States from Saudi Arabia or other Islamic countries. The group carried out the devastating September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C. The group is known for establishing cells worldwide in areas where attacks are carried out, and often serves as an umbrella group for other militant organizations.

In the embassy bombings case, the U.S. indictment charged that prior to collaborating on the bombings, Abdullah was involved in other anti-U.S. activities in Africa. He and other Al Qaeda members allegedly provided military assistance and training to tribes opposed to U.N. and U.S. presence in Somalia during that country's civil unrest in 1993.

He later became involved in the Kenyan Al Qaeda operations. According to the indictment, Abdullah spied on the Kenyan embassy with coconspirators three days before the bombings. Having given the order for all Al Qaeda members to leave Kenya by August 6, Abdullah fled the country for Karachi, Pakistan.

On August 7, a bomb-laden pickup truck left the Nairobi villa rented by Al Qaeda operatives and drove to the U.S. embassy. In a synchronized attack 400 miles away, a truck bomb also approached the U.S. embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The bombs exploded just minutes apart, killing a combined total of 224.

According to the indictment, Abdullah had also arranged for a fake passport for accused Kenyan embassy bomber Mohamed Sadeek Odeh. That document enabled Odeh to travel with other Al Qaeda members to Afghanistan to meet with bin Laden.

In the fall of 1998, the United States asserted that Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda operatives were responsible for the embassy bombings. As retaliation, President Clinton ordered air attacks on Al Qaeda training grounds in Afghanistan and a pharmaceutical plant in the center of Khartoum, Sudan.

Three suspects in the bombing case pleaded guilty and cooperated with the prosecution. Their testimony was used in the 2001 trial that resulted in the conviction of four other men with ties to bin Laden. The four were sentenced to life in prison without parole. According to the FBI, Abdullah remains a fugitive. The U.S. State Department is offering a reward of up to \$25 million for information leading to his arrest or conviction.

*See also* AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS

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## ABU NIDAL ORGANIZATION

**aka Arab Revolutionary Brigade; Black June; Black September; Fatah Revolutionary Council**

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The Palestinian terrorist group Abu Nidal Organization (ANO) was the best-organized, best-funded, and most active terrorist network of the late 1970s and 1980s.

Sabri al-Banna, better known by his nom de guerre Abu Nidal (meaning "Father of Struggle"), founded the ANO in 1974. Previously a high-ranking member of Yasir Arafat's Fatah, a part of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), al-Banna broke with that group in 1974 over what he perceived to be its abandonment of armed struggle for Palestinian liberation in favor of political settlement. Both al-Banna and the ANO have been influenced by the ideology of the Ba'th party, which called for the unification of the Arab peoples into a single state. The ANO saw the elimination of Israel as a necessary precursor to Arab unity and hoped that fighting a common enemy (the

Israelis) would help to forge such unity. The ANO reviled Arafat and other pro-Western Arab leaders who, at the time, were willing to support the continued existence of Israel in exchange for an independent Palestine. Accordingly, the ANO has targeted moderate Arabs as frequently as it has Israelis.

While working as a recruiter for Al Fatah, al-Banna was based in Baghdad, Iraq, a Ba'th stronghold run by the dictator Saddam Hussein. Following al-Banna's 1974 defection, Hussein helped him to organize the ANO and provided him with funds in exchange for the use of the ANO's services, primarily against Syrian targets. (The Syrian division of the Ba'th had been feuding with the Iraqi Ba'th for years.)

The ANO as created by al-Banna would emerge as one of the most extensive and effective terrorist networks of the 1980s. Front organizations for the ANO were established in almost every Arab nation to attract recruits; these recruits were then sent to training camps in the ANO's host country (at various times Iraq, Syria, and Libya). Once proficient in the necessary terrorist skills—weapons training, explosives, intelligence, and covert operations—members joined a small four- or five-person cell and awaited instructions. The ANO was estimated to have about 500 members at its peak, carrying out operations in more than 20 countries across Europe and the Middle East.

The ANO attacked the Syrian embassies in Rome, Italy, and Islamabad, Pakistan, and assassinated PLO representatives in London, Paris, Kuwait, and Brussels. Its most significant action, however, was a June 1982 assassination attempt on the Israeli ambassador to England, Shlomo Argov, in London. This attack precipitated the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, where the PLO had its headquarters, and was a serious blow to that organization. A striking feature of the ANO was its versatility and ability to adapt its tactics to various situations. ANO attacks have taken the form of car bombings, kidnappings, hijackings, suicide bombings, and assassinations.

In 1983, Hussein expelled al-Banna and the ANO, in the hope of acquiring Western support for his war with Iran (1980–1988). Al-Banna resettled the ANO in Syria; in so doing, he displayed his willingness to abandon former enmity when it was to his advantage, a trait that has led some observers to characterize the ANO as merely a mercenary organization. The Syrians never fully trusted al-Banna, however, and

less than two years later, he moved the organization to Libya. This period, the mid-1980s, was the ANO's most active. The ANO carried out a campaign against Jordan, assassinating several Jordanian ambassadors. The ANO also attacked the counters of the Israeli airline El Al at the Rome and Vienna airports on December 27, 1985, killing 17 people and wounding more than 100. On September 6, 1986, the ANO massacred 22 worshippers at a synagogue in Istanbul, Turkey; on that same day ANO terrorists hijacked Pan Am Flight 73 in Karachi, Pakistan, eventually massacring 22 people when negotiations failed.

During this period, the ANO began to recruit more actively. Al-Banna, renowned for his paranoia, began to worry that his underlings might be plotting to overthrow him. In 1989, two of his top deputies accused him of massacring 150 of his own men in an effort to forestall a coup. This internal dissention was magnified by the efforts of the Jordanian government to counter terrorism; some sources suggest that the Jordanian security forces threatened to kill members of al-Banna's family if he did not stop his campaign. These threats seriously affected the ANO's ability to carry out attacks. After a July 1988 attack in Athens, Greece, in which nine people were killed, the only major attack attributed to the ANO has been the 1991 assassination of Abu Iyad, a former colleague of al-Banna and a high-ranking figure within the PLO.

During the 1990s, state support for the ANO—which was the organization's major source of funds—declined rapidly in response to that decade's apparent progress in bringing peace to the Middle East. By the end of the 1990s, al-Banna was forced to leave Libya. In 1999, he was reported to be in Cairo, Egypt, receiving medical treatment. In the latest twist in the ANO's convoluted history, at the time of this writing he is believed to have left Cairo and returned to Iraq at the invitation of Saddam Hussein. Given the ANO's inactivity over the past decade, and al-Banna's declining health, the organization may be finished as an active terrorist group. However, it is as yet unknown whether al-Banna's return to the land that gave his group the ANO birth will spark a resurgence. In August 2002, al-Banna was found dead of multiple gunshot wounds in an apartment in Baghdad.

*See also* AL 'ASIFA; HIJACKING; SADDAM HUSSEIN; PAN AM FLIGHT 73 HIJACKING

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## ABU SAYYAF GROUP

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The Abu Sayyaf Group is a Muslim terrorist organization based on Basilan Island, one of the southern islands in the Philippine archipelago. Since the mid-1990s, the group, whose origins are somewhat obscure, has carried out terrorist attacks in the Philippines, including a series of high-profile kidnappings in 2000 and 2001.

For centuries, the southern Philippines have had a substantial Muslim population. Sixteenth-century Spanish colonizers spread Christianity to the northern islands, treating the Muslims as a despised minority; the area has seen periodic violence ever since. Its people are among the poorest in the country. In the early 1970s, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) began a war of secession against the Philippine government. Although the fortunes of the MNLF and its splinter group, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), have risen and fallen over the past 30 years, violence and lawlessness have been a constant in the southern islands. Defections, desertions, and ideological disputes have resulted in many armed bands roaming the islands.

Abu Sayyaf began as one such band of former guerrillas, led by Abdurajak Abubakar Janjalania, a charismatic former Islamic scholar who had fought against the Soviets in Afghanistan. Abu Sayyaf means "Bearer of the Sword." The group first came to light about 1994; at that time, it was thought to be a small splinter faction of the MILF. Most observers now consider it to be an entirely independent group. Early in its existence Abu Sayyaf established connections with international Muslim terrorist organizations, including Al Qaeda, and members may have received training and support from these groups.

Abu Sayyaf professes a desire for an independent Muslim state for the Philippines' Muslim population, to be governed under *shari'a* law. In practice, however, the group's attacks and particularly its kidnappings seem to have been motivated more by potential profit than by ideological or military significance; the Philippine government has long considered them to be mere bandits. In the mid-1990s, Abu Sayyaf's strength was estimated at 500 members. Ransom money received from kidnappings has since increased that number, with some commentators believing the group to have as many as 4,000 members. Its stronghold is Basilan Island, though it operates on other Muslim-populated islands as well.

Starting in the late 1990s, Abu Sayyaf increased its numbers of kidnappings in Basilan and elsewhere. At first it targeted wealthy Filipino businessmen, usually releasing the captives after ransom had been paid, but sometimes killing them regardless. In March 2000, the group gained international attention after raiding a local school, taking 27 hostages, most of them children. On April 23, the Army launched a dangerous raid against the Abu Sayyaf compound housing the hostages. Four terrorists were killed; 15 hostages were freed—10 of them seriously wounded. Most of the terrorists escaped into the jungle, taking 5 hostages with them.

Later that day, a different faction of Abu Sayyaf struck again, this time abducting victims from a resort on the nearby island of Sipidan, which is part of Malaysia. The second group took 23 hostages, 19 of them Malaysian and Filipino hotel staff but also several foreign tourists. Some of the journalists covering the kidnappings were also abducted; the hostages eventually included French, German, Finnish, Lebanese, U.S., and South African nationals. The international spotlight was now focused on the Philippine government, which felt compelled to act. Concerned for the safety of their citizens, the French, German, and South African governments prevailed upon the Filipinos to negotiate with the second group of hostage takers rather than launch another risky raid. A Libyan diplomat offered to act as a go-between and negotiations began. After months of negotiations, a ransom of undisclosed amount was paid to Abu Sayyaf and a dozen of the hostages were released. The kidnappers refused to part with the remainder, and President Estrada launched a massive military strike against the group in September 2000. The risky move secured their release. In May 2001, another

kidnapping was similarly resolved through military action.

Following the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, and taking into consideration Abu Sayyaf's connections to the Al Qaeda terrorist network, in January 2002 the U.S. government acceded to the request of Philippine president Gloria Arroyo and pledged \$100 million in military aid for the elimination of Abu Sayyaf. The United States sent 660 U.S. Army Special Forces troops to act as military advisors, training the Philippine Army in counter-terrorism tactics. The aid package caused considerable controversy in the Philippines but seems to have the support of the public, especially as President Arroyo pledged that the Special Forces troops will remain only for a short time. The success of the operation was thrown into question, however, when some surviving members kidnapped six Jehovah's witnesses on the island of Jolo and killed at least two of the victims.

*See also* ALEX BONCAYAO BRIGADE; NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY

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## ACHILLE LAURO HIJACKING

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On October 7, 1985, four Palestinian militants seized the Italian cruise liner *Achille Lauro* off Port Said, Egypt. The hijackers, under the command of Palestine Liberation Front (PLF) leader Abu Abbas, held the more than 400 people aboard hostage for two days. The hijackers shot New Yorker Leon Klinghoffer, an elderly, wheelchair-bound, Jewish passenger, and



dumped his body overboard. Klinghoffer's body later washed ashore on a Syrian beach.

Threatening to blow up the ship, the hijackers demanded the release of 50 Palestinian prisoners held in Israel. Egyptian and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) officials negotiated with the hijackers and Abbas, who was not on the liner but claimed responsibility as the leader of the men on board. Abbas had commanded the radical PLF faction for many years and was known for having sent his men on surprise raids into the heart of Israel on hang gliders and in hot air balloons. However, at the time of the hijacking, he was also a member of the PLO's executive committee.

Six British women aboard the ship, a dance troupe and the ship's beautician, later spoke to the press. The women explained that one of the hijackers had watched over them amid death threats from the other three and that the British and American passengers had been separated from other passengers.

The ship docked in Cairo, where Abbas negotiated the exchange of the ship and the hostages for free passage to Tunis in North Africa for himself and his men. However, U.S. fighter planes intercepted the plane carrying the five men to Tunis and forced it to land in Sicily. Three of the hijackers were arrested in Italy, but the Italian government refused to turn Abbas and two associates over to the U.S. Marines. Instead, Abbas and his cohorts were assisted in fleeing to the former Yugoslavia.

In 1986, an Italian court tried Abbas in absentia and sentenced him to life in prison. However, he was never arrested. During the same year, Abbas discussed the *Achille Lauro* hijacking in a controversial NBC news interview. He denied that his men had killed Klinghoffer, only to later publicly acknowledge that they had. He also maintained that the men did not know that Klinghoffer was American or Jewish. However, during countless interviews, Abbas always maintained that the *Achille Lauro* hijacking had not gone according to plan. Abbas asserted that the goal of the hijackers was to use the *Achille Lauro* to sail to the Israeli port of Ashdod. There they planned to attack the nearby naval base.

In 1996, Abbas publicly embraced the peace process and Israel allowed him to enter Gaza despite the international warrant for his arrest. The United States abandoned efforts to extradite Abbas and dropped the warrant for his arrest after the statute of limitations expired.

Marilyn Klinghoffer, who had been forcibly separated from her husband by the hijackers before they murdered him, died of cancer several months after the hijacking. In her obituary, the *Washington Post* reported that, after returning from Italy, Mrs. Klinghoffer told President Reagan that she had spit in the faces of the hijackers as she identified them. "God bless you," Reagan reportedly replied. Although the PLO settled a \$1.5 billion court case with the Klinghoffer family in 1997, the group has always asserted that the hijackers were working without their support.

*See also* ABU ABBAS; PALESTINE LIBERATION FRONT—ABU ABBAS FACTION; PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

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**Adel, Saif al-. See AL-ADEL, SAIF.**

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## ADEN-ABYAN ISLAMIC ARMY

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The Aden-Abyan Islamic Army, most recognized for its involvement in the 2000 bombing of the U.S.S. *Cole*, is allegedly affiliated with Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda network. The Yemen-based group has been implicated in several acts of terror since the late 1990s.

Aden-Abyan was formed sometime in either 1996 or 1997 as a loose guerrilla network of a few dozen

men—a mix of veterans of the Soviet-Afghan war and Islamists from various countries. In May 1998, it issued the first of a series of political and religious statements on Yemeni and world affairs. In December 1998, Aden-Abyan kidnapped a party of 16 Western tourists in southern Yemen, 4 of whom later died during a botched rescue by Yemeni security forces. The leader of the group, Abu al-Hassan al-Mihdar, was executed for his role in the kidnappings.

Numerous connections have been drawn between Aden-Abyan and the Al Qaeda network. After the 1998 attack on the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, Aden-Abyan claimed it was a “heroic operation carried out by heroes of the jihad.” Later, following an American raid on Osama bin Laden’s camp in Afghanistan, Aden-Abyan announced its support for him and asked Yemeni people to kill Americans and destroy their property. It is also believed that Aden-Abyan ran a training camp in a remote part of southern Yemen; when the government tried to close it, a bin Laden representative attempted to intervene.

In October 2000, two suicide bombers aligned with Aden-Abyan exploded their boat alongside the U.S.S. *Cole*, in port in Aden. Most experts agree that the attack was the combined work of Aden-Abyan and Al Qaeda. One day after the *Cole* incident, a bomb was lobbed into the British Embassy, shattering windows at both the embassy and nearby buildings. Four members of Aden-Abyan were later sentenced for the embassy bombing.

While the Yemeni government claims to have wiped out Aden-Abyan, it is likely that it still exists as a loose, less organized band of Yemenis and non-Yemenis. In general, though, foreign involvement in jihad activity in Yemen has been decreasing as a result of more stringent security forces. In the month after the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, President Bush included Aden-Abyan on the frozen-assets list, a measure that could push Aden-Abyan into further inactivity.

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## Afghan Freedom Fighters. See MUJAHIDEEN.

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## AGRICULTURAL TERRORISM

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Possible terrorist attacks on the agricultures of the world’s advanced economies receive less attention than the possibility of attacks that kill immediately. Damaged crops and sickened herds will never get as much attention or instill as much fear as an attack on a major population center. Yet the agricultural sector of advanced economies is very vulnerable. Attacks could cause severe food shortages and would certainly result in severe trade and economic disruption. While there is no evidence that the outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease (FMD) in Great Britain in 2001 was the result of terrorist activity, the economic and psychological impact of the epidemic raised the specter of terrorist attacks against agricultural economies and fears that the food supplies of nations might be vulnerable.

There have been at least a few historical examples of military attacks against crops and animals, and we know that both the former Soviet Union and the United States conducted research and development on pathogens for use against crops and animals. Few doubt that determined terrorists could obtain small quantities of plant and animal pathogens; what is less certain is whether terrorists could succeed in spreading the pathogens widely enough to infect large crop areas or large numbers of animals. An outbreak of an animal disease such as FMD or crop blight such as wheat smut would elicit an immediate reaction, which would include both treatment and quarantine. Environmental factors, such as natural resistance of plants to disease and weather conditions at the time of the initial attack, might limit the effectiveness of even a well-planned attack. On the other hand, diseases such as FMD are highly infectious and even a small attack could demoralize a population and lead to disruptions in complex economies.

## TOOLS OF THE AGROTERRORIST

Terrorists have or could develop the capability of using biological agents to attack crops and livestock; biological agents include viruses such as the highly contagious FMD and rinderpest, which kill or weaken cattle, sheep, pigs, and other livestock. Anti-plant agents include fungi such as rice blast and stem rust that attack rice, wheat, and other important crops. Many of these diseases are endemic in various parts of the world, particularly in countries without well-developed procedures to monitor crop and animal health.

Early detection is necessary to cull infected animals and destroy infected crops to keep diseases from spreading. Many of the diseases that terrorists are most likely to use occur naturally, thus a terrorist team could travel to the scene of an outbreak to obtain infectious material from a sick animal or crop. At the attack site, the pathogen could be administered clandestinely—any resulting sickness would appear to be the result of natural causes. One expert has said, “If I wanted to spread foot-and-mouth disease, I would just get a saliva smear from a sick cow and then rub it on the noses of some healthy cows in the country I wanted to attack.”

The development of biological agents explicitly for use against animals and crops has a long history. Germany used anthrax and glanders against pack and food animals in World War I. Germany and Japan conducted active research during World War II to develop anticrop and antianimal weapons. They rarely used them, however, probably because they feared retaliation in kind from the United States and its allies, which were engaged in similar research. Some nations may have refrained from using biological agents only because they feared the prospect of having the diseases spread to their own homelands.

The United States ended its bioweapon program in 1969 and has honored its commitment to the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention of 1972 (BWC); this agreement outlawed offensive bioweapon research and development and required signatories to destroy their stockpiles. In the 1990s, citizens of the Soviet Union and Iraq reported that their countries continued clandestine research programs. Some of those bioweapons may still exist in stockpile sites or laboratories, and in any case the knowledge needed to cultivate these organisms is widespread and relatively easy to acquire.

Defensive biological warfare research such as vaccine development is permitted under the terms

of the BWC, but an outside observer may find distinguishing between the development of a vaccine and the development of a weapon under the cover of vaccine research difficult or impossible. Scientists involved in defensive agroterror research need supplies of plant and animal pathogens. Terrorists seeking these pathogens might obtain them from nations willing to sponsor terrorist activities, by theft from research laboratories, or by misrepresenting themselves to commercial suppliers of pathogens.

The United States has tightened standards considerably: it is no longer possible to merely invent a company name, print a letterhead, and obtain a pathogen from a supplier. Many other countries do not have comparable safeguards. A small quantity of almost any pathogen could easily be smuggled into the United States by packaging it as a medicine. In addition, persons with modest training in microbiology can cultivate greater quantities of many pathogens if supplied with a starter culture. Some animal diseases are so infectious that only a small quantity is needed to start an infection that would sweep through herds if not caught very early.

## PREVENTION, DETECTION, AND MITIGATION OF OUTBREAKS

Crops can be genetically engineered to make them more resistant to pathogens, and their cultivation schedules rotated to reduce the risk of exposing an entire crop to a disease. Animals can be vaccinated against some of the most threatening diseases. Growing conditions can be optimized to reduce the spread of infection should a disease outbreak occur, and antibiotic use can be minimized to reduce the risk of making livestock vulnerable to attack with strains of antibiotic-resistant bacteria. Factory farms that pack thousands of animals into confined spaces are likely to be very vulnerable and thus particularly attractive to terrorists.

Research laboratories in many parts of the world are working on developing instruments that can detect and identify pathogens quickly, eliminating the need for long delays while waiting for laboratory reports. Swift exchange of information about agricultural diseases by veterinary and crop specialists can be accomplished through computer and other information technologies. International organizations can cooperate to adopt measures to reduce the chance of a disease crossing oceans. An outbreak of a highly infectious plant or animal disease on another continent is only a

commercial airline flight away from any place else in the world, so timely detection and notification are essential.

Although an agroterror attack might not cause severe food shortages in highly developed countries with diversified food supplies, a terrorist-instigated outbreak of a virulent agricultural disease in a less developed region could cause local famine. Refugees could carry the disease beyond borders and across oceans where it could disrupt economies, cause food price increases, and even cause widespread panic if the disease were transmissible to humans.

*See also* ANTHRAX; BIOLOGICAL TERRORISM;  
COUNTERTERRORISM

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## AIR INDIA FLIGHT 182 BOMBING

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On June 23, 1985, a bomb exploded in a cargo hold of Air India Flight 182, which was flying over the Atlantic Ocean near Ireland at the time. A handful of the 329 passengers survived the explosion—only to drown in the ocean. Members of the Babbar Khalsa Society, a Sikh extremist group, are implicated in this attack.

Sikhs are a religious minority who have lived in northern India since the 1500s. The vast majority of Sikhs live in the Indian state of Punjab, but significant Sikh populations are established in Canada, the United States, and Great Britain. In the mid-1970s, a radical Sikh movement emerged advocating

the establishment of an independent Sikh nation. In 1984, the Indian government launched a military attack on the Golden Temple in Amritsar, the Sikhs' holiest shrine, which was then occupied by militant Sikhs. The attack was deeply offensive to Sikhs and led to further violence, with the Air India bombings believed to be in retaliation for the attack on the Golden Temple.

The bombs most likely originated in Vancouver, British Columbia, where an unidentified man booked two different itineraries from Vancouver to New Delhi, India's capital. One travel itinerary went east, from Vancouver to Toronto to London to New Delhi; the second went west, from Vancouver to New Delhi via Tokyo. In both cases, bags were checked through to New Delhi, but whoever checked the bags never boarded the flights.

Early in the morning on June 23, 1985, a bag taken off the Vancouver-to-Tokyo flight exploded at Tokyo's Narita Airport. The explosion killed two baggage handlers and wounded four more. An hour later, Flight 182, traveling from Toronto to London at an altitude of 31,000 feet, disappeared from the radar of flight controllers. Examination of the wreckage revealed that a sudden explosion, most likely a bomb, destroyed the plane.

Talwinder Singh Paramar, a leader of Babbar Khalsa Society living in British Columbia, had been under surveillance for weeks before the bombings because he was thought to pose a security threat following the attack on the Golden Temple. Paramar's behavior during the surveillance indicated that he might have been responsible, and he was arrested. Canadian police had mishandled his surveillance—no one was watching him on the day the bombs were delivered to the Vancouver airport, for example—and key evidence was lost. Charges against Paramar were dropped, and he eventually returned to India, where he was killed by Indian security forces in 1992. An accomplice of Paramar, Inderjet Singh Reyat, a mechanic who apparently built the bombs, was also arrested and released; he was rearrested, convicted, and sentenced in 1991 to 10 years in prison on manslaughter charges connected to the Narita bombing.

Most of those who died in the bombing of Flight 182 were Canadian citizens of Indian descent, including Sikhs; the failure of the Canadian government to apprehend and convict those responsible for their deaths was seen by many as an insult to the

community. In late 2000, the Canadian government charged two Sikh men from British Columbia in the Flight 182 bombing, cleric Ajaib Singh Bagri and businessman Ripudaman Singh Malik. In June 2001, Reyat was also charged in the Flight 182 bombing, mere days before completing his 10-year sentence for manslaughter.

*See also* SIKH TERRORISM

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## Ajaj, Ahmad. *See* WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING (1993).

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## AL-ADEL, SAIF (1960 OR 1963– )

aka Muhammad Ibrahim Makkawi, Seif al Adel, Ibrahim al-Madani

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Saif al-Adel, an Egyptian, is a high-ranking member of Al Qaeda and head of Osama bin Laden's personal security force. Al-Adel is believed to have taken over as military commander of Al Qaeda since the death of Muhammad Atef. He is also thought to have trained several of the hijackers responsible for the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in the United States. In 1998, the United States accused al-Adel of participating in the conspiracy to bomb U.S. embassies in East Africa. The FBI lists him as one of 22 "most wanted terrorists."

Little is known about al-Adel's early life. Before joining Al Qaeda, he was member of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad. That group, led by Egyptian doctor Ayman al-Zawahiri, merged with Al Qaeda in the late 1990s. Al-Zawahiri is now widely considered to be bin Laden's second-in-command.

According to the 1998 U.S. indictment in the embassy bombings case, al-Adel sits on Al Qaeda's consultation council, the *majlis al shura*. This body discusses and approves all acts of terror carried out by the international Al Qaeda network. Al Qaeda, an Arabic word meaning "The Base," serves as an umbrella group for other terrorist organizations and has declared war against the United States.

The indictment also charges al-Adel with providing military, explosives, and intelligence training to recruits for as long as a decade in Al Qaeda camps in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Sudan. The indictment further charges that, in 1993, al-Adel and other Al Qaeda operatives trained the tribe members who attacked U.N. peacekeeping forces in Somalia. An attack in Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia, led to the death of 18 U.S. Marines later that year.

Al-Adel remains a fugitive, as do many other Al Qaeda members indicted in the embassy case. The U.S. State Department offers a reward of up to \$25 million for information leading directly to his apprehension or conviction.

*See also* AL QAEDA; AYMAN AL-ZAWAHIRI; OSAMA BIN LADEN; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS

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## AL AQSA MARTYRS BRIGADES

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A coalition of Palestinian West Bank militias that became increasingly violent during 2002, the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades are known for committing deadly suicide bombing attacks against Israel. Unlike Hamas and other Palestinian groups that use suicide-bombing tactics, the brigades' ideology is reportedly based on Palestinian nationalism rather than Muslim fundamentalism.

The group's name refers to al-Aqsa mosque, which is located at the top of the Jerusalem holy site known as the Noble Sanctuary by Muslims and as the Temple Mount by Jews. Muslims revere the site as the place where the prophet Muhammad ascended to heaven and Jews revere it as the site of the Second Temple destroyed by the Romans. The Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades were formed (in the West Bank refugee camp of Balata, near Nablus) shortly after Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon and a large police contingent visited the compound where the mosque is located in September 2000. Later that fall, the brigades were formed in Balata, a West Bank refugee camp near Nablus. Seven young Palestinians who are said to have grown up together in the Fatah youth movement developed the group.

The brigade is affiliated with Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat's Fatah party. The extent of Arafat's involvement with the group is highly contested. He has publicly condemned the group's suicide bombings, but press reports have quoted brigade leaders who claim that Arafat gives their orders.

Al Aqsa began with drive-by shootings and suicide bombings, and then started targeting Israeli roadblocks and settlers in the West Bank. At first, the group did not carry out attacks outside of the West Bank.

In August 2001, leader and cofounder Yasser Badawi was killed by a car bomb. After his death, the brigades began attacking civilians inside Israel. The attacks escalated, and on January 17, 2002, an Al Aqsa member killed six at a bat mitzvah in Hadera, Israel. On March 21, 2002, a suicide bomber killed three people and injured more than 20 in West Jerusalem. The Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades claimed responsibility for that attack. After the West Jerusalem bombing, the U.S. State Department added the brigades to the U.S. list of foreign terrorist organizations.

On March 30, 2002, 16-year-old Ayat A-Akhras, a Palestinian teenager and member of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, blew herself up in a suburban Jerusalem supermarket, killing herself and two Israelis. Another 22 people were wounded. The group called the Associated Press to claim responsibility. In a prerecorded video broadcast on Arab television, Akhras said she was sacrificing herself for al-Aqsa mosque. She is said to be just the third Palestinian woman suicide bomber.

*See also* AL FATAH; YASIR ARAFAT; HAMAS; PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

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## AL 'ASIFA

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Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat gave the name Al 'Asifa, or "The Storm" to the military wing of his Fatah movement at its founding in 1957. In the early days of Al Fatah, Arafat signed communiqués and leaflets calling for "armed revolution" with the name Al 'Asifa.

Calling for an armed struggle for Palestine carried out by Palestinians themselves, Al Fatah launched its first raid into Israel in 1965, claiming responsibility under the name Al 'Asifa.

As Al Fatah emerged further from the underground and gained leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the group gradually stopped making distinctions between Al Fatah and Al 'Asifa. Some Arafat biographers have claimed that Al 'Asifa was merely the cover name that Al Fatah used to launch its

first operations, and that at its beginning Al Fatah had no separate military wing.

Al 'Asifa made international headlines when Sabri al-Banna (also known as Abu Nidal) split from Arafat and the Fatah movement in the early 1970s. Al-Banna condemned Al Fatah's work for political settlement between Israel and the Palestinians, and is said to have been expelled from the organization for plotting to assassinate Arafat. In what many see as a move to prove himself to be the legitimate representative of the true Fatah ideology, al-Banna gave institutions in his organization names identical to those in Al Fatah. He called his military operations wing Al 'Asifa. Al-Banna's operatives often claimed responsibility for violent acts under the name Al 'Asifa.

*See also* ABU NIDAL ORGANIZATION; SABRI AL-BANNA;  
AL FATAH

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## **AL-BANNA, SABRI (1937– )**

**aka Abu Nidal**

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Sabri al-Banna, known to the world as Abu Nidal, is a terrorist mastermind whose various organizations have been responsible for an estimated 900 deaths.

Born in the town of Jaffa in 1937, in what was then British-ruled Palestine, al-Banna's early years were spent in luxury. His father, Ibrihim al-Banna, owned a fruit-exporting business that made him one of the richest men in the country. His 18 children and several wives wanted for nothing. When al-Banna was 9, his father died; the family was left in difficult financial straits partly because of the political turmoil in the Middle East. In 1948, the al-Banna family was forced to flee Jaffa and the advancing Israeli Army. For more than a year, they were destitute refugees; this year of poverty and humiliation forever shaped the young

al-Banna's worldview. In 1949, the al-Banna family resettled in Nablus, on the west bank of the Jordan River.

Al-Banna's first political involvement occurred while attending college in Cairo in the mid-1950s, when he joined the Ba'th Party, a socialist pan-Arab and anticolonialist group whose ideas would influence his political views. In 1957, after a brief stint as a teacher, al-Banna moved to Saudi Arabia to work as an electrical engineer. There he joined Al Fatah, the organization begun by Yasir Arafat to win back Palestine from the Israelis. In 1964, Al Fatah united with other Palestinian groups to form the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Over the next decade, al-Sabri rose within the PLO, becoming one of Arafat's inner circle, and acquiring Abu Nidal ("Father of Struggle") as a nom de guerre. In 1969, al-Banna was sent to Sudan to recruit for Al Fatah. He spent little more than a year there before being re-assigned to Baghdad, which in 1970 was dominated by the Ba'th Party and led by Saddam Hussein.

Al-Banna's years in Iraq and his reimmersion in Ba'thist ideology led to a rupture between him and Fatah leaders. Al Fatah and the PLO espoused a form of Palestinian nationalism that, although dependent on aid from other Arab nations, was dedicated to creating an independent Palestinian state. Al-Banna subscribed to the Ba'thist belief that the boundaries between contemporary Arab states were arbitrary—legacies of colonialism—and that the eventual unification of all Arab peoples in a single nation-state was the necessary and desirable way for the Arabs to assume a position of world power. Accordingly, Israel, having been imposed upon the Arabs by the West, was an obstacle to Arab unity and must be eliminated. The existence of Israel also offered an opportunity to forge Arab unity through fighting this common enemy. To al-Banna, the fight for the liberation of Palestine was the cornerstone in creating an Arab world power; any move from armed struggle toward political accommodation placed this goal in jeopardy, anyone who dared make such accommodations was as much his enemy as the Israelis.

In the early 1970s, Arafat began to downplay Fatah's terrorism and to maneuver for political recognition; Arafat's 1974 address to the United Nations was a major step in legitimizing him on the world's stage. Al-Banna protested strenuously, causing Fatah's leadership to question his loyalty. In 1974, al-Banna left the organization. Using his Iraqi base, he began

forming a new terrorist group, which has operated under several names but is most widely known as the Abu Nidal Organization (ANO). In November 1974, the PLO sentenced him to death in absentia; several commentators have suggested that the death sentence was decided on after the discovery of a plot to assassinate Arafat.

From 1974 to 1983, the ANO operated from Iraq. In return for the protection of Hussein, al-Banna and the ANO carried out attacks against Saddam's enemies, particularly the Syrian Ba'ath Party, which had a long-standing rivalry with Saddam's Iraqi Ba'ath. During these years, the group engaged in several high-profile attacks, including the attempted assassination of the Israeli ambassador to England, Shlomo Argov, in June 1982. That attack provoked Israel to invade Lebanon, the country where the PLO had its headquarters.

By 1983, Iraq was deeply involved in a war against Iran, and, in an attempt to curry favor with the West, Saddam Hussein expelled al-Banna and the ANO. Al-Banna moved the ANO to Syria, where he remained until 1985; he then moved to Libya. In 1985, while based in Libya, the ANO executed some of its most daring and despicable attacks, including the machine-gunning of El Al Airlines counters at the Rome and Vienna airports; these attacks killed 17 people. Al-Banna became the world's most wanted terrorist.

While in Libya, al-Banna began to recruit seriously. The ANO had long-established front offices in most Arab countries, and its operatives had proven their ability to strike successfully almost anywhere in the world. Al-Banna wanted to increase ANO's number of operations. By the late 1980s, however, al-Banna's suspicions were overtaking his judgment. Long famous for his caution—he would only eat food prepared by his personal chef and continually circulated rumors of his own death to confuse his enemies—he began to suspect that his underlings might be plotting to replace him with the support of the new members. Al-Banna is reported to have responded to this threat with a brutal internal purge, killing as many 150 members of ANO. This action temporarily quieted dissent but caused many senior commanders to defect in the late 1980s, leaving the ANO seriously crippled.

Al-Banna soon faced another danger; Jordanian security forces, tiring of his threats against King Hussein, reportedly arrested several members of his family and threatened to execute them. The ANO

undertook no further attacks against Jordanian targets. By the early 1990s, the Jordanian threats combined with the previous defections and his own declining health seriously incapacitated al-Banna and with him the ANO. The last major attack attributed to the organization was the 1991 assassination of Abu Iyad, a PLO leader and al-Banna's former colleague. In the late 1990s, Libya's policy toward terrorism changed significantly, and al-Banna was no longer welcome. In 1999, he was reported to have received medical treatment in Cairo, possibly for leukemia. In August 2002, al-Banna was found dead of multiple gunshot wounds in an apartment in Baghdad.

*See also* ABU NIDAL ORGANIZATION; AL FATAH; YASIR ARAFAT; SADDAM HUSSEIN; PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

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## AL-FARUQ, OMAR. *See* ABU ZUBAYDAH.

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## AL FATAH

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Formed by Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat during his youth, Al Fatah is the biggest and most influential group within the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Arafat and his colleague Khalil Wazir (later known by the nom de guerre Abu Jihad) founded Al Fatah after leaving Egypt for Kuwait in 1957. Fatah's platform departed from the pan-Arabism of the day and instead called on the Palestinians themselves to led an armed struggle for Palestine. The group began as



an unnamed network of underground cells. Members published *Our Palestine: The Call to Life*, a magazine in which they called for the eradication of Israel. The magazine set forth Fatah's mission and brought in new recruits. Al Fatah formally organized in 1963 and set up a central governing committee.

The name Al Fatah is a reverse acronym for the Arabic phrase "Harakat al-Tahir al Watani al Filastini" ("Movement for the National Liberation of Palestine"). The members reversed the initial letters of the words to form "Fatah," which means "Victory" in Arabic. Al Fatah gained the support of Syria and emerged from the underground in December 1964, when members blew up a water-pump installation in Israel. In following years, Fatah members continued to infiltrate and attack Israel, entering from Lebanon or Jordan.

After Israel won the Six-Day War in 1967 and occupied the Sinai peninsula, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank, Fatah leaders recruited Palestinians displaced by the war. Al Fatah established guerrilla-training centers in Lebanon and Jordan and increased the raids on Israel, provoking many counterattacks. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Al Fatah also offered training to terrorist groups from around the world.

In a 1968 battle in the town of Karameh, Jordan, Al Fatah held off an Israeli counterattack. As accounts of the standoff spread, Al Fatah gained prestige and Arafat garnered international attention. The number of volunteer Fatah fighters swelled. Al Fatah joined the PLO in 1969, and Arafat was elected chairman of the PLO's executive committee. Upon his election, Arafat reportedly declared, "Armed struggle is the only way. We reject all political settlements."

Jordan's Army clashed with the PLO in the early 1970s and overpowered the group, expelling it from that country. A radical splinter group of Al Fatah, Black September, emerged in 1971; Black September was responsible for the Munich Olympics massacre in 1972, as well as other terror attacks against Israel. Meanwhile, the PLO moved its base to Lebanon, where it became embroiled in Lebanon's prolonged civil war. In 1982, after Israel invaded Lebanon, the group evacuated Beirut under international guarantees of safety.

Senior Fatah officials broke from Arafat's rule in 1983 and moved to a closer relationship with Syria. With Syrian backing, Al Fatah attacked Arafat and his troops in Tripoli, Lebanon. Arafat managed to keep control of the PLO, however, and moved its headquarters to Tunisia.

In the late 1980s, Al Fatah developed a political wing, forming the moderate majority within the PLO. Al Fatah has been criticized by militant groups such as Hamas and former Fatah member Abu Nidal's breakaway Fatah Revolutionary Council. In 1988, under the leadership of Arafat and Al Fatah, the PLO accepted Israel's right to coexist with Palestine and effectively denounced terrorism.

In 1993, Arafat signed the PLO-Israel Declaration of Principles and brought the Fatah party back to the Gaza Strip after nearly three decades of exile. As peace agreements faltered in recent years, Fatah members have returned to terrorism and international leaders have called on Arafat to discipline his party. During the fall of 2000, a group of young Palestinians said to have grown up together in the Fatah youth movement founded the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades. The brigades, named for the al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem, have become increasingly violent during 2002 and have carried out many deadly suicide-bombing attacks against Israel.

*See also* YASIR ARAFAT; HAMAS; PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

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## **AL JIHAD**

**aka Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Egyptian al-Jihad, Islamic Jihad, Jihad Group, New Jihad**

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The Egyptian Islamic extremist group Al Jihad is said to maintain close ties with Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda network. Although exact numbers are unknown, the organization is believed to have several hundred committed members. Active since the 1970s, the militant organization's goal is to overthrow the

secular Egyptian government and replace it with an Islamic state. Al Jihad members assassinated Egyptian president Anwar Sadat.

Al Jihad developed into a powerful force in the 1980s, specializing in armed attacks against high-level members of the Egyptian government. During a military parade in November 1981, members disguised themselves as soldiers; after surrounding Sadat, they shot and killed him in front of Egyptian television cameras.

Al Jihad also claimed responsibility for the foiled assassination attempts on Interior Minister Hassan al-Alfi in August 1993 and Prime Minister Atef Sedky in November 1993. Unlike the Egyptian extremist group Gama'a al Islamiyya, Al Jihad has never targeted foreign tourists in Egypt.

As a consequence of these attacks, Egyptian security forces began to crack down on fundamentalists. Despite international protests, officials held suspects without trial and used torture during interrogation. In response, many Al Jihad members fled the country.

According to the U.S. State Department, Al Jihad has not carried out an attack inside Egypt since 1993, preferring to work outside that country. In 1995, Al Jihad bombed the Egyptian embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan, killing 17. Three years later, the group planned an attack, which was foiled, against the U.S. embassy in Albania.

During the 1990s, Al Jihad divided into two factions: the first and perhaps less notorious faction is led by Abbud al-Aumar, an original Jihad leader currently imprisoned in Egypt; the second is led by Egyptian physician Ayman al-Zawahiri, bin Laden's close adviser. One of Al Jihad's founding members, al-Zawahiri met bin Laden during the Afghan guerilla war against the Soviet Union. Al-Zawahiri is said to have influenced the Al Qaeda network's growing anti-Americanism and is suspected of having been instrumental in planning the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in 2001.

Al Jihad and Al Qaeda announced a merger in 1998, saying that they had formed the World Islamic Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders. After al-Zawahiri merged his faction of Al Jihad with Al Qaeda, many of his members became known as bin Laden's foot soldiers. Egyptian authorities have accused Al Jihad members of providing tactical support to Al Qaeda—for example, forging documents and transferring money.

Worldwide, many Al Jihad operatives have been arrested—most recently in Lebanon and Yemen. In

1999, Egyptian courts conducted a large-scale trial of 107 terror suspects, largely Al Jihad members. According to the U.S. State Department, Al Jihad's exact strength is unknown, but it is likely to have several hundred hard-core members.

*See also* AL QAEDA; AYMAN AL-ZAWAHIRI; OSAMA BIN LADEN

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## AL-LIBY, ANAS (1964– )

**aka Anas al-Sabai, Anas al-Libi, Nazih al-Raghie, Nazih Abdul Hamed al-Raghie**

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Anas al-Liby, born in Tripoli, Libya, is often described as the computer wizard of Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda network. He was indicted in December 2000 for conspiring to kill Americans in the East African embassy attacks in 1998. Al-Liby has also been linked to the Libyan Islamic Group, the militant anti-Qaddafi organization.

Al Qaeda, an international terror network that is widely believed to have carried out the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, has also worked against non-Islamic governments in the Middle East. However, the extent of al-Liby's recent involvement with Al Qaeda is unclear. Testimony in the East African embassy bombings trial suggested that al-Liby quarreled with bin Laden over financial matters and split with him during the late 1990s. The U.S. indictment charges that al-Liby discussed the possibility of an attack on the U.S. embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, with coconspirator Ali Mohamed in 1993. Mohamed, who cooperated with U.S. prosecutors, described al-Liby's

involvement during his own guilty plea in October 2000. Mohamed also said that he and al-Liby reviewed other possible targets in Nairobi. The indictment also charges that al-Liby conducted visual and photographic surveillance of the Kenyan embassy.

In 1995, al-Liby relocated to Britain. The FBI maintains that he was granted political asylum, while British officials have said that his immigration status was never determined. Al-Liby was living in relative obscurity in England when bomb-laden cars exploded at the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, on August 7, 1998. The bombs exploded just minutes apart, killing a combined total of 224 people and turning both embassies into partial ruins.

After al-Liby was indicted by the United States, British police raided his Manchester apartment to find that he had fled. However, they discovered a computer with a terrorist training manual called *Military Studies in the Jihad Against the Tyrants*. The manual included tutorials on car bombing, sabotage, torture, and disguise.

Al-Liby was captured during the 2001 assault on Al Qaeda's cave systems in eastern Afghanistan. Before being taken into U.S. custody, al-Liby was listed by the FBI as one of its "most wanted terrorists" with 12 others linked to the East African embassy bombings. U.S. officials have not yet announced when and how al-Liby will be tried for his alleged involvement in the 1998 bombings or what if any his suspected role was in the September 11, 2001, attacks.

**See also** AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS

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## AL-MUGHASSIL, AHMAD IBRAHIM (1967– )

aka Abu Omran

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In June 2001, the U.S. indicted Saudi national Ahmad al-Mughassil for his role in coordinating and carrying out the 1996 bombing of the Khobar Towers military barracks (which housed approximately 2,000) in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. The explosion killed 19 American service members and wounded approximately 500. Al-Mughassil is one of 22 men named "most wanted terrorists" by the FBI.

U.S. officials charge that al-Mughassil, born in Qatif-Bab al Shamal, Saudi Arabia, is the leader of the military wing of the Saudi Hezbollah terrorist group. Saudi Hezbollah, also called Hezbollah al-Hijaz, is largely made up of young Shiite Muslim men who profess loyalty to Iran instead of the Saudi government. As Saudi Hezbollah is outlawed in Saudi Arabia, al-Mughassil often met with the head of Saudi Hezbollah, Abdelkarim Hussein Mohamed al-Nasser, and other organization leaders in Lebanon, Syria, or Iran.

According to the indictment, al-Mughassil was in charge of planning and directing terror attacks against the U.S. presence in Saudi Arabia. He also worked as a recruiter for Saudi Hezbollah, arranging for military training for new members in camps in Lebanon and Iran.

About three years before the Khobar attack, al-Mughassil ordered Saudi Hezbollah members to find possible terrorism targets in Saudi Arabia. His goal, according to U.S. officials, was to expel the U.S. military from Saudi Arabia. The service members living in Khobar Towers were assigned to the King Abdul Aziz Airbase in Saudi Arabia, and patrolled over the no-flight zone in southern Iraq that was declared after the Persian Gulf War.

In early June 1996, according to the U.S. indictment, al-Mughassil and coconspirators worked at a farm in the Qatif area of Saudi Arabia to build the truck bomb used in the Khobar attack. A tanker truck, which had been purchased using stolen identification from a Saudi Arabian car dealership, was filled with explosives and wired with a timer.

On the evening of June 25, al-Mughassil drove the truck loaded with more than 5,000 pounds of explosives and parked it near building No. 131 of the high-rise Air Force barracks. He and a passenger then jumped into a

waiting car and drove away. The truck bomb exploded within minutes. The enormous blast, heard 20 miles away, destroyed the north side of the building.

Al-Mughassil was one of 14 charged on June 21, 2001, in the Khobar Towers case. Eleven of the men charged are in Saudi custody, while three remain fugitives. Saudi Arabia has challenged U.S. jurisdiction in the Khobar case and has refused to extradite the men, as the attack happened on Saudi soil and was committed mostly by Saudi citizens.

Three others indicted in the Khobar case, al-Nasser, Ibrahim Salih Mohammed al-Yacoub, and Ali Saed bin Ali el-Hoorie, are also on the FBI's "most wanted" list. The U.S. State Department is offering a reward of up to \$25 million for information leading directly to the arrest or indictment of al-Mughassil.

**See also** ABDELKARIM HUSSEIN MOHAMED AL-NASSER; IBRAHIM SALIH MOHAMMED AL-YACOUB; ALI SAED BIN ALI EL-HOORIE; HEZBOLLAH; KHOBAR TOWERS BOMBING

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## AL MUHAJIROUN

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The extremist Muslim group Al Muhajiroun was founded in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, in 1983 by the radical cleric Sheikh Omar Bakri Muhammad. The small group, now based at the Finsbury Park mosque in North London, has been largely dismissed by mainstream Muslim religious leaders as a band of "propaganda seeking extremists" and is often written off by British commentators as a bothersome joke.

Muhammad, a Syrian, was expelled from Saudi Arabia and has lived legally in London since 1986. Known in British tabloid headlines as the "Tottenham Ayatollah," Muhammad urges his followers to fight

to reestablish "true" Islam, often using harsh anti-Semitic language to call for the wiping out of other religions. Although Muhammad's application for British citizenship has been rejected several times, he was granted "exceptional leave to remain" because the Syrian government rescinded his passport and is not likely to issue him another one.

Al-Muhajiroun is not outlawed in England, although it has come under increased scrutiny by Scotland Yard since the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. The chairman of the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain called the group "nutters" in London's *Independent* newspaper and advised that a crackdown on the group's activities would exaggerate its importance.

During the U.S.-led air raids on Afghanistan in retaliation for the September 11 attacks, Al Muhajiroun leaders gave public lectures telling young British Muslims that their duty was to travel to Afghanistan and fight on the side of Osama bin Laden and the Taliban. Members of the group later boasted that as many as 600 British Muslims had gone to Afghanistan to fight. They were unable to substantiate these claims, however.

When Britain joined the military strikes against Afghanistan in October 2001, an Al Muhajiroun spokesperson in Pakistan told the London-based Arabic newspaper *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* that Prime Minister Tony Blair was a "legitimate target" for assassination. Under intense press scrutiny, Muhammad told British journalists that his group engaged in "political and intellectual attacks, not violent ones." He also condemned the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. He said that the attacks were not the work of bin Laden and Al Qaeda but instead carried out by a covert group of "Anglo-Saxon Americans" who wanted to provoke war between the West and Islam.

In November 2001, Al Muhajiroun provoked further outcry in Britain by claiming that at least three British Muslims fighting with the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan had died during the bombing. However, Al Muhajiroun was unable to provide solid facts to back its claim. Family members of one of the men named by Al Muhajiroun said that he was in Afghanistan as an aid worker.

**See also** OSAMA BIN LADEN; TALIBAN

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## **AL-NASSER, ABDELKARIM HUSSEIN MOHAMED (?- )**

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On June 21, 2001, Abdelkarim al-Nasser was indicted in the United States for his role in coordinating the 1996 bombing of the Khobar Towers, a high-rise U.S. military barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. The FBI lists al-Nasser as one of its “most wanted terrorists.”

The indictment asserts that al-Nasser, who was born in Al Ihsa, Saudi Arabia, was the head of Saudi Hezbollah in the 1990s. That group is largely made up of young Shiite Muslim men who are loyal to Iran, not the Saudi government. Saudi Hezbollah, also called Hezbollah al-Hijaz, is outlawed in Saudi Arabia, thus Al-Nasser often met other organization leaders in Lebanon, Syria, or Iran.

Saudi Hezbollah operatives frequently gathered at the Sayyeda Zeinab shrine in Damascus, Syria, an important religious site for Shiite Muslims. The site was also a prime recruiting place for Saudi Hezbollah; its operatives often approached men on religious pilgrimages.

According to the indictment, al-Nasser’s military operations chief, Ahmad Ibrahim al-Mughassil, planned and carried out much of the attack on the Khobar Towers in an attempt to force the U.S. military from Saudi Arabia. Weeks before the attack, al-Nasser led a meeting at the Sayyeda Zeinab shrine



*Khobar Towers after the June 25, 1996, bombing of the U.S. high-rise barracks that killed 19 soldiers. Abdelkarim al-Nasser was indicted in June 2001 for his role in coordinating the bombing.*

Source: Defense Visual Information Center.

to discuss the final plans for the truck bomb assault. On the evening of June 25, 1996, al-Mughassil and fellow Saudi Hezbollah member Ali Saed bin Ali el-Hoorie drove a truck carrying more than 5,000 pounds of explosives to the Khobar Towers; they parked the truck and quickly drove off in a waiting getaway car. Minutes later, the truck exploded, killing 19 U.S. service members and wounding another 500 people.

Eleven of the 14 men charged with the bombing are in Saudi custody. Saudi Arabia has challenged U.S. jurisdiction because the attack was on Saudi soil and was committed largely by Saudi citizens. The Saudi government has declared that it will not extradite these men.

Three other men indicted in the Khobar case, Ahmad al-Mughassil, Ali el-Hoorie, and Ibrahim Salih Mohammed al-Yacoub are also on the FBI's "most wanted" list. The U.S. State Department is offering an award of up to \$25 million for information leading directly to the arrest or indictment of al-Nasser.

*See also* AHMAD IBRAHIM AL-MUGHASSIL; IBRAHIM SALIH MOHAMMED AL-YACOUB; ALI SAED BIN ALI EL-HOORIE; HEZBOLLAH

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## AL-'OWHALI, MOHAMED RASHED (1977– )

aka Mohammed Akbar, Abdul Ali Latif, Khalid Salim Saleh bin Rashid

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Mohamed Rashed al-'Owhali is known for being the failed martyr who ran from the bomb-laden truck in front of the U.S. embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, just before it exploded. A member of Osama bin Laden's

Al Qaeda network, al-'Owhali was later captured and convicted of playing a direct role in the 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in East Africa; he is now serving a life sentence in the United States.

Al-'Owhali was born in Liverpool, England, where his wealthy Saudi father was a student. He formed radical ideas as a teenager, listening to audiotapes of conservative clerics and reading religious magazines. After high school, al-'Owhali studied at Mohamed bin Saud University in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

After graduating from college, al-'Owhali and a group of friends left for Afghanistan to join the fight against the Soviets. In Afghanistan, al-'Owhali studied military and covert operations; he also met Al Qaeda leaders and fought with the Taliban against the Northern Alliance in 1996.

Al-'Owhali was later recruited for the attack on the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. In July 1998, he used a Yemeni passport to travel to Kenya, just a week before the bombing. In his confession, al-'Owhali said that the operation was planned so that he and a fellow driver would die as martyrs. On August 7, 1998, al-'Owhali rode in the cab of the Toyota truck carrying the bomb to the U.S. embassy compound in Nairobi. As the truck neared the embassy, he threw a grenade at the guard stationed outside. Once the truck pulled up alongside the embassy, al-'Owhali decided that his death was not necessary for the mission to be accomplished. Just before his partner detonated the bomb from inside the cab, al-'Owhali ran from the embassy compound.

The blast partially demolished the embassy; 400 miles away in Dar es Salaam, another bomb exploded at the U.S. embassy. In total, the blasts killed 224 people. Al-'Owhali, who had cuts and abrasions all around his hands and face and a large wound on his back, was left without money or plane tickets, as he had been expected to die in the bombing. He went to a local hospital to get treatment, and, while in the hospital bathroom, threw away keys from the padlock to the back of the bomb truck and three bullets from a gun he had left in the truck. Two days later, Kenyan officials found and arrested him. He was later tried with three others in a New York court. During the trial, the prosecuting attorney showed a photograph, taken after the bombing, of al-'Owhali, his hands clasped together in the boxer's symbol of victory.

In June 2001, a jury sentenced the 24-year-old to life in prison. Several jurors said that they had decided against the death penalty because executing

al-'Owhali could give him martyr's status in terrorists' eyes.

*See also* AL QAEDA; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS; TALIBAN

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## AL QAEDA

**aka Al Qa'ida, Islamic Army for the Liberation of the Holy Places, Islamic Salvation Foundation, Osama bin Laden Network, World Islamic Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders**

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Al Qaeda (Arabic for "The Base") is a loosely knit terrorist network that facilitates the activities of like-minded militant Islamic groups in more than 60 countries around the globe. Al Qaeda is believed to have been behind both attacks on the World Trade Center (1993 and 2001) and the 1998 bombings of two U.S. embassies, among many other incidents.

Organizationally, Al Qaeda is governed by a small core comprising the *majlis al-shura*, or consultative council, which makes the final decisions on major policy decisions, including the approval of terrorist operations and the issuing of Islamic decrees, or *fatwas*. Al Qaeda also has a military committee, a business committee, a media committee, and a religious committee. Most Al Qaeda operatives never have contact with the top leadership and are dispatched for duty at the last moment without prior knowledge of the organization's plans. For this reason, intelligence analysts have experienced great difficulty breaking into the network.

The network was established in 1989 by Saudi militant Osama bin Laden with Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood figure Abdullah Azzam. Al Qaeda was

based in Afghanistan from 1989 to 1991, Sudan from 1991 to 1996, Afghanistan again from 1996 to 2001, and was forced into exile after the United States launched Operation Enduring Freedom into Afghanistan on October 7, 2001.

Al Qaeda seeks to overthrow the current world order and replace it with a fundamentalist Islamic order characterized by a unified Muslim world under the leadership of one Muslim *Caliph*. Accordingly, it has set several goals. First, it seeks to topple what it considers to be the morally bankrupt and heretical regimes of the Middle East. Al Qaeda chastises these regimes for not properly implementing Islamic law, or *shari'a*. The organization's top target is Saudi Arabia, the home of Islam's two holiest sites, which bin Laden lambastes for allowing U.S. soldiers to be stationed on its soil. Second, Al Qaeda sees the United States as the foremost enemy of Islam for what it perceives to be oppressive foreign policy. As the world's lone super power, the United States also represents the largest impediment to an Islamic order. Al Qaeda, therefore, seeks to destroy it. Finally, Al Qaeda calls for the destruction of the Jewish state of Israel and to replace it with a Muslim state of Palestine. Al Qaeda, however, has never directly attacked a Jewish or Israeli target.

### THE BEGINNINGS OF AL QAEDA

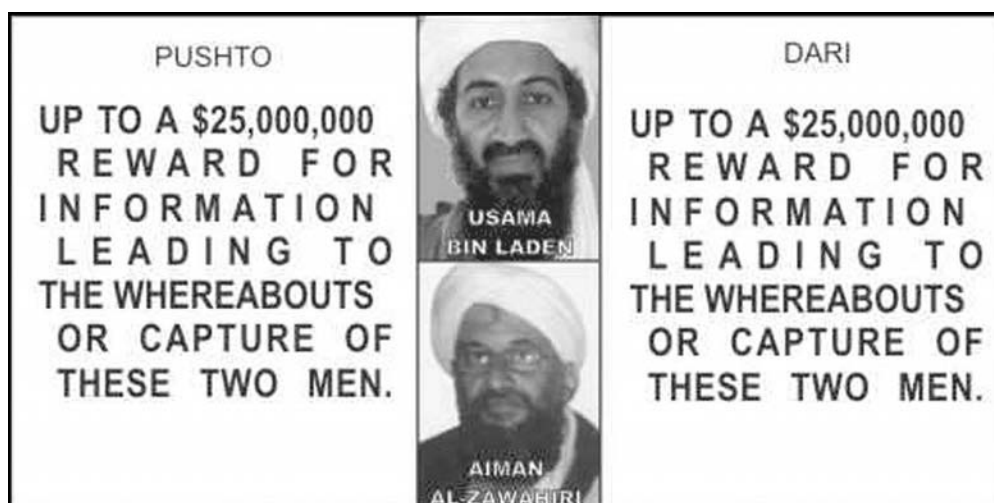
The history of Al Qaeda is inextricably tied to the life and ideology of bin Laden, the son of a Saudi multimillionaire, whose inheritance was once estimated at \$270 to \$300 million. Bin Laden left his life of luxury in Saudi Arabia to become a guerrilla fighter in 1979, when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. He contributed millions of dollars to the mujahideen, helping to build roads, bunkers, and other vital infrastructure. In tandem with Azzam, bin Laden founded *Maktab al-Khidamat* (the Services Office), which recruited thousands of mujahideen from around the globe, financed their travel to Afghanistan, and trained them in guerrilla tactics and terrorist operations.

By one estimate, between 175,000 and 250,000 mujahideen fought yearly in Afghanistan, and only a small percentage of them were native Afghans. Almost half of the fighters hailed from Saudi Arabia, about 3,000 were Algerian, approximately 2,000 were Egyptian, and thousands of others arrived from Sudan, Yemen, and neighboring Pakistan. These fighters would become the core of Al Qaeda's fighters.

FRONT



BACK



*Reward poster offering up to \$25 million for information leading to the capture of Al Qaeda leaders Ayman al-Zawahiri and Osama bin Laden*

Source: U.S. Department of Defense.

It has been reported that the first terrorist attack carried out by Al Qaeda was the bombing of two hotels in Aden, Yemen, in December 1992. The attack injured several tourists, but was likely intended for U.S. troops that were on their way to carry out the humanitarian mission Operation Restore Hope in Somalia. At this point, however, reports indicate that Western intelligence had not yet linked the attack in Yemen to bin Laden's newly formed network.

Al Qaeda has also been associated with the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center, where six people were killed and 1,000 were injured. The attacks were linked to a cell of the Egyptian Gama'a al-Islamiyya, which operated under the aegis of Al Qaeda. It was later learned that the convicted bomb-maker, Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, had lived in one of bin Laden's "guest houses" in Peshawar, Pakistan, both before and after the attack.

With the help of American CIA funding and training, the mujahideen defeated the Soviets, who withdrew from Afghanistan on February 15, 1989. But the fighting continued for bin Laden. In 1989, he formed Al Qaeda to continue the jihad. Through a network of the thousands of jihad fighters that had trained in his Services Office, bin Laden sent militant Muslims home to create terror cells and wage guerrilla warfare to topple what he perceived to be heretical regimes. Other mujahideen were sent to join the jihad struggles in Somalia, the Balkans, and Chechnya.

Al Qaeda was next linked to the attacks on American service members in Mogadishu, Somalia, in 1993. In this attack, Al Qaeda-trained guerrillas thwarted a U.S. attempt to capture a radical Muslim warlord. The guerrillas shot down two American Black Hawk helicopters, and forced a third to make a crash landing. In the end, 18 American soldiers were killed, and 78 were injured. In 1994, additional Al Qaeda plots were thwarted, including plans to assassinate the pope and to blow up 11 passenger jets in the air.



All the while, from 1989 through 1991, bin Laden lived again in Saudi Arabia, where he launched a campaign against the House of Saud. He also believed that the regime did not rule Saudi Arabia in a way that was consistent with the “proper” interpretation of Islam. After the 1991 Gulf War, he also vociferously opposed the presence of American troops on Saudi soil. His speeches were recorded and distributed by the thousands throughout Saudi Arabia. Bin Laden’s activism put him in the surveillance of Saudi intelligence.

Under pressure from the now-angered Saudi regime, bin Laden left Saudi Arabia. He, his family, and an estimated 300 to 480 dedicated Al Qaeda cadres left for Sudan, a country that came under the control of Omar al-Bashir of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1989. In coordination with Sudan’s leading radical ideologue and leader of the National Islamic Front (NIF), Hassan al-Turabi, bin Laden established new roots for Al Qaeda in Khartoum and its environs. Sudan provided asylum for Al Qaeda, land for new training camps, and hundreds of passports so that members could travel under different identities. In return, bin Laden helped finance infrastructure for Sudan’s Islamic fundamentalist regime. Through the government of Sudan, Al Qaeda was also thought to have established ties with the government of Iran and the terrorist organization Hezbollah. Al Qaeda was growing.

In April 1994, bin Laden’s dissatisfaction with the Saudi regime culminated in the creation of the Advice and Reform Committee. This group—an arm of Al Qaeda—produces literature criticizing the Saudi regime and is still active today.

While in Sudan, Al Qaeda is believed to have had links to two attacks on U.S. military personnel in Saudi Arabia. The first took place in Riyadh in November 1995. Five Americans and two Indians were killed when a large truck bomb exploded just outside of an American-run Saudi National Guard training center. The second was an attack on the Khobar Towers, a U.S. military barracks in Dhahran, in June 1996. Nineteen Americans were killed and 500 were injured when a large truck bomb was detonated just outside the barracks.

Al Qaeda was definitively linked to two other attacks in 1995—the assassination attempt on Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in June 1995, and the car bombing at Egypt’s embassy in Pakistan that killed 15 Pakistanis and Egyptians and injured 80.

## JIHAD AGAINST AMERICA

After the attacks against Americans in Saudi Arabia, America levied sanctions against Sudan for harboring bin Laden and Al Qaeda. Under intense U.S. pressure, Sudan ousted bin Laden in May 1996. Bin Laden and his entourage left for Afghanistan, where a brutal regime of radical Muslims called the Taliban had recently conquered more than half of Afghanistan in a civil war between rival factions.

Soon after his arrival in Afghanistan, bin Laden issued a declaration of war against the United States. On August 23, 1996, he declared “Jihad on the Americans Occupying the Country of the Two Sacred Places.” Two years later, in February 1998, bin Laden also announced the creation of an umbrella organization he called the World Islamic Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders. Bin Laden stated, in the form of a *fatwa*, that Muslims should kill Americans, including civilians, wherever they were to be found.

On May 28, 1998, bin Laden announced the formation of yet another umbrella group: the International Islamic Front for Jihad Against America and Israel. The creation of this front organization finally provided analysts with an idea of the depth and breadth of the Al Qaeda network. The Front included the Egyptian Al Jihad, the Egyptian Armed Group, the Pakistan Scholars Society, the Partisans Movement in Kashmir, the Jihad Movement in Bangladesh, and the Afghan military wing of the Advice and Reform Committee. In his announcement, bin Laden declared war on America and Israel and stated that the United States was vulnerable, that it could be defeated in war, and that civilians were now fair targets in Al Qaeda’s jihad.

On August 7, 1998, Al Qaeda orchestrated the near-simultaneous bombing of the American embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The attacks killed 224, and wounded thousands of others. The embassy in Kenya was attacked, bin Laden noted, because “it was considered to be the biggest intelligence gathering center in the Middle East.” The date of the bombings was significant in that it was seven years, to the day, that U.S. troops were dispatched to Saudi Arabia in Operation Desert Shield.

On the heels of these attacks came the biggest breakthrough for U.S. intelligence. It came on August 15, 1998, with the arrest of Mohammed Odeh at the Karachi International Airport in Pakistan. Odeh, an Al Qaeda operative, under intense interrogation divulged

detailed information of Al Qaeda's international network, his specific activities in the dual African embassy bombings, as well as bin Laden's role in the network. Odeh's testimony provided U.S. intelligence with enough information to better monitor Al Qaeda.

Having now linked Al Qaeda to the two embassy bombings, America opted to retaliate. On August 20, 1998, the United States launched a barrage of cruise missiles at Al Qaeda in Afghanistan and Sudan. The targets in Afghanistan included six training camps, while the Sudanese target was a pharmaceutical factory that American intelligence believed was producing the chemical agent EMPTA, a key ingredient for the nerve gas VX. The United States killed at least six Al Qaeda members in the attacks on Afghanistan, but later admitted that the attack on the Sudanese factory was a mistake.

On September 28, 1998, Egyptian national Ali Mohamed was arrested in the United States on suspicions that he was part of Al Qaeda. Mohamed had risen to the position of instructor at a sensitive military training site at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. During his time there, he gleaned a great deal of intelligence about the American armed forces and served as an example of how Al Qaeda "sleepers," or dormant operatives, could be successful. Despite the fact that he had fought in Afghanistan, and that he regularly returned to the Middle East for Al Qaeda activities, Mohamed had managed to infiltrate the higher echelons of the U.S. Army.

## INVESTIGATING AL QAEDA

In June 1999, the FBI added bin Laden to its "most wanted" list. In July, U.S. president Bill Clinton imposed sanctions on Afghanistan's Taliban regime for harboring bin Laden. Later in that year, two members of an Al Qaeda commando team were arrested in Turkey after crossing the border from Iran. One suspect admitted his links to bin Laden and warned of an Al Qaeda plot to attack a conference on European Cooperation and Security.

In December 1999, the American government obtained a six-volume terror manual from the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The volume was said to be a training manual for Al Qaeda operatives, and it belonged to a group of men arrested in Jordan for their plans to participate in an Al Qaeda terrorist plot during the forthcoming millennium festivities. Indeed, a ring of Al Qaeda operatives would eventually be arrested in

Jordan, the United States, Canada, England, Spain, Germany, Italy, and Syria in connection to this plot. Al Qaeda had become truly global.

It was also in 1999 that the Saudi regime uncovered an operation that was funneling approximately \$50 million dollars to Al Qaeda, given in the form of *zakat*, or alms. Sources also report that Al Qaeda received monies funneled from the United Arab Emirates.

By early 2000, U.S. officials revealed they possessed documents outlining the operational structure of Al Qaeda, including weapons purchases, fundraising, and the falsification of documents. Indeed, U.S. intelligence finally appeared to be gaining ground on Al Qaeda. On June 30, 2000, eight alleged Al Qaeda members were convicted in a Lebanese military court, with charges ranging from conspiracy to commit terrorism to forgery. In the fall of that year, Jordan convicted several suspects for their role in the millennium plot. In December, America indicted five for their connection to the East African embassy bombings.

Still, Al Qaeda attacks continued. In April 2000, the Abu Sayyaf Group, an Al Qaeda affiliate in the Philippines, kidnapped 50 people, demanding the release of Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, the Al Qaeda operative behind the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, currently serving a 240-year sentence in a U.S. prison. The Abu Sayyaf Group has made tens of millions of dollars in kidnapping operations since its inception in 1991.

On October 12, 2000, an American naval warship, the U.S.S. *Cole*, was attacked by suicide bombers while the vessel was refueling in the Yemeni port of Aden. Seventeen American sailors were killed and 39 were injured in an attack that caused an estimated quarter-billion dollars in damage. While no group has claimed responsibility for the attack, it is suspected that Al Qaeda was behind it. American investigators, including the FBI, are investigating the attack.

Al Qaeda carried out its most heinous and successful operation on American soil on September 11, 2001. On that day, a crew of 19 hijackers, with the support of an untold number of "sleepers" in America, hijacked four aircraft. Two of the aircraft were flown into the World Trade Center towers in New York, bringing them both to the ground. A third airplane was flown into the Pentagon, just outside of Washington, D.C. And a fourth, also headed for metropolitan Washington, D.C., was overtaken by passengers and crashed in western Pennsylvania. In the end, approximately 3,000 Americans were killed,

marking the highest number of casualties recorded in America on any one day.

On October 7, 2001, America launched Operation Enduring Freedom, as part of its new War on Terrorism. Within two months, the American military dismantled the totalitarian Taliban regime in Afghanistan. Al Qaeda operatives and Taliban fighters alike fled during the fighting and are thought to have reconstituted elsewhere. Even without a base, the organization continues to use modern technology as a means to maintain its far-reaching international network for militant Muslims.

Accordingly, there are hundreds, or perhaps thousands, of Al Qaeda members associated with these groups throughout the Muslim world, North America, South America, Europe, and Asia. Indeed, attempts to attack U.S. embassies in France, Italy, Bosnia, Yemen, and Singapore even after the attacks of fall 2001 are evidence of the network's continued global reach. More daunting, however, is the popularity of bin Laden in the Muslim world. He is seen as a modern-day Salah al-Din who promises to liberate the Muslim world from foreign invaders.

Videos of bin Laden released after the attacks of September 11, 2001, threatened continued violence against American targets. Such attacks are credible. In August 2002, dozens of Al Qaeda videotapes were obtained by the U.S. media, revealing images of chemical gas experiments on dogs, lessons on making explosives, and terrorist training tactics.

Armed with deep pockets, modern technology, and an unwavering hatred toward the West, intelligence sources report that Al Qaeda continues to share resources and reconstitute for the next wave of attacks.

**See also** ABU SAYYAF GROUP; OSAMA BIN LADEN; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS; FATWA; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS; TALIBAN; U.S.S. COLE BOMBING; RAMZI AHMED YOUSEF

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## AL-YACOUB, IBRAHIM SALIH MOHAMMED (1966–)

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In October 2001, Ibrahim Salih Mohammed al-Yacoub was placed on the FBI's list of the 22 "most wanted terrorists" for his alleged involvement in the 1996 bombing of the Khobar Towers Air Force barracks near Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. The attack, attributed to the Saudi Hezbollah organization, killed 19 U.S. military service members and wounded approximately 500.

On June 21, 2001, the United States indicted al-Yacoub and 13 others for this bombing. The indictment claimed that al-Yacoub, who was born in Tarut, Saudi Arabia, was a prominent member of Saudi Hezbollah during the 1990s and that he was involved in recruiting new members and in planning and executing terror attacks. Al-Yacoub is also said to have worked as a liaison between his organization and the Lebanese and Iranian branches of Hezbollah. Members of Saudi Hezbollah, also called Hezbollah al-Hijaz, are mostly Shiite Muslim young men whose loyalty is to Iran, not to Saudi Arabia. The indictment states that, about three years before the bombing, Ahmad Ibrahim al-Mughassil, the head of Saudi Hezbollah's military wing, instructed al-Yacoub and several others to begin gathering information on U.S. nationals and interests in Saudi Arabia. Al-Yacoub directed other members to survey possible locations for an attack that would drive the United States from the country.

Al-Mughassil eventually selected the Khobar Towers, which housed approximately 2,000 U.S. military personnel, as a bombing target.

According to the indictment, on the evening of June 25, 1996, al-Mughassil drove a tanker truck filled with more than 5,000 pounds of explosives and parked it near the Khobar Towers. He and a cohort then jumped into a waiting getaway car and drove off, and the truck bomb exploded within minutes.

Fellow Saudi Hezbollah members al-Mughassil, Ali Saed bin Ali el-Hoorie, and Abdelkarim Hussein Mohamed al-Nasser were indicted with al-Yacoub and are also on the FBI's "most wanted" list. Eleven of the men charged are in Saudi custody; three remain fugitives. The Saudi government has disputed U.S. jurisdiction in the Khobar case and has refused to extradite the men on the grounds that the attack was made on Saudi soil and was committed by Saudi citizens for the most part. A reward of up to \$25 million for information leading directly to the arrest or indictment of al-Yacoub is being offered by the U.S. State Department.

*See also* AHMAD IBRAHIM AL-MUGHASSIL; ABDELKARIM HUSSEIN MOHAMED AL-NASSER; ALI SAED BIN ALI EL-HOORIE; HEZBOLLAH; KHOBAR TOWERS BOMBING

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## AL-ZAWAHIRI, AYMAN (1951– )

**aka Abu Muhammad, Abu Fatima, Muhammad Ibrahim, Abu Abdallah, Abu al-Mu'iz, the Doctor, the Teacher, Nur, Ustaz, Abu Mohammed, Abu Mohammed Nur al-Deen, Abdel Muaz, Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri**

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Ayman al-Zawahiri, an Egyptian physician, is alleged to be both Osama bin Laden's closest adviser

and his doctor. Viewed as the mastermind who led bin Laden and Al Qaeda into creating instruments of mass murder, al-Zawahiri numbers among the 22 men declared "most wanted terrorists" by the FBI. He is said to be the most likely successor to bin Laden and is suspected of playing a key role in the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

Al-Zawahiri's family is prominent in both Egypt's politics and religion. His father taught at the University of Cairo, his grandfather was a well-known imam, and his uncle was the first secretary general of the Arab League. Al-Zawahiri took a very different path and was arrested at age 15 for involvement in Muslim Brotherhood, a militant group banned in Egypt.

According to his autobiography, al-Zawahiri was transformed in 1980 after leaving work at a Cairo Muslim Brotherhood clinic to go to Pakistan and give medical aid to Afghan refugees. A founding member of Egyptian Islamic Jihad, al-Zawahiri built up the organization during the 1970s and became its leader. The group, said to be a major influence on bin Laden's Al Qaeda, opposes the secular Egyptian government and advocates its overthrow through violence. Al-Zawahiri admitted planning the 1981 assassination of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, in which Islamic Jihad members disguised themselves as soldiers to reach and assassinate Sadat in full view of Egyptian television. Al-Zawahiri was arrested for illegal possession of firearms and spent three years in jail following Sadat's death but was never charged in the killing.

In the aftermath of Sadat's death, Egyptian security officials held suspects without trial and tortured many of them. Members of Islamic Jihad began to flee Egypt in large numbers. Al-Zawahiri left Egypt in 1986 and went to Saudi Arabia, then traveled to Pakistan, caring for Afghan soldiers wounded in the guerrilla war against the Soviet Union. During this time, al-Zawahiri met bin Laden and merged his Islamic Jihad group with Al Qaeda in the mid-1990s, giving Al Qaeda a more radical anti-American stance. Using disguises and false documents, al-Zawahiri traveled through many Western countries, even visiting the United States in the 1990s on a fundraising mission.

Al-Zawahiri worked very closely with bin Laden in Al Qaeda's *majlis al shura* or consultation council. Al Qaeda, an Arabic word meaning "The Base," is an international network that uses force and violence

to drive the United States from Saudi Arabia and other Islamic countries. The Al Qaeda network, which serves as an umbrella group for other militant organizations, establishes cells in areas it plans to attack.

The United States indicted al-Zawahiri for his involvement in the planning of the 1998 bombings of U.S. embassies in East Africa, in which 224 people were killed and thousands wounded. Coordinated truck bombs went off within minutes of each other at the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, cities 400 miles apart.

Shortly after the embassy bombings, the U.S. government announced that bin Laden and Al Qaeda operatives were responsible. In retaliation, President Clinton ordered air attacks on Al Qaeda training grounds in Afghanistan and a pharmaceutical plant in Khartoum, Sudan. International criticism of the air raids was vociferous as many debated whether the factory in Sudan had any relation to bin Laden or chemical weapons. In 2001, four men tied to Al Qaeda were convicted in the United States of various roles in the bombings. Al Qaeda is also widely accused of the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

Al-Zawahiri appeared with Muhammad Atef and bin Laden in a video released to coincide with the first U.S. attacks on Afghanistan following September 11. Speaking first, the doctor's remarks on Al Qaeda's "holy war" made many experts speculate about who truly leads Al Qaeda—al-Zawahiri or bin Laden.

As the U.S. and Afghan rebel assault on the Taliban intensified in the winter of 2001, al-Zawahiri sent his autobiography, "Knights Under the Banner of the Prophet," to the London-based newspaper *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* by way of an unidentified courier. Lengthy excerpts appeared in December 2001. Press reports suggested that al-Zawahiri had been wounded during the assault on Tora Bora and that his wife and children had been killed in the bombing of Kandahar. However, U.S. officials have stated that these reports cannot be verified. The U.S. Department of State is offering a reward of up to \$25 million for information leading directly to the arrest or conviction of al-Zawahiri.

**See also** AL QAEDA; MUHAMMAD ATEF; OSAMA BIN LADEN; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS

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## ALEX BONCAYAO BRIGADE

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The Alex Boncayao Brigade (ABB) was a Manila-based Communist hit squad that assassinated dozens of people on the orders of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) during the 1980s and 1990s.

Formed by a group of leftist intellectuals in the mid-1960s, in 1969 the CPP formed the New People's Army (NPA) and went to war against the Philippine government. The NPA operated mostly in the countryside surrounding Manila and the outlying islands of the archipelago. Throughout the 1970s, fighting was fierce between the Communists and government; the government was never able to completely eliminate the guerrillas. The guerrillas, however, were unable to consolidate their territorial gains. In the early 1980s, the NPA leadership decided that a strike at the heart of Philippine economic and political power was necessary. An attack on Manila, the capital, was planned.

The NPA lacked the resources for a conventional military assault. Furthermore, the NPA's structure (forces were grouped into brigades of up to 100 men) was unsuited for attacking and fighting in a large city. The leadership had learned from its experiences in assaulting military outposts in the southern Philippines; they decided that the new force would consist of hit squads of one to four men who would carry out targeted assassinations of government officials, businessmen, soldiers, and police. Although the number of actual assassins was quite small—some sources estimate as few as 30, even during the peak of the brigade's activity—their support system was vast, with as many as 500 other members providing intelligence, supplies, and safe houses. The new squad

would come to be known as the Alex Boncayao Brigade (ABB) after a labor leader turned guerrilla who was killed by security forces in 1983.

The ABB operated independently of its parent organization, launching its first attack in May 1984. It soon acquired a reputation for vicious efficiency. The ABB's hit men were nicknamed "sparrow squads" for their swiftness and skill at fluttering out of the hands of police. Throughout the 1980s, they killed dozens of people a year. The ABB did not limit its targets to Filipinos; the group is believed to have murdered Col. James Row and several other U.S. nationals.

In the early 1990s, the ABB's fortunes declined. The end of the cold war had thrown the NPA into disarray, and factionalism and power struggles diminished its abilities as a fighting force. In 1994, the ABB's commanding officer, Felimon Lagman, was arrested, and the organization was left without leadership. Unexpectedly, however, the ABB reemerged in December 1995 in a series of attacks on local business executives. The NPA disavowed any connection with these attacks, and in March 1997 the ABB announced that it was now allied with the Revolutionary Proletariat Army (RPA).

Despite the arrest of ABB leader Nilo de la Cruz later that year, the new alliance began an offensive directed mostly at industrialists and business executives, particularly those in the oil industry. It also added bombings to its tactics. During the late 1990s, however, police arrested several key leaders. In December 2000, the remnant of the RPA-ABB signed a peace pact with the government of then-president Joseph Estrada. This pact included provisions for disarmament and the release of RPA-ABB prisoners, but in April 2001, the new president of the Philippines, Gloria Arroyo, ordered the terms of the pact reviewed. At the time of this writing, the ABB has not indicated if it will peacefully lay down arms or remain a threat.

*See also* ABU SAYYAF GROUP; NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY

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### ALF. See ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT.

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## ALI, AHMED MOHAMED HAMED (1965– )

aka Shuaib, Abu Islam al-Surir, Ahmed Ahmed, Ahmed the Egyptian, Ahmed Hemed, Hamed Ali, Ahmed Shieb, Abu Islam, Ahmed Mohammed Ali, Ahmed Hamed, Ahmed Mohammed Abdurehman, Abu Khadijah, Abu Fatima, Ahmad al-Masri

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Ahmed Mohamed Hamed Ali, an Egyptian, has been described as a top lieutenant in Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda network. In 1998, Ali was indicted in the United States for his involvement in the conspiracy to bomb U.S. embassies in East Africa; however, he is not accused of playing a direct role in the attacks. He is on the FBI's list of the 22 "most wanted terrorists."

Al Qaeda, an Arabic word meaning "The Base," is an international network of terrorist groups that commit violent acts against the United States, including the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C.

According to the FBI, Ali may have formal training in agriculture. He fled from Kenya, where he lived, to Pakistan on August 2, 1998, just five days before the August 7 embassy bombings. On that date, the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, were destroyed in synchronized truck bomb attacks. Two hundred and twenty-four people were killed.

Shortly thereafter, the U.S. government declared that bin Laden and Al Qaeda operatives were responsible. The 1998 U.S. indictment charges that Ali participated in other anti-U.S. activities in Africa prior to conspiring to bomb the two U.S. embassies. In 1993, he allegedly provided military training and assistance to Somali tribes, preparing them to violently oppose the U.N. and U.S. peacekeeping intervention during Somalia's civil unrest. In 1998, he told Al Qaeda

members in Kenya that bin Laden had formed a united front with other militant Islamic groups against the United States.

Ali is currently a fugitive. The U.S. State Department is offering up to \$25 million for information leading to his arrest or conviction.

*See also* AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS

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## ALIR. See ARMY FOR THE LIBERATION OF RWANDA.

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## ANARCHISM

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Anarchism is a theory of human governance that rejects any coercive form of central authority and offers a view of the future based on the voluntary cooperation between free individuals and groups forming the backbone of the social order. External authority—laws, government, police, church, and so forth—would be eliminated as they would be unnecessary; crime would not exist, and, should an offense occur, psychological methods of discipline such as shaming, for example, would suffice. Anarchists have divergent views on the level of community cooperation, ranging from individualism to mutualism and from syndicalism to communism, and on how these ideals can be achieved. Known tactics of

anarchism range between the extremes of terrorism and pacifism.

Although anarchists have developed various methods of accomplishing social change since the French philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) first introduced the term in 1840, the mass media and the general public continue to present and perceive anarchists as unruly, usually angry, individuals hiding a knife, a pistol, or a bomb awaiting the moment for violent action.

### "PROPAGANDA BY DEED"

Anarchism was a product of the miserable social, economic, and political conditions of working people in the 19th century. Industrial development and significantly greater mobility brought rapid urban growth and the expansion of the gap in wealth and geography between social classes. Where working and living conditions were intolerable and hunger claimed many lives, anarchist ideas found adherents.

Anarchism was the first revolutionary movement in history that not only criticized authority but also agitated for immediate and radical social change. Anarchists, however, are stymied by their very concept of social relations—organizing is anathema. Thus, with a theoretical prohibition against large group action, Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakunin (1814–1876) made the proposal for "propaganda by deed," the most extreme method of struggle. He thought that individuals or small groups of people should kill those who represented an existing social order, causing such dread and horror that the masses would spontaneously revolt and overthrow the state itself. Similarly, German radical thinker Karl Heinzen theorized in an 1848 essay called "Der Mord" ("Murder") that all forms of violence (including not only murder but suicide) are both justified and necessary in revolutionary struggles.

Bakunin's ideas found many followers. During the last quarter of the 19th century and before the outbreak of World War I, an epidemic of terrorist attacks spread from Europe all over the world; the attacks included the attempted assassination of German emperor Wilhelm I in 1878; the attempt on the life of the German princess in 1883; the assassinations of General Martinez Campos in Barcelona, Spain, in 1892, of President Sari Carnot of France in 1894, of the Empress Elizabeth of Austria-Hungary in 1898, of King Humbert I of Italy in 1900, of U.S. president



*Anarchists demonstrate in Chicago on May Day, 1887.*

Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division (LC-USZ62-69545).

William McKinley in 1901, and of Prime Minister Canalejas y Mendez of Spain in 1912.

To fulfill their wish to have the state wither away, some devoted anarchists began to attack institutions and organizations that represented the “false” values of bourgeois society. In 1882, a bomb exploded in a popular music hall in Lyons, France; in 1886 Charles Gallo threw a bottle of vitriol and fired a revolver into the crowd of brokers in the Paris stock exchange. Auguste Vaillante detonated a bomb in the Chamber of Deputies in Paris in 1893 (no one was killed); Vaillante was sentenced to death and executed. A year later, Emile Henry, in an act of retaliation for the execution of Vaillante, deposited a bomb in the Café Terminus, where shopkeepers, clerks, and even some workers were drinking and listening to a band. Twenty people were wounded, one of whom later died. The majority of anarchists condemned terrorist actions that would cause damage and death to so many people, but

such uncompromising individuals as Henry would explain their position by their total disdain of the lives of the bourgeoisie.

The anarchist movement accepted François-Claudius Königstein (known as Ravachol), a criminal with a long history of theft and murder, as one of its own only after his death. Ravachol, who never claimed to be an anarchist, was captured after police determined that he was responsible for two bomb explosions in Paris in 1892. His trial was conducted in an atmosphere of vengeance. Cesare Lombroso, a famous Italian criminologist, who developed a physiognomy of the “born criminal,” declared that Ravachol’s physical features exemplified the criminal. The French verb *ravacholiser* (to blow up) is derived from his name.

Based on the many assassinations and bombings in different countries, police postulated an international conspiracy of anarchists. French police, for example,



had some agents pretend to be anarchists and run an anarchist newspaper to trap true militants. Prominent anarchists such as Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921) and E. Malatesta (1850–1932) were arrested several times in connection with cases they were ignorant of. Kropotkin, like Bakunin, supported violence as justifiable in certain circumstances, especially if it offered the only possibility of social change. Because Kropotkin was a materialist and scientist, he also had a great belief in anarchist “propaganda by word”—the education and inspiration of the public by use of subversive publications.

### AMERICAN ANARCHY

At the end of the 19th century, most anarchists in the United States were recent immigrants from Europe. John (Johann) Most, a German anarchist, founded an anarchist weekly *Die Freiheit* in 1882 in New York City. Soon other anarchist papers in French, Czech, Yiddish, and Italian joined this German-language newspaper. These publications endorsed the labor movement’s fight for the eight-hour working day in the hope of providing an impulse for a revolutionary upheaval. The openness and fervency of these newspapers prompted authorities to assume that anarchists were responsible for many violent disturbances and common crimes.

The most famous incident involving American anarchists occurred in Chicago in 1886 during the Haymarket riot, when a bomb killed eight policemen. Although the police had no evidence, the state of public terror and fear of conspiracy was so high that eight anarchists were convicted, four of whom were later hanged. Publicity surrounding anarchist and antigovernment activities kept the public and the authorities fearful of radicals, especially if the radicals were foreigners. Two years after the 1901 assassination of President McKinley in Buffalo by Leon Czolgosz, a young anarchist of Polish origin, Congress passed a law that allowed known anarchists to be barred from entering the United States and deportation of anarchist aliens already in the country. These laws became more stringent a decade later during the wave of political repression known as the Red Scare directed against those who agitated against capitalism and war and for the rights of working people. Two hundred and forty-seven anarchist aliens were deported by the year 1917. Emma Goldman (1869–1940), a radical thinker and passionate speaker who is considered one of the

founders of modern feminism in the United States, was deported to Russia.

U.S. anarchist history also includes the 1920 trial and subsequent execution of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti (1891–1927; 1888–1927). Active in antiwar and labor movement, these two Italian immigrants were convicted on controversial murder charges in South Braintree, Massachusetts, in a trial that was more political than criminal.

### VIOLENCE—NO INSPIRATION

Individual acts of terror did not inspire the great majority of people; rather, the violence frightened and shocked them. Without coherent organization, anarchism could not develop. Militant anarchism was even rejected by the violent Russian revolutionaries of 1917; the anarchists were defeated and persecuted by the communists. In the 20th century, many radical thinkers started to realize that they could achieve greater social changes if they joined a political party or trade union. The short success of anarchosyndicalism in Spain during the civil war of 1936–1939 indicated that this is the direction that anarchism might take.

In the past 50 years, anarchist groups that have used terror as an end in itself include the Japanese Red Army, the British Angry Brigade, the German Baader-Meinhof Gang, and Weatherman in the United States. Such anarchistic elements as the acceptance of violence as part of culture and as an opposition method to all conventions and restrictions influenced the student movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

Today, many radical activists, especially those involved in antiglobalization protests, call themselves anarchists. They demonstrate against the expansion of capitalism in the form of transnational corporations at international meetings of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, and others of that ilk. The public reputation of the anarchists continues to decline because many such protests culminate in destruction of property (e.g., smashing of windows) and sometimes in a violent confrontation with police.

*See also* BAADER-MEINHOF GANG; MIKHAIL BAKUNIN; PETER KROPOTKIN; WEATHERMAN

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## ANDERSON, TERRY (1949– )

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Enduring 2,454 days of captivity, journalist Terry A. Anderson was the longest-held American during the Lebanon hostage crisis.

Anderson, a former combat correspondent in Vietnam, became the Middle East Bureau Chief for the Associated Press (AP) in 1982, covering the civil war in Lebanon and the Israeli invasion of that country from the Beirut office. By the mid 1980s, Westerners, including several journalists, had been “disappearing” throughout Beirut, seized by anti-Western Shiite Muslim fundamentalist groups. When four Lebanese AP employees were abducted in October 1984, Anderson worked military contacts to secure their release. Colleagues of Anderson believe his fate was sealed when he appeared on Lebanese television, celebrating the return of his coworkers.

Shortly after 8 A.M. on March 16, 1985, Hezbollah claimed responsibility, stating that Anderson’s kidnapping was part of a campaign to rid Muslim regions of Lebanon of “spies” masquerading as “journalists, industrialists, scientists, and men of religion.” (Anderson’s fellow hostages included American University professors David Jacobsen and Thomas Sutherland, Father Lawrence Martin Jenco, and Rev. Benjamin Weir.) Aside from purging Lebanon of alleged spies, Hezbollah also wanted to use the hostages as bargaining chips for the release of 17 Lebanese and Iraqi prisoners held in Kuwait. These 17 were suspects in the 1983 bombings of the French and American embassies. One of them was the brother-in-law of Imad

Mughniyah, a senior Hezbollah official believed to have masterminded Anderson’s abduction.

For the next six and a half years, Anderson languished in dank basements and windowless rooms throughout Beirut and southern Lebanon, blindfolded, chained to the floor, and eating meals of stale bread and cheese or cold rice. With the help of his fellow inmates, Anderson endeavored to keep his mind sharp. The captives argued politics, played chess with a set Anderson fashioned from salvaged tinfoil, and, enchained, ran in circles for exercise. For a time, Anderson, Sutherland, Weir, and Jenco read the Bible aloud, praying in what they called the “Church of the Locked Door.”

Negotiations for the freedom of the hostages were caught up in the tangled web of international politics that defined the late 1980s, most notably the Iran-Contra affair. The Reagan administration, publicly committed to “no negotiation” with terrorists, orchestrated an arms-for-hostages deal with Iran—initially to rescue CIA Station Chief William Buckley, who, unbeknownst to them, had died while captive. Weir, Jenco, and Jacobsen were released under this arrangement. However, by 1987, after the Iran-Contra scandal broke, hope for freedom for Anderson and the remaining hostages dwindled.

In the end, a confluence of world events worked to secure the release of Anderson and the others. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini died, to be replaced by the more pragmatic Hashemi Rafsanjani. Communism fell. Israel’s security concerns turned from its borders to its occupied territories. Iraq invaded Kuwait, and the 17 prisoners were freed, leaving the hostage-holders without a clear demand. The United States then crushed Iraq during the Gulf War. When Anderson was released, on December 4, 1991, at age 44, his captors apologized for what they called a mistake and gave him a half-dozen carnations to give to Madeline Bassil, his soon-to-be wife and mother of his daughter.

Back in the United States, Anderson married Bassil in 1993 and began a career teaching journalism, first at Columbia University, and currently at Ohio University. In March 2000, Anderson and his family were awarded \$341 million in a lawsuit against the country of Iran, which backed Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad, the groups responsible for his incarceration.

One of the first Americans to be abducted in Beirut, and the last to be set free, Anderson’s nearly seven years in captivity mark the era of hostage taking in Lebanon.

*See also* WILLIAM BUCKLEY; HEZBOLLAH; HOSTAGE TAKING; IMAD FAYEZ MUGHNIYAH; THOMAS SUTHERLAND; TERRY WAITE

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## **ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT**

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The Animal Liberation Front (ALF) is an underground group of animal rights activists comprised of small, autonomous cells throughout the world, primarily in North America and England. Since its creation in 1976, the ALF has become one of the most active radical animal rights group and is now considered a domestic terrorist organization by both the FBI and Scotland Yard.

The ALF was founded in England by animal rights activist Ronnie Lee. Frustrated with traditional forms of protest, Lee created the ALF with the intent to end animal exploitation by inflicting economic hardship on the businesses and persons involved in animal industries, usually through the damage and destruction of property. The ALF guidelines, which include “taking precautions against harming any animal, human and non-human,” instruct members to liberate animals, inflict economic damage, and reveal atrocities against animals. The group uses a range of tactics: civil disobedience, arson, and burglary among them. Vandalism is the most common action, with members spray-painting slogans on targeted businesses, such as “McMurder” inside McDonald’s.

By the mid-1980s, the initial 30 ALF members had grown to more than 1,500. ALF cells now operate in more than a dozen countries, including France, New Zealand, Poland, Italy, and Slovakia. Because the ALF has no central authority, and because any individual who follows ALF guidelines may be considered part of the organization, determining current ALF membership is difficult. In Great Britain, animal rights activities have been consistently more frequent and more violent than elsewhere; in 1991 alone, activists engaged in 1,718 actions. British ALF groups have also been more likely to use crude incendiary devices, including mail bombs and car bombs, as well as the scare tactic of claiming to have contaminated food,

which forces producers to recall these food items, at considerable expense.

ALF activities in North America, which began in 1979, include major attacks on universities, federal research centers, medical labs, fur farms, and meat-packers, causing millions of dollars of damage and lost or compromised data, as well as smaller attacks on fast-food restaurants, pet stores, banks, and corporations. Members use stolen footage from labs to create publicity materials and films; in 1986, after seeing an ALF film, *Breaking Barriers*, renowned primatologist Jane Goodall used her influence to change conditions for primates at the SEMA research center in Maryland.

In 1987, the American ALF committed a multi-million-dollar arson at a University of California, Davis, laboratory; in consequence, the FBI placed ALF on its domestic terrorist list. In the 1990s, Operation Bite Back and Operation Bite Back II, multistate campaigns against the U.S. fur industry, included the freeing of more than 10,000 mink from the Arritola Mink Farm in Mt. Angel, Oregon—the largest liberation of animals to that time.

ALF actions have closed businesses, stopped or altered inhumane research, and hobbled some animal-industry economies, but many pro-animal rights groups and individuals consider ALF’s actions to be ineffective. “Liberated” animals are often recaptured. Break-ins have led to the installation of stronger security systems and more stringent security controls. ALF actions have led to legislation, including the Animal Enterprise Protection Act (1992), which made causing more than \$10,000 in damages at commercial and academic institutions that utilize animals a federal crime. Consequently, American ALF performs fewer actions each year, managing just 35 actions in 2001.

*See also* ANIMAL RIGHTS MOVEMENT; RODNEY CORONADO

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## **ANIMAL RIGHTS MOVEMENT**

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By the 1980s, both the FBI and Scotland Yard viewed radical animal rights organizations, such as

the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), as domestic terrorist organizations. Indeed, animal rights activists in the United States comprise one-third of what are called “special interest” or “single issue” terrorists, a category that includes antiabortionists and radical environmentalists.

Today’s animal rights movement has its roots in 19th-century England, beginning with the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA). This group, founded in 1824, recognized the legitimate use of animals for research but sought ways to make the conditions for the animals more humane—what is now known as an *animal welfarist* philosophy. By 1875, a faction of the RSPCA came together against the practice of vivisection, the cutting open or injuring of animals for scientific research, and formed the Society for the Protection of Animals Liable to Vivisection. Shortly after, thanks to lobbying efforts of such groups, the 1876 British Cruelty to Animals Act was passed to regulate animal experimentation. America has a similar animal rights history to that of Great Britain—the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA) was founded in 1867, and antivivisection societies emerged as early as 1883.

The late 1800s saw remarkable advances in medicine based on animal experimentation, including Louis Pasteur’s treatments for anthrax and rabies, as well as advances in the study of diabetes. In light of such success, the animal rights movement in England faded from view for well over half a century. The movement resurfaced in the 1960s in opposition to fox hunting, a cause in which animal rights activists forged bonds with activists engaged in class struggle, as fox hunting was strictly an upper-class sport. (This bond has echoes in later campaigns against wearing fur.)

## THE ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT

In 1971, animal rights activist Ronnie Lee founded a Hunt Saboteur chapter in Luton, England. Convinced that more violent tactics should be used in the struggle for animal rights, Lee created another group, Band of Mercy, a year later. In 1973, Band of Mercy committed two acts of arson at a pharmaceutical plant, becoming increasingly violent until 1975, when Lee was apprehended. Upon his release in 1976, Lee created the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), now one of the most recognized radical animal rights groups in the world.

The goal of the ALF was to cause economic damage to people and businesses that exploited animals, with the ultimate objective of wreaking havoc on entire animal-use industries. Lee’s cause was greatly assisted by the 1975 release of *Animal Liberation*, a book by Australian philosopher Peter Singer that has become a veritable bible of the animal rights movement. Singer stated that “speciesism” was akin to racism and sexism, thus linking animal rights to the civil rights and women’s rights struggles under way in the United States and abroad, and instilling a previously dormant movement with a sense of purpose and context.

The movement struck in North America at approximately the same time. In 1977, a group called the Underground Railroad released two dolphins from a marine lab at the University of Hawaii, in what is often cited as the first animal rights action in the United States. Two years later, the first North American ALF action occurred, in which one cat, two dogs, and two guinea pigs were freed from New York Medical Center. By the early 1980s, ALF cells were active in both Canada and the United States.

In conjunction with the growing underground aspect of the animal rights movement, in 1980, Alex Pacheco and Ingrid Newkirk founded the People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), now the largest and most active animal rights group in the United States. PETA uses legal forms of protest, including sit-ins, marches, boycotts, and propaganda campaigns. PETA later began acting as the mouthpiece for the ALF, distributing press releases about ALF actions and films of stolen footage revealing conditions inside targeted research facilities.

With the support of aboveground groups, such as PETA, the 1980s were an active time for extremist animal rights activists in North America. In December 1982, the ALF perpetrated the “Christmas Cat Burglary,” in which 35 cats were freed from the Howard University Medical School in Washington, D.C. The ALF then raided the Head Injury Lab at the University of Pennsylvania in May 1984. Sixty hours of research videos stolen from the lab became “Unnecessary Fuss,” a film that documented scientists taunting animals after experiments were performed.

In December 1984, the ALF released 115 animals from the City of Hope National Research Center in California. By November 8, 1985, City of Hope had been fined \$11,000 for violations of the Animal Welfare Act, due to information revealed through ALF propaganda. Meanwhile, in Canada, the first-ever

primate liberation occurred in January 1985, when the Canadian ALF rescued a rhesus monkey from labs at the University of Western Ontario.

While authorities were well aware of the activities of the American ALF, the federal government did not target the group until April 1987, when activists set fire to the Animal Diagnostics Lab at the University of California, Davis, causing more than \$3.5 million in damages. This act elevated the ALF from an underground activist group to a domestic terrorist threat in the eyes of the FBI, who began to closely track the movement's actions. (The FBI had already heightened investigations of domestic terrorist threats following the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing.) Similarly, in England, Scotland Yard created a database of the animal rights movement, called the Animal Rights National Index, to monitor the activities of the British ALF as well as other groups, including the more extreme and violent Animal Rights Militia (ARM).

## CONTEMPORARY ANIMAL RIGHTS ACTIVITIES

The 1990s saw renewed action by the ALF, and the development of other militant animal rights groups that went beyond ALF's tactics of animal liberation and property destruction. England's ARM had established itself in Canada by 1990, perpetrating a food contamination scare against Cold Buster candy bars in 1992, similar to Britain's ARM contamination scare against Mars Bars in 1984. By claiming to have poisoned a certain number of candy bars, ARM forced the targeted food companies to recall their products, causing financial losses upwards of \$1 million. In both cases, ARM later admitted the poisonings were a hoax.

In 1993, another extreme animal rights group was born, the British-based Justice Department. The Justice Department, now active in both England and North America, gained notoriety by mailing envelopes with razor blades tainted with rat-poison or HIV-infected blood to individuals involved in "animal exploitation."

While these more extreme groups employed increasingly violent scare tactics, the Western Wildlife Unit of the ALF began to carry out Operation Bite Back, one of the most successful campaigns against the fur industry to date. During 1991–1992, the ALF targeted mink farming, considered the backbone of the fur industry, in an attempt to undermine the fur economy in the United States. (Previous attacks on commercial fur stores proved to be highly sensational, but

largely ineffective.) Based on undercover work conducted by ALF activist Rodney Coronado, the multistate arson campaign began in June 1991, at the Experimental Fur Farm at Oregon State University in Corvallis. A warning spray-painted on the wall of the facilities read, "This is only the beginning." Over the next 16 months, Operation Bite Back struck at universities and research labs in Washington, Utah, and Michigan and at fur farms and feed coops in the Pacific Northwest. The ALF claimed the Michigan State University attack, which caused more than \$200,000 in damages, in a press release distributed by PETA.

In 1994, Coronado was arrested for his actions at Michigan State University (the first federal arrest of any ALF member). Just as authorities began to believe that ALF activity had died down, the group rebounded in 1995 with Operation Bite Back II, another multistate campaign that focused on animal liberation rather than economic sabotage. As part of Operation Bite Back II, the ALF perpetrated the largest animal liberation ever—10,000 mink from the Arritola Mink Farm in Mt. Angel, Oregon.

Similar antifur actions in Canada, during the late 1980s and early 1990s, have eroded the once-powerful Canadian fur industry. However, that is not to say that radical animal rights activism has been effective in attaining the goal of ending all human use of animals, or even ending the exploitation of fur-bearing animals. In America, after the slew of attacks in the mid-1980s, research institutions began to install much more elaborate security systems, making them more difficult to penetrate, and Congress passed the Animal Enterprise Protection Act, which allowed the federal government to prosecute animal rights actions that caused more than \$10,000 in damage. In the United States, Canada, England, and Sweden, animal rights activists, considered "prisoners of war" by their organizations, remain in jail for their activities.

Even so, their activities continue, although the ALF has been fiercely criticized for continuing actions in the wake of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. Universities, medical schools, veterinary clinics, research labs, butcher shops, fish markets, meat-packing plants, chicken and egg producers, dog kennels, mink and fox farms, furriers, and fast-food restaurants, as well as the individuals behind these establishments, remain targets. More recently, the list has extended to politicians as well. On May 6, 2002, in the Netherlands, Volkert Van der Graaf, an animal rights activist and cofounder of a group called Environment

Offensive, shot and killed Pim Fortuyn, a right-wing prime minister hopeful, allegedly over Fortuyn's plan to lift restrictions on fur farming if elected. Van der Graaf can be seen as part of a new breed of animal rights activists, which draws strength and community from other like-minded movements, such as environmentalism, feminism, and antiglobalization.

*See also* ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT; RODNEY CORONADO; JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

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**ANO. See ABU NIDAL ORGANIZATION.**

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## ANTHRAX

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Anthrax is caused by the bacteria *Bacillus anthracis*, which is usually seen in herbivores, rarely in humans. If left untreated, infection can be fatal. Anthrax is an attractive biological weapon because of the relative ease with which it can be grown, the lethality of the inhaled form of the disease, and the hardiness of its spores.

Anthrax is the oldest known animal disease, familiar to farmers from the ancient Greeks to today. Few countries are completely free of anthrax. The United States has sporadic outbreaks among livestock and wild animals. The disease is controlled in animals by vaccination. Louis Pasteur developed the vaccine in 1881.

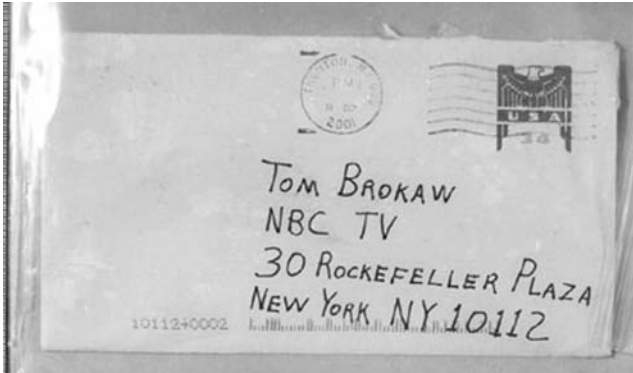
Herbivores take in anthrax spores from the soil as they graze. The spores then germinate into bacteria and multiply within the animal. In the final stages of the disease, bacteria released from the body in blood and other fluids form spores that can remain dormant in the soil for decades. Anthrax spores are very hardy and can withstand drying, heat, and cold.

Anthrax is not contagious. Cutaneous, or skin, anthrax is the most common and most treatable form of the disease; 95 percent of all human cases are cutaneous, occurring when spores contaminate a skin abrasion. The incubation period varies from a couple of days to up to six weeks after exposure. After contamination, a lesion quickly appears that is covered by a black scab within days. This black scab gives anthrax, which is derived from the Greek word for coal, its name. Most cases of skin anthrax do not become systemic infections. More serious is gastrointestinal anthrax, which results from eating the meat of infected animals. Inhalation anthrax, the rarest and most deadly form, was believed—before 2001—to be almost invariably fatal. Symptoms in the first stage of inhalation anthrax may resemble flu or a stomach virus. The bacteria multiply first in the lymph nodes, particularly in the mediastinal and peribronchial nodes, creating characteristic images on chest X rays. In the second stage of the disease, high concentrations of bacteria and toxins are found in the blood. The resulting shock and organ failure cause death.

Natural outbreaks of human anthrax may follow epidemics among livestock. In Zimbabwe, between 1979 and 1985 more than 100,000 cases of human anthrax (mostly cutaneous) were seen during an animal epidemic. Historically, anthrax in the United States was associated with the wool and skin industries. From 1900 to 2000, the United States had 18 cases of inhalation anthrax, the latest in 1978. The death rate was over 85 percent.

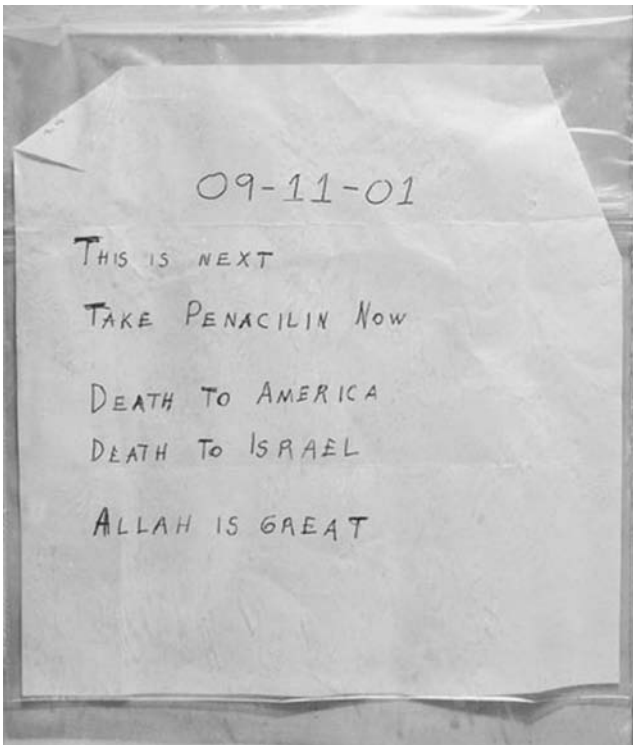
### ANTHRAX AS A WEAPON

Japan, the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, and Iraq are all known to have developed weapons using anthrax. During and following World War II, the United States developed anthrax weapons, but became more interested in organisms that would incapacitate rather than kill. Great Britain exploded an anthrax bomb on Gruinard Island off Scotland in 1942. The contaminated island was unusable until clean-up work was completed a half century later. In



*A letter containing anthrax was sent to NBC anchor Tom Brokaw*

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation.



*Text of the letter sent to Tom Brokaw*

1969, President Richard Nixon ordered all offensive biowarfare research to cease, but defensive research continued.

Weapons-grade anthrax is grown as bacteria in wet solutions using fermentation vats, stressed to form spores, dried, and then milled into a powder fine enough to be inhaled. The earliest anthrax bombs were not very effective; because the anthrax was in a wet solution, most of the bacteria were killed when the explosive charge detonated. More efficient delivery

mechanisms have been developed that can distribute anthrax spores in an aerosol.

In the spring of 1979, an outbreak of anthrax in Sverdlovsk (Yekaterinburg) in the Soviet Union caused at least 68 deaths. The official explanation attributed the deaths to the consumption of infected meat. More than a decade later, a team of Russian and U.S. scientists investigated and concluded that spores had been accidentally released into the air from a military manufacturing facility; the majority of cases in Sverdlovsk occurred in people who were directly downwind. Ken Alibek, who defected to the United States after decades of managing the Soviet Biopreparat biological warfare program, confirmed this conclusion.

By 1990, the Soviet Union had created the largest and most advanced biological warfare establishment ever known. This enormous program collapsed along with the Soviet Union. From 1985 to 1991, Iraq manufactured anthrax weapons; its production abilities have since been limited by inspections by UNSCOM (United Nations Special Commission on Iraq).

## TERRORIST ATTACKS

During World War I, the German Secret Service used anthrax to infect horses, sheep, and cattle in Romania, the United States, and Argentina in an effort to prevent the transport of livestock to Russia, Britain, and India. In the 1970s, the Baader-Meinhof Gang threatened to disseminate anthrax in German shopping malls, but never did. In 1981, a British group called Dark Harvest collected anthrax-contaminated soil from Gruinard Island and left one bag of it near the British military research laboratories at Porton Down and another at the site of a Conservative Party meeting. The group wanted to force the British government to decontaminate the island. A Japanese terrorist group, Aum Shinrikyō, attempted to disperse anthrax spores in Tokyo on at least eight occasions during the 1990s, but failed to cause illness.

In the fall of 2001, the Centers for Disease Control reported 22 cases of anthrax in the United States. Eleven cases were inhalation anthrax, five of which were fatal. The epidemic resulted from a terrorist attack that had used the U.S. mail as a delivery system. Four envelopes, all postmarked Trenton, N.J., containing anthrax spores were found; each had a short note referring to the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center. The envelopes were addressed to two

U.S. senators, Tom Daschle and Patrick J. Leahy; news anchor Tom Brokaw at NBC in New York City; and the *New York Post*.

The first case of anthrax attributed to the mailings was that of a 63-year-old photo editor at the *Sun* newspaper in Florida, who died on October 5, a day after the case was made public. One of his colleagues also fell ill, but recovered. Six cases involved media workers in New York, but the majority of cases (10, including three deaths) involved postal workers. The other four cases were an infant who had visited a media office in New York, two women in New York and Connecticut, and a bookkeeper who worked near Hamilton, New Jersey. The last three cases were thought to have resulted from cross contamination of mail.

The spores in each envelope were of the same strain of anthrax and were in the form of a very fine powder—minute enough to be inhaled into the deepest parts of the lungs. Each envelope had been tightly sealed, but spores leaked out through pores in the paper. The jets of compressed air that are routinely used to clean mail-sorting machines were powerful enough to resuspend spores on the machines into the air. These resuspended spores are thought to have infected the postal workers. The anthrax strain used was not antibiotic resistant. Demand soared for both respirators and ciprofloxacin—the only antibiotic approved by the Federal Drug Administration at that time for treating anthrax.

As yet, no one has been charged with the anthrax attacks, and the source of the anthrax is unknown. The 2001 cases demonstrated that early treatment with modern antibiotics such as doxycycline and ciprofloxacin, combined with supportive medical procedures, can successfully treat inhalation anthrax.

Anthrax hoaxes followed the actual cases. At least 250 abortion clinics and gynecological offices received letters containing a harmless white powder in the mail; another 200 or so received powder in FedEx packages. The mailed letters contained the statement “you have been exposed to anthrax” and were signed by the “Army of God.” Anthrax hoaxes were not new; in 1999, the FBI had been receiving between two and three reports per day.

The 2001 anthrax attacks were deadly, but much smaller in scale than had been feared by bioweapon experts. A typical scenario imagined a release of massive amounts of a deadly agent into the air over a city, resulting in hundreds of thousands of deaths and massive panic. A number of cities in the United States

have held war games and training exercises simulating biowarfare attacks. The war games have demonstrated that responding to a large-scale attack would be overwhelming and that such attack would likely cause the complete collapse of emergency response and public health systems.

*See also* ARMY OF GOD; AUM SHINRIKYŌ; BIOLOGICAL TERRORISM; SADDAM HUSSEIN; WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

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## ANTIABORTION MOVEMENT

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In the years following *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 case that brought before the Supreme Court the issue of legalizing abortion, antiabortion terrorism has stalked abortion providers throughout the United States. The FBI considers militant antiabortionists, like radical animal rights and environmentalist groups, to be “special interest” or “single issue” terrorists, whose adherents use violence to achieve one end—abolishing legal abortion.

Antiabortion direct action in the United States dates to 1975, when six women were arrested for the first clinic sit-in, in Rockville, Maryland. Although violent



incidents were relatively rare in the mid-1970s, the level of violence rose quickly. In February 1977, an activist entered the Concern Women's Clinic in Cleveland, Ohio, and set fire to its interior after throwing flammable liquid in the receptionist's face. Two years later, Peter Burkin, then 21 years old, stormed into a Hempstead, New York, clinic with a two-foot flaming torch, threatening to "cleanse the soul" of the abortion provider, Dr. Bill Baird. (Baird was then known for his 1972 Supreme Court case that legalized the sale of contraceptives to unmarried couples.)

### EARLY ORGANIZATIONS

By 1980, two of the most significant direct-action antiabortion groups had been founded. Paul and Judie Brown, of Stafford, Virginia, started the American Life League (ALL) in 1979. A year later, Joseph Scheidler, widely considered to be the father of antiabortion direct action, created the Pro-Life Action League (PLAL) in Chicago. (PLAL is now known as Pro-Life Action Network [PLAN].) Both the Browns and Scheidler were part of the National Right to Life Committee (NRLC), the largest antiabortion group in the United States. Scheidler had been the executive director of the Illinois chapter of the NRLC from 1973 until he was dismissed in 1978 because of his radical

tactics. Similarly, the Browns formed ALL to raise the level of direct action in their protests.

Bolstered by the conservative political climate of the 1980s, ALL and PLAL chapters and other like-minded groups sprung up around the country. Clinic violence and antiabortion picketing were regular features on the news by the early 1980s. In January 1982, the Hope Clinic for Women in Granite City, Illinois, was gutted by fire. Four months later, antiabortion activist Don Benny Anderson set fire to two clinics in Florida. That August, Anderson and brothers Matthew and Wayne Moore kidnapped Dr. Hector Zevallos, of the Hope Clinic for Women, and held him, along with his wife, for eight days. During that time, Zevallos was ordered to make an antiabortion tape to be sent to President Ronald Reagan in support of anti-*Roe* legislation. The kidnapping was the first of its kind; it was the debut action of the Army of God, a group that, by the end of the 1990s, was one of the most feared in the country.

While clinic staffs were terrorized by the threat of more kidnappings, antiabortion activists continued to disrupt clinics in increasingly creative ways. Activists cut the hoses to abortion equipment in Toledo, Ohio; placed nails in parking lots in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida; called in bomb scares in Tulsa, Oklahoma; and successfully firebombed clinics in Washington, Maryland, and Florida. In 1984, activists twice bombed

the Ladies Center, one of two abortion clinics in Pensacola, Florida, as part of a well-coordinated attack that included two private physicians' offices. Despite the escalating violence, in December 1984 FBI director William H. Webster claimed that clinic bombings did not conform to the federal definition of terrorism and were therefore not a federal priority.

The 1985 publication of Joseph Scheidler's direct action manual, *Closed: 99 Ways to Stop Abortion*, and Kevin Sherlock's *The Abortion Buster's Manual* encouraged antiabortion forces. Sherlock's book focused on ways to identify



Sign at abortion rights rally in New York City, February 1986.

Source: © Owen Franken/Corbis.

and harass abortion providers, who had been pinpointed as the weak link in the abortion “industry.” Activists were encouraged to search all public records for any evidence of malpractice, criminal history, or abortion-related deaths, which, if found, would be used as propaganda. Scheidler’s volume discussed a number of actions that could create a maximum level of disruption at clinics, including aggressive sidewalk counseling techniques and full-scale clinic blockades. Scheidler included instructions for using license plates to identify individuals, both patients and staff, and obtaining personal contact information. Activists would later confront the individuals, “outing” doctors in public places or calling women at their homes.

One of Scheidler’s protégés, Randall Terry, a former used-car salesman, began Operation Rescue, an antiabortion group that was, for a time, the most active and successful in the movement. Founded in Binghamton, New York, in 1986, Operation Rescue focused its efforts on “rescues”—large-scale sit-ins and blockades in which hundreds of activists faced arrest. In 1987, the group engaged in its first major blockade at a clinic in Cherry Hill, New Jersey. The New Jersey “rescue” was followed by protests nearly every weekend thereafter through 1990, when Terry closed the Binghamton office and passed leadership of Operation Rescue to Rev. Keith Tucci. Under Tucci, in 1991, Operation Rescue conducted a seven-week occupation of three clinics in Wichita, Kansas, in which 1,734 people were arrested. Since 1988, Operation Rescue California, headed by Jeff White, has been waging some of the most aggressive rescue campaigns in the country, dubbed “No Place to Hide,” in which doctors, nurses, and clinic staff are besieged with harassment.

*The Army of God Manual* advocated an array of tactics, from gluing locks and using foul-smelling butyric acid, sometimes referred to as “liquid rescue,” to shut down clinics, to arson and bomb threats. The antiabortion movement had previously used many of the tactics; however, the manual also contained step-by-step instructions for making plastic bombs, and, in a November 1992 epilogue, advocated the murder of abortion providers. (*The Army of God Manual* has undergone at least three clandestine reprintings.)

## MOVING ON TO MURDER

The manual proved to be prophetic. On March 10, 1993, Michael Griffin, a 31-year-old chemical plant

employee, shot and killed Dr. David Gunn as he entered the Pensacola Women’s Medical Services clinic in Florida, while members of the antiabortion group Rescue America protested outside. Griffin’s actions quickly transformed the movement. Five months later, Rachele “Shelley” Shannon, a prolific antiabortion activist from Oregon who was linked to arson attacks in Eugene and Portland as well as butyric acid attacks in Reno, Nevada, and Chico, California, shot Dr. George Tiller in both arms as he left his Wichita, Kansas, clinic. (On August 21, 1993, Dr. George Wayne Patterson, owner of Pensacola Women’s Medical Services, was shot to death in Mobile, Alabama. Although authorities attribute the murder to a botched robbery, many pro-choice activists believe this was another antiabortion murder.) In February 1994, the FBI announced that it would begin investigating death threats received by abortion providers and clinic staff in several states, including Florida.

Antiabortion groups now grappled with the choice of murder as an antiabortion tactic and what that meant for their movement. In April 1994, more than 80 antiabortion leaders met in Chicago specifically to discuss the new level of violence. Among the attendees was former Presbyterian minister Paul Hill, an extremely vocal proponent of antiabortion violence who, in July 1993, had drafted the “Defensive Action Statement” that called Griffin’s actions “justifiable homicide.” Hill and those who supported his views split from the majority of antiabortion leaders to form the American Coalition for Life Activists.

The following six months were among the most violent in the history of the antiabortion movement. On the morning of July 29, 1994, Hill shot Dr. John Bayard Britton and his bodyguard to death outside the Ladies Center in Pensacola, Florida. That September, Michael Bray, a convicted clinic bomber, published *A Time to Kill*, in which he gave theological rationale for “justifiable homicide” in the antiabortion battle. Three months later, on December 30, 1994, John Salvi III, a hairdresser, murdered two clinic receptionists outside a clinic in Brookline, Massachusetts. During this same period, antiabortion forces had engaged in significant violence, including bombings and arson, against 52 percent of all clinics in the United States. (Similar violence was perpetrated concurrently in Canada, with several abortion doctors shot in their homes by snipers.)

**LEGISLATIVE RESPONSES**

Many attribute the wave of violence to the change in political climate caused by the election of President Bill Clinton in 1992. Clinton had rescinded many of the anti-*Roe* regulations put in place by Reagan's and the first Bush administrations.

In May 1994, Clinton signed the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act, which, by prohibiting the use or threat of force or physical obstruction that interferes with reproductive health services, created stronger legal protections for clinics. FACE, along with two Supreme Court decisions, *Madsen v. Women's Health Center* and *NOW et al. v. Scheidler et al.*, which, respectively, established "buffer zones" around clinics and allowed antiabortion groups to be investigated under federal racketeering charges, worked together to prevent the spiral of violence the country had experienced in 1994 from repeating. Clinic violence dropped significantly over the next several years, though more moderate antiabortion activism continued throughout the country.

In January 1997, after antiabortion activist Neal Horsley first posted the "Nuremberg Files" on the Internet, antiabortion violence experienced another surge. Sponsored by the American Coalition for Life Activists, the Nuremberg Files Web site listed the names and home addresses of more than 200 abortion providers and clinic staff, with three possible statuses: still working, wounded, and dead. The information was used to target and terrorize abortion providers in their homes. Stalking of abortion providers, which had been declining steadily since 1994, increased, and within hours of the sniper murder of Dr. Barnett Slepian at his home in Amherst, New York, on October 23, 1998, Horsley put a line through Slepian's name.

Slepian's murder—as well as the first fatal clinic bombing, on January 29, 1998, in Birmingham, Alabama—seemed to mark a change in attitude among antiabortion terrorists. Unlike Griffin and Hill, who willingly turned themselves over to police, becoming martyrs for the movement, both James Kopp, charged with Slepian's murder, and Eric Rudolph, charged with the Birmingham clinic and other Atlanta-area bombings, fled from the law. (Kopp was arrested in France in March 2001 and brought back to the United States in June 2002 to stand trial. Rudolph, if alive, is believed to be hiding in the Smoky Mountains.) While both men had loose ties to antiabortion and fundamentalist religious groups, they are considered to be loners

by both sides of the abortion issue. Rudolph also exemplifies the recent convergence of antiabortion and other right-wing movements, including racist and militia movements.

Following the murder of Slepian, the FBI, ordered by Attorney General Janet Reno, began investigating antiabortion groups for conspiracy, even though a grand jury in Alexandria, Virginia, failed to deliver any indictments in a similar investigation two years earlier. Senior FBI officials expressed misgivings about the investigation, questioning the boundary between legitimate, if unpopular, political causes and criminal activity. Such federal ambivalence about pursuing antiabortion violence has plagued prochoice activists since the beginning of the abortion struggle.

By 2000, clinic violence had dropped considerably and consistently from its peak in 1994. Notwithstanding, every year at least one in five abortion clinics has a serious violent incident, including vandalism, arson, death threats, and assaults. Beginning in 1997, a new trend in antiabortion terrorism began—anthrax hoaxes. Mimicking the anthrax-contaminated letters of October 2001, more than 550 hoax anthrax letters were sent to abortion clinics and advocacy groups throughout the country, many of them signed "Army of God, Virginia Dare Chapter," or "Virginia Dare Cell." In December 2001, authorities arrested Clayton Lee Waagner, an antiabortion activist, who confessed to sending the letters.

*See also* ARMY OF GOD; MICHAEL GRIFFIN; PAUL HILL; ERIC RUDOLPH

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## APRIL 19

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Terrorists have been known to time their attacks to coincide with a specific anniversary of a particular historical event or the birthday of someone special to them. Sometimes the date can even be the anniversary of a past terrorist or terrorist-related event. One example is October 16, the annual “Worldwide Action Against McDonald’s,” started in 1984 to coincide with United Nations’ World Food Day; activists target the McDonald’s as a protest against animal cruelty, exploitation of workers, the global domination of corporations. However, by far the most infamous of these terror anniversaries is April 19.

April 19, 1993, ended the 51-day siege at David Koresh’s Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas, where Koresh and 75 followers, including 21 children, perished in a fire. Known as the Mount Carmel Center, the compound was occupied by members of an apocalyptic religious cult led by Koresh. Rumored to be stockpiled inside was an arsenal of explosives and weapons. After the day that Waco burned, April 19 became known as the “Date of Doom” or “Militia Day.” The militia movement, made up of armed paramilitary groups, exploded on the scene in the mid-1990s believing that the American public needed protection against a tyrannical federal government controlled by international interests.

The significance of April 19 dates back even further, however. April 19 (1775) marks the battle of Lexington, which ushered in the American Revolution; April 19 (1943) was the day Nazis turned flame-throwers on apartment buildings and gunned down Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto. Adding to the presumed significance of the 19th is that Adolf Hitler’s birthday is the following day.

These events are celebrated anniversaries within extremist camps within the United States. They have come to symbolize the beginning of a pure Aryan society within North America and an attempt to exterminate the Jews, who are viewed as something less than human by neo Nazis and Aryan extremists of all stripes.

On April 19, 1985, local, state, and federal officers surrounded the compound of the paramilitary terrorist organization the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of The Lord. The resulting stand off lasted four days and was resolved peacefully.

April 19, 1992, was also the date surveillance of the Randy Weaver family atop Ruby Ridge, Idaho,

began. Weaver, a white separatist, was wanted by federal marshals for failing to appear in court on a weapons charge. The stakeout ended tragically with the deaths of Weaver’s son, Sammy; wife, Vicki; and federal officer, William Degan. And on April 19, 1995, the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA) member and white supremacist Richard Wayne Snell was executed for 1983 murder of Texarkana pawnshop owner.

However, the most famous April 19 event was the 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City in which 168 individuals lost their lives. Many believe that Timothy McVeigh, executed for carrying out the bombing, selected April 19 to take revenge against the U.S. federal government for its role in the Waco and Ruby Ridge tragedies, as well as the upcoming execution of Snell.

Terrorists commemorate anniversaries with further attacks primarily as a way of wringing every possible drop of publicity out of their actions. Scheduling an operation on the anniversary of a past one almost certainly guarantees press coverage, even if the new operation is a rather insignificant one. Counterterrorism experts have learned to keep an eye on the calendar when trying to anticipate terrorists’ next moves. April 19 will continue to be a hot-button date, and experts now fear that September 11 will become another popular date for future attacks.

*See also* COVENANT, THE SWORD, AND THE ARM OF THE LORD; TIMOTHY MCVEIGH; OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING; RICHARD WAYNE SNELL; WHITE SUPREMACY

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**ARA. See ARYAN REPUBLICAN ARMY.**

**Arab Revolutionary Brigade. See ABU NIDAL ORGANIZATION.**

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## ARAFAT, YASIR (1929– )

aka Abu Ammar

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During his lengthy tenure as a Palestinian leader, Yasir Arafat has played many roles—from terrorist to recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize. Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and leader of the Palestinian Authority, Arafat remains a polemic figure, as famous for his fiery speeches as he is for sporting an unshaven chin and a checkered kaffiyeh, always shaped into a point to symbolize the map of Palestine.

Although Arafat, whose nom de guerre is Abu Ammar, has cooperated with many biographers and given countless interviews, many details of his life are uncertain. No consensus exists on his date or place of birth, for instance. His birth certificate shows Arafat to have been born Mohammed Abder Rauf Arafat al-Kudwa al-Husseini in Cairo on August 24, 1929; Arafat maintains that he was born in Jerusalem on August 4, 1929.

Arafat, the sixth of seven children, spent his early years in Cairo. His mother died when he was 4, and Arafat and his younger brother were sent to live with an uncle in Jerusalem. He later returned to Cairo when his father, a Palestinian wholesale trader, remarried.

Arafat was active in politics from an early age, working as an aide for a relative in the Palestinian national movement. Before he entered his 20s, he was involved in smuggling guns from Egypt to Palestine. During his first years as an engineering student at the Cairo University, he worked to organize fellow Palestinian students. In 1948, he left school to fight for Palestine as a volunteer in the first Arab-Israeli war.

After the Arab defeat, Arafat returned to Cairo. He later told biographers that he was so devastated that he considered abandoning his cause. He toyed with the idea of traveling to the United States to finish his studies, and even applied for a visa. Instead he returned to the university in Cairo and decided to stay in Egypt. He continued to organize, and in 1952 was elected president of the Union of Palestinian Students. As president, he created a student magazine called the *Voice of Palestine*.

Arafat later left Egypt for Kuwait, where he worked as a construction and contracting engineer. In 1957, he and his closest colleagues formed an underground movement, which became the first cell of his

Fatah group. Al Fatah advocated an armed struggle for Palestine carried out by Palestinians themselves, not by other Arab countries and their armies. The group published the magazine *Our Palestine: The Call to Life* that called for the eradication of Israel. Al Fatah grew as the publication drew in new members.

As Al Fatah grew, Arafat gained the support of the Syrian government. With this backing, Al Fatah mounted its first raid into Israel in 1965. The group continued to infiltrate and attack Israel, crossing from Lebanon and Jordan. Arafat is said to have used multiple disguises when traveling, including that of an Egyptian tourist, a Pakistani businessman, and a shepherd.

In June 1967, Israel defeated Egypt, Syria, and Jordan in what has become known as the Six-Day War. Israel then occupied the Sinai peninsula, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank, forcing Palestinian residents to become refugees. Arafat and other top Fatah leaders worked quickly to recruit displaced Palestinians. Al Fatah increased the number of its raids, attacking Israel from Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. Arafat and about 300 Fatah fighters set up a base in the town of Karameh, on the road between the West Bank and Jordan.

Israeli forces counter attacked Fatah bases and the homes of suspected terrorists. In March 1968, Israeli forces struck Karameh, in what was said to be the biggest single military action since the end of the Six-Day War. Al Fatah, backed by Jordanian artillery, held off the attack. Although Al Fatah had suffered many losses, Arafat celebrated the battle as a tactical victory. Many in the Arab world saw it as some remediation of the devastating 1967 defeat. Fatah's ranks swelled. Arafat, already wearing his trademark kaffiyeh, became a famous symbol of Palestine and Palestinians; he appeared on the cover of *Time* in December 1968.

In 1969, Al Fatah joined and gained control of the PLO, the coordinating body for Palestinian organizations, and Arafat was elected chairman of the organization's executive committee. The PLO's primary bases of operation at this time were Palestinian refugee camps in eastern Jordan. The group suffered a major setback in September 1970, after members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine hijacked four international airliners and forced them to land outside of Amman, Jordan. Once the crisis was resolved, King Hussein of Jordan launched an offensive against the Palestinian forces, as they were seen to be undermining the Jordanian government.



*Iraqi president Saddam Hussein receives Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yasir Arafat.*

Source: © Corbis.

PLO forces were defeated in the 10 days of fighting now called Black September. Arafat reportedly fled Amman disguised as an Arab woman, and he and the PLO fighters were expelled from Jordan and settled in Lebanon.

After this setback, the remnants of the PLO staged further terror attacks to bring international attention to the situation of Palestinians. During the 1972 Olympics in Munich, Germany, 11 Israeli team members were killed in an attack perpetrated by an extremist offshoot of Al Fatah calling itself Black September.

In November 1974, Arafat addressed the United Nations General Assembly in New York dressed in

military fatigues with a holstered gun on his hip. He told the assembly that he came “bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter’s gun.” Diplomats from countries sympathetic to the PLO gave him a friendly reception, and by 1977 more than 100 nations had given the PLO diplomatic recognition.

Arafat and the PLO spent 11 years in Lebanon, which was home to many Palestinian refugees. However, the PLO’s presence added to the strife among different groups in Lebanon and helped fuel the Lebanese civil war. The Israeli defense minister, Gen. Ariel Sharon, advocated the destruction of the PLO. When Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982, Arafat and many PLO guerrillas evacuated Beirut under international guarantees of safety. Just two weeks after their departure, a militia of Lebanese Christians allied with Israel massacred hundreds of unarmed Palestinian refugees in the city’s Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. Many Palestinians have never forgiven Arafat for evacuating

and leaving those in the camps unprotected.

In 1983, senior Fatah officials broke with Arafat. With Syrian backing, they attacked Arafat and his fighters in Tripoli, Lebanon. Arafat and his troops were evacuated and PLO forces were dispersed throughout Tunisia, Yemen, Algeria, Jordan, Iraq, and Syria. Arafat moved PLO headquarters to Tunis, Tunisia. In 1985, members of Force 17, Arafat’s personal security squad, killed three Israelis on a hijacked yacht at Larnarca, Cyprus. The PLO claimed that the men were members of Mossad, Israel’s secret intelligence service. Israel responded by bombing PLO headquarters; 65 people were killed, but Arafat was unharmed.

In the late 1980s, Arafat began strong and effective negotiations for peace. What motivated Arafat's shift to a political strategy—and, indeed, whether it was a sincere shift on Arafat's part or merely a smokescreen to hide terrorist activities—is a matter of heated debate. Many experts point to Arafat's plane crash in the Libyan desert in October 1992 as an essential turning point. Arafat may also have become more aware of his own vulnerability due to a series of assassinations of his comrades: Khalil al-Wazir, the head of the PLO terrorist operations against Israel, was killed by Mossad, Israel's intelligence service, in Tunis in 1988; Salah Khalef, PLO intelligence officer and key figure in Al Fatah, and Hayil Abd al-Hamid, security chief of Al Fatah, were both killed in 1991 by the rival Abu Nidal Organization in a campaign of inter-Palestinian fratricide stemming from Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. Arafat's own encroaching age may also have been a factor in his shift toward a political solution.

Speaking in Stockholm in 1988, Arafat declared that the PLO accepted the existence of Israel. Under his leadership, the PLO accepted U.N. Security Council Resolution 242, which had laid out the basis for Middle East peace negotiations two decades before, and agreed that Israel had a right to coexist with Palestine. Later that year, Arafat spoke before a special session of the U.N. General Assembly in Geneva, and called on Israel to join peace talks. The following day, President Ronald Reagan of the United States authorized the start of what he called a "substantive dialogue" with the PLO, saying that it had met the U.S. conditions.

As Arafat became an ever more public figure, he increasingly kept his private life hidden. Arafat was seen by the press as a notorious bachelor, famous for saying, "I am married to all the women of Palestine." In fact Arafat was secretly married by 1989, to Suha al-Taweel, a Paris-educated Christian. She converted to Islam but is still not entirely accepted by some extremists inside the Arafat camp. Arafat didn't publicly admit to the marriage until four years had passed.

As the PLO advocated a more moderate stance and worked to join in diplomatic negotiations, Arafat's leadership came under fire from militant Palestinian groups, including Hamas and Abu Nidal's breakaway Fatah Revolutionary Council—both supported a buildup of Palestinian military strength.

Arafat would again become *persona non grata* in the United States when he stridently supported Iraq during the Persian Gulf War. During the war, many

Arab countries stopped supporting the PLO financially and began supporting the more extreme group (and Fatah rival) Hamas, instead.

In 1993, Arafat took part in secret meetings with Israeli diplomats in Oslo, Norway; these meetings culminated in the signing of the 1993 PLO-Israel Declaration of Principles. After signing the declaration in Washington on September 13, Arafat and Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin shook hands on the White House lawn—an unprecedented and historic moment. In 1994, Arafat was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, along with Rabin and Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres. During the same year, Arafat signed the Gaza-Jericho accord and returned to the Gaza Strip after 27 years in exile.

In January 1996 Arafat was elected president of the Palestinian Authority, which governed the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Two years later, during negotiations at the Wye River plantation in Maryland, he and Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu signed an agreement that guaranteed the return of an additional 13 percent of West Bank land to Palestinian control.

In 2000, Arafat walked away from negotiations with Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak at Camp David in the United States. Peace negotiations reached a stalemate in the years that followed. Responding to a series of suicide bombings committed by the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, which many experts believe to be under Arafat's control, in December 2001 the Israeli military began a siege of Ramallah on the West Bank. Arafat was trapped in the city and then confined to his headquarters. Arafat remained in his compound until May 2, 2002, when he and his staff were released as part of an international agreement that required the convicted murderers of an Israeli minister serve time in a Palestinian jail, supervised by the United States and Britain.

The U.S. government has been disappointed with Arafat's leadership, and in July 2002 President George W. Bush called for his ouster. International opinion is more divided, with supporters pointing out that he is, after all, the elected president of the Palestinian Authority. Critics have accused Arafat of hypocrisy—claiming to be in favor of peace but consistently failing to discipline those who perpetrate acts of terror. Some experts doubt Arafat's ability to govern the violent elements of his community; others question his desire to do so.

**See also** AL AQSA MARTYRS BRIGADES; AL 'ASIFA; AL FATAH; FORCE 17; MUNICH OLYMPICS MASSACRE; PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

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## Armed Forces of National Liberation. See FALN.

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## ARMED ISLAMIC FRONT

aka Jihad Armed Islamic Front, Armed Islamic Front for the Jihad

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The Armed Islamic Front is the military wing of Algeria's largest opposition party, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS). In January 1992, the Algerian military cancelled a second round of elections that the banned FIS was likely to win; in response the Front began a campaign of terror.

Members of the Armed Islamic Front and other Islamic militant groups first carried out bombings and killings targeting government institutions and security forces. However, the violence soon spilled over into attacks on civilians, foreigners, journalists, and intellectuals. More than 100,000 people have been killed in the past decade.

As civil order in Algeria continued to disintegrate, the Islamic opposition splintered into a confusing array of groups. The Armed Islamic Front is generally considered to be the same group as the Jihad Armed Islamic Front or Armed Islamic Front for the Jihad. The international press also sometimes refers to the Armed Islamic Front with the Islamic Salvation Front party's acronym FIS. The Front, said to be slightly more moderate than the radical and better-known Armed Islamic Group (GIA), gained a reputation for targeting intellectuals and public figures.

Most of the massacres and car bombings in Algeria's bloody conflict have been attributed to GIA, the most extreme Islamic organization. GIA has become known for kidnapping victims and slitting their throats. However, international analysts have raised the possibility of Algerian military infiltration of such groups, thus the military may be responsible for many of the deaths.

When a deadly car bomb exploded at the press headquarters in the capital city of Algiers on February 11, 1996, killing 21 including two journalists and a chief editor of *Soir d'Algerie*, authorities at first suspected the GIA; however, the Armed Islamic Front was later shown to be the perpetrator.

In March 1997, Algerian security forces killed Armed Islamic Front leader Abdelkadur Seddouki. During the same week, security forces assassinated prominent GIA member Yihad Riane in his apartment. The international press reported that the killings were part of a government campaign to crack down on militants before local elections.

In September 1997, the Armed Islamic Front publicly urged the Islamic militants to honor a truce proposed by the government. However, according to press reports, during the very weekend that the Front called for peace, members of the more extreme GIA killed at least 30 civilians.

Abdel Aziz Bouteflika became president of Algeria in 1999 and offered an amnesty to Algerian militants not directly implicated in rape or murder. Thousands of fighters, including many Armed Islamic Front members, laid down their weapons.

*See also* ARMED ISLAMIC GROUP

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## ARMED ISLAMIC GROUP

aka **Groupement Islamique Arme, AIG, Al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah al-Musallah**

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The Armed Islamic Group (GIA) is an extremist Islamic organization bent on overthrowing Algeria's military-backed regime and creating an Islamic state. The Algerian government has accused Iran and Sudan of supporting the GIA and other Algerian extremist groups.

The GIA began a terror campaign in 1992 after the Algerian Army declared a state of emergency and blocked an election that the Islamic Salvation Front, Algeria's largest opposition party, appeared certain to win. More than 100,000 people have been killed in the civil conflict that followed.

The GIA (the French acronym for Groupement Islamique Arme) has carried out scores of attacks against civilians—targeting journalists, foreign residents, and government workers. Sometimes the GIA wiped out entire villages during its campaign of civilian massacres. The group uses tactics such as assassinations and car bombings and is known for kidnapping victims and slitting their throats. However, international analysts have cautioned that the GIA may have been manipulated and infiltrated by the Algerian military and that some attacks attributed to the group may not be its responsibility.

In 1993, the GIA announced a campaign against foreigners living in Algeria. Group operatives have since killed more than 100 foreign nationals—both men and women. In December 1994, GIA members hijacked an Air France flight to Algiers. Two years later, GIA operatives claimed responsibility for a wave of bombings in Paris and Lyons, France, that killed 12 and wounded more than 200. Several GIA members were later convicted in France of the attacks.

During the spring of 1996, seven monks were kidnapped from the Our Lady of the Atlas monastery south of Algiers. More than two months later, Moroccan radio broadcast a communiqué said to be from the GIA: "We have cut the throats of the seven monks." Later press reports noted evidence that the Algerian military may have been involved—perhaps in an attempt to sabotage negotiations between the French government and Islamic militants.

When President Abdel Aziz Bouteflika came to power in Algeria in 1999, he offered an amnesty to

Algerian militants who were not directly implicated in murder. Thousands of fighters surrendered their weapons, but violence continued to wrack the country. GIA leader Antar Zouabri called on GIA members to reject the offer of amnesty.

The Salafi Group for Call and Combat (GSPC), a less extreme splinter faction of GIA, eclipsed its parent organization around 1998. A recent U.S. State Department assessment called the GSPC the most effective remaining armed group inside Algeria. The GSPC has stated that it targets the military, not civilians. Press reports have linked both the GSPC and GIA with Saudi Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden.

In February 2002, Algerian security forces assaulted a GIA hideout and killed Zouabri. Algerian authorities had declared Zouabri dead many times before; however, this report appears to be accurate.

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## Armed Revolutionary Nuclei. See **ORDINE NUOVO.**

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## ARMENIAN SECRET ARMY FOR THE LIBERATION OF ARMENIA

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The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) was a terrorist group formed in 1975 to force Turkey to admit its guilt for the Armenian genocide of 1915.

In 1915, the government of what is now Turkey engaged in a deliberate campaign to expel the Christian Armenian minority from their homes; this campaign resulted in an Armenian diaspora that continues to this day. The current Turkish government insists that this campaign was not a genocide, while Armenians contend that 1.5 million of their compatriots were massacred. ASALA's stated goals are to force the Turkish

government to acknowledge the genocide, pay reparations, and support the creation of an Armenian state.

The group was founded in 1975 by Hagop Hagopian, a Lebanese-born Armenian who had become involved with Palestinian resistance groups in the early 1970s. Some sources claim that Hagopian was a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and that the PFLP helped fund the Armenian group. Like the PFLP, ASALA was Marxist in ideology.

ASALA started with six or seven members; at the height of its support in the early 1980s it may have had about 100 active members and sympathizers. ASALA's first attack was the bombing of the World Council of Churches office in Beirut, Lebanon, in January 1975; no one was hurt. The group's next attack, the assassination of Oktay Cirit, the first secretary of the Turkish embassy in Beirut in 1976, established assassination as a primary tactic. Throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, ASALA perpetuated a series of attacks on Turkish diplomats around the world—more than 30 diplomats and members of their families were assassinated between 1975 and 1984. (Another Armenian terrorist group, the Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide/Armenian Revolutionary Army [JCAG-ARA] also carried out assassinations.)

The assassination campaign attracted international attention to the claimed Armenian genocide, and by 1980 ASALA had begun to receive considerable clandestine support from the Armenian community in the United States and Europe.

Unlike JCAG-ARA, ASALA also carried out dozens of bombings. Between 1980 and 1982, ASALA initiated several bombing campaigns in Switzerland and France with the aim of freeing comrades imprisoned in those countries; the bombings injured dozens and several terrorists were released from prison in response.

ASALA more often targeted Turkish institutions. Its most devastating attacks were made at the Ankara, Turkey, airport on August 7, 1982, and at the Turkish Airlines counter at France's Orly airport on July 15, 1983. Eighteen people were killed and more than 120 injured in these two attacks.

When Israel invaded Lebanon in June 1982, ASALA was forced to flee its Beirut headquarters. This shakeup exacerbated tensions within the group, and, following the Orly attack, the ASALA split into two. One faction, which felt that the group's attacks

on civilians were hurting its cause, labeled itself the ASALA Revolutionary Movement (ASALA-RM) and vowed to pursue a more openly political path; the second faction, led by Hagopian, remained committed to terrorist tactics and associated itself with the Abu Nidal Organization. The split weakened both groups considerably and the number of their attacks declined drastically. In 1988, Hagopian was killed in Athens, Greece. He is believed to have been assassinated by Turkish agents. ASALA's steady decline only worsened after his death, and, despite 1991 and 1994 attacks claimed by the group, most observers believe the group no longer poses a threat.

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## ARMY FOR THE LIBERATION OF RWANDA

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The Army for the Liberation of Rwanda (ALIR) is a guerrilla force that is leading an insurgency against the government of Rwanda, largely from bases in the neighboring Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The conflict between the ALIR and the government of Rwanda is related to deep divisions among the ethnic groups of Rwandan society, for centuries before the colonial period—and for many years after—between the minority Tutsi and the majority Hutu. In the early 1990s, a Tutsi-led rebel army began attacking Rwanda from neighboring Uganda; by early 1994 the rebel forces had taken large parts of the countryside and were approaching the capital. The Hutu-controlled government then initiated a massive genocide against Rwandan Tutsi and any Hutus believed to be collaborating with them. An estimated 500,000 people were killed. By late summer, the Tutsi rebels had conquered the government forces and stopped the genocide. Tens of thousands of Hutus fled into the neighboring

Congo, including much of the Rwandan Armed Forces (FAR) and the civilian militias, known as the Interahamwe, that FAR had recruited to carry out the genocide.

The Rwandan government's desire to eliminate the remaining FAR and Interahamwe precipitated a complex chain of events that included the 1997 overthrow of Congolese dictator Joseph Mobutu, the installation of guerrilla leader Laurent Kabila in his place, a 1998 war in Congo involving nine African nations (in which Rwanda and Uganda opposed the Kabila regime and its allies), and finally the July 2001 assassination of Laurent Kabila and his replacement by his son, Joseph. For most of this period, the Hutus in Congo fought against the Rwandan forces and were supported by the Kabila regime. Under the leadership of Joseph Kabila, the provisions of a peace accord signed in 1999 have begun to be enforced, and the Hutu rebels are no longer receiving active support from the Congolese government. In March 2001, the Rwandan Army withdrew its forces to a position near the Congo-Rwanda border.

The ALIR was formed during these chaotic years—apparently in an attempt to coordinate Hutu groups' efforts at defense. The organization issued a threat against U.S. interests in Rwanda in 1996, but the group did not emerge as a recognized and organized force until sometime in 2001. The ALIR leadership is mostly composed of former FAR officers, but its membership as a whole includes many fighters who were not implicated in the original genocide—a large proportion were children in 1994—but who became involved in the conflict after becoming refugees. Papers seized at ALIR encampments suggest that a Christian evangelical movement may be associated with the group, but the scant evidence available precludes speculation on the ALIR's religious character. The ALIR has set up jungle training camps run by former FAR and Interahamwe members to train its new recruits. Accurately estimating the strength of the ALIR forces is difficult; however, the number of armed and active troops appears to be several thousand.

In 2001, following the Rwandan Army's fallback, the ALIR again attacked Rwandan territory, concentrating on military targets. The Rwandan Army maintains that its counterattacks have split the ALIR into two groups, the first of which the Army claims to have nearly eliminated. Continuing upheaval in the region makes prediction difficult, but some observers

have speculated that the ALIR may move its base of operations to neighboring Burundi and thus enlarge the conflict. However, the Rwandan government seems confident that it can defeat the remaining ALIR forces.

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## ARMY OF GOD

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In the early 1980s, a shadowy group calling itself the Army of God emerged in the antiabortion movement. Often linked to threatening or violent acts, investigators believe that it does not necessarily represent an organized group but has become an umbrella label for some extremists. However, many prochoice advocates maintain that there is a conspiracy among the more violent factions of the antiabortion movement, arguing that if the Army of God did not start as an organized group, certainly the vast networking capability spurred by the World Wide Web has given it some cohesion.

The group first surfaced in 1982 after the Army of God claimed responsibility for the kidnapping of an Illinois doctor and his wife and for the firebombing of two Florida abortion clinics. Authorities eventually arrested three men in the case. Don Benny Anderson, the ringleader in the abduction and founder of the group, told investigators he was acting on orders from God and the Archangel Michael.

Although authorities originally believed the group consisted of only these three men, subsequent antiabortion activity throughout the following decades, such as fires and explosions in several abortion clinics, have been attributed to the group. The Army of God has also sent threatening letters to prominent figures such as Supreme Court Justice Harry A. Blackmun, the author of *Roe v. Wade*, the landmark decision that legalized abortion.

The name Army of God became more widely known in 1997, when it was signed on a letter claiming credit

for the bombings of an abortion clinic and gay nightclub in Atlanta, Georgia. Examination of the letters in these cases, however, led investigators to believe that the suspect had a larger agenda than abortion and was more antigovernment and militia-like. These incidents were eventually linked to the highly publicized Olympic Park bombing in 1996 and the bombing of a Birmingham, Alabama, clinic in 1998. The suspect named in the case, Eric Rudolph, was found to have links with followers of Christian Identity—a racist, anti-Semitic, antiabortion, and anti-gay ideology.

Some experts theorize that it is becoming more common for antiabortion proponents to be taking a militant antigovernment stance. Since the 1994 Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances law, which made it illegal to obstruct access to reproductive health clinics, the number of clinic blockades and arrests decreased dramatically while violent abortion related-crimes increased.

Also in 1994, *The Army of God Manual* surfaced. Similar to one found a year earlier buried in the yard of a woman convicted for the attempted murder of a doctor, the manual outlines methods for causing disruption at what it called “abortuaries.” It offers suggestions on how to use the putrid-smelling butyric acid to disrupt activities and encourages violent acts like cutting off the thumbs of doctors and firebombing clinics. The manual became a focus of a federal grand jury investigation into the possibility of a conspiracy. Abortion rights activists testified that many of the methods described in the book have been used to disrupt clinics throughout the country. Many vandals tagged the letters “AOG” on abortion clinic walls. That jury found no evidence, however, of a nationwide conspiracy.

The possibility of a conspiracy became evident again in the autumn of 2001. A spate of letters to reproductive health clinics and professionals threatening anthrax exposure was credited to the Army of God. Clayton Lee Waagner, an escapee from an Illinois jail, who was arrested in December of that year, admitted to mailing more than 500 anthrax hoax letters in two waves, in late October and November. While he was never charged with those crimes, he was sentenced to 30 years in prison on firearms and robbery charges and for escaping from prison. The extent of Waagner’s fear campaign while a fugitive from justice has made many people, including some authorities, suspect that he was receiving aid while on the run. Some authorities also

think he may have had an associate working with him in the anthrax hoax. He did manage to keep in contact with many supporters of the antiabortion movement by posting messages on the “Army of God” Web site. Donald Spitz, who maintains the site, claims to not know if anyone aided Waagner and expressed disappointment in his capture.

*See also* ANTHRAX; ANTIABORTION MOVEMENT; ERIC RUDOLPH

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### Army of Mohammed. See JAISH-E-MOHAMMED.

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### Army of the Righteous. See LASHKAR-E-TAYYIBA.

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## AROCENA, EDUARDO (1943– )

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Eduardo Arocena was the leader of the anti-Communist Cuban terror group Omega 7, which carried out several attacks against Cuban government officials in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Born in Cuba in 1943, in 1965 Arocena fled that country as a stowaway on a cargo boat to Spain. He later immigrated to the United States, working in

New Jersey as a dockworker in Union City. A fervent anti-Communist, Arocena soon became involved in the movement to overthrow Fidel Castro, Cuba's Communist dictator. In the early 1970s, Arocena came to feel that the existing anti-Castro groups were doing too little to actively attack the Castro regime. With the support of the larger organizations, he began to recruit a small elite force to carry out assassinations and bombings against those deemed to be pro-Castro.

Founded on September 11, 1974, Arocena's group became known as Omega 7, after the original number of members. The organization seems to have had no more than 20 members at any time. Omega 7 received funds from Cuban businessmen and from conducting surveillance and other activities for a wealthy Cuban marijuana trafficker (Omega 7 did not aid in the actual selling or transport of drugs). The FBI found the group extremely difficult to penetrate—for several years, the FBI thought "Omega 7" was merely a cover name for the larger Cuban Nationalist Movement (CNM), an impression that the CNM actively fostered.

Omega 7 carried out its first attacks on February 1, 1975, bombing the Venezuelan consulate in New York City. Over the next seven years, its targets included Soviet businesses and ships, Latin American embassies, and pro-Castro Cuban exiles and businesses in New York, New Jersey, Washington, D.C., and Florida. In the more than 30 attacks attributed to Omega 7, two people were killed and a few injured, though property damage was extensive. Its most devastating attacks were against the Cuban Mission to the United Nations. On March 25, 1980, the group attached a radio-controlled bomb to the car of Dr. Raul Roa Kouri, the Cuban ambassador to the United Nations. In parking, the device was jostled loose from the undercarriage and Arocena decided not to detonate it. On September 11, 1980, however, an Omega 7 gunman killed a Cuban attaché, Felix Garcia Rodriguez.

FBI agents investigating the attacks on the consulate approached Arocena, asking for information about the group's activities. Apparently convinced that his comrades were informing on him in an attempt to oust him from the leadership, Arocena submitted to an interview by the FBI in which he admitted to being "Omar," his nom de guerre as Omega 7's leader, and implicated himself and several colleagues in the murder of Rodriguez and the attempted murder of Dr. Kouri.

After five days, Arocena fled New York for Miami, where he resumed his anti-Castro activities. Found

and arrested on July 22, 1983, Arocena was tried in New York for murder and attempted murder; in addition, he was twice tried in Miami for charges relating to the hundreds of pounds of weapons and explosives seized from his Florida apartment. Found guilty in all three of his trials, he is currently serving a life sentence in federal prison.

*See also* OMEGA 7

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## **ARYAN NATIONS**

**aka Church of Jesus Christ Christian**

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Aryan Nations (AN) was one of the most prominent Christian Identity-based hate groups active in the 1980s. During that time, AN developed a strong network with neo-Nazi, skinhead, Ku Klux Klan (KKK), white supremacist, and militia groups, many of which congregated and networked at the former AN compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho.

The roots of the AN date back to the 1940s and the increased popularity of the Christian Identity movement in the United States. Christian Identity adherents believe that white Aryans are the "chosen people," that blacks are subhuman, that Jews are descendants of the devil, and that the world is moving toward a race war. In 1970, Richard Girnt Butler, newly ordained by the American Institute of Theology (AIT), which reflects Christian Identity beliefs, took over a large Christian Identity congregation in Lancaster, California, after its leader, Wesley Swift, died. In 1973, Butler moved the congregation to a compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho, and created the Church of Jesus Christ Christian. In 1978, Butler founded the church's political arm, the AN.

In the years since, Butler has called Hayden Lake the "international headquarters of the White race." In

1979, Butler began holding annual conferences that attracted members of various white supremacist groups, especially neo-Nazis and the KKK. AN even offered courses in guerrilla warfare and urban terrorism. By 1989, Butler added Aryan Youth festivals as well, held on the weekend nearest to Hitler's April 20 birthday.

The AN gained significant public attention in the 1980s because of the actions of a splinter group called the Order (comprising several members of AN, including the Order's leader, Robert Jay Mathews, as well as members of the neo-Nazi National Alliance and some KKK groups). In a series of dramatic bank robberies, the Order stole more than \$4 million to fund the overthrow of the U.S. government and a race war, borrowing ideas from William Pierce's 1978 novel *The Turner Diaries*. The Order collapsed in 1985, when 25 of its members were sent to prison.

With many of its former members in jail, in 1987 AN began to publish a prison newsletter called "The Way." The newsletter was used to spread Christian Identity beliefs and to connect the AN with its prison faction, a prison gang known as the Aryan Brotherhood. It was also used to recruit new members, a growing concern for the organization because AN membership had begun to decline.

In the early 1990s, several key members left AN. After clashing with Butler in 1993, Carl Franklin, then chief of staff and seen as the next leader of the group, left and took the security chief, Wayne Jones, with him. Others, such as Charles and Betty Tate, left to join groups elsewhere. At that time, AN had only three chapters in the United States. Despite infighting, AN began to actively recruit neo-Nazis and skinheads in an effort to increase membership. By 1994, AN had chapters in 15 states; by 1996, the organization was in 27 states throughout the country.

AN activity surged in the late 1990s. In 1997, AN members held rallies in several Ohio cities and distributed antiblack and anti-Semitic fliers throughout northern Kentucky and southwestern Ohio. On July 1, 1998, security guards at Hayden Lake viciously attacked Victoria Keenan and her son, Jason, when they stopped briefly in front of the compound. Two of the guards, John Yeager and security chief Jesse Warfield, served time for their roles in the attack; the ensuing civil suit destroyed the AN and its aging leader Butler.

On September 7, 2000, a jury found AN and Butler negligent in connection with the selection, training,

and supervision of the security guards and ordered AN to pay \$6.3 million in damages to the Keenans. After Butler declared bankruptcy, the 20-acre compound at Hayden Lake, as well as AN's intellectual property—including the names "Aryan Nations" and "Church of Jesus Christ Christian"—were awarded to the Keenans. In March 2000, the Keenans sold the property for \$250,000 to the Carr Foundation, a human rights group; Carr planned to build a human rights center in nearby Coeur d'Alene to counter the legacy of the AN compound and of white supremacist movements in northern Idaho.

In July 2000, Neuman Britton, of Escondido, California, was appointed the new AN leader at the Aryan Nations National Congress held in Hayden Lake. Britton died of cancer in August 2001, leaving AN leaderless once again. In October of that year, Harold Ray Redfaeirn, of the Ohio AN chapter, was appointed the new leader. Redfaeirn appointed August "Chip" B. Kreiss III as the group's minister of information. Together, Redfaeirn and Kreiss have escalated the rhetoric of violence and hatred associated with the AN. In the wake of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, which the AN Web site lauded as retribution for U.S. support of Israel, Kreiss wrote, "If this beast system [the federal government] looks to us to plunder, arrest, and fill their detention camps . . . , then by all means fight force with force and leave not a man standing."

Under Redfaeirn's leadership, the AN has also tried to find a new home. By 2002, AN had fewer than 100 active members and possibly a few hundred more supporters worldwide. Through its Web site, the AN has actively recruited fellow Christian Identity followers and white supremacists to move to Potter County, Pennsylvania, because 98 percent of that county's population is white. The decision to move to Pennsylvania followed the organization's split with Butler in January 2002, in which Redfaeirn expelled Butler from the organization. Redfaeirn then announced his own resignation, effective on March 30, 2002. A three-member High Council will then take over the governance of the AN.

*See also* THE ORDER; PATRIOT MOVEMENT; POSSE COMITATUS; *THE TURNER DIARIES*

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## ARYAN REPUBLICAN ARMY

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During the mid-1990s, the Aryan Republican Army (ARA), a six-member paramilitary cell, robbed 22 banks in the Midwest, intending to use the money to fund a white supremacist overthrow of the U.S. government.

During the ARA's short life, authorities were unaware that the thieves who had committed a slew of small-scale bank robberies in Iowa, Missouri, Ohio, and other midwestern states had any motive higher than stealing money, nor had they ever heard of the small white supremacist cell called the Aryan Republican Army. The press referred to the robbers at the "Midwest Bank Bandits."

The ARA's robberies were elaborately orchestrated; the group used the 1991 surf film *Point Break* as a template. Each heist was planned to take less than 90 seconds. One member guarded the lobby, calling out the elapsed time, while the others rifled money from the tellers' drawers. As in the movie, the robbers often wore Nixon or Reagan masks. They were notorious for these antics, and for their taunting of federal agents; for example, getaway cars were registered to FBI agents. For a Christmas 1994 robbery in Ohio, one member wore a Santa Claus suit. In an April 1995 robbery in Iowa, the ARA left investigators an Easter basket holding a gold-painted pipe bomb.

The ARA focused its attacks on small-town banks, and rarely stole more than \$10,000 at a time, but the six were industrious—almost reaching the record, of 25 banks robbed, of Jesse James. Many of their tactics were similar to those of the Order, an infamous white supremacist group of the 1980s.

The ARA had two main members, Richard "Wild Bill" Guthrie, Jr., and Peter Kevin Langan. On January 19, 1996, Guthrie and Langan were charged with nearly two dozen bank robberies. The two men, with the help of a handful of ARA "soldiers," stole more than \$250,000 in just over two years.

Guthrie, who was arrested in late 1996 after a high-speed chase outside of Cincinnati, entered an early guilty plea; he committed suicide in his Kentucky jail cell in July 1997, a week after promising to provide

federal authorities information about other groups seeking to overthrow the government. Guthrie implicated Langan, who was arrested in 1996 and convicted in two separate federal trials in 1997 and sentenced to life in prison without possibility of parole. Scott Stedeford, a white-power rock musician, was convicted on three bank robbery charges and six conspiracy charges in November 1996, and sentenced to 20 years in prison. McCarthy turned state's evidence and led authorities to Michael Brescia, who spent two years in jail for his role in the robberies. In March 1998, Mark Thomas, a prominent neo-Nazi leader from Pennsylvania, pleaded guilty to plotting seven bank robberies. Within two years, the ARA was finished.

The ARA flourished in the antigovernment climate following Ruby Ridge (in which a stakeout by federal marshals of white separatist Randy Weaver ended with the deaths of Weaver's son, wife, and a federal officer) and Waco (the FBI's 1993 siege of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas) in the early 1990s; some believe that Timothy McVeigh, the Oklahoma City bomber, had connections to the ARA. In addition, at one time Brescia was thought to be the missing "John Doe 2" suspect in the Oklahoma City bombing. Authorities have since discarded both suppositions.

*See also* ARYAN NATIONS; TIMOTHY McVEIGH; OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING; THE ORDER

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## ASAHARA, SHOKO (1955– )

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Shoko Asahara is the leader of the Aum Shinrikyō cult and mastermind of the sarin gas attack on the Japanese subway.

Asahara was born Chizuo Matsumoto, the son of a poor tatami mat-maker, on March 2, 1955. Afflicted with glaucoma at birth, the disease left Asahara with only very limited vision in one eye, and his parents sent him to a school for the blind. There, his partial sight was an advantage, and Asahara used it to bully and extort money from his fellow students. An unpopular

but ambitious child, he spoke to his classmates of his determination to become prime minister of Japan.

In the early 1980s, Asahara became deeply interested in spirituality. He devoted himself to both the Hindu-style yoga and the daily meditation of Buddhism, and dabbled in other religions. He was particularly intrigued by the Christian concept of Armageddon, a final battle between good and evil that will end the world as we know it. This *mélange* of Buddhist, Hindu, and Christian practices would become the primary ingredients of the Aum Shinrikyō cult's beliefs.

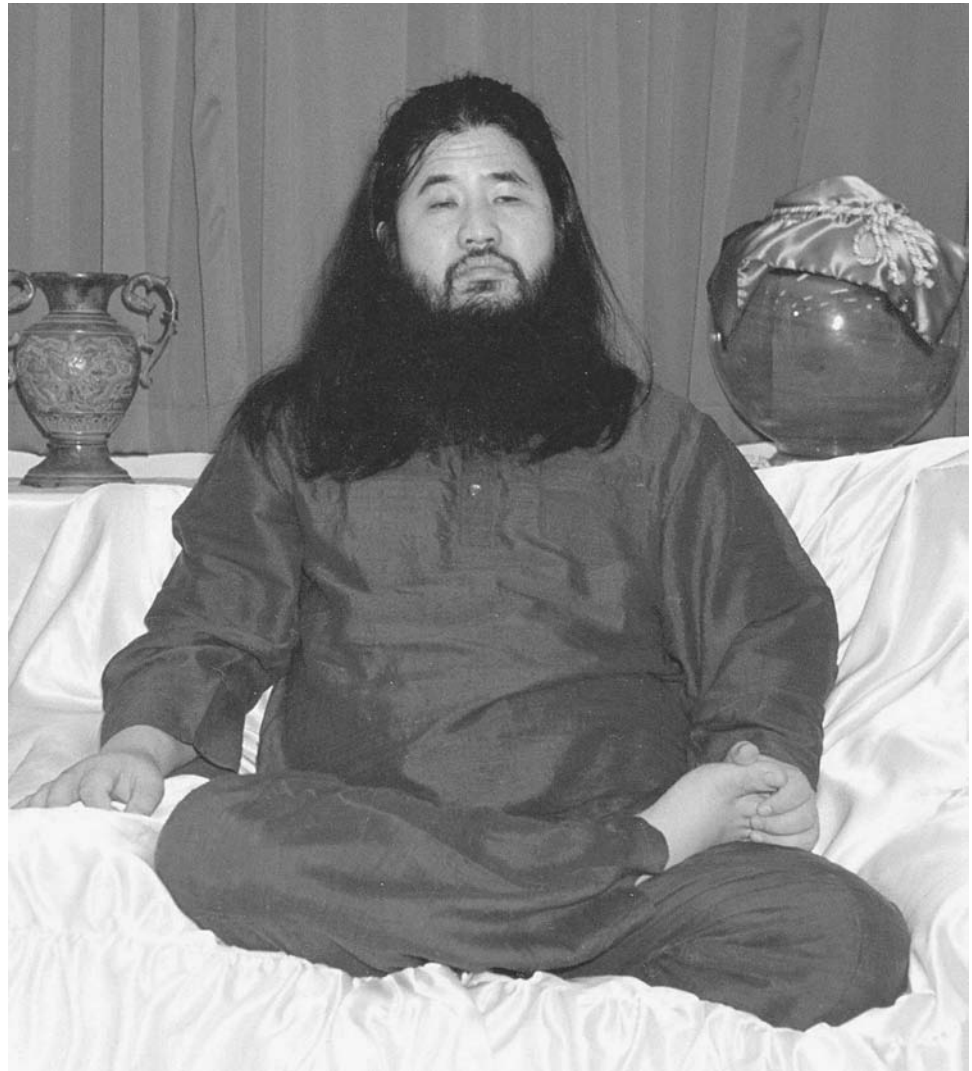
In 1984, Asahara and his wife set up a small storefront in Tokyo to teach yoga and hold religious seminars. In 1987, after a trip to India, Asahara began to claim he had attained Enlightenment—the first person to do so since the Buddha—and refer to himself as the “Venerable Master.” He also claimed that through following his teachings true believers could acquire the ability to levitate, read minds, and teleport. Intrigued by these claims, Asahara's seminars began to attract adherents, and the Aum Shinrikyō, or “Supreme Truth,” cult was born.

Asahara preached that the world would soon come to an end, but by purifying themselves, cult members could save humanity from the coming horror. This message, coupled with Asahara's personal magnetism, proved an extremely potent attraction to many young Japanese; graduates of Japan's top universities became members of the cult.

In 1990, Asahara and other cult leaders ran for seats in the Diet, or

Japanese Parliament. Their resounding defeat was a bitter surprise to Asahara, and his message began to change; instead of purifying themselves for the rest of humanity; it would now become the duty of the cult members to help destroy the impure and the sinful, starting with those who opposed Aum. By mid-1993 Aum had constructed an automatic weapons assembly plant and a chemical and biological weapons facility.

Asahara became increasingly paranoid, believing the CIA, the Japanese National Police Force, and the United States government were attempting to kill him. In 1994, he ordered an assassination attempt on three judges whom he feared would decide a pending case against the cult. Cult members released poison gas in



*Shoko Asahara, guru of the doomsday cult Aum Shinrikyō*

Source: AFP. © Corbis.



a residential neighborhood, killing seven people and injuring the judges. In March 1995, he ordered an attack on the Tokyo subway in an attempt to cripple the Japanese government. Twelve people died; thousands were injured. Evading capture for almost two months following the attacks, Asahara was arrested on May 16, 1995.

As of this writing, Asahara is still undergoing trial on charges relating to the gas attacks and other cult crimes. Legal observers believe it almost certain that he will receive the death penalty, but proceedings may continue for several more years. Asahara continues to be regarded as the spiritual leader of the Aum Shinrikyō. Cultists have purchased dozens of properties near the jail where Asahara is held, which they regard as a holy site; rumors persist that they will attempt to help him escape should he be condemned.

*See also* AUM SHINRIKYŌ; BIOLOGICAL TERRORISM; CHEMICAL TERRORISM; TOKYO SUBWAY SARIN ATTACK

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**ASALA. See ARMENIAN SECRET ARMY FOR THE LIBERATION OF ARMENIA.**

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## ASYMMETRICAL WARFARE

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Asymmetries in warfare refer to imbalances between opposing forces. These may be differences in

numbers of soldiers, equipment, firepower, morale, tactics, values, or other factors. Guerrilla warfare, occurring between lightly armed partisans and a conventional army, is an example of asymmetrical warfare. Terrorist tactics, such as hijackings and suicide bombings, are also considered to be asymmetrical, both because they tend to involve a smaller, weaker group attacking a stronger one and because attacks on civilians are by definition one-way warfare.

Victory in war does not always go to the militarily superior force; the Revolutionary War between the Americans and the English is a clear example of effective asymmetrical warfare. Since World War II, Western powers fighting in developing countries have sometimes been defeated by local forces, despite massive asymmetries in terms of conventional military strength. Colonial powers have been forced to withdraw from Algeria, Indochina, Indonesia, and other areas, not as a result of defeat in battle but because of the lack of will of the dominant power to sustain the war. In Vietnam, social and political environments at home forced first the French and then the Americans to concede defeat. Insurgents in colonized countries often did not need to defeat the sometimes long-established colonizer but merely to persuade it to withdraw from the region. Asymmetries of both power and will were operating: the colonial powers possessed superior military resources, but were reluctant to actually use them.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States found itself with an immense infrastructure and military organized to conduct conventional war, and no potential enemy with equivalent military power. The Persian Gulf War, fought in 1991 as a conventional war against Iraq, showcased the military might of the United States to the world. The war was relatively short, relied heavily on technology and firepower, and was won without engaging in much ground combat. The enemy was easy to identify, hostilities generally took place away from inhabited areas, and civilian and U.S. military casualties were few. By contrast, in Somalia, however, where in 1997 the United States was involved in a complex mix of humanitarian, police, and military operations, the United States was not similarly able to take advantage of its military superiority.

The U.S. military is confident in the country's ability to prevail in any conventional conflict, but believes that the United States is vulnerable to



*The 19 flag-draped coffins containing the remains of the U.S. soldiers killed in the bombing of Khobar Towers, Saudi Arabia, on June 25, 1996. The coffins lie in a transport at Dover Air Force Base, Delaware, awaiting a memorial service.*

Source: Defense Visual Information Center.

“asymmetrical” threats, particularly from terrorist groups. Military authors and experts have variously defined asymmetry, including conflict between different types of forces, for example, air force versus navy, and “not fighting fair.” War involves little that could be considered fair: classic war strategists including Carl von Clausewitz (1780–1831) and Sun Tzu (6th century B.C.) have stressed the importance of taking advantage of the enemy’s weaknesses.

In a 2001 report for the Strategic Studies Institute, Stephen Metz and Douglas Johnson suggested that the United States is susceptible to asymmetries of patience, preferring not to fight long wars; asymmetries of will in situations not involving vital national interests; and asymmetries of values, as the United States tends to be unwilling to accept military

casualties or inflict civilian casualties. Asymmetrical strategies that could be used against the United States include limiting the fighting to urban areas, attacking the homeland, engaging in political activity designed to discourage potential allies, and using antiaccess strategies, for example, targeting bases, thus limiting ability to mobilize forces.

Guerrilla warfare is a particularly good example of asymmetry; indeed, the word guerrilla means “little war” in Spanish. Guerrilla fighters are generally fewer in number and possess fewer and less powerful weapons than does the opposing force. Guerrilla tactics include ambush, avoiding open battle, cutting communication lines, and generally harassing the enemy. Guerrilla warfare has been practiced throughout history, and includes both military operations carried out against the rear of an enemy’s army and

operations carried out by a local population against an occupying force. The aim of the guerrilla fighter is erosion of the enemy's will to sustain the costs of continuing the war. Henry Kissinger observed that "the guerrilla wins if he does not lose. The conventional army loses if it does not win."

Groups lacking the ability to take power either militarily or politically may resort to terrorist attacks within the heart of the state. Terrorist attacks in cities attract more media coverage than those in rural areas; car bombs, assassinations, bombs left in crowded public places are common tactics in urban terrorism. Asymmetry exists in the willingness of the opposing parties to use their resources. As long as the survival of its state is not at risk, the nation under attack is politically unable to use its full military power, and thus fights a limited war, while terrorists commit themselves and their resources to a total war.

*See also* COUNTERTERRORISM; PERSIAN GULF WAR; TERRORISM, DEFINITION AND HISTORY OF

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## ATEF, MUHAMMAD (C. 1944–2001)

aka Abu Hafs, Abu Hafs el-Masry el-Khabir, Taysir, Sheikh Taysir Abdullah, Abu Khadijah

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A former Egyptian police officer regarded as being one of Osama bin Laden's closest advisers, Muhammad Atef is said to have been a key planner of the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C. Atef, often described as the chief military commander of Al Qaeda, died on November 15, 2001, during the U.S. bombings near Kabul, Afghanistan.

Little is known about Atef's early life; by the mid-1970s, he was a member of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and is said to have become top lieutenant. Ayman al-Zawahiri, who would later become known as the philosopher of Al Qaeda, commanded the group. Islamic Jihad, which supports strict Islamic governance instead of secular government for Muslim nations, is often described as a major influence on Al Qaeda.

After Egyptian president Anwar Sadat was assassinated in 1981 in a plot that al-Zawahiri was involved in, Egypt cracked down on the Islamic opposition. Egyptian security officials held suspects without trial and tortured many of them. Members of Islamic Jihad fled Egypt in large numbers. Atef went to Afghanistan, where he joined the fight against the occupying forces of the Soviet Union. In Afghanistan, Atef and his commander al-Zawahiri joined with bin Laden. The three men would become the dominant members of Al Qaeda in the mid-1990s, when al-Zawahiri merged Islamic Jihad with it. Al Qaeda, an Arabic word meaning "The Base," is an international terrorist network that uses force and violence to achieve its goal of driving the United States from all Islamic countries, especially Saudi Arabia; it also serves as an umbrella group for other militant organizations. Al Qaeda carried out the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

In the early 1990s, Atef followed bin Laden to Sudan. U.S. officials have charged that while in Africa he and other Al Qaeda members gave military training to Somali tribes that were opposed to the U.N. intervention. According to a U.S. indictment, tribe members trained by Atef were among those who attacked U.S. and U.N. troops serving in Somalia for Operation Rescue

Hope. Hundreds of Somalis and 18 U.S. Army members were killed in the attacks in Mogadishu in 1993.

After being expelled from Sudan in 1996, Atef, bin Laden, and al-Zawahiri returned to Afghanistan. All three were later indicted in the United States for involvement in the 1998 bombings of two U.S. embassies in East Africa, in which 224 people were killed and thousands wounded. According to the indictment, Atef was a major strategic commander in the attacks. He met with other Al Qaeda members to plan the bombings and kept in touch with them by cellular phone.

On August 7, coordinated truck bombs went off within minutes of each other at U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, cities separated by more than 400 miles. Four men with ties to Al Qaeda were convicted in 2001 for various roles in the embassy bombings.

Shortly after the embassy bombings, the United States declared that bin Laden and Al Qaeda operatives were responsible. Atef handled media affairs for Al Qaeda after the U.S. accusations, speaking by telephone and exchanging faxes with Western journalists.

In January 2001, Atef's daughter married bin Laden's son in Afghanistan, bringing the two men even closer. When the U.S. forces first began bombing Afghanistan, Atef appeared in a videotaped response next to bin Laden and al-Zawahiri. At about six feet six inches, Atef was unmistakable. In November 2001, U.S. officials announced that Atef had been killed in bomb attacks outside of Kabul. Their finding was partly based on overheard conversations between members of the Taliban. In the ruins of Atef's bombed house, U.S. forces found many Al Qaeda documents, videos, and other materials.

**See also** AL QAEDA; AYMAN AL-ZAWAHIRI; OSAMA BIN LADEN; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS

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**ATF. See BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND FIREARMS.**

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**Atlanta Centennial Park Bombing. See CENTENNIAL PARK BOMBING.**

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**ATTA, MOHAMED (1968–2001)**

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Mohamed Atta was one of the men who hijacked American Airlines Flight 11 and crashed it into the north tower of New York City's World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, in the first in a series of attacks that left approximately 3,000 people dead, including the 19 hijackers. Information about Atta is somewhat sketchy, but he is believed to have been one of the ringleaders, if not the primary leader, of the September 11 attacks.

Atta was born in 1968 to a relatively well-to-do family in Egypt. He grew up in Cairo, where his father was a lawyer. His family was Muslim but not especially conservative; his sisters attended college and worked. Atta studied architecture and engineering at Cairo University, receiving his degree in 1990.

After graduating, Atta obtained a job, but his father felt that Atta's career would be helped if he studied abroad. In 1992, Atta, who spoke German and English as well as Arabic, moved to Hamburg, Germany, where he enrolled at Technical University to study urban planning. Atta became increasingly radical in his embrace of Islam while living in Hamburg. In 1998, he disappeared from Hamburg for several months; he is thought to have traveled to Afghanistan during this time and formed links with Al Qaeda. He returned to Hamburg and

What Can You Do?

HE WAS SPOTTED IN HAMBURG, PRAGUE, FLORIDA, AND MAINE. AND IF SOMEONE HAD CALLED US, HIS PICTURE WOULDN'T BE SPOTTED IN THIS AD.



He lived among us, attending classes, shopping at the mall, eating pizza, going out now and then with friends. It seemed as though there was nothing special about him.

What might have tipped someone off that something was not right? What signs might have caused concern?

Was it that he was asking questions about things way out of his league? Or the fact that he insisted on learning to pilot a plane, even though he apparently had no talent for it? That he said he wanted to learn to fly but didn't need to know how to take off and land? That he was interested in crop-dusting—an obviously risky endeavor—when he couldn't even get a plane off the ground?

Or was it that he paid only cash—and plenty of it—for his rooms, cars, tuition, and airline tickets? Or that he had a constant string of roommates who rotated through?

Sometimes you spot things that just don't add up. And that's the time to give us a call. In 22 cases to date, people have called or otherwise been in touch, with information that led to solving

an international terrorist crime or frustrating a planned international terrorist act. Simply because they noticed something wasn't right.

If your phone call could have made a difference—if you had the power to make September 11th just like any other day—you'd do it, wouldn't you?

REWARDS UP TO \$25 MILLION

CONTACT: Your local police, the FBI, or the nearest U.S. Embassy or Consulate. CALL: 1-800-USREWARDS. E-MAIL: [mail@rewardsforjustice.net](mailto:mail@rewardsforjustice.net). *Rewards of up to \$25 million, protection of your identity, and relocation of your family may be available for persons providing information that prevents an international terrorist act against U.S. persons or property or brings to justice persons who have committed one. To date, more than \$8 million has been paid.*

Your call or e-mail will be kept strictly confidential.



Since its launch in the mid-1980s, the Rewards for Justice Program has combated terrorism by using reward dollars to identify and apprehend terrorists who are planning, or have committed, terrorist acts. This Rewards for Justice poster features Mohamed Atta.

Source: Rewards for Justice, U.S. Department of State.

finished his degree at Technical University, graduating with high honors in 1999. Atta is also believed to have established an Al Qaeda terrorist cell in Hamburg that had two other hijackers as members.

hijackers. Atta and his four confederates hijacked Flight 11 shortly after the plane reached cruising altitude. His luggage was later discovered at Boston's Logan Airport; it contained a letter outlining how the hijackers should act during their attack.

In June 2000, Atta, who had a travel visa for the United States, flew to Newark, New Jersey. He quickly relocated to Florida, where he began taking flight classes in July. Throughout 2000 and 2001, he practiced his flight skills; he also received large sums of money from abroad and traveled extensively in those years—including several trips overseas and much movement within the United States. It has been widely reported that Czech counterintelligence determined that an Iraqi official under its surveillance met Atta in Prague in April 2001. Atta met with other hijackers in Las Vegas, Nevada, twice—possibly finalizing the hijacking plans. In addition, he is believed to have made practice flights to familiarize himself with the aircraft he intended to hijack. On August 28, 2001, Atta purchased two seats on Flight 11 on American Airline's Web site for himself and a second hijacker, Abdul Alomari.

On September 10, 2001, Atta and Alomari drove from Boston to Portland, Maine. The next day, they flew from Portland to Boston, then boarded Flight 11 along with three other

*See also* AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; HIJACKING; MILITANT ISLAM; ZACARIAS MOUSSAOUI; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS

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## ATWA, ALI (1960–)

**aka Ammar Mansour Bouslim, Hassan Rostom Salim**

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Lebanese citizen Ali Atwa is perhaps best known as the would-be hijacker who was bumped from TWA Flight 847. Atwa was included on the FBI's October 2001 list of the 22 "most wanted terrorists" for his role in the 1985 hijacking, which developed into a several-week-long hostage ordeal and led to the death of a U.S. Navy officer.

An alleged member of Lebanese Hezbollah during the 1980s, Atwa is thought by the FBI to be living somewhere in Lebanon. Press reports have suggested that the death of Atwa's brother during an Israeli military operation in Sidon (in Lebanon) led him to begin training to take part in the TWA hijacking.

By his own admission to Greek authorities, Atwa planned on boarding TWA Flight 847 from Athens to Rome as its third hijacker on June 14, 1985. However, he was bumped, missed his flight, and was arrested.

While Atwa was left on the ground arguing with ticket agents, two hijackers took over Flight 847, brandishing a pistol and hand grenades. They forced American pilot John Testrake to redirect the Boeing 727 to Beirut, where they landed and made their demands. They called for the release of hundreds of prisoners,

many of them Shiite Muslims, held by Israel. One of the hijackers shot a passenger, Officer Robert Stethem, at close range and dumped his body onto the tarmac.

Meanwhile, Greek authorities arrested Atwa and found forged Moroccan passports in his possession. Atwa confessed his plans to hijack the plane. After Atwa's arrest became known, the hijackers began negotiations with Greek authorities for his release, saying, according to press accounts, that they would kill the Greek passengers on board, one every hour, until Atwa was released.

The plane then flew to Algiers, continuing a bizarre air journey in which Testrake flew the plane back and forth from Beirut to Algiers, eventually logging 8,300 miles. The hijackers released some hostages during each stop. While the plane waited during its first stop in Algiers, Greek officials flew Atwa to join his cohorts in exchange for passengers. After a two-week standoff on the tarmac in Beirut, Israel released some of the Shiite prisoners. The hijackers released all of their hostages and flew to freedom in Algiers.

The United States indicted Atwa and fellow Lebanese Imad Fayeze Mughniyah and Hasan Izz-al-Din on July 3, 1985, on charges related to the TWA hijacking. All three men number on the FBI's 22 most wanted terrorists list. A fourth man, Mohammad Ali Hamadei, was also indicted; he was later caught in Frankfurt and sentenced to life in prison by a West German court in 1989.

Lebanese officials have claimed that Atwa is not currently linked to the party structure of Hezbollah. Although Hezbollah recast itself as a political party during the 1990s, holding elected seats in parliament, the U.S. government continues to regard it as a terrorist organization. As of January 2002, the FBI offers a reward of up to \$25 million for information leading to Atwa's arrest.

*See also* HEZBOLLAH; HASAN IZZ-AL-DIN; IMAD FAYEZ MUGHNIYAH; TWA FLIGHT 847 HIJACKING

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## ATWAH, MUHSIN MUSA MATWALLI (1964– )

aka Abdul Rahman, Abdul Rahman al-Muhajir,  
Abdel Rahman, Mohammed K. A. al-Namer

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Muhsin Musa Matwalli Atwah is an alleged member of Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda network. Atwah has been accused of involvement in the 1998 conspiracy to bomb the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya. The FBI included him in its list of the 22 "most wanted terrorists" following the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C.

The United States indicted Atwah, an Egyptian, in 1998 on charges relating to the bombings of U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in which 224 people died. The indictment also claimed that he provided military and intelligence training for members of the Al Qaeda network in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Sudan.

Al Qaeda, an Arabic word meaning "The Base," is an international terrorist network whose goal is to drive the United States from Saudi Arabia and other Islamic countries by force. Headed by the Saudi Osama bin Laden, Al Qaeda also serves as an umbrella group for other militant organizations.

The Atwah indictment included a number of other charges. He was accused of providing military training to Somali tribes during the early 1990s, thus enabling them to fight more effectively against U.N. and U.S. forces during Somalia's civil unrest. Somalis attacked peacekeepers in Mogadishu in 1993, killing 18 U.S. soldiers.

According to the indictment, Atwah did not directly take part in the plan to bomb U.S. embassies in East Africa, but was a member of the overall conspiracy. On August 7, 1998, in synchronized attacks 400 miles apart, two truck bombs exploded at the embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

In the wake of the bombings, the U.S. government declared that bin Laden and Al Qaeda operatives to be responsible. In retaliation, President Clinton ordered air attacks on Al Qaeda training grounds in Afghanistan and a pharmaceutical plant in the center of Khartoum, Sudan. The air raids were met with much international criticism, and many debated whether or not the factory

in Sudan had any relation to bin Laden or to chemical weapons.

Of 26 men with suspected ties to bin Laden indicted in the embassy bombings, three pleaded guilty and cooperated with the U.S. government as witnesses, while four were convicted of conspiring in the bombings and sentenced to life in prison without parole. The U.S. State Department offers a reward of up to \$25 million for information leading directly to Atwah's apprehension or conviction.

*See also* AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; EAST AFRICAN  
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## AUC. See UNITED SELF-DEFENSE FORCES OF COLOMBIA.

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## AUM SHINRIKYŌ

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Aum Shinrikyō, a cult founded in 1985 by Shoko Asahara, perpetrated the 1995 sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway that killed 12 people.

Aum Shinrikyō translates roughly as "Supreme Truth." The cult's major tenets are drawn from a wide spectrum of religions. Adherents believe that by withdrawing from worldly pleasures and dedicating their thoughts to the contemplation of the "Supreme Truths" as revealed by their guru, Shoko Asahara,

they can become enlightened. Some commentators characterize the cult as a type of “fundamentalist” Buddhism. However, Asahara has at times described himself as an incarnation of Shiva, the Hindu god responsible for both destruction and rebirth. Aum Shinrikyō also incorporates a fervent belief in the coming of Armageddon, a term from Christian theology describing an ultimate battle between good and evil in which the known world is destroyed and replaced by a spiritually pure world.

The organization began in 1984 with a single Tokyo storefront offering yoga classes and religious seminars. Claims that believers could attain miraculous psychic powers brought many curious people to the seminars, and the cult soon began to attract a following. In addition to the personal magnetism of Shoko Asahara, the cult’s message—that only by purifying themselves could believers avert the destruction of humanity—appealed to many alienated by the industrialized, secular, and conformist society of Japan. At its peak in the mid-1990s, the cult was estimated to have 9,000 Japanese members and an unknown number of followers worldwide, with approximately 1,000 hardcore adherents living at various cult properties and compounds. Teenagers and students made up a considerable portion of the cult’s membership, some of them brilliant graduates of Japan’s top universities, with advanced degrees in medicine, law, and science.

The cult was a very profitable enterprise, charging high fees for initiation and for relics such as snippets of Asahara’s beard and vials of his bathwater. Some initiation rituals involved ingesting Asahara’s blood and taking massive doses of hallucinogenic drugs. Members were encouraged to cut off all ties to their families and donate their life savings to the cult. Dissenters were treated harshly, sometimes subjected to sleep deprivation and other torture techniques. Some runaways were kidnapped and beaten in order to return them to the fold. In 1989, human rights lawyer Tsutsumi Sakamoto, who had been suing the cult on behalf of members’ families, and his wife and infant son were murdered by cultists. (Aum member Kazuaki Okazaki was sentenced to death by hanging after confessing to their murders—as well as that of a potential Aum escapee—in October 1998.)

As membership grew into the thousands, Aum established operations in other countries, including

Australia, Sri Lanka, and the United States. Its most successful expansion was to Russia in 1992, where it attracted thousands of followers. In Japan, Aum had ventures in dozens of industries, including noodle shops and low-budget computer stores. These operations earned millions for the cult; one cult leader estimated that its assets were worth \$1.5 billion at the time of the subway attacks.

In 1990, Asahara and several other prominent members ran, all unsuccessfully, for seats in Japan’s Parliament. Despite years of negative media coverage, numerous lawsuits—which the cult had fiercely contested—and public speculation about Aum’s involvement in the Sakamoto family’s disappearance, the crushing defeat of all Aum’s candidates was an unexpected blow to Asahara. He began to preach that it was the duty of Aum members to hasten the coming of Armageddon, which would destroy the sinful and elevate Aum’s true believers onto a higher spiritual plane.

In light of this new goal, he assembled top advisers and instructed them to begin to arm the cult. The scientific expertise of certain cultists, coupled with Aum’s connections to the Russian government and underworld, proved invaluable. By mid-1993, Aum had constructed a plant to manufacture automatic weapons, and crude but operational chemical and biological weapons facilities, where it was able to produce botulism toxin, anthrax bacteria, sarin gas, and hydrogen cyanide.

The cult began experimenting with its new weapons. It sprayed botulism toxin in central Tokyo in 1993 during the wedding of the Crown Prince; no one was harmed. The cult then released anthrax from an industrial sprayer on the roof of one of its facilities in a Tokyo suburb; the strain was nonvirulent, and no people were injured. After its biological arsenal failed, the cult turned to chemical weapons. Asahara ordered sarin gas used in an assassination attempt on a rival cult leader. The attempt backfired, nearly killing one of the potential assassins. Aum then employed the gas in an attack on three judges adjudicating a property dispute Aum was involved in. On the night of June 17, 1994, cult members released the gas in a residential area of the suburb of Matsumoto. Due to a shift in the wind, the judges were only injured slightly; seven innocent bystanders were killed and more than 150 hospitalized following the incident.

Despite continual suspicion, Aum had been able to fend off police action through threats of costly lawsuits



and accusations of religious discrimination. But in mid-March 1995, Aum received word that the National Police planned to raid the cult's compound. On March 20, five cult members distributed sarin on five separate subway lines bound for the Kasumigaseki station, Tokyo's busiest; 12 people were killed and thousands injured.

Following the attacks, hundreds of cult members were arrested; Aum orchestrated several more terrorist attacks in response to the arrests. Shoko Asahara and the architects of the subway attack have been put on trial for the murders. Several have already been condemned to death, while other lesser figures have been sentenced to prison. The Aum Shinrikyō religion persists, despite numerous crackdowns and the seizure of its assets by the Japanese government. Though its major beliefs remain unchanged, the cult has renamed itself Aleph, or "The Beginning." Its new leaders disavow its criminal past and insist it does not pose a threat to society, yet continue to regard the jailed Asahara as its spiritual leader and look to his teenage daughter Rika as his successor. In recent years, it has seen its membership rise significantly, and it has once again attained financial prosperity.

*See also* SHOKO ASAHARA; BIOLOGICAL TERRORISM; CHEMICAL TERRORISM; TOKYO SUBWAY SARIN ATTACK

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**Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia.**  
**See UNITED SELF-DEFENSE FORCES OF COLOMBIA.**

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## **AYYASH, YAHYA (1966–1996)**

**aka the Engineer**

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Palestinian Yahya Ayyash, a notorious Hamas commander, is said to have been as greatly loved by Palestinians as he was hated by Israelis. Ayyash achieved a near-mythical status as a man who always escaped detection by Israel's intelligence service. He is said to have masterminded multiple suicide attacks in Israel that killed nearly 70 civilians and injured more than 300. Ayyash was assassinated on January 5, 1996, by a booby-trapped cellular phone allegedly planted by Shin Bet, Israel's security service. Nearly 100,000 people, about 11 percent of Gaza's population, marched at Ayyash's funeral. Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat gave him a 21-gun salute.

The son of a farmer, Ayyash was born in Rafat, a village in the West Bank highlands. He studied electrical engineering and chemistry at the Bir Zeit University in Ramallah, Saudi Arabia. In the first large attack allegedly planned by Ayyash, in 1994 a Hamas suicide bomber blew himself up near a bus in Afula, Israel, killing eight people. Five more attacks followed, but Ayyash continued to escape detection for more than three years. Linked to 11 suicide bombings, he became known as "the Engineer" for his skill in building bombs and planning attacks. Press accounts before his assassination reported that he earned the name "the man with seven souls" in the Palestinian territories after escaping death many times. He is even said to have posed as a Jewish settler in Israeli territory while escaping from Nablus in the West Bank to Gaza.

In late December 1995, Hamas promised Arafat and the Palestinian Authority that it would cease military operations. At that time, Ayyash was staying in Beit Lahiya in the Gaza Strip with Osama Hamad, an old friend and college roommate. Press accounts of Ayyash's murder indicate that Hamad worked for his uncle Kamal Hamad, a contractor and suspected Shin Bet informer with close ties to the former Israeli military government. Kamal Hamad had lent his nephew a mobile phone months before the attack, saying that he wanted to be able to reach him easily. On January 4, 1996, Kamal Hamad asked for the phone, when he returned it, he asked his nephew to leave the phone turned on at all times. The next morning around 9:00, Ayyash's father called his son—first on the house's standard phone line and

then, as the call would not go through, on the cell phone. Osama Hamad answered the cell phone and passed it to Ayyash. Hamad later said he walked away to give his friend more privacy; he heard an explosion and looked back to see smoke. The blast had decapitated Ayyash.

Following Ayyash's assassination, rumors circulated that he had, in fact, escaped. A loyal follower, the rumors suggested, had answered the cell phone in his place and died for his leader.

In the two months following Ayyash's death, suicide bombings instigated by Hamas in retaliation for his murder killed more than 40 people. The bombers targeted buses and bus stops in Jerusalem and Ashkelon.

The international press widely reported that Kamal Hamad, who fled Gaza after the bombing,

believed that the phone he gave to his nephew was rigged with a listening device, not explosives. Kamal Hamad subsequently sued Shin Bet for financial losses and the threat to his own life for playing a role in the murder.

*See also* YASIR ARAFAT; HAMAS; SUICIDE TERRORISM

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## **BAADER, ANDREAS (1943–1977)**

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Andreas Baader was one of the leaders of the Baader-Meinhof Gang, also known as the Red Army Faction, a West German Marxist group active during the 1970s.

Baader, whose father was killed on the Russian front in World War II, was born in Munich on May 3, 1943; he was raised by his mother and grandmother. He was an unruly child who, though intelligent, did poorly in school. As a teenager, he became obsessed with cars and was arrested several times for driving without a license.

Baader spent most of his time hanging out in West Berlin's student bars and cafés. Handsome and charismatic, Baader was popular with women, though he often treated them contemptuously, using derogatory terms in conversation. In 1967, he met and became the lover of Gudrun Ensslin. Though always rebellious and prone to violence, Baader was no intellectual and seems to have had no coherent political ideology before meeting Ensslin. Several years older than Baader, Ensslin had long been a committed leftist and an activist. Baader's relationship with her would prove enduring, and he came to share in her political beliefs.

As elsewhere in the late 1960s, student protest was increasing in Germany. Students were highly critical of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, as well as their own nation's reluctance to address its Nazi history. Ensslin, Baader, and two friends decided to strike back at what they called the fascism of the West German state; they began with firebombing two Frankfurt department

stores in April 1968. Arrested almost immediately, they were convicted in October 1968.

Released pending appeal in June 1969, Baader and two of his coconspirators jumped bail in November after their appeal was rejected and fled to Switzerland. Within a few months, however, they were back in Berlin, and in April 1970, Baader was recaptured and imprisoned. On May 15, his comrades, executing a daring escape plan, freed Baader at gunpoint. The jail-break became international news because of the involvement of Ulrike Meinhof, a well-known leftist journalist, and the group came to be referred to as the Baader-Meinhof Gang.

Once Baader was freed, the gang traveled to a Palestinian training camp in Lebanon for instruction in bomb making and other guerrilla techniques. Returning to Germany in August 1970, they began a series of bank robberies. Over the course of the next two years, the gang robbed dozens of banks; bombed two U.S. Army bases and several German targets, killing eight people; and engaged in a number of confrontations with police in which several gang members were arrested and two police officers were killed. On June 1, 1972, the authorities discovered one of the gang's bomb-making facilities. During a two-hour standoff, the police arrested Baader, who resisted and was shot in the leg, and his two companions. Other top gang leaders, including Meinhof and Ensslin, were arrested in the following weeks.

Their trial was put off for more than three years so that the German government could construct a special terror-proof prison and courthouse in which to conduct it. The remnants of the gang made several attempts to free their leaders, while the prisoners went

on hunger strikes and wrote pamphlets protesting prison conditions. After Holgar Meins died while on a hunger strike, the gang became a cause célèbre for leftists; philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre visited Baader in prison.

Baader was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment on April 28, 1977. On October 18, 1977, after it had become clear that the latest attempt to free them had failed, Baader, Ensslin, and Jan-Carl Rasp committed suicide in prison.

*See also* BAADER-MEINHOF GANG; GERMAN RED ARMY FACTION; JAPANESE RED ARMY; ULRIKE MEINHOF

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## BAADER-MEINHOF GANG

### aka Red Army Faction

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This Communist group, which was named for Andreas Baader and leftist journalist Ulrike Meinhof, terrorized West Germany in the 1970s. The gang (which called itself the Red Army Faction [RAF]) engaged in bombing campaigns and assassinations, including attacks against U.S. Army bases.

The Baader-Meinhof Gang emerged from the German student protest movement of the late 1960s. Originally focused on university reform, the student movement soon took on distinct leftist characteristics as it agitated against the Vietnam War and U.S. imperialism. Students were also highly critical of German society's reluctance to confront the Nazi past, with those on the radical fringe contending that the West German government was merely a continuation of that fascist state. The radical fringe supplied most of the Baader-Meinhof Gang's members, most prominently Gudrun Ensslin, a former graduate student and longtime activist.

In March 1968, Ensslin, her lover Baader, and two accomplices, Horst Söhnlein and Thorwald Proll, moved from protest to active violence, firebombing two Frankfurt department stores. Although property was damaged, no one was hurt. Quickly arrested and convicted in October 1968, the four were released pending appeal. When the appeal was denied in November, Baader, Ensslin, and Proll jumped bail and fled to Switzerland.

Within a few months, they returned to Germany; in April Baader was recaptured and imprisoned. On May 15, 1970, six members of the group freed Baader in a daring jailbreak with the help of Meinhof. After Baader's escape the group became known as the Baader-Meinhof Gang (or Group). However, they called themselves the RAF in imitation of the Japanese Red Army.

Once Baader was freed, the group commenced terrorist activities in earnest, traveling to a Palestinian training camp in Lebanon for instruction in bomb making and other guerrilla skills. Returning to Germany in August 1970 and in need of funds, they began a series of bank robberies and began to attract new recruits. By then the group had become the target of a massive manhunt. Three police officers were killed in a series of shootouts during 1971; several gang members were also arrested. In May 1972, they began a bombing campaign against German and American targets, setting off six bombs that killed four people and injured more than 40.

At the end of May, German police discovered the gang's bomb-making facility and staked it out. On June 1, Baader and two other men entered the building and, after a siege lasting several hours, were arrested. Over the next two weeks, lucky breaks led to the arrest of Ensslin, Meinhof, and another top gang leader. With their leadership gone, the gang was seriously incapacitated and the character of the organization was greatly altered. Several attempts, all unsuccessful, were made to free Meinhof, Baader, and the others.

The West German government, determined to both deflect criticism and prevent further terrorist attacks during the trials, built a special prison for the Baader-Meinhof prisoners, with an attached courtroom to be used solely for their trial. Their trials were delayed for three years during the prison's construction, during which they went on hunger strikes to protest their solitary confinement (one died while on a hunger strike). They became something of a leftist cause célèbre. On

May 9, 1976, just before the trial, Meinhof hanged herself in her cell. On October 18, 1977, after a last-ditch attempt at getting the prisoners released had failed, the four remaining Baader-Meinhof leaders attempted suicide in their cells (one member survived and was released in 1994).

Rumors that the prisoners had not committed suicide but had been killed persisted after their deaths. The Baader-Meinhof Gang and its activities have attained an almost mythic status in Germany, while their Red Army descendants have persisted in terror until very recently. They will be remembered as one of the most feared terrorist groups in Western Europe during the turbulent 1970s.

*See also* ANDREAS BAADER; GERMAN RED ARMY FACTION; JAPANESE RED ARMY; ULRIKE MEINHOF

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## BAKUNIN, MIKHAIL (1814–1876)

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Mikhail Bakunin was a Russian radical whose ideas created the theoretical foundations for anarchism and terrorism.

Born in February 1814 to members of the Russian nobility, Bakunin spent an idyllic childhood on his father's country estate. At age 14, he was sent to Moscow to study at the Artillery School in preparation for a military career. A somewhat indifferent student, Bakunin's time in military school helped to inculcate in him the loathing for all forms of coercion and authority that would be codified in his anarchist philosophy.

After graduating from the academy, Bakunin was stationed at a remote post on the Polish frontier. There, he began to study history and philosophy; within six months had decided that the Army was not for him. He left his post and returned to Moscow, where he began mingling with radical students. During the early 1840s, Bakunin traveled widely in Europe, consorting with Russian expatriates, Polish nationalists, and radical European philosophers and becoming noted for his eloquent and fiery oratory. He began to publish pamphlets and treatises outlining his new philosophy, most important, an 1842 essay that concluded with the aphorism "The passion for destruction is also a creative passion," perhaps his most famous saying. These activities caused the Russian government to demand that he return to Russia. When he refused, his passport was revoked, and he was tried in absentia for treason and sentenced to Siberian exile.

Already a fugitive, Bakunin achieved international infamy through his participation in the revolutions of 1848. In that year, massive revolts in several European countries brought down the French monarchy and shook the governments of Germany and Austria to their core. Bakunin flitted from disturbance to disturbance, showing up at the barricades in Paris, Dresden, Berlin, and Prague in the course of 1848–1849. His participation in the events of 1848 led to successive trials in France and Austria—he was sentenced to death both times—but the Austrian authorities transferred him to Russia at the behest of the czar. For more than three years, Bakunin was imprisoned in the Peter and Paul fortress in Moscow; while there, he wrote his enigmatic *Confession* in a plea for clemency. He was allowed to go into exile in Siberia in 1857. Four years later, he managed to escape from Siberia on a ship, returning to Europe by way of Japan and the United States.

Following his escape, Bakunin entered his most active period of revolutionary agitation, becoming the leader of the anarchist groups already active in Europe and attracting a strong following in Spain, Italy, and France. The anarchists were not the only revolutionary ideologues in the Europe of the 1860s; this period also saw the rise of communism, with Karl Marx forming the International Working Man's Association in 1864 in an attempt to unite all European radicals. Bakunin and his anarchists soon entered a fierce battle with Marx for control of the European radical movement.

In 1872, Marx succeeded in expelling Bakunin and the anarchists from the International, primarily

because of allegations that Bakunin had been forming secret societies within the group with the intent of taking it over. The opinions of later commentators have differed sharply on this question, but the evidence appears to support Marx's accusation. That Bakunin would support such a strategy highlights the complexity of his personality and his politics: such clandestine power plays are the antithesis of anarchist philosophy. Throughout Bakunin's life, his desire to personally participate in the anarchist revolution often caused him to behave in a self-contradictory manner.

His friendship and support of Russian revolutionary Sergey Nechaev is perhaps the most striking example of the perverse effects of his radical ardor. Nechaev had cold-bloodedly murdered one of his companions while in Russia; it was while on the run that he met Bakunin. Though most of their radical contemporaries reviled Nechaev and his methods, Bakunin embraced them, collaborating with him on a pamphlet called *Catechism of a Revolutionist* (1869), discussed below. Though he eventually broke with Nechaev and renounced some of Nechaev's views, Bakunin's relationship with him proved disastrous for him personally, estranging him from the movement he had helped to found. He died penniless in Bern, Switzerland, on July 1, 1876.

## THE GRANDFATHER OF TERRORISM

It is difficult to sum up Bakunin's philosophy simply. Most of his writings are in the form of personal letters, political pamphlets responding to specific political events of the day, and fragments of uncompleted essays written on the run. In brief, Bakunin believed in a progressive notion of history, that is, that historical events are not random and without purpose but instead represent development toward a goal and that humanity will eventually achieve a condition in which all people are self-aware and free to determine their own destinies. Bakunin believed that the desire for freedom was a primary drive in all human beings and that any attempt to force people to behave in a manner inconsistent with their own desires was inherently evil.

Bakunin saw the state, particularly the monarchial and autocratic states of 19th-century Europe, as the primary obstacle to human freedom in his own time. He believed that the use of coercion by the state to maintain power over individuals was the root of all the evils of modern society; for people to be free, the state must be destroyed utterly. He believed that the misery

inflicted on the mass of humanity by the state would inspire them to revolt and that this revolution would come quickly, perhaps in his own lifetime. These beliefs—that individual liberty is source of all good, that all forms of coercion are inherently evil, and that the state must be destroyed to bring about a utopian era of liberty—are the founding tenets of anarchism.

These tenets present a practical problem for the anarchist in attempting to bring about the revolution: Since the use of coercive power is inherently evil, how can people be convinced to revolt against the vast power of the state? Bakunin believed that the anarchist revolutionary should not to attempt to organize and lead the people's revolution—or attaining a position of leadership inevitably gives one power over others, and is thus inevitably corrupting—but merely to spark their revolt. Thus Bakunin, in collaboration with Nechaev, arrived at the idea of “propaganda by deed”: the use of radical violence directed at the state to demonstrate to the masses the vulnerability of state power.

There is dispute about how much Bakunin and Nechaev each contributed to the composition *Catechism of a Revolutionist*, and whose ideas they truly represented. The essay argues, in essence, that the ends justify the means; since the state was inherently evil, any form of attack against it was a good, no matter who was harmed. Bombings, assassinations, robbery—all were acceptable so long as they furthered the cause of revolution. The phrase “propaganda by deed” represents an important development in the formation of modern terrorism. The use of violence to send a political message, rather than as an end in itself, is one of terrorism's defining attributes.

Furthermore, since creating a vast and hierarchical organization would inevitably come to involve the use of coercive power, the anarchist revolutionary should instead form small groups of like-minded individuals who acted on their own initiative—a cell. From such cells a loose network could be created, with one member of each cell reporting to a central cell or committee that could help the various small groups act in concert. The cells would necessarily be secret; only one member would be in contact with the central cell, so that if an individual member or an entire cell were discovered and arrested, the organization would persist. This idea of a cell network as the basis for the revolutionary organization's structure is another striking contribution to the development of terrorism and remains the primary organizational method used by terrorist groups today.

Undoubtedly, the aspect of the *Catechism* that most horrified Bakunin's contemporaries and that has caused Bakunin to be regarded as the grandfather of terrorism is its description of the attitude of the proper revolutionary toward his fellows. The *Catechism* states that the revolutionary must completely obliterate all weaknesses within him and devote himself body and soul to the cause of revolution; no allegiances, to family, friends, neighbor, country, or love, must be allowed to stay his hand. He exists in society only to learn better how to destroy it.

Furthermore, this attitude must extend not only to the members of the society that he loathes but to his fellow revolutionaries as well. He must not hesitate to send them to their death if it furthers his cause, and in turn must weigh the cost of rescuing them against their value to the revolution. Nor should he hesitate to use cunning and deceit if these serve his purpose; in short, the revolutionary must be both utterly dedicated and utterly ruthless in attempting to bring about revolution.

Some biographers have asserted that this aspect of ruthlessness was far more Nechaev's contribution than Bakunin's, and does not represent Bakunin's own revolutionary ideology. Nevertheless, it is this aspect that most perfectly encapsulates the tortuous logic of the terrorist, whose unshakable belief that he is fighting against evil leads to the commission of the most terrible crimes against humanity.

*See also* ANARCHISM; TERRORISM, DEFINITION AND HISTORY OF

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**Banna, Sabri al-. See AL-BANNA, SABRI.**

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## BASQUE FATHERLAND AND LIBERTY

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Basque Fatherland and Liberty (Euskadi ta Askatasuna; ETA), a group of separatists seeking

Basque independence from Spain, is responsible for a 44-year-old liberation campaign whose bombings and murders have left more than 800 dead. Among its most high-profile attacks were the assassination of a Spanish prime minister and the killing of 21 shoppers at a Barcelona supermarket.

Feeling that the right-wing Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) was not significantly advancing their goal of achieving Basque independence from Spain, dissidents created this extremely radical and violent faction of the Basque Separatist movement in 1959. ETA's liberation campaign has long been funded by crime, including robbery, kidnapping, and extortion. It has resorted to bombings and the murder of government officials and members of political parties to advance its cause. In 1969, several prominent leaders of the ETA were arrested for their involvement in the death of a police chief. One of the ETA's most well known crimes was the murder of Spanish prime minister Carrero Blanco in 1973. Blanco's assassination was a particular triumph for the ETA as he was also formerly a top-ranking member of the Francisco Franco administration. Franco was adamantly opposed to Basque self-rule, and when he died in 1975, the activities of the ETA dramatically increased. The members founded their political wing, Herri Batasuna, in 1978, and also began to target members of the People's Party for assassination.

Overall, the ETA has killed more than 800 people, including 21 people with a bomb at a supermarket in Barcelona in 1987. Although cease-fires took place during peace talks with Spain in 1988, 1995, and 1998, they were unsuccessful, and in all three cases the violence escalated again.

A group similar to the ETA that exists mostly in the French provinces of the Basque region is called Enbata. It offers support to the ETA and sometimes they coordinate their terrorist attacks. In 2000, the Spanish group, Jarrai, and the French group, Gasteriak, united to form a youthful faction of the ETA called Haika. They are responsible for an increase of terrorist attacks in France. Fifteen members of Haika were arrested in March of 2001. Later that summer, eight members of the ETA were arrested in Spain, found with a loaded car bomb that was already armed for an attack. The group's most recent campaign has been against the tourism industry in Spain, and the chosen weapon has been the car bomb.

*See also* BASQUE SEPARATISTS

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**BASQUE SEPARATISTS**

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Basque Separatists are natives of the Basque region who are campaigning for national sovereignty and cultural independence from the surrounding nations of Spain and France. In the past 30 years, the campaign has taken both a political route and a terrorist route to achieve its goal.

The Basque people have lived in the western region of the Pyrenees Mountains between Spain and France since the Middle Ages. They speak their own language, Euskara, which is one of the oldest languages in Europe, and maintain a degree of ethnic insularity. They were independent throughout the 1700s; around 1800 they were divided, to be partly ruled by both France and Spain. Almost immediately, a strong separatist movement was formed that still exists today. Resentful that they were no longer self-governed, the Basque Separatists formed a political party called the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV), held widespread protests, and committed a variety of violent acts. Although the movement consists of Basques from both neighboring countries, the Spanish separatists were and currently are more active than the French. Spain has resisted granting full independence to the Basque region because it contributes to the gross domestic product and offers valuable resources.

When dictator General Francisco Franco formed the Spanish Republic in 1931, he stripped those in the Basque region of many of their civil rights, including the right to use their language. After Franco's death, the Basques refused to ratify the Spanish constitution that both restored the monarchy and established democracy until Spain conceded them the right to have their own limited government. The Basque region has since elected its own parliament to govern various affairs. However, they are not completely autonomous, and many Basques still desire absolute freedom from Spain.

The Euskadi ta Askatasuna (ETA), or Basque Fatherland and Liberty, is a terrorist group of radical separatists that have killed more than 800 people in various bombings, kidnappings, assassinations, and

robberies. In particular, the ETA targets members of the People's Party of Madrid and others that advocate the unity of Spain, such as King Juan Carlos. In the year 2000, a youth wing of the ETA called Haika was formed from a merger of Spanish pro-Basque independence youth group Jarrai and its French counterpart Gasteriak, and they have increased the violent activity in France. Spain and France have recently augmented their efforts to apprehend the Basque terrorists.

In the Basque parliament elections of May 2001, moderate members of the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) won more seats in the regional Parliament than any other political group, including the political wing of ETA. This election was seen as an indication that the Basques are ready to pursue their separatist goals through more peaceful measures.

*See also* BASQUE FATHERLAND AND LIBERTY

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**BERENSON, LORI (1969– )**

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American journalist Lori Berenson is currently in prison in Peru for alleged terrorist activity, in association with the guerrilla organization known as the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru; MRTA). While others believe Berenson to be a political prisoner, her contact and association with members of the MRTA led a military tribunal to sentence her to life in prison for treason.

Born and raised in New York City, Berenson attended college at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). In 1992, she moved to El Salvador as their civil war was winding down. She became a secretary to a top leader of the group rebelling against the government, the FMLN, as the two sides worked toward peace.

In 1994, Berenson moved to Lima, Peru. She lived in a large house with many others in the middle-class neighborhood of La Molina. In November 1995, Peruvian police raided the house



and found a supply of hidden weapons and evidence of terrorist activity. Several of the residents, including Berenson, were arrested for being alleged members of the Marxist guerrilla organization, MRTA. The La Molina house was thought to be the MRTA headquarters where an attack on the Peruvian Congress was being planned. Berenson is alleged to have provided the layout of the Congressional building to the MRTA. On January 11, 1996, she was convicted of treason by a panel of hooded judges in a military tribunal for her participation in the plot. In trials involving terrorists in Peru, the judges will veil their identity because they fear reprisals from the supporting terrorist organization.

The manner in which Berenson was convicted is very controversial. She was not allowed a jury or a personal statement, and her lawyer was not allowed to cross-examine any of the prosecution's witnesses or see their evidence. A trial that lasted only minutes found the 26-year-old sentenced to life in prison. With her parents' support, Berenson began the appeals process. She continues to maintain her innocence, claiming that she did not know her housemates were involved in the MRTA, nor did she have any knowledge of the activities that were taking place on the floors above her room.

In March 2000, the Peruvian government agreed to set aside the life sentence and to retry Berenson in a civilian court. However, the retrial convicted Berenson of aiding the plot against the Congress by providing the layout of the building, helping to secure weapons, and renting her house to MRTA members. She was sentenced to 20 years in prison in June 2001, five of which she has already completed.

The debate over Berenson's role in the MRTA and her innocence continues. Her parents have retired as professors to devote their time to lobbying for her release, and she has many support groups in the United States that are also striving for her release. Berenson has since begun another appeals process.

*See also* TUPAC AMARU REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

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## BIN LADEN, OSAMA (1957– )

aka bin Ladin, Shaykh Usoma bin Laden,  
the Emir, Abu Abdallah, Mujohid Shaykh, Haji,  
the Director

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Osama bin Laden is likely the most infamous terrorist of today. Known among his cadres as "the prince" and "the emir," bin Laden seeks to overturn the current world order and replace it with a world in which the Islamic world would have no borders. This Islamic polity, according to bin Laden, is to be ruled by a caliph, and rise to hegemony. He also seeks to encourage Muslim jihads around the world; end U.S. military operations against Iraq; destroy the state of Israel; and overthrow secular, moderate regimes in the Middle East, including Saudi Arabia and Egypt. To achieve these ends, bin Laden created a militant Islamic network called Al Qaeda.

### EARLY YEARS

Bin Laden was born on March 10, 1957, in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. He was the 17th son of 51 children born to Mohammad bin Laden, a business mogul in Saudi Arabia. Mohammad bin Laden moved to Saudi Arabia from neighboring Yemen in 1931 and founded a construction company, the Bin Laden Group. In time, the company grew and began to do contract work for the Saudi regime, building highways and infrastructure, in addition to famous mosques in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. When Mohammad bin Laden was killed in a helicopter crash in 1968, his inheritance, worth billions of dollars, was divided among his children.

Osama bin Laden grew up a devout Muslim. He received most of his formal schooling first in Mecca, then in Jeddah. He reportedly showed a solemn respect for Muslim practices and learned much from religious visitors to the bin Laden home during the hajj (pilgrimage) season each year. As a young man of 17, he married his first of four wives, and went to study public management at King Abd al-Aziz University in Jeddah between 1974 and 1978. While at the university, bin Laden was heavily influenced by one of his professors, Sheik Abdullah Azzam, a prominent radical Muslim. He was also said to have been influenced by Mohammed Qutb, a renowned fundamentalist thinker, and brother of the late Sayyid Qutb,

arguably the most influential radical Islamic thinker in history.

When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan on December 26, 1979, 22-year-old bin Laden left his wealthy existence in Saudi Arabia and joined the thousands of Muslims who answered the call for jihad, commonly translated as “holy war,” to defend Afghanistan. With his inheritance, bin Laden began organizing and financing mujahideen activities for the fight against the Soviets. He purchased weapons, built training camps, dug trenches, paved roads, and developed other infrastructure. His money also provided food and medicines to fellow fighters. Reports also indicate that bin Laden fought in several battles, where he demonstrated bravery to fellow mujahideen.

More important perhaps is the fact that bin Laden, in cooperation with a Palestinian member of the Muslim Brotherhood named Abdallah Azzam, founded *Maktab al-Khidamat* (the Services Office) in 1984. The Services Office recruited thousands of jihad fighters from all over the world to join the war, placed them in more than a dozen “guest houses” around neighboring Pakistan, and trained them in special camps that bin Laden paid for.

When the Soviets retreated on February 15, 1989, the mujahideen, and their CIA financiers, declared victory. Indeed, many of the mujahideen of Afghanistan were bankrolled and trained by the CIA. It is unlikely, however, that bin Laden was among them. In fact, he insists he had no contact with U.S. intelligence, and numerous U.S. sources corroborate this assertion.

## BUILDING AL QAEDA

On November 24, 1989, Azzam was killed by a powerful car bomb. Though crestfallen, bin Laden decided to continue the work the two had started together. With the help of careful records he kept in the training camps and guest houses of the Services Office, bin Laden launched a militant Islamic network called Al Qaeda, or the base. It was simply a collection of the thousands of radical Muslims that he and Azzam had financed and trained, who were committed to carrying out jihad activities elsewhere around the globe. Indeed, these mujahideen returned to their homes and established secret cells, and began guerrilla campaigns against regimes they considered heretical.

With Al Qaeda launched, bin Laden returned home to his native Saudi Arabia in 1990, whereupon he assumed the role of activist in opposition to the Saudi

royal family. Indeed, he spoke at countless mosques and other gatherings, where he was fiercely critical of government policies, including what he perceived to be the improper interpretation of Islam. His opposition intensified in 1991, when American troops landed in Saudi Arabia for Operation Desert Shield. Their very presence offended bin Laden, who believed that the Prophet prohibited “infidels” from setting foot on the land of Islam’s two holiest sites. “By being loyal to the U.S. regime,” bin Laden said, “the Saudi regime has committed an act against Islam.” Thousands of tapes of his speeches were circulated around the Saudi kingdom.

Due to rising tensions with the royal family, in April 1991 bin Laden left Saudi Arabia with his family (by then he had several wives and many children) and moved to Sudan, where a militant Islamic government had taken power two years prior. With his inheritance, bin Laden invested heavily in the poor country, establishing several legitimate businesses, including a major construction company. In addition, bin Laden established at least three terrorist training camps in northern Sudan, where experts taught terrorist and guerrilla tactics to the Egyptian Al Jihad and Gama’al-Islamiyya, the Iranian-funded Hezbollah from Lebanon, and Sudan’s National Islamic Front, as well as jihad groups from Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and Somalia. He sent these trained militants to the Balkans, Chechnya, and other theatres where Muslims were in conflict.

All the while, bin Laden was considered an increasingly dangerous threat to the Saudis. He formed the Advice and Reform Council—a group that condemned the Saudi regime and sought to destabilize it. In addition to several reported assassination attempts by Saudi intelligence, the Saudis froze his assets in 1993 (valued at more than \$200 million). Soon after, in 1994, bin Laden renounced his Saudi citizenship, making bin Laden a renegade not only from his homeland but also from his family, which continued to publicly distance itself from him.

All the while, Al Qaeda continued to grow. Its first attacks against America were reported at two hotels in Yemen, where bombs exploded and killed several tourists. The bombs were probably intended to kill American troops on their way to a humanitarian mission in Somalia. Al Qaeda caught up with those U.S. servicemen on October 3, 1993, when 18 American soldiers were shot down over Mogadishu in Somalia. They were killed by local guerrillas trained by Al Qaeda operatives. Bin Laden was also said to have links to the

1993 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City, which killed six people and wounded more than 1,000. The architect of that bombing, Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, was a guest in a Pakistani guest house owned by bin Laden.

By early 1994, bin Laden was using the Internet and other high-tech means to plan and execute his operations, along with a complicated network of front companies and bank accounts to launder funds for continued operations.

In late 1995, five Americans and two Indians were killed by a truck bomb in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. While they were never conclusively linked to Al Qaeda, bin Laden praised the four men who were executed by the Saudis for the attacks as “martyrs,” who paved the way for other true believers.

Other attacks on non-American targets continued around the world. In December 1994, bin Laden was linked to an attempt to destroy an airplane en route to Tokyo. The attack was carried out by Abu Sayyaf, a Philippine group under the aegis of Al Qaeda. The following year, an assassination attempt on Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak was linked to Al Qaeda. Similarly, Al Qaeda/Abu Sayyaf was tied to an aborted plot to assassinate the pope. Finally, in November 1995, a car bomb planted by Al Qaeda operatives rocked the Egyptian embassy in Pakistan.

## BIN LADEN IN AFGHANISTAN

But it was the attack in Riyadh, in all probability, that prompted Washington to pressure Sudan to revoke its protection of bin Laden. A year later, Khartoum yielded. In May 1996, bin Laden moved his family and hundreds of Al Qaeda members to lawless Afghanistan, where years of civil war paved the way for the repressive fundamentalist Taliban regime, under Mullah Mohammed Omar, to rise to power.

In Afghanistan, bin Laden curried favor among the Taliban by providing financial support for their radical Islamic regime, rebuilding infrastructure that was largely destroyed after years of war against the Soviets, and the subsequent internecine fighting that followed. As a sign of respect, he was known as “Sheikh.”

Bin Laden’s Al Qaeda operations flourished in his new headquarters. On August 23, 1996, he issued a decree declaring jihad against Americans and Jews, calling Muslims to expel them from Islamic holy lands (Saudi Arabia and Israel). Accordingly, that same year

a suspected Al Qaeda attack at the Khobar Towers military complex in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killed 19 Americans. By then, the U.S. State Department was calling bin Laden “the most significant financial sponsor of Islamic extremist activities in the world today” due to his bankrolling of training camps in both Afghanistan and Sudan.

In 1998, bin Laden issued a *fatwa*, or religious proclamation, calling for the death of all Americans, both military and civilians. Later that year, bin Laden’s group was conclusively linked to the bombing of two U.S. embassies in East Africa, where hundreds were killed and thousands were injured. The U.S. responded by attacking several of bin Laden’s training camps in Afghanistan and a factory thought at the time to be producing chemical weapons for Al Qaeda in Sudan. The attacks brought notoriety to bin Laden, who became something of a celebrity outlaw in the Muslim world.

In November 1998, the U.S. government indicted bin Laden with several charges, including the embassy bombings. Concurrently, the U.S. State Department offered a reward of \$5 million for information leading to bin Laden’s arrest.

In 1999, the FBI placed bin Laden on its “most wanted terrorists” list. Meanwhile, rumors circulated that the Taliban was growing weary of their guest, who brought with him the consternation of the international community and the wrath of the United States. They requested that bin Laden suspend his military and political activities, and even assigned several soldiers to keep him under watch.

One year later, however, bin Laden was tied to a thwarted plot to bomb targets around the globe during the millennium celebrations on New Year’s Eve 1999. On October 27, 2000, bin Laden was again suspected of masterminding the bombing of an American target; the U.S.S. *Cole* battleship was attacked by suicide bombers in Yemen, killing more than a dozen sailors.

What bin Laden is most known for, however, is the terrorist attacks on American soil on September 11, 2001. On that day, two hijacked commercial jets heading from Boston to Los Angeles flew into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City. Another plane hit the Pentagon just outside of Washington, D.C. A fourth hijacked airliner was commandeered by the passengers and crashed in western Pennsylvania. The death toll of the attacks, carried out by 19 suspected Al Qaeda hijackers, is estimated at about 3,000 people.

Following the attacks, U.S. president George W. Bush demanded that the Taliban turn bin Laden over to American authorities. The Taliban refused, requesting proof of bin Laden's involvement in the attacks. The American government did, in fact, present ample evidence to the rogue state, which still refused to hand over the suspected mastermind. Washington responded with Operation Enduring Freedom, which began air strikes in Afghanistan on October 7, 2001, whereupon U.S. and friendly Afghan forces dismantled Taliban and Al Qaeda strongholds throughout the country. Bin Laden, however, was thought to have escaped during an especially intense battle at the Tora Bora cave complex in eastern Afghanistan.

While the hunt for bin Laden continues, several videotapes have emerged whereby he lauded the attacks of September 11, talked of their planning, and threatened America with more violence. Last seen in Afghanistan, bin Laden's location as of autumn 2002 has remained a mystery. The U.S. has since offered up to \$25 million for information leading to his arrest.

*See also* ABU SAYYAF GROUP; AL QAEDA; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS; MILITANT ISLAM; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS; TALIBAN; U.S.S. COLE BOMBING; Y2K PLOT

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**BINALSHIBH, RAMZI. See MOUSSAOUI, ZACARIAS.**

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## BIOLOGICAL TERRORISM

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Biological weapons are just what their name implies: devices that use disease-producing microorganisms,

toxic biological products, or organic biocides to inflict death or injury. The mail-borne anthrax attacks against U.S. citizens in the fall of 2001 demonstrated that every nation, even one as powerful as the United States, is at risk from terrorists using biological or toxin weapons. The attacks also revealed that the United States (like most other nations) did not have effective plans to deal with such an attack.

Terrorists have used bioweapons before. In 1984, the U.S.-based Rajneeshee cult used salmonella bacteria to poison citizens by spreading the bacteria via salad bars in restaurants in an Oregon town. In 1993 and 1994, the Japanese cult Aum Shinrikyō used biological weapons in and around Japan. Despite these attacks and repeated warnings from experts about the threat posed by biological weapons, the United States and other governments took little concerted action to deal with the problem prior to fall 2001. In the aftermath of that anthrax attack, many governments are taking steps to reduce the chances that terrorists can obtain the materials needed to make bioweapons, and respond to outbreaks of disease if they should occur. To assess the magnitude of the bioterror threat, it is vital to understand how biological agents can be used as deadly tools and how terrorists might use them to instill fear or inflict heavy casualties.

### BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

Biological weapons use pathogens or organisms that cause disease in humans, other animals, or plants. Pathogens include bacteria, viruses, fungi, and toxins (poisons produced by animals or plants). Crude biological weapons (or *agents*) have a long history of use in warfare. In ancient times, wells were poisoned with the carcasses of dead animals, and infected corpses were thrown over the walls of besieged cities in efforts to spread sickness among defenders. During the French and Indian Wars in the 1700s, British troops gave blankets from smallpox victims to Native Americans to spread the disease.

The large number of casualties inflicted by chemical attacks in World War I and the military's general distaste for using such weapons led to the signing of the Geneva Convention of 1925, a treaty prohibiting the use of both chemical and biological agents in warfare. However, that treaty did not prohibit nations from manufacturing or stockpiling them. Many nations chose to do just that in the belief that the

possession of these weapons would deter others from using them. The Japanese experimented with the use of biological weapons on a relatively small scale in World War II—for example, Japanese forces attacked Chinese cities by dropping plague-carrying fleas from aircraft—but other major combatants did not use them, possibly because they did not believe that these weapons would be decisive factors in the conflict, and possibly because they feared retaliation in kind.

The relatively crude attempts to use pathogens for military purposes throughout history were overshadowed dramatically during the Cold War period (1948–1991) when Americans and Soviets exploited modern scientific knowledge and sophisticated technology to manufacture large stockpiles of deadly pathogens such as anthrax, a disease that can sicken and kill humans and livestock.

By the late 1960s, it had become apparent to military planners that biological weapons posed as much of a threat to the attacker as to the defender. An infection spread among enemy troops might easily result in the infection of friendly forces. Furthermore, biological weapons were not regarded as posing significant threats to well-prepared military units that could be vaccinated to prevent the spread of disease. For these reasons, most nations signed a 1972 treaty known as the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention that went beyond the Geneva Convention of 1925 by prohibiting research, development, manufacture, stockpiling, and use of biological and toxin agents. Unfortunately, this treaty does not have any monitoring or verification measures to deter nations from cheating. Several countries, including Iraq and the former Soviet Union, took advantage of the loophole to continue developing these weapons secretly in violation of international law.

When the Persian Gulf War ended in 1991, U.N. inspectors found that Iraq had manufactured and concealed significant quantities of biological agents. Iraq may have been deterred from using biological weapons because the United States threatened overwhelming retaliation to any biological or chemical attack.

## THE TERRORIST CONNECTION

Prior to the Gulf War in 1991, it was not difficult to obtain “starter” cultures of many pathogens from supply companies specializing in their distribution to research laboratories for legitimate medical research purposes. A scientist trying to develop a new disease

vaccine, for example, would use the pathogen in tests. To obtain a quantity of the pathogen, a researcher (or a terrorist) just had to submit a purchase request on the letterhead of a laboratory or research institution. There were few rigorous procedures in place requiring the supplier to verify that the laboratory was real and the purchase request legitimate. After U.N. inspectors learned that Iraq had prepared biological weapons in 1991, the United States imposed tougher restrictions on such purchases, but many other nations do not have similar safeguards in place.

Until recently, there were few procedures in place to prevent a terrorist from penetrating the facilities of a pathogen supplier by gaining employment there, posing as a repairman, or bribing an employee. Prior to the mail anthrax attacks in 2001, few universities had adequate security systems in place to prevent the theft of pathogens from their research stocks. In addition to the possibility that a disgruntled U.S. citizen might resort to bioterrorism, university reliance on foreign graduate students to staff their laboratories raised the possibility that a foreign terrorist organization could co-opt, blackmail, or threaten students studying (nearly all of whom are models of good behavior) to obtain pathogens for terrorist purposes.

If a terrorist obtained a starter culture, it is not hard to grow rapidly multiplying bacteria. A single anthrax cell, for example, takes about 20 minutes to divide. Twenty generations of such cell divisions take about seven hours and yield about 1 million anthrax bacteria. All this would take place in a flask the size of a milk bottle containing a readily available commercial growth medium or improvised from gelatin and other ingredients. A terrorist could grow bacteria and concentrate them into a wet slurry using a centrifuge process familiar to anyone who has taken high school or college chemistry. To reduce their own risk, terrorists might try to vaccinate themselves and would probably take precautionary doses of antibiotics.

## BIOTERRORIST ATTACKS

The Japanese cult known as Aum Shinrikyō tried to use anthrax bacteria and a deadly botulinum toxin as biological weapons to attack downtown Tokyo and U.S. military installations in Japan in 1995. The cult made scientific mistakes in producing the pathogens and was not able to spread the aerosols containing them widely enough. (The cult later killed 12 persons with chemical weapons.) However, the attack did succeed in instilling

fear among the population of one of the world's largest cities. Since terrorists may achieve their goals by frightening people just as effectively as by killing them, the Tokyo attack was partially successful. Later, investigators learned that the Aum cult had even attempted to obtain the deadly Ebola virus from a site in Africa where an outbreak had occurred.

The use of a pathogen against unsuspecting citizens by the Raj Cult in a small Oregon town in 1985 provides an example of a more successful bioterrorist attack. The cult wanted its candidates to win a county election so that it could oust an incumbent town leadership opposing the cult's plans to expand its facilities. Cult leaders thought that if they could sicken enough of the population just prior to the election, the resulting light turnout would enable their candidates to win, giving them control of the county government.

Cult members with, at best, modest scientific training proceeded to use a small, makeshift laboratory to grow salmonella bacteria. Once they had an ample supply, cult members spread the bacteria in salad bars at local restaurants. The plan worked to the extent that it sickened 750 persons, but it did not reduce voter turnout enough to let the cult win control of the county government. When public health authorities investigated the disease outbreak, their first conclusion was that it was caused by inadequate sanitary measures in the restaurants. It was only much later that the real cause came to light.

One of the main lessons learned in the Oregon attack was that the pathogen was easy to grow and distribute, at least on a relatively small scale. Its production did not require a large laboratory, sophisticated equipment, or persons with advanced scientific training. Almost anyone with rudimentary knowledge of bacterial growth who could obtain a starter culture would be well on the way to the possession of a small but deadly stockpile. This knowledge is widely distributed, as evidenced by the popularity of home-brewed beers and wines. A second important lesson was that it can be difficult to recognize a disease outbreak as the work of terrorists.

## **ASSESSING POSSIBLE TERRORIST USE OF VIRAL DISEASES**

After the anthrax mail attacks in the United States, fears were immediately raised about the prospect that terrorists could obtain more highly infectious pathogens. Anthrax is not communicable between humans and can be spread only by direct contact

with the bacteria. It can be treated effectively with antibiotics if the infection is caught early enough. By contrast, the smallpox or *variola* virus causes one of the most dreaded diseases on the planet. It is highly infectious and spreads rapidly through unvaccinated populations. Since viral diseases cannot be treated with antibiotics, smallpox kills about 30 percent of those infected, leaving the survivors with disfiguring scars.

Smallpox was essentially eliminated among populations in the early 1980s and only remained in small, closely controlled stocks in two laboratories in the United States and Russia for use in vaccine research. When smallpox was eradicated as a public health threat in the early 1980s, nations stopped vaccinating their citizens. That made sense from a public health standpoint, but while the United States and Russia were designated as the only *official* repositories, Iraq and several other nations are suspected of possessing clandestine stockpiles of smallpox virus that might be used for biological warfare. Since smallpox might also infect the side that uses it first, many experts considered it unlikely that it would ever be used on a large scale.

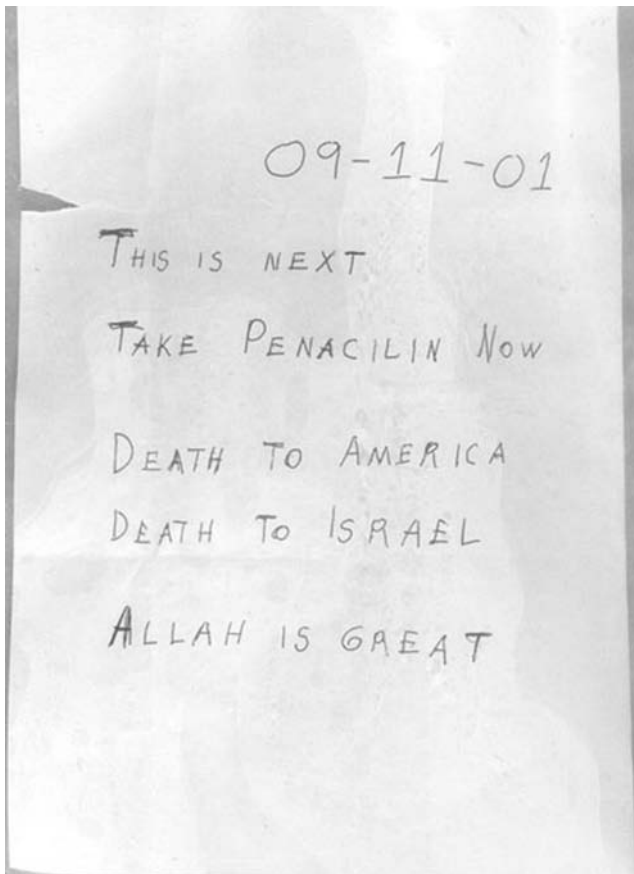
The September 2001 attacks on the United States and subsequent anthrax mailings changed that perception. Terrorists willing to commit suicide with hijacked aircraft might not shrink from using smallpox or other highly infectious agents if they could somehow obtain them to produce fear and panic. The United States immediately announced a plan to create 200 million doses of smallpox vaccine to have available in case of an attack. Russia and the United States took steps to heighten the security around the two laboratories possessing the last official stocks of smallpox virus for research. Even so, experts differ in their assessment of the ability of terrorists to make effective use of viral diseases such as smallpox, Ebola, or other deadly pathogens.

Terrorists choosing to use a noninfectious bacterial agent such as anthrax would have to spread the material directly over a large area to cause many casualties. When the United States and Soviet Union developed biological warfare capabilities during the Cold War, they had access to aircraft fitted with spray tanks, artillery shells, and missiles that could carry hundreds of small "bomblets" filled with pathogens. Terrorists would find it difficult to obtain those delivery systems. It was probably for that reason that the September 2001 hijackers were exploring the capabilities of agricultural crop dusters;



A letter containing anthrax was sent to the New York Post office

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation.



Text of the letter sent to the New York Post

they would have a difficult time distributing bacterial agents widely without such equipment. On the other hand, a small number of anthrax-contaminated letters sickened and killed only a few people but managed to disrupt the operations of government and frighten millions.

## THE FUTURE OF BIOTERRORISM

Most experts believe it would be difficult for terrorists to prepare and distribute the large quantities of pathogens needed to attack a population center. The failure of the well-funded and scientifically trained Aum Shinrykō group to mount an effective bioweapon attack against Japanese citizens must surely have been noted by Al Qaeda and other terrorist organizations. Truck, aircraft, and container-ship cargoes of more readily obtainable high explosives will probably seem much more attractive to terrorists than handling pathogens. Terrorist groups must also have observed that many nations are making long overdue preparations to deal with future bioterrorist attacks by producing and stockpiling vaccines, strengthening public health systems, and putting procedures in place to restrict access to pathogens.

Not all nations have taken these steps, however, and profound concerns about terrorist access to concealed bioweapon stockpiles in rogue states still exist. A variety of avenues for improved readiness exist. Controls and treaty verification procedures can be developed to ensure that terrorists cannot succeed in obtaining pathogens. Genetic engineering can produce disease-resistant crops. Animals can be vaccinated. Improved public health procedures can limit the spread of disease should an attack take place. The international community is expected to accelerate the adoption of these measures in the future to deter biological attacks by terrorists or manage them should they occur.

*See also* AGRICULTURAL TERRORISM; ANTHRAX; AUM SHINRIKYŌ; CHEMICAL TERRORISM; COUNTERTERRORISM; BHAGWAN SHREE RAJNEESH; WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

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## BIRMINGHAM PUB BOMBINGS

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The 1974 bombing of two pubs in the city of Birmingham, England, thought to be the work of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), killed 21 people. This attack caused more fatalities than any of the other attacks on English soil during the 30-year struggle.

Since the late 1960s, conflict had been raging in Northern Ireland between the province's Roman Catholics, who wished Northern Ireland to become part of the Republic of Ireland, and the province's Protestants, who wished it to remain a part of the United Kingdom. Armed paramilitary groups that had sprung up in both communities were prepared to use violence to protect themselves and achieve their ends. The largest armed organization on the republican, or nationalist, side (i.e., claiming to represent Catholics) was and is the IRA. By the start of 1974, the leaders of the IRA had come to believe that the British were growing weary of their involvement in the conflict, going so far as to declare 1974 "The Year of Victory." They felt that a serious escalation of violence would push the British into withdrawal. Accordingly, the IRA began a series of terrorist attacks on Britain's mainland.

The IRA began its bombing campaign in February 1974, by planting a bomb on a bus in Yorkshire, England, that was transporting soldiers and their families; 12 people were killed, including two young children. Other attacks, including one at the Tower of London, followed over the course of the year, killing six and injuring scores. On November 21, two men hid a duffel bag containing a bomb at the Mulberry Bush, a popular pub in downtown Birmingham. They left the Mulberry Bush after a few minutes and walked to another nearby pub, Talk of the Town, where they left a second bomb. It was a Saturday night, and both bars were crowded. At 8:11 p.m., a vague warning was phoned in to the Birmingham *Post and Mail* offices; the bomb at the Mulberry Bush exploded six minutes later, the Talk of the Town bomb a few minutes after that. Ten people were killed in the Mulberry Bush

blast, 11 in the Talk of the Town, and 168 were injured in the explosions.

Following the bombings, anti-Irish sentiment ran high in Britain—especially in Birmingham, which has a substantial Irish immigrant community. By November 24, six Irish immigrants, all longtime Birmingham residents, had been arrested and charged with the bombings. Hugh Callaghan, Paddy Joe Hill, Gerry Hunter, Richard McKelkeny, Billy Power, and Johnny Walker became known as the Birmingham Six. In what was the largest mass-murder trial in British history, the six men were convicted on August 5, 1975, and sentenced to life imprisonment. In 1991, after a long campaign on their behalf, a court overturned all six convictions, citing police mishandling of the evidence and indications that the confessions had been coerced.

The Birmingham bombings also prompted the British legislature to pass the Prevention of Terrorism Act, a law that the home secretary described as "draconian." For instance, the act allowed a suspect to be arrested and held for up to a week without charge and for persons suspected of being terrorists to be summarily expelled from Great Britain. Although intended as a temporary measure, the act, which was amended in 1989 and 1996, is still in force.

*See also* BOMBINGS AND BOMB SCARES; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY

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**Black Liberation Army. See BOUDIN, KATHERINE; BLACK PANTHER PARTY; MAY 19 COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION.**

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## BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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A group of revolutionary black nationalists working within the black power movement, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was at the vanguard of armed struggle that constituted the “new left terrorism” of the late 1960s.

Huey Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in October 1966. The group, based in Oakland, California, put forth a 10-point program that demanded for black and oppressed communities full employment, adequate housing, free health care, an end to police brutality and capitalist exploitation, freedom for all prisoners, reparations, and an immediate end to all wars of aggression. Of all the black nationalist and anti-imperialist movements that began in the turbulent 1960s, the BPP was perhaps the most renowned, easily recognized by its quasi-military black berets, leather jackets, and guns.

By the mid-1960s, the predominantly white Oakland police department had exhibited an ever-increasing brutality against the predominantly black population of Oakland. Armed with guns and rifles (legal in California at the time), members of the early BPP visibly monitored the police. BPP members, having followed the police scanner, would arrive at a crime scene to read the alleged offender his or her rights. Obeying the law, Panthers did not interfere with police and stood at least 10 feet from them, but their armed presence and confrontational manner rattled lawmakers. In 1967, the “Panther Bill,” a piece of antifiarm legislation named because it would prevent the BPP from displaying firearms, was introduced in the California legislature. Undeterred, BPP members traveled to Sacramento that May, carrying their guns in protest.

While the BPP organized social programs and legal intimidation aboveground, it simultaneously created an underground unit that engaged in armed struggle, most notably against police. The underground BPP was decentralized, with small cells working in individual communities. Members held weapons-training classes and close-order drills in public space while carrying guns.

After the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr., in April 1968, the BPP quickly grew from a California-based organization to a nationwide group of more

than 5,000 in 40 chapters. Propaganda that showed police as pigs was splashed throughout the BPP newspaper, *The Black Panther*. By September 1968, J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI, believed the BPP posed “the greatest threat to internal security in the country.” Indeed, the BPP was a principal focus of Cointelpro, the government counterintelligence agency that targeted New Left groups in the 1960s. By the end of 1969, more than 30 BPP members had been sentenced to death, 40 had been sentenced to life imprisonment, another 55 had been charged with crimes that carried more than 30 years’ imprisonment, and more than 150 members had become underground fugitives.

In the early 1970s, the BPP split, partly because of FBI infiltration. The “reformist” group, headed by Newton, envisioned a transformation from black revolutionaries to a legitimate social protest organization. Newton, however, had not forsaken armed struggle and violence. In 1972, he created an internal military group called the Squad, which was used to discipline BPP members internally and to commit crimes in Oakland, including extortion and murder. The other revolutionary faction, based in the New York BPP chapter headed by Eldridge Cleaver, continued to call for armed struggle. The still-militant factions of the New York BPP split off to form the Black Liberation Army, which continued the BPP’s underground legacy well into the 1980s.

*See also* JOANNE CHESIMARD; MAY 19 COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION; SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

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**Black September. See AL FATAH.**

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## **BOMBINGS AND BOMB SCARES**

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Bombings and bomb scares are among the most popular tools in the terrorist arsenal. Thousands of bombings occur around the world each year, maiming and killing scores of people and costing millions of dollars in property damage. Bomb scares take their toll by causing the evacuation of buildings or public spaces and taking up the valuable time of security experts who must evaluate the threat, causing hundreds of lost work hours and decreases in productivity and revenue for companies affected.

The popularity of bombs stems largely from their malleability. A bomb can weigh as much as 10 tons or as little as a pound, and can be concealed in almost anything: a portable CD player, a duffle bag, a trash can, a car. This variability enables the bomber to suit the bomb to his or her desire, whether it is to destroy a building, blow a hole in a safe, or kill dozens of people. The necessary materials for a bomb's construction can often be obtained legally and untraceably, with relatively little cost. Bombs of great destructive power do not require a vast amount of specialized knowledge to assemble. Indeed, since the advent of the Internet, almost anyone can learn simple bomb-making techniques. In addition, a terrorist groups or criminal organizations will often count among its members an individual with prior military or demolition training, permitting the construction of more sophisticated devices.

### **TYPES OF BOMBERS**

The bomber's motivations may be roughly divided into two categories, the criminal and the political. All bombings are of course criminal acts, but a distinction is made between bombers for whom the crime is an end in itself, and those for whom the bombing is meant to serve a broader ideological goal.

For the criminal bomber, the destruction or injury caused by the bomb enables him or her to attain some personal end—financial gain, revenge on a person or institution. A bomb may also be used to cover up a crime, for instance, to make it appear that a murdered person died in an accidental fire. The criminal bomber is often a lone individual; many such bombers suffer from some form of mental illness. Bombing has also been adopted as a tactic by criminal organizations, however, not only for the purpose of theft or extortion

but also as a method of assassinating rival gang leaders.

For the political bomber—the terrorist—the destructive power of the bomb is intended to further his or her cause, especially by attracting public attention and media interest. The terrorist bomber is frequently part of a highly organized group that carries out other terrorist activities in addition to bombing. It should be noted, however, that an ostensibly terrorist group might bomb a particular target to serve a purely criminal purpose. Conversely, an individual bomber may act out of political motives; Timothy McVeigh, the Oklahoma City bomber, targeted the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building because it was a symbol of the federal government, which he believed to be oppressive.

The hoax bomb or bomb scare often occurs after an actual bombing, but is usually the responsibility of a separate and unrelated individual. The bomb scare is meant to take advantage of the atmosphere of fear created by the possibility of a bombing; for the individual who causes it, the spectacle of the public response to the threat may provide a sense of power or satisfaction. Other individuals attempt to turn the precautions undertaken by authorities in the event of a bomb threat to their advantage. For instance, a student might call in a threat to his or her school in the hope that the evacuation of the building will enable the person to avoid a class or test.

### **TARGETS OF BOMBERS**

The bomber's target is dependent on his or her purpose. The target of a criminal bomber is generally specific and unique; that is, the bomb is intended to kill or injure a specific individual, or destroy a particular business, and is not part of an ongoing campaign. Since the criminal bomber chooses the target for personal reasons, it is often otherwise obscure. The criminal bomber may even attempt to create the impression that the bombing itself was an accident.

Since the goal of the political bomber is to create awareness of and garner support for his or her cause, the target is usually public, sometimes famous, and the method as spectacular as possible. Furthermore, the target is intended to serve as a symbol of what the terrorist opposes; the antiabortion group the Army of God targets doctors who perform abortions and the clinics in which they take place. Unlike criminal bombers, the terrorist often aims to cause as many

casualties as possible, and terrorist bombings frequently take place in crowded public spaces. Airports and aircraft, shopping districts, government buildings and corporate headquarters, train and subway stations, even movie theaters and sports arenas are potential terrorist targets.

## BOMB MATERIAL AND CONSTRUCTION

A vast array of materials can be used to construct bombs. Some of them include black powder (gunpowder), trinitrotoluene (TNT), nitroglycerin, ammonium nitrate (a common ingredient in fertilizer), and gasoline. Dozens of widely available commercial products that have common everyday uses—household cleansers, car products, photographic chemicals—can become the basic ingredients for a bomb. Through theft or the international black market, professional terrorists or other bomb makers may be able to acquire military or industrial explosives such as Semtex, a plastic explosive used in the Lockerbie bombing.

To construct the bomb, the explosive material is packed into a container, usually metal but sometimes glass or plastic or even cardboard. Pieces of jagged metal may also be added to the explosive material to act as shrapnel when the bomb explodes; this is often done when the purpose of the bomb is to wound as many people as possible, as it was in the case of London nail bomber David Copeland. A source of ignition is attached—this may be a simple fuse, a battery, or a blasting cap, as is used in controlled demolitions.

In addition, many bombers, and almost all professional terrorists, also attach a timing device to the bomb that will allow the criminal to plant the bomb and remove himself or herself from the area of the explosion well before it occurs. Timing devices vary widely in construction and sophistication; in the 1984 Brighton bombing that nearly killed British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) bomber was able to plant the device weeks before it was detonated. A particular type of timing device is a radio detonator. A bomb with a radio detonator attached will not detonate unless it is sent a certain signal at a particular frequency from a radio transmitter. With this type of bomb, the bomber is able to observe the target area from afar and detonate the explosives only when and if the bomb's target is within range. Such sophisticated bombs require specialized knowledge, training, and experience to construct; they are by no means the majority of bombs

used in attacks. The pipe bomb, in which a length of metal plumbing is filled with black powder, capped, and a fuse attached, is perhaps the one of the simplest and most common examples of bomb construction.

## USE OF BOMBS IN TERRORISM: THE LONE BOMBER

The Unabomber case illuminates one of the advantages of the bomb as a terrorist weapon. Theodore Kaczynski, a former University of California, Berkeley, math professor, loathed technology and blamed the Industrial Revolution and its successors for all of society's ills. (He was later diagnosed as paranoid schizophrenic, although experts differ as to the extent of his irrationality.) In 1971, he withdrew from the world, building himself a cabin in the remote mountains of Montana. His extremist ideology turned violent in 1978, when he mailed his first bomb to a professor at Northwestern University. Over the next 18 years, Kaczynski was able to execute more than two dozen bombings, killing three people and injuring 23. Despite his meager means and primitive hide-away—his cabin had no electricity or running water, and most of his bombs were packaged in boxes that he hand-built—he was able to construct increasingly sophisticated and destructive devices during his terrorist career and was almost successful entirely in frustrating the detectives sent on his trail.

Kaczynski undertook his campaign first as a method of striking back at technology—most of his victims were professors, often in fields like computer science, engineering, and neuroscience—but also as way of publicizing his views. In 1996, he sent a letter to federal authorities claiming he would stop his assassination campaign if his 30,000-word manifesto was printed by a major national news outlet. The *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, acting on the advice of federal authorities, acceded to this demand.

As authorities had hoped, the publication of the manifesto did eventually result in Kaczynski's arrest, after family members familiar with his writings recognized his style. But the publication of the manifesto, and the extensive media coverage of the entire affair, granted Kaczynski and his ideas a degree of public attention he could not otherwise have hoped to attain. In this respect, then, his bombing campaign was extremely effective. That a single man working in such primitive conditions could achieve this goal is remarkable testament to the fearsomeness of the bomb

as a terrorist tool. Were it not for the simplicity and anonymity of the bomb as a weapon, Kaczynski's destructive career, and his infamy, might well have been impossible.

### **USE OF BOMBS IN TERRORISM: THE URBAN GUERRILLA**

Another example of the advantages of the bomb for terrorists is seen in the development of the IRA, which has used it as a primary weapon throughout the 30-year Northern Irish conflict. Northern Ireland is a British colony with a Protestant majority; the IRA wishes to reunite the provinces of Northern Ireland with the Catholic-majority Republic of Ireland. Ever since violence erupted in the late 1960s, the British Army has maintained a strong troop presence in Northern Ireland, in addition to the local police force, the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

Northern Ireland is quite small; though it contains many rural areas, there is no wilderness for terrorists to retreat to as in Latin America. IRA cells were instead based in the Catholic neighborhoods, particularly the urban ghettos of Belfast and Derry. To operate under such conditions, IRA operatives needed to be able to melt away following each of their attacks, for if any terrorists were captured at the scene it could mean vital intelligence leaks to the security forces. For these reasons, the IRA came to rely on the bomb as its main tactic, particularly the car bomb.

A bomb factory could be set up in almost any location, without attracting the notice of passersby—a garage, a factory, even a basement. The weapon could similarly be transported to the scene of the attack without attracting notice, concealed in a duffle bag or a suitcase. Cars especially could be placed outside a target for a considerable period of time without raising police suspicion, allowing the terrorist to be far from the scene by the time of the explosion. The extensive use of bombs allowed the IRA to work in a heavily policed, high-security urban areas with relatively little risk to its operatives, for a period of decades.

### **USE OF BOMBS IN TERRORISM: THE SPECTACULAR**

One of the main goals of terrorists is to attract public attention through their crimes. Thus, the more famous the target, the more devastating the bomb, the more

victims, the better; in short, terrorists often seek to create what is known as a “spectacular”—an incident so shocking that its images of destruction and horror become imprinted in the minds of viewers around the world. Bombs are one of the favorite methods of achieving such an effect.

The 1993 World Trade Center bombing is one prominent example of such an attempt. The bombers involved in that incident constructed a 1,300-pound bomb and concealed it in a Ryder moving van, parking it in an underground garage beneath the complex. They hoped that the explosion would cause the building's steel support beams to collapse on one side, causing the skyscraper to fall into its twin and destroying both. The building was much sturdier than the terrorists had expected; despite causing a 200-foot-wide crater (which in turn caused the floors to collapse above and below the level of the bomb), only six people were killed by the bomb, all within its immediate vicinity. More than 1,000 people were injured, however, and the incident highlighted the vulnerabilities of skyscrapers to terrorist attack, as it took several hours for the building to be evacuated.

Though the 1993 World Trade Center terrorists were unable to cause the thousands of casualties they had hoped for, the bombing was spectacular in the extent of media coverage it received. Indeed, the event served as precursor to the attacks of September 11, 2001, highlighting as it did the potential to disrupt financial markets and the intensive media coverage such an event happening in Manhattan would evoke.

### **PREVENTING BOMBINGS AND BOMB SCARES**

Unfortunately, it is very difficult for police to prevent bomb attacks. Because the necessary materials to manufacture bombs are so common and numerous—it is estimated that nearly 4,000 different chemicals can be used to obtain an explosive reaction—it is almost impossible to track and control their sales, as is done with the chemicals used in manufacturing. Many police departments across the country have bomb squads composed of highly trained individuals who can defuse explosive devices when they are found, but bomb squads can go into action only when police have some forewarning of a potential attack. Some terrorist groups phone in such warnings before their attacks, but many do not. In addition, warnings can be used to

actually increase the potential casualties from an attack, by misdirecting the police as to its location. This was precisely what happened in the 1998 bombing in Omagh, Northern Ireland.

It is often possible to protect individual buildings or complexes from bombings, and some airports are equipped with bomb-sniffing dogs and/or CTX-5500 scanners to detect bombs and keep them off planes. The fact that bombs are so easily concealed, constructed, and transported, however, makes it extremely difficult to protect against them in a general sense.

*See also* DAVID COPELAND; COUNTERTERRORISM; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING; OMAGH BOMBING; UNABOMBER; WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING (1993)

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## BOUDIN, KATHERINE (1942– )

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Revolutionary Katherine Boudin was involved in a bomb explosion and was arrested and imprisoned for life for her participation in an armed robbery that left two police officers and a guard dead.

The daughter of attorney and civil rights activist Leonard Boudin, Katherine Boudin graduated from Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania. While attending law school in the 1960s, she became an activist and joined the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a group devoted to opposing the perceived evils of

capitalist America, particularly U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Boudin participated in many protests and demonstrations at the time.

In 1969, she joined Weatherman, the militant offshoot of the SDS. Boudin was involved in the Days of Rage in Chicago and other violent protests, and also authored a handbook on the various ways to evade detection by the authorities. She was present at the townhouse in Greenwich Village, New York City, in 1970 when a bomb group members were manufacturing exploded. The blast killed three members of the group, but Boudin and another, Cathy Wilkerson, managed to escape both from harm and the police.

Like many other surviving members at the time, Boudin went underground to avoid being captured by the FBI. After Weatherman (by that time rechristened as Weather Underground) disbanded as an organization at the end of the Vietnam War, Boudin turned her attention toward the Black Liberation Army (BLA), an extremely violent and radical splinter group of the Black Panthers. The group was notorious for committing armed robberies to fund their activities. Boudin was an integral component of their largest heist ever, the robbery of a Brinks armored truck in Nanuet, New York, on October 20, 1981. She was to be the white, and therefore less suspicious, driver of their getaway vehicle, a U-Haul truck. Police stopped the vehicle on the New York Thruway because they had been alerted to look for a U-Haul. However, Boudin convinced them that hers was not the right truck. As the officers stowed their weapons, gunmen of the BLA jumped from the back of the truck and began firing with automatic weapons. Sergeant Edward O'Grady, Officer Waverly Brown, and Brinks guard Peter Paige were all killed. Boudin was apprehended. She pleaded guilty to charges of felony murder and armed robbery in exchange for a 20-years-to-life sentence.

While in prison, she earned a master's degree in adult education and has worked on AIDS prevention programs for prisons. With her own son being only one year old in 1981, she also developed a program to help mothers behind bars parent their children. In 2001, at age 58, she had served the minimum 20 years of her sentence and was eligible for parole. On August 22, 2001, she came before the New York Board of Pardons and Paroles and she was denied. Boudin will be eligible for parole again in August 2003.

*See also* BERNARDINE DOHRN; MAY 19 COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION; WEATHERMAN

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**Brigate Rosse. See RED BRIGADES.**

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**BROOKLYN BRIDGE SHOOTING**

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A 1994 Brooklyn Bridge shooting case, in which Rashid Baz, a Lebanese national, was convicted of shooting at a van of Jewish students, was reopened by the FBI in 1999 and reclassified as an act of terrorism.

Just before 10:30 A.M. on March 1, 1994, Baz, then a 28-year-old livery car driver, attacked a van on the Brooklyn Bridge that was carrying 15 Hasidic boys from Manhattan to Crown Heights, Brooklyn. Baz sprayed both sides of the van with bullets from two guns before fleeing into Brooklyn.

Two of the students who were hit suffered head wounds: 16-year-old Aaron Halberstam suffered severe brain damage and died several days later; Nachum Sosonkin, 18, underwent surgery and survived, though a bullet is still lodged in his brain. Two other students sustained minor gunshot wounds.

Police arrested Baz at his uncle's home in Sunset Park, Brooklyn, the next day.

The shooting occurred less than a week after Baruch Goldstein, a Brooklyn-born Jewish settler, massacred 29 Muslims worshipping at a mosque in Hebron. The press quickly labeled Baz a "fundamentalist terrorist" who was retaliating for the attack in Hebron, and police began investigating possible links between Baz and the terrorist organization Hezbollah. After the shooting, New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani placed the city's law enforcement agencies on an antiterrorist alert, though no credible threats had been issued. Concurrently, the 1993 World Trade Center bombing case was being tried in New York

City. This confluence of events put strain on both New York's Arab and Jewish communities.

Baz went on trial on November 1, 1994, with angry spectators and tight security. The prosecution deemed the attack a "blind-side ambush" in which Baz, without provocation, attempted to kill all 15 boys in the van. The defense claimed that Baz's childhood in war-torn Beirut caused him to develop post-traumatic stress syndrome, thus his state of mind during the attack was questionable. Pretrial hearings admitted a tape of Baz's interrogation by police, in which he admitted to being "afraid," stating that the van of students had cut him off and brandished a gun at him—none of which explained why he had several illegal firearms in his car or why he had pursued the van so aggressively. (Baz did not testify on his own behalf.) On December 1, 1994, Baz was convicted on one count of second-degree murder, 14 counts of attempted murder, and one count of criminal use of a firearm; he was later sentenced to 114 years in prison. The crime was classified as a case of "road rage."

After much pressure from the Halberstam family and several political officials, including Senator Charles E. Schumer of New York, Mayor Giuliani and then-first lady Hilary Clinton, the FBI reopened the investigation in August 1999. By that December, the FBI determined that Baz had acted alone and was not linked to any terrorist organizations. The FBI did, however, reclassify the crime as a terrorist attack, motivated by political views and a wish to retaliate against Jewish people.

*See also* FREELANCE TERRORISM; BARUCH GOLDSTEIN

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**Bruders Schweigen. See THE ORDER.**

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**BUCKLEY, WILLIAM (1928–1985)**

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William Francis Buckley, the CIA station chief in Beirut during the Lebanese War, was one of the most

crucial hostages abducted by Shiite Muslim extremists during the hostage crisis in Lebanon. The arms-for-hostages deal struck between Iran and the Reagan administration was orchestrated largely to secure Buckley's release.

Buckley had been employed by the CIA from 1955 to 1957, and again from 1965 until his kidnapping in 1984. Buckley's role in as station chief in Beirut was significant. Not only was he to rebuild the intelligence network in the area, which had been shattered by the April 1983 embassy bombing, but, since the United States then lacked embassies in both Iraq and Iran, Buckley was to head the entire CIA operations for the northern Persian Gulf area. In an era when simply being an American in the Middle East was reason enough to be kidnapped, Buckley was a prime target.

On the morning of March 16, 1984, kidnappers seized Buckley just steps from the front door of his apartment and stuffed him into the trunk of a white Renault. The CIA believes that Buckley was betrayed by a female Shiite CIA agent named Zeynoub, whom Buckley had trained. Unbeknownst to him, Zeynoub was also an "official" of Hezbollah, the umbrella organization that encompasses Islamic Jihad, which had already taken three other American hostages in exchange for 17 prisoners in Kuwait. Zeynoub and Buckley began an affair. Three weeks before he was taken, Buckley confided in a friend that he suspected he might be kidnapped. By that time, however, Zeynoub already had access to his apartment. The decision to take Buckley came on March 15, 1984; he was abducted the following morning. The CIA believe that Buckley was carrying a document listing CIA assets in Lebanon that morning, because so many Lebanese informants vanished or were killed immediately following his abduction.

Though there are no conclusive reports, it is believed that Buckley was tortured repeatedly over the next 10 months, and that the intensity and length of these interrogations destroyed his health. By the spring of 1985, other hostages, such as Father Martin Lawrence Jenco and Reverend Benjamin Weir, became aware of Buckley's presence in another cell in the room where they were all held. On February 14, 1985, Jeremy Levin, the bureau chief for CNN, escaped from captivity and reported that Buckley was seriously ill, racked by coughs and vomiting and delirious with fever. Fellow hostages listened closely on the night of June 3, 1985, when the coughing finally stopped. Buckley had died in captivity.

During this time, Buckley's rescue was a top priority for both the CIA and the Reagan administration. In August 1985, the first delivery of arms—100 antitank missiles provided by Israel—was sent to Iran. The following month, 408 more arrived. Father Weir was released on September 18, 1985, the first hostage to be set free under the arms-for-hostages agreement. The CIA had requested Buckley, not knowing he had already died.

Four months after his death, on October 4, 1985, Islamic Jihad announced Buckley's execution, claiming to have killed him in retaliation for Israel's raid on the PLO's headquarters in Tunisia. The United States continued to barter arms-for-hostages, now requesting Buckley's remains along with the remaining Americans.

On December 28, 1991, Buckley's remains were returned to the United States, and buried in Arlington Cemetery, with full military honors. The CIA honored him with a star carved in the marble memorial wall of CIA's main building in Langley, Virginia.

*See also* TERRY ANDERSON; ISLAMIC JIHAD; IMAD FAYEZ MUGHNIYAH; THOMAS SUTHERLAND

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## BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND FIREARMS

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Since its inception in late 1790s, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) has undergone more changes in titles and responsibilities than any other federal agency. It was established in its current capacity within the Department of the Treasury in 1972 when it was separated from the Internal Revenue Service (IRS). The ATF has tax collecting, law enforcement, and regulatory authority in the alcohol, tobacco, firearms, and explosives industries.

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., the ATF employs a staff of 5,000, including special agents, inspectors, auditors, laboratory, and support personnel. Despite the bad publicity resulting from a 51-day

armed standoff with Branch Davidians at Waco, Texas, in 1993, the bureau's image has improved in recent years, largely due to its counterterrorism activities.

The ATF has four National Response Teams (NRTs) that can be deployed within 24 hours to major explosion and arson sites; this occurred, for example, during the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon in 2001. In cooperation with other agencies such as the FBI, the NRT investigates the crime scene, identifies the origin of the explosion, conducts interviews, sifts through debris for evidence, and develops a plan for further actions. For example, an ATF agent identified the serial number of a truck axle, which led to the conviction of the terrorists in the World Trade Center bombing in 1993. Since 1990, ATF's canine center in Front Royal, Virginia, has trained 272 dogs for 31 states and 13 countries that can detect both commercially available and home-cooked chemical compounds. Dogs have worked at the Super Bowl, the Olympics, and at national political conventions and helped secure the Pentagon after the September 11 attacks.

The ATF Arson and Explosives Incidents System (AEXIS) is part of the National Repository of information. The AEXIS database includes commercially made explosives in the United States and abroad, showing patterns and trends of the usage of explosive devices in a given area or state and throughout the nation. In 1997, the ATF started an investigation of a recovered cache of explosives at a self-storage facility in Bedford, Cleveland, and four years later was able to trace it to an Armenian terrorist group that had assassinated 22 Turkish diplomats and perpetrated

160 bombings worldwide during the 1970s. One of the terrorists, Mourad Topalian, was sentenced to 37 months in prison.

Under the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, the ATF established the Explosives Study Group (ESG). The ESG conducts research in the possible use and exploitation of new prevention technologies in the area of explosives and develops strategies for improvements in public safety. After the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, ESG started the campaign "Be Aware for America" with the aim of preventing the improper sale and use of ammonium nitrate fertilizer.

The ATF partners with many local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies in joint counterterrorism task forces. A recent ATF-FBI investigation, for example, led to the arrest of illegal immigrants involved with a cigarette smuggling operation that funded the terrorist Hezbollah organization.

*See also* COUNTERTERRORISM; FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION; WACO; WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING (1993)

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## CANARY WHARF BOMBING

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The 1996 bombing at Canary Wharf in East London marked the end of an 18-month Irish Republican Army (IRA) cease-fire and jeopardized the peace process for Northern Ireland.

Since the late 1960s, conflict has been ongoing between Northern Ireland's Protestants, who want the province to remain part of the United Kingdom, and Northern Ireland's Roman Catholics, who want it to become part of the Republic of Ireland. On August 31, 1994, after months of secret talks with the British and Irish governments, the IRA, the largest paramilitary group on the Catholic side (also called the nationalist, or republican, side), announced a cease-fire. In October, the major Protestant (also called loyalist or unionist) paramilitary groups followed suit. After 30 years of guerrilla warfare and several previous failed attempts at negotiations, these mutual cease-fires represented the best opportunity to achieve a lasting peace.

The major parties to the negotiations were all deeply suspicious of the motives of their counterparts, however. Furthermore, the government of Britain's Conservative prime minister John Major depended on his party's slim majority in Parliament; he could not afford to lose the support of the Unionist members of Parliament from Northern Ireland. To appease the Unionists and win some assurance of the IRA's commitment to peace, Major demanded that the IRA decommission some of its arms before commencing serious talks.

IRA leaders balked, seeing this request as a confirmation of their worst fear—the British government

was merely employing the negotiations as a stalling tactic to diminish the IRA's military capabilities. Negotiations halted for 18 months while frustrations grew. Various envoys, including former U.S. senator George Mitchell, tried to achieve some form of compromise. On February 9, 1996, at around 5:40 P.M., a telephone call to Scotland Yard announced the end of the IRA cease-fire and the resumption of military operations.

At 7 P.M., a bomb exploded at the Canary Wharf economic development site in East London's Docklands, killing two workers. The 81-acre site is home to Britain's largest office tower and is filled with offices, shops, and apartment complexes. The fertilizer-based bomb weighed several tons and was hidden in a truck. Despite the bomb's great size, fewer than 50 people were injured because police had cleared the area; property damage, however, totaled an estimated £140 million (U.S. \$215 million).

Peace negotiations ceased, not to resume until 1997, when a new prime minister, Tony Blair, took office. In a 1998 trial, James McCardle was convicted and sentenced to 25 years. He has since been released, as have almost all paramilitary prisoners, under the terms of the Good Friday Agreement.

*See also* BOMBINGS AND BOMB SCARES; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY

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## CENTENNIAL PARK BOMBING

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In the early-morning hours of July 27, 1996, a pipe bomb exploded in Atlanta's Centennial Park, the after-hours meeting place of the 1996 Olympic Games. The bombing killed one person and injured more than 100 others. A Turkish cameraman at the scene died of a heart attack.

A few minutes before 1 A.M., Richard Jewell, an AT&T security guard, alerted officials to a suspicious group of rowdy drunks near a sound tower in the park. Jewell had also noticed a suspicious green knapsack that had been left after the group dispersed. At 1:07 A.M. the police received an anonymous 911 call. The voice on the phone, which investigators would later identify as that of a white male with a slight Southern accent, said, "There's a bomb in Centennial Park. You have 30 minutes."

Minutes later, bomb experts identified wire and a pipe bomb in the knapsack and began evacuating the area. Shortly after 1:20 A.M., the bomb exploded; investigators later discovered it to have actually been three pipe bombs filled with smokeless gunpowder, nails, and screws. Flying shrapnel caused most of the 111 injuries that night. By 2 that morning, all of downtown Atlanta had been sealed off.

From the start, authorities believed the bombing to be an act of domestic terrorism, partly because of the crude nature of the homemade pipe bomb, and partly because the attack did not appear to have an overtly political target. (Later reports suggest that the bomb was intentionally set to hurt the law enforcement officers assisting in the evacuation, a suggestion in keeping with the domestic terrorism hypothesis.) Early suspects included a local group of extremely violent skinheads and the Georgia Militia, a group that had been arrested in April 1996 for allegedly building pipe bombs. An eyewitness account reported four white men dressed in

black acting suspiciously in the moments before the bombing.

Within three days of the bombing, however, Jewell, who had been lauded as a hero for two days following the bombing, was named as a suspect. He was also the first defendant named in a lawsuit charging that security had been slow to evacuate the area, causing extensive injuries. From August to October 1996, authorities made concerted efforts to link Jewell to forensic evidence, though hair samples and voice identification tests did not confirm his involvement and he was cleared. Later suspects included members of the Phineas Priesthood, who were caught in Spokane, Washington, after bombings at a newspaper, a bank, and a Planned Parenthood clinic. They, too, were cleared.

By June 1997, however, a handful of clinic and antigay bombings in the Atlanta and Birmingham, Alabama, areas led investigators to another suspect—Eric Robert Rudolph. On October 14, 1998, more than two years after the fact, Rudolph was charged in connection with the Centennial Park bombing. As of 2002, he remains at large, believed to be hiding out in the Nantahala National Forest in North Carolina, though some doubt he is still alive.

*See also* BOMBINGS AND BOMB SCARES; ERIC RUDOLPH

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## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is an independent agency of the U.S. government responsible for amassing and assessing foreign intelligence to aid the president, the National Security Council (NSC), and other officials in making national security decisions. Such information is considered to be the first line of defense against terrorism.

In 1947, as a direct result of the intelligence failure that allowed Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, U.S. president Harry S. Truman signed the National



*The damaged U.S. embassy in Beirut, Lebanon, after a truck bombing that killed 63. The attack, on April 18, 1983, wiped out the entire Central Intelligence Agency Middle East contingent, including station chief Kenneth Haas.*

Source: Defense Visual Information Center.

Security Act, which established the NSC and the CIA. The CIA grew out of the World War II Office of Strategic Services (OSS), run by General William “Wild Bill” Donovan, who recruited from Wall Street and Ivy League schools to form an elite intelligence group based on the East Coast, with an emphasis on covert action abroad. Originally, the CIA operated only outside the United States and was prohibited from collecting intelligence about domestic activities of its citizens. Domestic intelligence was the responsibility of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Most CIA operations during its early years involved supporting anticommunist forces in foreign countries. By the 1970s, however, the CIA was working inside the United States. Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, the CIA, through Operation CHAOS, assembled mountains of intelligence, domestically, on war protestors and black nationalists. The CIA justified its actions by maintaining that such antigovernment activities must

be sponsored by a foreign state. Revelations about brutal CIA activities in Vietnam and assassination plots against several leaders, including Fidel Castro and Patrice Lumumba, also marred the agency’s reputation and indicated a need for reform.

In the post-Watergate 1970s, the U.S. Congress authorized the Church and Pike Committee to investigate the CIA; its findings led to a series of directives. In 1976, President Gerald Ford prohibited CIA assassinations of political leaders. In 1978, President Jimmy Carter signed the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, which curtailed the CIA’s ability to gather foreign intelligence within the United States. Some restrictions were lifted, however, by Executive Order No. 12333, signed by President Ronald Reagan in December 1981. This order allowed domestic electronic surveillance and physical searches in response to a growing threat of Soviet spies within U.S. borders.

Concurrently, terrorism in the Middle East was becoming a top concern. The early 1980s saw a great number of bombings, hijackings, and kidnappings. War-torn Lebanon became a center of terrorist activity. In 1983, the entire staff of a CIA station—six operatives in total—was killed, along with 57 others, when a suicide bomber targeted the U.S. embassy in Beirut. The Beirut station chief was replaced by William Buckley, who was kidnapped by Islamic militants in 1984 and died in captivity.

These terrorist incidents led CIA director William Casey to develop the Counterterrorism Center (CTC) in 1986, with the mission to “preempt, disrupt and defeat” terrorists and to coordinate the intelligence community’s counterterrorist activities. Although staffed with approximately 200 officers, the CTC was considered by many to be a paper-pushing outfit. The CIA’s clandestine operations wing, the Directorate of Operations (DO), still controlled espionage activities overseas.

## DOWNFALL DECADE

After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the CIA, long used to functioning under the Soviet threat, began to downsize operations in the Middle East, even as six new Islamic states emerged in Central Asia. By the mid-1990s, eight CIA stations in the area known as the “South Group” were closed, leaving a gaping hole in Middle Eastern intelligence, even as rumblings of fundamentalist dissent grew louder throughout the region. Robert Baer, considered one of the best CIA operatives in the Middle East, complained that “the CIA closed down in the ’90s.” Baer left the agency in 1997.

Like many other agencies, the CIA had begun to rely more heavily on technology, such as satellites, computers, and encryption devices. The lack of first-hand information from observers on the scene was compounded by an element of “careerism”—operatives were rewarded as much for analysis done at headquarters in Langley, Virginia, as for field-based operations abroad.

In 1995, the potential for gathering first-hand intelligence (human intelligence [HUMINT]) was further hampered by CIA blunders that involved a paid Guatemalan informant who was connected to the murders of two Americans. In response, CIA director John Deutch established a policy requiring the DO to approve the recruitment of sources believed to have serious criminal or abusive human rights records.

According to some estimates, as much as 60 percent of the DO’s contacts were lost as a direct result of this “scrub” policy.

The Guatemalan incident followed close on the heels of other blunders, including the Aldrich Ames spy scandal in 1994, reports of the endemic “malaise” at the Paris CIA station in the mid-1990s, and a failed attempt to assassinate Saddam Hussein of Iraq in 1995. Key resignations, including Baer, William Lofgren, former chief of the Central Eurasia Division, and David Manners, station chief in Amman, Jordan, added to the intelligence blackout in the Middle East.

By 1996, the CTC and FBI had begun to exchange high-level officers to manage counterterrorism efforts in both agencies. This marked a change from previous eras, when the distinctions between FBI and CIA were kept clear—domestic and foreign, law enforcement and national security, peacetime and wartime—now all were blurred with respect to acts of terrorism. The joint effort included a special taskforce dedicated solely to Osama bin Laden. Nevertheless, the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., proved the failure of U.S. intelligence.

Since October 2001, the CIA has undergone the most massive overhaul in its 55-year history. New military personnel have been rushed through a four-week crash training courses to become part of the CIA’s paramilitary division. Dozens of retired CIA operatives from the Clandestine Service Reserve have reactivated, including some who have taken charge of abandoned CIA stations throughout the Middle East. The CTC has more than tripled its staff since 1997. George Tenet, appointed head of the CIA in 1997, enjoys one of the strongest relationships between a CIA director and a president, Tenet briefing President Bush almost daily. In the aftermath of September 11, efforts have been made to increase cooperation between the CIA and the FBI and to improve the collection and sharing of intelligence between the agencies. On the ground in Afghanistan in 2001, the CIA was the first significant U.S. combat force to enter the country; the CIA has also fired missiles from unmanned Predator drone planes and is helping the military to identify targets.

In hindsight, it has become abundantly clear that HUMINT is required in the age of global terror networks, but such assets are slow to foster and groups such as Al Qaeda can be exceedingly difficult to penetrate. Among other imperatives, the CIA must

develop operatives fluent in local languages. Under the U.S.A. Patriot Act of 2001, the CIA can now gather intelligence from secret grand jury testimony and private records, including credit card statements and phone records, domestically, without a warrant. The agency can also monitor conversations between lawyers and clients and can more easily conduct wire-taps and searches in the name of national security. The America Civil Liberties Union and similar groups claim these new powers bring the CIA back to the days of Operation CHAOS.

*See also* WILLIAM BUCKLEY; COUNTERTERRORISM; DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, U.S.; FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION; PATRIOT ACT

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## CHEMICAL TERRORISM

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Chemical weapons are just what their name implies: devices that use chemicals to inflict death or injury. Chemical weapons can be dispensed using bombs, artillery shells, aircraft sprayers, or missiles carrying hundreds of small "bomblets" that are spread over a large area when they are ejected from canisters. Chemical weapons have typically been used in large-scale warfare by organized armies; however, the prospect of the use of chemical weapons by terrorists against civilian populations raises an entirely new problem.

### THE USE OF CHEMICAL AGENTS IN WARFARE

Like their biological counterparts, chemical weapons have an ancient history. Early records document the use of smoke and incendiary chemicals against cities during the Greek and Roman eras. The first large-scale

use of modern chemical agents in warfare took place during World War I when in 1915 the German Army launched a surprise attack with chlorine gas against French troops deployed near the city of Ypres. The Germans had placed thousands of cylinders of the gas along a front several miles long. When the wind blew toward the French trenches, the Germans opened the cylinders enabling the chlorine to be borne by that wind into the French positions. The effects were immediate and horrendous as thousands of troops choked in the deadly green cloud.

The attack touched off an immediate round of measures and countermeasures, and soon the French and their British allies were using war gases of their own against the Germans. Chemists manufactured weapons such as mustard gas (named because of its faint odor) that burns and blisters any tissue exposed to it, and phosgene, a deadly choking gas. By the time the war ended in 1918, chemical warfare had caused more than 100,000 deaths.

Most military planners regarded chemical weapons with distaste, since they did not mesh well with traditional codes of arms and warfare. After the war, the general revulsion felt by many leaders toward the use of chemical weapons was reflected in the Geneva Convention of 1925, signed by all the World War I combatants except Russia. This treaty banned the use of chemical or biological agents in warfare, but it did not ban the manufacture or possession of these weapons. Many nations continued to keep them stockpiled for possible use and to deter their use by others. It is interesting to note that some groups opposed the treaty because they regarded chemical warfare as more humane than other forms of combat using high explosives and other deadly technologies that characterized modern warfare.

Italy used chemical weapons in Ethiopia in the mid-1930s, but they were not used on a large scale in World War II, if one excludes the use by the Nazis of poison gas at extermination camps such as Auschwitz-Birkenau to murder most of the Jewish population of occupied Europe. The Japanese also conducted experiments with chemical and biological weapons on prisoners of war. Most experts believe that it was only fear of massive retaliation in kind that kept these weapons from being used on a large scale in World War II.

Egypt used chemical weapons in Yemen in the 1960s, and Iraq used them against Kurdish dissident groups in its own territory and in the Iran-Iraq War in the early 1980s, but these weapons do not appear

to have been used extensively in warfare or the suppression of dissidents since that time.

In 1993, most nations signed the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons (CWC). This represented a major advance because unlike the 1925 treaty, CWC requires nations to destroy their existing stockpiles under rigorous international control. CWC signatories are now engaged in that process.

## TERRORISTS AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS

However, treaties are signed by nation-states, not terrorist groups. In 1995, a Japanese terrorist group known as Aum Shinrikyō or “Supreme Truth” attacked the Tokyo subway system with sarin, a deadly nerve gas. Twelve persons in the subway system were killed and thousands more were panicked by the possibility they had been exposed to deadly gas fumes that interfere with normal nerve and muscle functions causing convulsions, paralysis, and death. The mechanism chosen by the terrorist group was simple. Five cult members distributed sarin in packages on five separate subway lines bound for the Kasumigaseki station. At 8 A.M., as the trains approached Kasumigaseki, cult members punctured their packages with the sharpened tip of their umbrellas, permitting the gas to escape, and left the train. Even though this attack in Japan did not kill large numbers of people, it succeeded in frightening a population and disrupting normal business. It also alerted the world to the potential of terrorist attack with chemical weapons.

Aum Shinrikyō was funded with nearly \$30 million and had access to a cadre of scientifically trained people. The group’s chemical weapons were produced in a small laboratory using commercially available equipment, but it was limited in its ability to produce the quantities of agent required to inflict damage on a large population. The synthesis of nerve gas is a complex chemical process involving a series of chemical reactions using toxic precursor chemicals that are difficult to handle. Synthesizing this compound requires highly competent chemists and unusual safety precautions. Such requirements will always pose major obstacles that a terrorist group would have to overcome. High explosives that are readily available on the international market or an improvised explosive such as the one used in the Oklahoma City bombing might seem much more practical to a typical terrorist group.

However, chemical weapons need not be manufactured by the terrorists themselves: they might also be obtained with the cooperation of rogue states. For example, the U.S. government believes that Iraq might voluntarily supply chemical weapons to terrorist groups. Nations that have signed the CWC are in the process of eliminating their chemical weapons and their stockpiles, and the incineration facilities used to destroy them are heavily guarded. While small quantities of chemical agents might be stolen or obtained through bribes, it seems unlikely that terrorists could obtain the large quantities needed to attack a large area and cause mass casualties.

In August 2002, dozens of Al Qaeda videotapes were obtained by the U.S. media, revealing, among other training tactics, images of chemical gas experiments on dogs. The videos appear to show an Al Qaeda lethal weapons experiment at a remote camp in Afghanistan.

## TERRORIST ATTACKS ON CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES

Terrorists do not have to master advanced science to employ chemicals as weapons. From the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, we learned that terrorists could use hijacked airliners as missiles to attack a large city. Terrorists could use this method to attack a large chemical plant and cause the release of toxic materials on a large scale. An accident at the Union Carbide plant in Bhopal in central India in 1984 killed 4,000 persons and devastated the vicinity. Railroad accidents involving shipments of tank cars of liquefied chlorine and other chemicals have forced the evacuation of surrounding areas. Large tanker trucks carrying toxic materials have overturned with similar consequences.

Until recently, chemical plant and railroad managers devoted most of their safety planning efforts to accident prevention. The terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, D.C., now force these industries to devote more resources to protect their systems from intentional attacks. In an attempt to deter or deflect such attacks, chemical plant complexes have improved perimeter and internal security systems and have begun to conduct more careful screening of personnel. Authorities have begun taking a closer look at security at the myriad small airports and flight schools in the United States; the same suicidal attack technique used

on September 11 could conceivably be used to attack a chemical facility near a large metropolitan area. If initial fires and explosions were not contained, they could spread rapidly through the facility and cause catastrophic releases of toxic material.

In the absence of terrorist threats, traditional measures of industrial efficiency usually lead industries to build large plants to obtain economies of scale. Such plants are usually located near population centers that can provide the thousands of employees needed to operate them. The September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States may force planners and risk managers to reconsider the benefits of scale and location in light of the potential costs. An insurer, for example, may be reluctant to provide liability coverage to a large chemical facility near a metropolitan area if the probability of a major release of toxic material must be recalculated to take a possible terrorist attack into account.

Water supplies would be difficult to attack at their sources because the immense volumes of water in reservoirs would dilute a relatively small quantity of agent to the point that it was almost undetectable. (Most water supplies already contain minute quantities of materials that would be toxic at higher concentrations.) Underground aquifers are not readily accessible. Smaller quantities of water such as supplies contained in rooftop water tanks on many large city buildings might be easier to attack and yield more immediate results, but they would not cause large numbers of casualties. On the other hand, even a small attack on water supplies would generate panic and disruption. Nevertheless, most terrorists might prefer to focus on targets that are easier to attack and whose failure would have wide repercussions, such as electric power generation stations serving metropolitan areas.

Food supplies are also subject to attack by chemical terrorists. Contamination of animal feedstocks and other grain supplies with chemical carcinogens would lead to the disruption of food supply chains and produce economic disorder and panicked reactions far out of proportion to the actual amount of damage. Food supplies would have to be tested over a long period to ensure that they were safe.

What is the probable future of chemical terrorism? It is not very likely that terrorists can make or dispense the large quantities of chemicals needed to cause mass casualties. Nor are they likely to have access to the weapon delivery platforms (artillery, aircraft, missiles) available to organized military units. But attacks with

smaller quantities of chemical agents can still cause wide disruption as evidenced by the 1995 Tokyo attacks. The anthrax letter attacks in the fall of 2001 in the eastern U.S. caused effects far out of proportion to the size of the attacks or the casualties they produced; this suggests that the release of chemical agents resulting in even a few deaths or injuries in any large metropolitan area subway system would cause a chain reaction of events that would slow and disrupt commerce and other activities, further taxing already strained roadways and key transportation nodes.

*See also* AUM SHINRIKYŌ; BIOLOGICAL TERRORISM; TOKYO SUBWAY SARIN ATTACK; WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

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## CHESIMARD, JOANNE (1947– )

aka Assata Shakur

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African American revolutionary and writer Joanne Chesimard was once the leader of the Black Liberation Army (BLA), a violent offshoot of the Black Panther Party. She has been living in Cuba since 1986 when she escaped from the prison where she was serving a sentence for murder.

Raised primarily by her grandparents in North Carolina, Chesimard moved to Queens, New York, when she was a teenager to live with her mother and stepfather. As a young adult, Chesimard developed strong political convictions that led to her participation in the black liberation movement and eventually to her membership in the Black Panther Party in 1970. Around that time, she assumed the name Assata Shakur.

Between 1971 and 1973, Chesimard's involvement with the BLA became widely known, as did the various

crimes, such as robberies, committed in order to fund their organization. Chesimard ran into much more serious trouble with the law on May 2, 1973. While driving on the New Jersey Turnpike with two friends, Malik Zayad Shakur and Sundiata Acoli, Chesimard was stopped by white state troopers, supposedly for a shattered headlight. From this point onward, exactly how the events unfolded is still debated; the outcome was that Malik Zayad Shakur and trooper Werner Foerster were killed with Foerster's gun. Trooper James Harper, Acoli, and Chesimard were all wounded. The state maintains that Chesimard either fired the gun from point-blank range at Foerster or she was an accomplice to the shooting; defenders of Chesimard claim the trooper was killed accidentally by his partner. Chesimard was convicted of murder and sentenced to life in prison.

With the help of four friends who took a prison guard hostage, she managed to escape from the Edna Mahan Correctional Facility for Women on November 2, 1979. Chesimard now resides in Cuba, where she has been granted political asylum. There have been several efforts to have Chesimard extradited back into the United States to serve her full sentence.

*See also* BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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## **CHUKAKU-HA**

**aka Middle Core Faction, Nucleus Faction**

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Chukaku-ha is a radical Japanese leftist terrorist group best known for its 30-year struggle against the Narita Airport project. The group is currently believed to have about 3,500 members, of which several hundred form the active terrorist core.

Chukaku-ha was born out of the leftist student movement of 1960s Japan. From the start, Japan's student radicals focused their opposition on two issues:

the perceived imperialism of Japan's government and the close relations between Japan and the United States, particularly the continued U.S. military presence in Japan. The tendency of hard-line elements within Japan's radical groups to split off and form separate groups because of ideological disputes led to increasing radicalism and created bitter rivalries. The Chukaku-ha was typical; it began in the mid-1960s as the armed wing of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League and spawned two splinter groups of its own during that turbulent decade.

Chukaku-ha participated in many demonstrations in support of various causes during the 1960s, displaying a tendency toward violence as early as 1969, when members are alleged to have killed a member of a rival student group. The organization did not find a perfect cause until the early 1970s, however, when members began to participate in demonstrations against the Narita Airport project. In 1966, the Japanese government announced the airport project without consulting or even informing the 200 farming families who would be displaced. The farmers' plight attracted substantial public sympathy and led to widespread protests, with Chukaku-ha eventually moving into the forefront of the anti-Narita struggle. In 1973, the group helped erect 50-ft. steel towers next to the airport runway, thus preventing planes from taking off.

In May 1977, riots broke out at an anti-Narita protest; four people died, three policemen and a bystander. In March 1978, a week before the airport's long-delayed opening, 14 Chukaku-ha members broke into the airport's control tower; two reached the control room, where they took a sledgehammer to the equipment, delaying the opening for several months. Protests have continued to cripple the facility, and 36 years later, the airport is much smaller than originally planned.

During the mid-1980s, Chukaku-ha focused its attention on opposing the proposed privatization of Japan's national rail company. During 1985 and 1986, it carried out dozens of punishment beatings of several rail executives and of union members who supported privatization; several died from their injuries. Chukaku-ha is thought to be responsible for more than 80 killings since its founding. On November 29, 1985, Chukaku-ha sabotaged two key information transmitters that controlled train scheduling and ticket ordering; millions of commuters were affected. Also in 1985, the group began experimenting with homemade rockets, launching the



short-range and ineffective missiles at a U.S. Army base on the island of Okinawa. In 1986, the group made a similar attack during the G7 trade summit; at that time, experts estimated that the missiles had a two-mile range. In the G7 incident and several similar attacks, however, the aim appears to have been property damage rather than casualties.

Since 1986, Chukahu-ha has confined its activities mostly to protests, propaganda, and threats, while directing its violence toward members of rival groups. Chukaku-ha is still an active political force within Japan, however, and concerns about the group's continued terrorist capabilities led to a police crackdown and increased security during the March 2000 G8 summit.

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**CIA. See CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY.**

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### CICIPPIO, JOSEPH (1932– )

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Joseph Cicippio was one of the last U.S. hostages to be released by the militant Islamic group that had taken him captive in Lebanon.

When he was abducted in 1986, Cicippio was the acting comptroller of the American University in Beirut. Muslim extremist groups had already abducted a handful of American University professors and staff. Because of the increasing danger to all Westerners in Beirut, Cicippio had not ventured outside of the

campus for months. On the morning of September 12, gunmen, in well-orchestrated moves, grabbed Cicippio just outside the university building where he lived. Cicippio recalls that his kidnappers, posing as students, called out to him by name before taking him. His broken glasses and traces of his blood were the only evidence of his abduction.

Little was heard about Cicippio until August 1989, when a group of Shiite Muslim extremists called the Revolutionary Justice Organization announced that he was to be executed in retaliation for the arrest of Sheik Abdul Karim Obeid. But instead of being executed, Cicippio spent the next five years in captivity, tethered by a three-foot chain.

Many initiatives for freeing the hostages converged in late 1991. The militants released Thomas Sutherland and Terry Waite on November 19, and on November 20, Abbas Musawi, a Hezbollah leader, announced that the fate of the remaining American hostages was no longer tied to the Arabs held by Israel, thus removing a political obstacle to freeing the hostages. Iran, the principal sponsor of many of the radical Shiite groups, was using its influence to free the hostages, in hopes of eliminating the U.S. trade sanctions that were strangling its economy. Meanwhile, Giandomenico Picco, the special Middle East envoy of the U.N. Secretary General, was also nearing success in his negotiations with the Syrian government.

The Revolutionary Justice Organization released Cicippio on December 2, 1991, after 1,908 days of captivity. He was reunited with his Lebanese-born wife, Elham, in Damascus, Syria. U.S. military physicians found that Cicippio was in fair health, the conditions in which he was kept would affect him for life. He suffered occasional dizziness from a blow that had left him both unconscious and with a dent in his skull, as well as permanent frostbite in his fingers from two winters spent on a partly enclosed balcony.

Cicippio returned to the United States with no job and little money. Their life savings had been depleted when his wife paid ransom to conmen. Cicippio and fellow hostage David Jacobsen sued Iran for \$600 million in U.S. courts. The civil suit included claims of kidnapping, physical abuse, false imprisonment, inhumane medical treatment, loss of job opportunities, and pain and suffering, as well as a claim that Iran kept the Western hostages as leverage to free billions of dollars in assets frozen by the United States—Cicippio and Jacobsen deemed

Iran's actions "commercial terrorism." Their case was dismissed in July 1994, on the grounds that United States lacked jurisdiction.

In 1998, in a separate case, a U.S. judge ordered Iran to pay \$65 million in damages to Cicippio and his wife, as well as fellow hostages David Jacobsen and Frank Reed.

*See also* TERRY ANDERSON; HEZBOLLAH; THOMAS SUTHERLAND; ALANN STEEN; TERRY WAITE

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**CIRA. See CONTINUITY IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY.**

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## **CONTINUITY IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY**

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A Northern Irish terrorist organization founded in the mid-1980s, Continuity Irish Republican Army (Continuity IRA, or CIRA) emerged as the armed wing of Republican Sinn Féin in 1996.

For more than 30 years, Northern Ireland has endured an armed conflict between the province's Roman Catholics (also called republicans or nationalists), who want Northern Ireland to become part of the Republic of Ireland, and the province's Protestants (also called loyalists or unionists), who want it to remain a part of the United Kingdom. Armed paramilitary groups from both communities use violence to achieve their ends; the most prominent of these groups on the republican side is the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Originally formed in 1919, the IRA receded somewhat after Ireland's withdrawal from the British Commonwealth in 1949, but it was revived in 1969 when it began a terrorist campaign intended to force Britain to withdraw from Northern Ireland.

The IRA maintained a political party called Sinn Féin. Sinn Féin and the IRA refused to recognize

the governments of either Northern Ireland or the Republic of Ireland as legitimate, a position stemming from ideological conflicts over the 1920 partition of Ireland. Although Sinn Féin sometimes fielded candidates in elections, if elected, they refused to serve. Initially, the revitalized IRA took the same position, and Sinn Féin's role in the conflict was very limited.

In the mid-1980s, following the hunger strikes of 1981, IRA leaders began to think that greater political involvement might aid, not hinder, their struggle. At a 1986 meeting of IRA leaders, a proposal that the IRA recognize the government of the Republic of Ireland was put forth; such recognition would allow elected Sinn Féin candidates to take office in the Dáil, the Republic's legislature.

A hard-line faction of Sinn Féin membership split with the IRA over this deviation from traditional republicanism; the splinter group formed a political party, Republican Sinn Féin, which would adhere to the old abstentionism. During the next few years, Republican Sinn Féin gathered arms and recruits, calling its armed wing the Continuity IRA, or CIRA; however, CIRA remained inactive. The leaders of Republican Sinn Féin were allegedly threatened with death should they attempt to mount an armed campaign separate from the Provisional IRA. In late 1994, the movement toward political involvement by the Provisionals had borne fruit; the IRA called a cease-fire and Sinn Féin leaders entered secret peace negotiations with the mainstream nationalist parties and the British government.

By 1996, negotiations had stalled and dissatisfaction was growing within the Republican community, providing a climate in which CIRA could emerge. On July 13, 1996, CIRA made its first attack, detonating a 250-pound car bomb outside a hotel in County Fermanagh. It followed with two more bombings in the fall of 1996. By then, the IRA had broken its cease-fire with the Canary Wharf Bombing in London, and CIRA activity declined. As the IRA prepared to renew its cease-fire in the summer of 1997, CIRA escalated its attacks, planting bombs at government offices, police stations, and hotels. Most recently, CIRA is believed to be responsible for a bomb planted outside of BBC offices in London on March 4, 2001. (Some sources attribute this attack to a different splinter group, the Real IRA.) No one has been killed by the 17 bombings attributed to CIRA, although dozens have been injured and millions of dollars of damage has been done to property.

CIRA is opposed to the 1998 Good Friday Accords, Northern Ireland's peace plan. CIRA is the only Republican paramilitary organization that has not declared a cease-fire in response to the accords; it is believed that several Real IRA members may have joined CIRA following 1998's cease-fire. Although its numbers are small—estimated at about 30 members—it has an unknown amount of IRA weaponry seized from arms dumps and remains a significant threat.

*See also* CANARY WHARF BOMBING; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; REAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY

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## COPELAND, DAVID (1976– )

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David Copeland is a British neo-Nazi who orchestrated a series of nail bombings in London during the summer of 1999.

Born on May 15, 1976, Copeland grew up in Yately, Hampshire, the second son of middle-class parents. An intelligent youth, he was somewhat shy and withdrawn, and of markedly slight build, a combination that made him the object of much bullying in school. He has stated that he fantasized continually about taking violent revenge on his tormentors from age 12; some observers have suggested that his obsession with domination and violence led him to develop an interest in fascism. Whatever the case, from his teens Copeland was fascinated with Nazism and other right-wing and racist causes. He believed in the superiority of the white race over all others and nurtured a particular, intense loathing for homosexuals.

Although he did well enough in school to go on to higher education, Copeland took a job with the London

Underground. He also joined the British National Party and the National Socialist Party, two extremely right-wing groups. When he first moved from belief to action is unknown.

On April 17, 1999, Copeland planted a bomb on a street in Brixton, a mostly Afro-Caribbean neighborhood in London. The device was simple; Copeland had to start the timer before transporting the bomb, placing himself at great risk. The sports bag containing the charge was packed with nails, bolts, and other shards of metal to spread devastating shrapnel. The explosion injured 40 people.

A week later, Copeland planted a second, similar device in Brick Lane in a largely Pakistani and Indian immigrant neighborhood. An alert passerby noticed the suspicious bag and placed it in the trunk of his car to transport it to a police station. It exploded while inside the car, injuring 10 people.

Copeland's third and most devastating attack came on April 29. This time, instead of leaving the device in an open area, Copeland entered a gay bar, ordered a drink, and left after a few minutes. Acting on a tip, police had warned area bars of a possible attack, and several patrons noticed the suspicious gym bag. They had just gathered around to examine the bag when it exploded. Three people were killed and 79 were injured.

The widespread use of closed-circuit television cameras in England had allowed authorities to pick out the bomber from the crowd in the Brixton and Brick Lane incidents. Closed-circuit pictures released by the police resulted in a tip from one of Copeland's coworkers the very afternoon of the third bombing, and he was arrested the next day. When caught, Copeland confessed immediately, stating that his motive had been to spark a race war in England. Tried the following spring, he pleaded guilty of manslaughter with diminished capacity (claiming he was subject to paranoid fantasies and delusions), but the jury convicted him of murder. He is now serving three life sentences for murder in Broadmoor psychiatric hospital.

*See also* BOMBINGS AND BOMB SCARES; FREELANCE TERRORISM

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## CORONADO, RODNEY (1966– )

aka Jim Perez, Martin Rubio

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Rodney Coronado, a member of the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), was the first radical animal rights activist to serve time in a federal prison for his actions against animal exploitation in the United States. In 1995, he was sentenced to 57 months in prison for his involvement in ALF’s five-state antifur campaign during the early 1990s.

Coronado became involved in animal rights early in life, claiming that a documentary film on the slaughter of harp seals converted him into an activist at age 12. By 18, he had joined the Sea Shepard Conservation Society, an antiwhaling direct-action organization founded by Paul Watson in 1977. Watson’s goal was to inflict economic damage on whaling and other marine industries, by using his boat, the *Sea Shepard*, to disrupt whaling activities and even ram whaling boats at sea. Coronado was an engineer on the *Sea Shepard*. In November 1986, he helped sabotage a whaling station in Reykjavik, Iceland, and sink two of Iceland’s four whaling ships, causing damage estimated at \$2.7 million. This action, along with his role in vandalizing nine fur salons in Vancouver, earned Coronado a reputation in the animal rights community. As early as 1987, the FBI and Department of Justice had identified him as a threat.

By 1990, Coronado had become involved with the Coalition Against Fur Farms (CAFF). For nine months, he worked undercover in a fur-ranching community in Montana to gather information about industry practices. Over the next two years, Coronado’s findings were used to carry out Operation Bite Back—arson, destruction of property, burglary, vandalism, and theft used to disrupt the fur-farming industry. In the early 1990s, ALF sabotaged fur farms

and fur-animal research facilities at universities in Oregon, Washington, Utah, and Michigan and brought operations at the Malecky Mink Ranch in Yamhill, Oregon, and the Northwest Fur Farm Food Co-op in Edmonds, Washington, to what appears to be a permanent end. Although no one was injured, these acts caused several million dollars in damages. Federal investigators later linked Coronado to the site of each of these actions.

Further investigations showed that Coronado was a key organizer of each of these ALF initiatives, including an aborted proposal to free the “Silver Spring Monkeys” from Tulane University in 1990. During a search of Coronado’s storage locker in Talent, Oregon, investigators discovered plans to target two Montana fur farms, as well as proof that he had stolen a historical artifact—a notebook of one of Custer’s soldiers—from the Little Bighorn National Park.

In July 1993, a federal grand jury in western Michigan indicted Coronado for his part in the ALF raid on the Michigan State University’s Experimental Fur Farm. Coronado, who had gone into hiding after Operation Bite Back, was captured in November 1994, on the Pasqua Pueblo Indian reservation in Arizona, where he lived with his tribe, the Yaqui. On March 3, 1995, Coronado pleaded guilty to aiding and abetting arson and to one count of theft of U.S. government property. He served almost four years in prison and then moved to Eugene, Oregon. Although he has been prohibited from further association with the ALF, Coronado has continued to publish his ideas in the *Earth First! Journal* and the pro-ALF magazine, *No Compromise*.

*See also* ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT; ANIMAL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

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## COUNTERTERRORISM

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Counterterrorism is the use of personnel and resources to preempt, disrupt, or destroy capabilities of

terrorists and their support networks. Counterterrorism is inherently an offensive, as opposed to defensive, approach to the threat, involving diplomacy, intelligence operations, law enforcement, military operations, and counterterrorism training.

## DIPLOMACY

The diplomatic dimension of counterterrorism traditionally is associated with foreign relations and international terrorism, but it is also applicable when fighting domestic terrorism. Diplomacy is the art of persuading others to do things that serve mutual interests. The diplomatic component of counterterrorism encompasses activities such as persuading Lebanon to close down terrorist training camps, securing Pakistan's permission to arrest and render Ramzi Ahmed Yousef to U.S. authorities, or the FBI sharing information with local police to prevent a terrorist attack. The use of diplomacy involves reaching international consensus on how to handle issues ranging from aviation security to tagging explosives to imposing sanctions on state sponsors. Most important, it involves developing and implementing policy responses to terrorism or the threat of it.

Diplomacy has been used more frequently and with more success on the international front. Domestically, it is another story. Interactions between federal, state, and local officials can be just as complicated and sensitive as any operation conducted overseas. Proper coordination among the different law enforcement agencies can play a critical role in whether a prosecutable case against a terrorist can be built. Law enforcement officials across the United States frequently complain that federal officials, particularly the FBI, work in a vacuum, ignore local police, and refuse to share information. The newly established cabinet-level Homeland Security department mandates that the FBI and CIA share information with each other and with the department itself; it is hoped that this top-level coordination will translate into better interdepartment cooperation at all levels.

Finding and arresting terrorists outside the United States is a significant undertaking. It requires the permission of foreign governments and coordination among a variety of agencies. The arrest of the mastermind of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, is a case in point. The U.S. government first learned of his whereabouts thanks to an informant

who walked into the U.S. Embassy in Pakistan and told U.S. diplomats where Yousef was staying. Elements of several U.S. government agencies were involved in vetting the information provided by the source and putting in place an operation to apprehend Yousef. In addition, the United States asked for and received the full assistance of the government of Pakistan to arrest and remove Yousef from Pakistan. This type of coordination and cooperation is characteristic of what happens when things go well. But these events do not happen of their own accord; it takes preparation and often years of work to put the mechanisms in place. Securing cooperation is the nuts and bolts of diplomacy.

## INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

Accurate intelligence also is a critical element in an effective counterterrorism policy. Intelligence, as a tool of counterterrorism, has several dimensions—field operations, covert action, technical collection, and analysis. In field operations the objective of intelligence is to identify the members of terrorist groups, learn how they get their money, locate where they do their training and operational planning, and ultimately obtain access to the decision makers. This kind of information is essential for mounting operations to disrupt or preempt terrorist attacks. Obtaining such intelligence, however, is a daunting task.

Another facet of intelligence activities, covert action, is similar to diplomacy only done in secret. Covert action is the use of information and/or disinformation to attack and weaken the opponent. The ultimate goal of such efforts is to help create an environment that supports the overall counterterrorism policy. For example, when employed against a terrorist group covert action could encompass planting stories in the media that are designed to undermine support for that group and/or build support within a country for taking action against the terrorists.

The technical dimension of intelligence activities includes efforts to intercept or monitor all communications by terrorists. This includes actions such as an old-fashioned wiretap to penetration of a terrorist computer. Technical intelligence activities also can be employed to disrupt terrorist communications or interfere with the transfer of financial resources.

Intelligence analysis plays an important role in identifying the structure and plans of terrorists. After field operatives gather raw data, someone has to make

sense of it. A good analyst is a puzzle solver who integrates human intelligence with imagery and signal intercepts to create a picture of reality. The process is the same whether the targets are Hezbollah guerrillas in Lebanon or domestic terrorists.

Diplomacy and intelligence can be quite effective when used in tandem, as illustrated by the *Tiny Star* incident. *Tiny Star* was a ship used by Libya in planning and carrying out a sea-borne attack against Israel in 1990. After learning the details of the operation through intelligence methods, the U.S. government dispatched briefing teams to convince skeptical allies in Western Europe that Libya was responsible.

## LAW ENFORCEMENT

Arresting, prosecuting, and incarcerating terrorists have occupied center stage for U.S. counterterrorism efforts during the 1990s. The FBI, working in tandem with the State Department and the CIA, in 1996 apprehended and returned to the United States Mir Amal Kansi, the man responsible for murdering and wounding CIA employees on their way to work in McLean, Virginia. In 1995, the U.S. government apprehended the mastermind of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, who was tried and convicted in 1997 and sentenced in 1998. In addition, Sheik Abdul Rahman was convicted as part of a conspiracy to commit a series of terrorist acts in the New York City area.

Law enforcement offers several advantages as counterterrorism policy and as a tool. Arresting and trying terrorists send the message that people who attack the United States will be caught and punished. Second, it provides a clear demonstration of what separates a civilized government from terrorists. When terrorists are afforded the right of due process, the government prosecuting the case is making a powerful symbolic statement about protecting its citizens and holding the terrorists accountable for their actions.

Despite its advantages as an element of counterterrorism policy, law enforcement suffers from critical flaws that hamper its effectiveness. Internationally, there is the challenge of collecting evidence and in a way that will permit it to be entered into the U.S. judicial system. Ramzi Ahmed Yousef's lawyers went to great lengths to discredit the evidence gathered by Philippine police bomb techs, for example—they ultimately failed. There also have been several instances

where intelligence identifies suspects and terrorist infrastructure but the information is not sufficient for an arrest and a criminal case. In the mid-1990s, for instance, Sudanese officials allegedly offered to deliver Osama bin Laden into the hands of the United States, but the offer was declined because the evidence in U.S. hands was not adequate for a successful prosecution. Knowing someone is a terrorist is quite different from proving someone is a terrorist.

Domestically, law enforcement faces significant handicaps. Federal and local law enforcement must surmount major hurdles before opening an investigation on groups, be they neo-Nazis or Muslim extremists, even if they are actually planning a terrorist operation. The United States has traditionally lacked a domestic capability for gathering and collating intelligence and redistributing it to law enforcement officials nationwide. It is hoped that post-September 11 reforms will improve the situation, but with more than 87,000 police jurisdictions throughout the United States, it is a monumental task.

## MILITARY OPERATIONS

The military component generally is what people think of when someone says, "counterterrorism." The term conjures up images of black-clad special operations forces fast roping from a helicopter to launch an assault in the dead of night. The 1972 Munich Olympics taught the world that police and military teams required specialized training to confront effectively a terrorist attack. The Germans' lack of preparation to manage the crisis resulted in the deaths of all Israeli hostages. In the wake of that event, the United States and Europe embarked on an extensive effort to develop counterterrorism strike forces.

While military operations have a role to play in combating terrorism, the reality is that there are few opportunities where military force can be used. Within the United States, this mission falls to local police and the FBI. U.S. military forces are proscribed from conducting domestic operations except in very special, highly restrictive situations. Outside the United States, the military has the mission but rarely gets the chance to operate. The biggest obstacle is that most terrorists lack the training facilities, buildings, vehicles, or aircraft that offer viable targets for a military operation. The terrorist infrastructure in Afghanistan and Lebanon is atypical. If targets do exist, there is the more difficult challenge of securing

basing rights and permission to launch operations inside a foreign country. The 2001 war in Afghanistan demonstrated that discernable terrorist targets (e.g., in the form of terror training camps) can be effectively destroyed through military operations.

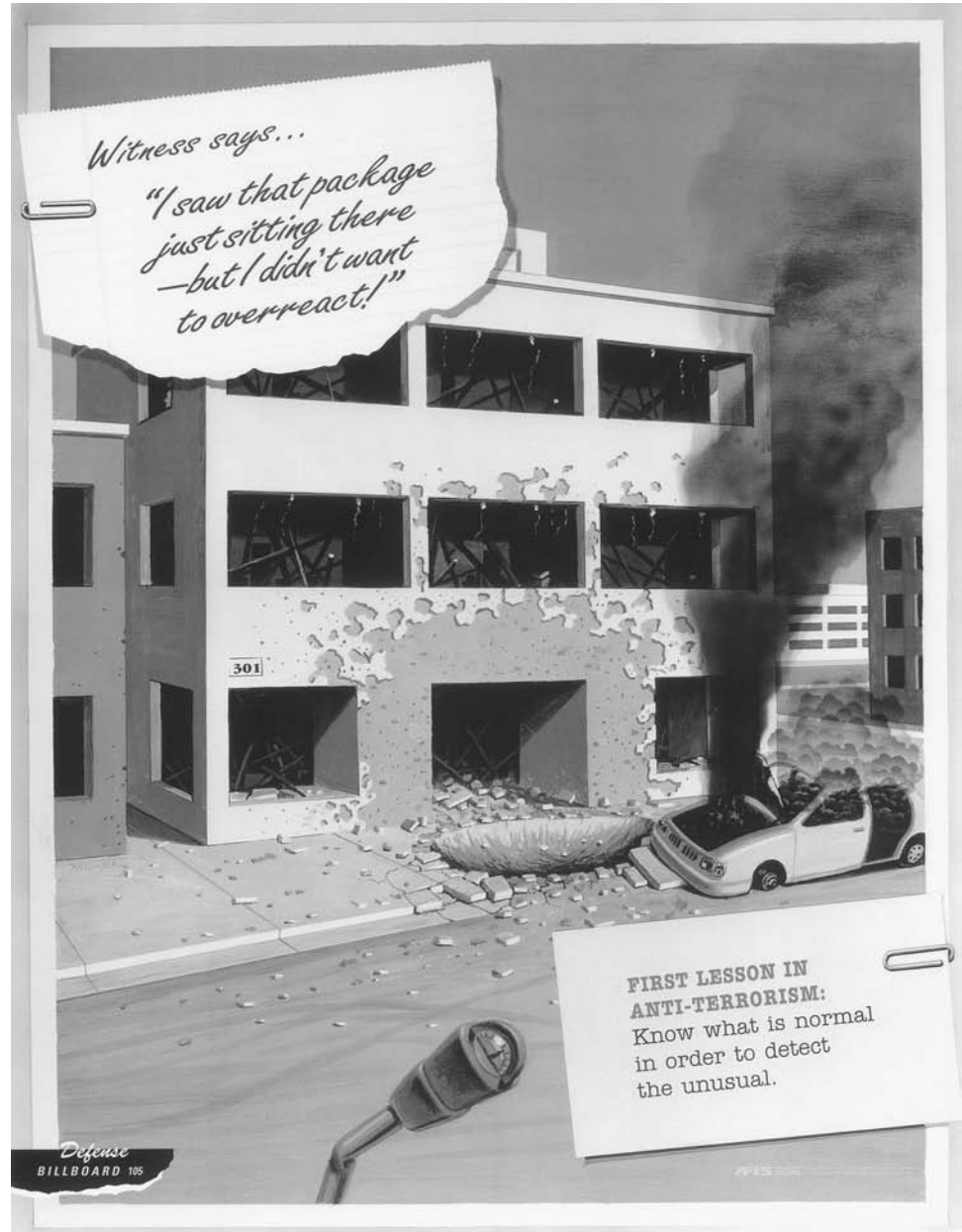
## TRAINING

The least understood and most important counterterrorism resource is training. Following the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut in 1983 and 1984, the U.S. Congress enacted the Diplomatic Security Act of 1985. Besides setting up a formal Diplomatic Security Service and providing funds to solidify U.S. facilities overseas, the law established the Anti-Terrorism Assistance Training Program (ATAP). ATAP provides a proactive capability that extends U.S. force by training foreign police and senior government officials with the skills to investigate and deter terrorism. Police are trained in SWAT (special weapons and tactics), major case management, post-blast investigation, and crisis management.

Measuring the effectiveness of such efforts is difficult, but it is worth noting the apparent progress that has been achieved since the debacle by the Germans at the 1972 Olympics. In 1992, for example, Singapore authorities that had been trained by Israel and the United States stormed a hijacked airliner, killed the hijackers, and rescued all passengers alive. The Peruvians enjoyed similar success in taking down Tupac Amaru guerrillas in 1997 who had taken control

of the residence of the Japanese ambassador. The June 2002 rescue of two Americans and one Filipino, kidnapped by Filipino terrorist group Abu Sayyaf more than a year earlier, did not turn out as well. Two of the hostages were killed in a shoot-out between the U.S.-trained Filipino troops and the kidnapers; the third hostage was rescued successfully.

Counterterrorism is and should be a dynamic enterprise. The threat posed by terrorists will continue to evolve and will require new and creative



A billboard on antiterrorism created by the American Forces Information Service, the principal internal information organization within the Department of Defense

Source: Defense Visual Information Center.

responses by governments at all levels. Regardless of the response, the elements of diplomacy, intelligence, law enforcement, military operations, and training will continue to be employed in a variety of manners to attack individuals and groups engaged in terrorism.

*See also* OSAMA BIN LADEN; CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY; FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION; GRENZSCHUTZGRUPPE 9; MUNICH OLYMPICS MASSACRE; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS; RAMZI AHMED YOUSEF

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## THE COVENANT, THE SWORD, AND THE ARM OF THE LORD

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The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA) was started in Arkansas as a small fundamentalist Christian group called Zarephath-Horeb, meaning “refuge and divine inspiration,” by James Ellison in 1971. Ellison eventually adopted Christian Identity, a race-based theology that claims whites are the only true descendants of God, Jews are descended from Satan, and all other races are descended from animals. The group adopted an antigovernment stance and changed its name to symbolize its paramilitary function.

Although members sold weapons and hate literature and engaged in some criminal activity, the group crossed the line into terrorism in 1983 after Gordon Kahl, a North Dakota farmer and member of the Posse Comitatus, refused to pay his taxes. After shooting and killing two federal marshals, Kahl was killed in a shootout with the authorities, making him a martyr for

the extreme right. As revenge for his death, the CSA declared war on what it called the Zionist occupation government, or ZOG.

As part of its declaration of war, members planned to assassinate government officials, including a judge, an FBI agent, and federal prosecutor Asa Hutchison. A car wreck on the way to a target's house, however, was taken as a sign from God that the plan was not ready. CSA's crimes included setting fires to an Arkansas church with a largely homosexual congregation and a Jewish center, and bombing a natural gas pipeline. The day after the 1983 pipeline bombing, however, a CSA member, Richard Wayne Snell, killed the owner of a pawnshop, mistakenly believing he was Jewish. In 1984, Snell killed a black Arkansas state trooper, Louis Bryant, and was captured by authorities.

The CSA church, located on a 224-acre compound in rural Arkansas, eventually became a survivalist paramilitary training camp for other white supremacist groups such as the Aryan Nations and the Order. It was there that authorities believed David Tate, a member of the Order, was heading after gunning down a Missouri state trooper, Jimmie Linegar. On April 19, 1985, more than 200 FBI agents and other police surrounded the compound. The resulting standoff, the first of its kind in which federal authorities were up against such a well-equipped militia group, lasted four days and was resolved peacefully.

Tate was eventually located and arrested in Forsyth, Missouri. He had never made it to the compound but four other members of the Order—two wanted on federal racketeering charges and two arrested on federal firearms violations—were there and surrendered at the same time as Ellison. Subsequent searches of the compound yielded hundreds of weapons and explosives, including the remnants of a minefield, caches of gold and neo-Nazi literature, and a 30-gallon barrel of cyanide. Ellison and his second-in-command, Kerry Noble, were sentenced in 1985 to prison on racketeering and illegal weapons charges.

Snell was executed on April 19, 1995—12 hours after a bomb exploded in the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 people. Members of the CSA have admitted that they had had a plan—which was later abandoned—to blow up that building. They and others have suggested that Snell may have been involved in the planning of the blast from his prison cell, but no conspiracy has been brought to light.



*See also* APRIL 19; JAMES ELLISON; OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING; THE ORDER; PATRIOT MOVEMENT; RICHARD WAYNE SNELL; WACO

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**CSA. See COVENANT, THE SWORD, AND THE ARM OF THE LORD.**

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## CYBERTERRORISM

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The term *cyberterrorism* refers to the convergence of terrorism and cyberspace—the politically motivated sabotage of information systems. Since the 1990s, incidents of hacking, cybercrime, and highly destructive computer viruses have been widespread, but many believe that true cyberterrorism remains more of a threat, albeit a possibly imminent one, than a reality.

Barry Collin, of the Institute for Security and Intelligence in California, coined the term *cyberterrorism* in the 1980s. In a 1997 paper, Collin described possible cyberterror scenarios. In one, a cyberterrorist hacks into the computer system of a cereal manufacturer and raises the level of iron in each box, causing innumerable children to get sick and die. In another scenario, cyberterrorists destabilize an entire country by attacking financial institutions and stock exchanges en masse.

Collin's third scenario, in which a cyberterrorist hacks into an air traffic control system, came close to reality when, in 1997, a teenager gained access to a phone switch at a small Massachusetts airport and accidentally cut all communication for the control tower for several hours. Alarming as it was, the incident was seen more as hacking gone awry than cyberterror because the teenager lacked political motivation. To date, this has often been the case—hackers with the tools to disable key government or corporate computer systems lack the political motivation to do so; terrorists

motivated to crumble information systems to cause chaos lack the requisite computer skills.

Still, many point to destructive viruses and worms, denial-of-service attacks, as the seedlings for larger events. In 1999, the Melissa virus, an e-mail virus named after a Florida stripper, affected more than a million computers and caused at least \$80 million in damages. (Melissa's creator, David Smith, pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 20 months in prison in May 2002.) In May 2000, the lovebug virus (aka the ILOVEYOU virus) affected even the CIA and British Parliament and caused more than \$10 billion in damages worldwide. The Nimda virus, discovered in 2001, has caused damages estimated at \$500 million and has hobbled entire businesses for days at a time.

Though viruses still constitute a threat, a more recent form of cyberattack has been the denial-of-service attack. In February 2000, Yahoo!, CNN, eBay and other e-commerce sites were flooded by e-mail messages from attacking computers, which slowed service and blocked other users from the sites, causing an estimated \$1 billion in losses.

Other incidents, worldwide, have combined these hacking techniques with political messages. In what is believed to be the first cyberattack by terrorists against a country's computer systems, in 1998, an offshoot of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam swamped the Sri Lankan embassies with thousands of e-mails that read, "We are the Internet Black Tigers and we're doing this to disrupt your communications." In India, a group of international hackers against nuclear proliferation, called Milw0rm, hacked into the Bhabha Atomic Research Center and posted the message, "If a nuclear war does start, you will be the first to scream" transposed over a photo of an atomic mushroom cloud. Similar attacks have been perpetrated against North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) sites during the conflict in Kosovo, to protest the World Trade Organization, and, particularly after the United States accidentally bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, against U.S. government sites.

While denial-of-service attacks, e-mail bombs, Web site sit-ins, Web page takeovers, and viruses—sometimes referred to, collectively, as "hacktivism"—have not claimed lives or caused much more than nuisance and/or financial loss, many believe that these tactics could be used to complicate and magnify real-world attacks. Jeffrey A. Hunker, former senior director for

protection of critical infrastructure for the National Security Council, stated that cyberattacks could act as a “force multiplier” for a bombing or attack either by posting false information on the Internet to create panic or by sabotaging financial, emergency, or communication networks. In 1997, the Clinton administration’s Commission on Critical Infrastructure Protection concluded that electronic money transfers, the power grid, 911 services, and military command sites were also vulnerable to cyberattack. The study stated, “Our dependence on the information and communications infrastructure has created new cyber-vulnerabilities, which we are only starting to understand.”

In response to the commission’s finding, in May 1998 President Clinton issued an order to create the National Infrastructure Protection Center, to protect vital national systems, such as telecommunication networks and the power grid, and to upgrade government computer security. One of Clinton’s officials, Richard Clarke, has continued under the Bush administration to deal directly with the threat of cyberterror. He was named special adviser for cybersecurity to the president shortly after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.

Today, the U.S. government faces daily cyberassaults on its computers and Web sites. Attacks against Department of Defense computers rose from less than 1,000 in 1997 to nearly 23,000 in 1999. A series of cyberattacks on high-level businesses and the Pentagon, beginning in 1998, is believed to be linked to organized crime in Russia. Currently, American hackers are engaged in a “cyberwar” with their Chinese counterparts (which thus far has consisted of little more than defacing the other country’s Web sites). Of more concern are espionage-like hacks into sensitive information systems, such as the 1998 hack into NASA’s Jet Propulsion Laboratory, and forays into large-scale sabotage, such as the 2000 hack into one of California’s electrical transmitting stations,

believed to have been perpetrated by hackers in China.

Though CIA director John Deutch warned in 1996 of an upcoming “electronic Pearl Harbor,” little, thus far, has supported that claim. Most believe that hacking will be used as a “weapon of mass *disruption*” in conjunction with traditional terrorist attacks, while skeptics argue that cyberterror offers little to traditional terrorists, due to the lack of drama and small likelihood of significant injury or death, but also because traditional terrorist tools, such as suicide bombings, are still quite effective. According to Frank Cilluffo, of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, “Bits and bytes are never going to replace bullets and bombs.” Nevertheless, a coordinated cyberattack against certain infrastructures, such as the computers that control and coordinate airplanes or the ones that run the stock market, could cause significant havoc.

*See also* ASYMMETRICAL WARFARE

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## DELTA FORCE

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Special Forces are military units dedicated to small-scale, clandestine, unorthodox, and high-risk operations, often behind enemy lines. Delta is the U.S. Special Forces unit dedicated to counterterrorist activities and hostage rescue operations.

Created as the 1st Special Forces Operational Detachment–Delta under the command of Colonel Charles Beckwith in 1977, it was highly controversial with some military leaders who were skeptical about the need for an independent counterterrorist unit. The support of General Edward C. Meyer was critical to Delta’s creation and development. Beckwith, who had flown long-range clandestine reconnaissance missions inside South Vietnam with Delta Project, looked back to that experience when naming the unit. Beckwith used another of his earlier experiences: an exchange program with the British Special Air Services (SAS) in the early 1960s. While planning the new force, he closely followed SAS selection procedures, training methodology, and organization. For greatest flexibility, Beckwith chose an organizational structure based on modules of four-man patrols.

Delta engaged in its first operation, Operation Eagle Claw, in April 1980. The aim was to rescue U.S. embassy staff being held hostage in Tehran, Iran. The mission, conducted in cooperation with other military units including the Rangers, was a failure; the operation was aborted because of mechanical problems with helicopters. Later, a helicopter collided with a transport plane killing eight crew members and

severely burning four others. Contributing to the disaster were the lack of specialized, dedicated equipment for the mission and the lack of combined training for the disparate groups of the rescue team.

Legislators and the military subsequently reassessed and reorganized the Special Forces. In 1987, all Special Forces units were placed under a single command (U.S. Special Operations Command [USSOCOM]), under the direction of the assistant secretary of defense for special operations and low intensity conflict.

Delta is currently based at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. All members are volunteers from other branches of the armed forces. Few candidates make it through the selection process, which tests their physical and mental abilities, military skills, and performance under pressure. Thought to number no more than 2,000, the unit maintains low visibility and is averse to publicity. Training includes nighttime hostage rescue from buildings and hijacked planes. Delta maintains close relationships with foreign counterterrorist units and has trained Eastern Europe counterterrorism units.

Delta activities tend to reach the attention of the media mainly when members are killed or something goes wrong in public view. Missions have included snatching an American businessman from a Panamanian prison, taking part in the invasion of Grenada, and destroying Scud missile launchers in Iraq during the Gulf War. Delta was present with Army Rangers in Somalia when one Malaysian and 18 American soldiers were killed during a daylight raid in Mogadishu while attempting to arrest lieutenants of the warlord Aideed. More recently, Delta

has been involved in the search for Al Qaeda members in Afghanistan.

**See also** COUNTERTERRORISM; HIJACKING; HOSTAGE TAKING; OPERATION EAGLE CLAW; SPECIAL AIR SERVICE REGIMENT; SPECIAL OPERATIONS WING

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## DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

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In 1969, after a power struggle with his leader George Habash, Najib Hawatmeh left the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). He and other left-wing PFLP members split to form the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), a marginal group that has made multiple small attacks on Israeli targets.

The DFLP began as a Marxist-Leninist organization with the goal of creating an independent Palestinian state through a revolution of the masses. The group cultivated relationships with radical organizations and Communist parties in the Middle East.

The DFLP committed its most notorious act of terror in 1974, when members attacked a school in Maalot, a town in northern Israel, and killed 20 teenagers. In 1983, the group kidnapped Israeli Army sergeant Samir Assad. Press reports later delighted in reporting that a female DFLP member had caught Assad in a “honey trap,” courting him for several months until he visited her village and was taken hostage. Assad was later killed; while DFLP members declared he died during Israeli Air Force bombings at their base, Israeli Army pathologists reported that he had been murdered by his captors in cold blood. Assad’s corpse was returned to Israel eight years after he was kidnapped in return for the release of a DFLP

activist. In 1991 the group split into two groups, creating a pro-Arafat faction and Hawatmeh’s more radical faction.

The DFLP is a longtime critic of the peace process with Israel, but since Yasir Arafat signed the 1993 Oslo accords the group has positioned itself politically between Arafat’s Fatah and more radical, rejectionist groups such as Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad. Unlike fellow Palestinian guerrilla movements, including the PFLP, Ahmad Jibril’s Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–General Command and Abu Abbas’s Palestine Liberation Front, the DFLP was not listed as an active foreign terrorist group by the U.S. State Department in its most recent report on global terrorism.

In August 2001, the group resurfaced in world headlines when members claimed responsibility for an attack on a Gaza base that killed three Israeli soldiers. Israeli officials, however, cast doubt on the claim and suggested that members of Arafat’s Fatah organization were behind the raid. After the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., an Abu Dhabi television station reported receiving a call from the DFLP claiming responsibility for the massacre. DFLP leaders, however, denied any involvement and condemned the acts of terror. The United States later charged Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda operatives with responsibility for the attacks.

In February 2002, five DFLP members were killed when their car exploded in the Gaza Strip. Palestinian security officials told the press that Israeli helicopters had fired missiles at the vehicle; Israeli officials did not comment on the Gaza explosion. The press reported that pieces of Kalashnikov rifles had been found with the men’s bodies. The DFLP vowed retaliation for the deaths.

**See also** GEORGE HABASH; PALESTINE LIBERATION FRONT; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE–GENERAL COMMAND

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## DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, U.S.

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The United States Department of Justice (DOJ) is the country's primary law enforcement agency that addresses domestic terrorism and terrorist threats. Through the office of the attorney general, the DOJ is responsible for bringing terrorists to trial.

In 1968, President Lyndon Johnson signed Executive Order No. 11396; this order directed and authorized the U.S. attorney general to coordinate the law enforcement and crime prevention activities of all federal agencies. Thus, the DOJ is significantly involved in the domestic surveillance, arrest, detention, and trial of suspected terrorists. The prosecution of terrorists who have committed acts within the United States has, for the most part, been successful. In fact, prosecution is considered one of the most important and exercised tools to counter terrorism and has long played a vital role in U.S. counterterrorism policy.

Much like prosecutions for other crimes, the prosecution of terrorists has several goals. Conviction means the terrorist remains imprisoned and is thus unable to commit further attacks. Conviction can also have a deterrent effect—the threat of imprisonment keeps others from committing terrorist acts. Indictments alert terrorists at large that they are wanted; thus, they may go into hiding and curtail future terrorist activities. The general publicity surrounding a trial can also stir public support for counterterrorism initiatives and influence other governments to follow suit.

In many cases, however, these supposed deterrents and checks on action do not work. For the suicide bombers of the most recent era of terrorism, issues of conviction and deterrence are irrelevant. In many cases, the prosecutions of the “underlings” who commit terrorist acts leave the masterminds, such as Osama bin Laden, at large. For acts committed against U.S. citizens by foreign groups on foreign soil, an entirely different set of problems, most often related to arrest and surveillance procedures, presents itself. One of the primary difficulties in bringing terrorists to justice, however, lies in the tensions between law enforcement and national security. The FBI, under the auspices of the DOJ, is expected to conduct investigations and make arrests that will hold

up under appeal. This means minimizing the possibility of terrorists going free because of poorly executed procedures, for example, illegal search and seizure or failure to read Miranda rights. Meanwhile, intelligence agencies, such as the CIA, are unlikely to offer evidence that might jeopardize sources or intelligence strategies; what is uncovered in a trial is a matter of public record. Once arrests are made, prosecution becomes the highest priority for the DOJ.

Trials of terrorists have brought to light significant information about the inner workings of terrorist organizations. A recent example is the trial of Ahmed Ressam, who was found guilty of the Y2K plot to bomb Los Angeles International Airport on New Year's Eve 1999. Ressam's testimony, offered in exchange for a reduced sentence, gave an inside view of bin Laden's terrorist training camps in Afghanistan and will be used to help try other suspected terrorists, including Abu Zubaydah, bin Laden's alleged chief of operations, who was captured in Pakistan in March 2002. Similarly, the trial of the terrorists who bombed the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania made the Al Qaeda terrorist training manual public. That trial, the trials for the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, and the related conspiracy trial involving Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman were held in the New York Southern District. The prosecutor was U.S. Attorney Mary Jo White, the preeminent prosecutor of international terrorists. Before her resignation at the end of 2001, she had prosecuted 30 terrorists in six trials. The information brought out at these trials has provided a substantial part of our information about bin Laden and Al Qaeda.

In the wake of the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., Attorney General John Ashcroft stated that the DOJ “must shift its primary focus from investigating and prosecuting past crimes to identifying threats of future terrorist attacks, preventing them from happening and punishing would-be perpetrators for their plans of terror.” Within weeks, Ashcroft launched a law enforcement campaign that targeted potential suspects for as little as “spitting on the sidewalk,” modeled after former Attorney General Robert Kennedy's tactic in defeating organized crime in the 1960s. This campaign led to more than 1,200 secret arrests and detentions of noncitizens, often on minor immigration violations. By December 2001, the DOJ had levied criminal

charges against 110 individuals (60 of whom were in federal custody at the time). Likewise, the Immigration and Naturalization Service detained more than 550. Critics charge that Ashcroft's program harks back to J. Edgar Hoover's campaign against domestic terrorism and subversion in the 1950s and 1960s.

Ashcroft has taken control of the terrorism investigation from the Southern District of New York and has moved many of the responsibilities to Washington, D.C., with trials to be held in Alexandria, Virginia.

The use of military tribunals to try Al Qaeda terrorists and foreign nationals will free prosecutors of some constraints of civilian criminal courts (e.g., admission of evidence). However, Zacarias Moussaoui, the first man charged in connection with the September 11 attacks, will be tried in a criminal court in June 2003, on charges of conspiring with Al Qaeda to kill large numbers of Americans. John Walker Lindh, the so-called American Taliban, was to have been tried in August 2002. However, a plea agreement between Lindh and the U.S. government was reached in July 2002 after intense negotiations. Under the terms of the agreement, Lindh pled guilty to two charges that he aided the Taliban and carried explosives in doing so. Other counts—alleging that he had conspired to kill Americans, and had assisted terrorist organizations, including Al Qaeda—were dropped. Lindh was sentenced to serve two consecutive ten-year sentences. Richard Reid, the third Al Qaeda operative charged since September 2001, pleaded guilty to eight charges related to his attempt to blow up a transatlantic flight with explosives hidden in his shoe. Prosecutors will seek a sentence of 60 years to life at a sentencing hearing set for January 2003.

In September 2002, five U.S. citizens were arrested in a Buffalo, New York, suburb, on charges of providing material support or resources to designated foreign terrorist organizations. (A sixth man was arrested in Bahrain.) The government released the names of the men, all U.S. citizens. The accused have access to their attorneys, and the charges against them will be adjudicated in a civilian court.

Yaser Hamdi and Jose Padilla, also U.S. citizens, remained in military prison. Hamdi was being held as an "enemy combatant," while Padilla is suspected of being involved in a plot to explode a "dirty" bomb in an American city.

*See also* CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY; FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION; ZACARIAS MOUSSAOUI; PATRIOT ACT; RICHARD REID; AHMED RESSAM

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### DEV SOL. See REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT.

### DFLP. See DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE.

### DHKP/C. See REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT.

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### DIRTY BOMBS. See NUCLEAR TERRORISM.

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### DOHRN, BERNARDINE (1942– )

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Former member of the violent revolutionary organization Weatherman, Bernardine Dohrn led the "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago and was once a notorious fugitive on the FBI's most wanted list.

While in law school at the University of Chicago, Dohrn had the opportunity to work with Martin Luther King, Jr., toward alleviating the poverty in Chicago. She also worked closely with the civil rights group Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Her activism led her to become involved with an organization called Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), an activist group originally focused on promoting civil rights and ending the Vietnam War that became increasingly radical as the 1960s progressed.

After law school, Dohrn traveled around the United States to recruit members for SDS. One of SDS's largest protests occurred at Columbia University in 1968. Students had discovered that the university was secretly doing war research for the government, and they staged a riot. The police were called in to remove

the protestors, forcibly when necessary. Following this event, Dohrn was elected the interorganizational secretary for the SDS. Although she was now a national officer, Dohrn felt that she was not taking enough risks to further the movement.

Dohrn became one of the more militant members of the SDS. At the National Convention in 1969, these members banded together and broke off from the SDS to form the militant faction known as the Weatherman, later Weather Underground. Their first and most well known action was the riots known as the “Days of Rage” in the streets of Chicago. Led by Dohrn on October 8, 1969, members of the Weatherman looted downtown Chicago and engaged in a struggle with the local police force for four days. In 1970, a bomb they were manufacturing in their Greenwich Village house exploded and killed three of their members: Diana Oughton, Ted Gold, and Terry Robbins. With the FBI hot on their heels, the Weatherman went underground and disappeared. Several members, including Dohrn, were on the FBI’s “most wanted” list.

Dohrn married fellow member Billy Ayers, continued her work for the group underground, and remained one step ahead of the law for 11 years. On December 3, 1980, after having her second child and tired of hiding, she turned herself in to the authorities in Chicago. Her charges were reduced to misdemeanors and she was put on probation for three years. In the late 1990s, Dohrn was the Director of the Children and Family Justice Center at the Northwestern University School of Law.

*See also* KATHERINE BOUDIN; MAY 19 COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION; WEATHERMAN

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## DOZIER, JAMES LEE (1931– )

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U.S. Army general James Lee Dozier was kidnapped by the Italian Red Brigade in 1981; his

eventual rescue helped bring about the downfall of the brigade.

Born in Arcadia, Florida, in 1931, Dozier joined the Florida Air National Guard in 1951; his superiors recognized his potential and recommended him for West Point. He graduated in 1956, and went on to serve with the 11th Armored Cavalry Division in Vietnam, winning a Silver Star. By 1981, he had risen to the rank of brigadier general and was the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) commander for southern Europe, based in Verona, Italy.

The Red Brigade had been active in Italy since 1970 and was known internationally for its 1978 kidnapping and murder of Italian statesman and former premier Aldo Moro. In early 1981, U.S. Army intelligence had learned that the brigade might be planning a similar attack against a U.S. general in Italy. Gen. George McFadden was thought to be the most likely target because the base he commanded in southern Italy housed nuclear weapons. The threat to Dozier, whose NATO position involved more tactful diplomacy than tactical deployments, was deemed slight. As a result, Dozier did not alter his daily routines, nor was his personal security detail increased.

On December 17, 1981, four Red Brigade members disguised as repairmen gained entrance to the Dozier family apartment. After a struggle, during which Dozier was beaten unconscious, they bound Dozier and his wife and stowed the general in a trunk disguised as a refrigerator carton. Leaving Mrs. Dozier locked in a utility closet, they took Gen. Dozier to an apartment in Padua, where he would remain for 42 days.

Physically, his treatment was humane; however, his captors employed sensory deprivation techniques to disorient him and interrogated him nightly. The interrogations were aimed not only at collecting sensitive security information about U.S. military operations in Italy but also for gaining admissions that Dozier himself and the United States in general had been guilty of war crimes during the Vietnam War. Dozier revealed no secrets and refused to change his opinions and statements to suit his captors. Dozier is convinced that his discipline and persistence helped his captors to see him as a fellow human being and were instrumental in preserving his life.

The Red Brigade had intended the kidnapping to be part of a larger campaign, code named “Winter of Fire.” Initially, therefore, it did not negotiate with the

Italian government, hoping the search for the general would cause police forces to draw their personnel from other areas of operation. The brigade was successful in this, but almost all the planned attacks were disasters, resulting in the arrest of many key individuals, some of whom became police informants.

Coordinating their manhunt with the Army's intelligence-gathering operations, the Italian police slowly began to make progress. In mid-January, more than a month into Dozier's ordeal, intercepted radio transmissions and information provided by police informants led them to the Padua apartment. On the morning of January 28, 1982, Italian commandos raided the apartment, capturing six terrorists and

rescuing the general. One of the captured terrorists, Antonio Savasta, became a police informant; his revelations led to more than 200 arrests, crippling the Red Brigade.

Following his release, Dozier resumed his Army career, retiring with the rank of major general.

*See also* RED BRIGADES

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## EARTH FIRST!

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Earth First! is one of the best-known radical environmentalist groups in the United States, and is also well known for tree-spiking and tree-sitting tactics used in its campaign to save old-growth forests in the Pacific Northwest.

In 1980, David Foreman, an environmental lobbyist for the Wilderness Society, became frustrated with the ineffectiveness of “reform environmentalism” after a failed attempt to save 80 million acres of undeveloped land in U.S. national parks. That April, he and several colleagues, including activist Mike Roselle, set out for the Mexican desert and formed Earth First!, using Edward Abbey’s 1975 novel, *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, as an organizational and action blueprint. The novel tells of radical Southwestern environmentalists who burned billboards, sabotaged bulldozers, and planned to blow up dams.

Earth First! announced its presence on the environmental scene in 1981, when members stood atop the Glen Canyon Dam and unfurled a 300-foot black plastic banner down its face, giving the appearance of a deep crack, in an action dubbed the “Cracking of Glen Canyon Dam.” Two years later, working to save an old-growth forest in the Siskiyou National Forest in Oregon, Earth First! members set up a log roadblock to stop construction trucks. When that failed, Foreman acted as a human blockade and was dragged more than 100 yards by a trucker. Meanwhile, Roselle began to organize. Soon, small, regional Earth First! chapters sprang up all over the western United States. Like other, earlier environmental groups, Earth First! had no

central authority. The chapters were connected only through the *Earth First! Journal*, published in Eugene, Oregon.

Throughout the early 1980s, Earth First! engaged in protests, propaganda, and traditional civil disobedience, using the logo of a clenched fist and the slogan “no compromise in defense of Mother Earth!” Adept and media-savvy, Earth First!ers crafted pithy news-bites, such as “Save an owl, slice a logger,” and performed various stunts to keep its name in the news.

By 1984, members began pounding spikes into trees slated for logging; this dangerous tactic, known as “tree-spiking,” was intended to damage saws and sawmill equipment. In 1987, when George Anderson, a 23-year-old mill worker, was seriously injured by an 11-inch spike, some members chose to give up this technique in favor of other “monkey wrenching” tactics described in Foreman’s 1985 book, *Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching*.

Foreman’s how-to manual included instructions for “decommissioning” bulldozers, grounding helicopters, bringing down billboards; it also advocated pulling up survey stakes, blocking bulldozers, and tree-sitting as effective ways of protecting forests and wilderness from human invasion. The ultimate goal of these tactics was to target weak links in the logging industry and make logging difficult and unprofitable.

Early on, Earth First! had adopted “deep ecology” as its governing philosophy, meaning that members conceived of environmentalism in terms of entire ecosystems. As Earth First! grew, it became infused with countercultural politics and various spiritual ideas, such as paganism. Soon, the organization was rent by factionalism. In 1987, Foreman moved

away from Earth First! to form the Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy (EMETIC), which was infiltrated by the FBI. Before his arrest for conspiracy to sabotage nuclear power stations (Foreman pleaded guilty in 1991), Foreman told Earth First! cofounder Roselle that he was “working on something more radical.”

By the 1990s, other members of Earth First! were leaving as well. In 1992, British members formed the Earth Liberation Front (ELF), believing Earth First! had become too timid, too invested in becoming mainstream. However, while ELF and similar groups conducted underground “ecotage,” Earth First! used its more moderate position to become the most recognizable group in the radical environmental movement. It is still active today, with chapters throughout North America, Great Britain, and Australia.

**See also** ANIMAL RIGHTS MOVEMENT; EARTH LIBERATION FRONT; ECOTERRORISM; EVAN MECHAM ECO-TERRORIST INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY

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Members of the environmental group Earth First! demonstrate in front of the U.S. Forest Service headquarters in Laconia, New Hampshire.

Source: © Corbis.

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## EARTH LIBERATION FRONT

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In 1998, the Earth Liberation Front (ELF), an extremist environmentalist group, perpetrated one of the costliest and most sophisticated acts of “ecotage”—economic sabotage in the name of the environment—in U.S. history, thereby becoming a primary focus of the FBI.

ELF was formed in Brighton, England, in 1992, when a few members of Earth First! became frustrated with that group’s unwillingness to break the law to achieve its goals. Modeled after Britain’s Animal Liberation Front (ALF), ELF is composed of autonomous, anonymous cells that engage in direct actions to cause economic hardship to businesses and institutions that they believe are destroying the environment. Like members of ALF, the members of ELF—who call themselves “elves”—take precautions against harming animals and humans during their actions. To date, they have not physically harmed anyone.

In November 1997, a communiqué announced the presence of ELF in North America, after an attack on the Bureau of Land Management wild horse corrals in Burns, Oregon, which ELF conducted in conjunction with ALF. Most of the group’s early actions, however, were against logging activities, using “monkey wrenching” techniques, such as disabling heavy machinery used by loggers, borrowed from Earth First! The aim was to make cutting down trees unprofitable for lumber companies and, in later actions, targeted suburban sprawl,

to make building luxury homes less lucrative for construction companies.

On October 18, 1998, in Vail, Colorado, ELF carried out its largest ever action, setting fire to five buildings and four ski lifts at a resort, causing more than \$12 million in damage. The act of arson was committed against Vail Resorts, a large development company planning to expand operations into 2,000 acres of Rocky Mountain wilderness. This area is the habitat of the North American lynx, a threatened species. Mainstream environmentalists had protested the expansion since 1993, but, by 1998, clear-cutting had begun.

Craig Rosebraugh, the ELF spokesperson, later delivered an ELF statement that read, "This action is just a warning. We will be back if this greedy corporation continues to trespass into wild and unroaded areas." He later stated that the Vail arson was not an act of terrorism but "an act of love."

After Vail, some environmentalists claimed that the arson was actually a government attempt to discredit the environmental movement, especially as no members of ELF were ever arrested. Most ELF members had successfully evaded authorities, claiming the FBI "can't see them because they don't believe in elves."

In January 2001, however, Frank Ambrose, an ELF member, was arrested in Indiana for timber-spiking more than 100 trees. In February, three New York teenagers associated with ELF pleaded guilty to setting a series of fires at home construction sites that encroached on farmland in Long Island. While the federal crackdown on all forms of ecoterrorism, beginning in the late 1990s, has affected ELF, individual cells remain active, particularly in the Pacific Northwest, perpetrating more than 50 major actions, usually including arson and significant property damage, each year.

*See also* ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT; EARTH FIRST!;  
ECOTERRORISM

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## EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS

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The synchronized attacks on American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania killed 224 people, including

12 Americans stationed at the Kenya embassy, and wounded more than 4,500 innocent bystanders. The six-and-a-half-month trial that resulted from the investigation's first arrests marked the first time the United States prosecuted terrorists for crimes committed off American soil. Prior to the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., the embassy bombings trial revealed the fullest picture in a public forum of Al Qaeda, the militant Muslim organization founded by Saudi exile Osama bin Laden, and its global conspiracy to kill Americans and destroy U.S. property.

### THE ATTACKS

The coordinated embassy bombings targeted the most visible symbols of American presence in the capital cities of Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. On August 7, 1998, around 10:30 A.M., a covered pickup truck loaded with TNT and aluminum nitrate exploded near the rear entrance of the U.S. embassy in downtown Nairobi. It ripped off the back of the three-story embassy and caused tremendous structural damage to the building, which had been constructed in the 1970s to withstand an earthquake. The ruined embassy remained standing, but the seven-story office building next door, Ufundi House, collapsed into a pile of concrete rubble. One survivor would be buried for two days.

Around 10 minutes later, about 400 miles to the southeast, a refrigeration truck, packed with TNT along with oxygen and acetylene gas canisters, detonated near the front gate of the U.S. embassy in Dar es Salaam. The explosion killed five security guards and six other Tanzanians working inside the charred building. Debris was thrown as far as 600 yards from the bomb crater.

Claims of responsibility for the bombings, written in Arabic, arrived on the fax machines of news media outlets in Doha, Qatar; Dubai, United Arab Emirates; and Paris, France. They stated that the bombings were intended to force the "evacuation of all American forces, including civilians, from the land of the Muslims in general, and the Arabian Peninsula in particular." Investigators would later learn that the Islamic extremists behind the blasts deliberately chose to strike in the morning when many observant Muslims would be en route to Friday prayers at a mosque and therefore out of harm's way.

The embassy attacks came on the eighth anniversary of U.S. president George H. W. Bush's announcement of the deployment of American troops to defend Saudi Arabia, just five days after Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's Army had invaded neighboring Kuwait in August 1990.

Within a week of the attacks, the FBI, working with Kenyan police, had arrested two suspected Nairobi embassy bombers, both with bin Laden connections. Only two months earlier, the U.S. attorney for the southern district of New York, Mary Jo White, had obtained a sealed terrorism conspiracy indictment against bin Laden, who had plainly declared war on the United States in a pair of *fatwas*, or religious decrees, that asked followers to target American military personnel and civilians.

The four men prosecuted included the pair of Kenya embassy bombers quickly arrested in August 1998—Mohamed Rashed al-'Owhali, a Saudi, and Mohamed Sadeek Odeh, a Jordanian of Palestinian heritage—plus one Tanzania embassy bomber, Khalfan Khamis Mohamed, from Tanzania, arrested 10 months later in Cape Town, South Africa. When the bombings occurred, the last defendant, Lebanese-born Wadih el-Hage, was living in the United States, where he was a naturalized citizen. El-Hage had the longest association with bin Laden and had come under surveillance overseas. But nearly a year before the bombings, el-Hage repeatedly lied before the New York grand jury investigating Al Qaeda and protected the conspiracy.

All four defendants were shown to have ties to bin Laden. Al-'Owhali and K. K. Mohamed trained in his military camps inside Afghanistan in the 1990s, learning how to use guns and explosives and absorbing bin Laden's brand of extreme Islamic ideology. Al-'Owhali fought alongside the Taliban and asked for a mission in a personal audience with bin Laden, but K. K. Mohamed never met the leader or heard him speak.

Odeh, an admitted Al Qaeda soldier, engaged in operations for Al Qaeda as early as 1993 in Somalia, where bin Laden opposed the U.S. troop presence bolstering the U.N. mission to restore order to the civil war-torn nation. Odeh told the FBI that Al Qaeda aspired to "kick out the United States by military force," because it considered the presence "colonization" of the predominantly Muslim nation of 8 million. Odeh said he trained Somali tribes to defend themselves. The government charged that Somalis

trained by Al Qaeda helped shoot down U.S. Army Black Hawk helicopters and kill 18 American servicemen in an October 1993 battle in the capital of Mogadishu.

El-Hage was acquainted with bin Laden from a Peshawar, Pakistan, refugee hospital during the anti-Soviet jihad in Afghanistan and later served as bin Laden's personal aide when Al Qaeda was based in Sudan in the early 1990s. El-Hage admitted conducting business transactions for bin Laden even after moving with his family to Kenya, where prosecutors said he became a facilitator of the East African cell and may have financed it with his own business ventures, such as trading in tanzanite and diamonds. Investigators wiretapped el-Hage's Kenya home, recoding dozens of phone calls among Al Qaeda conspirators, including some received from a bin Laden-owned satellite phone. El-Hage left Kenya after investigators raided his home.

## THE TRIAL

The trial began with jury selection in January 2001. A multiracial jury of seven women and five men decided the case. The government called more than 90 witnesses and presented around 1,200 exhibits—photos, documents, bombing debris—in a two-month presentation. The defense case lasted only two weeks; none of the defendants testified.

One of the prosecution's burdens was to place the embassy bombings in context of recent history and Islamic extremism. Prosecutors defined the alleged Al Qaeda terror conspiracy as a decade-long plot that evolved out of Afghanistan's war with the former Soviet Union, whose military first occupied the country in 1979. Bin Laden and some of his followers had been among thousands of Arabs who had ventured to Afghanistan to purge the Muslim nation of communist rule. These *mujahideen*, or holy warriors, were once considered "freedom fighters" in a Cold War battle supported by covert American aid, CIA trainers, and shipments of arms such as anti-aircraft Stinger missiles. Additionally, bin Laden had donated resources from his family's multi-billion-dollar construction business to build roads and defensive tunnels and to finance refugee aid. After the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, the mujahideen stayed in touch through *Maktab al-Khidamat* (the Services Office), based in the border city of Peshawar, Pakistan, and contemplated the next jihad. This was the genesis of Al Qaeda.

“When the Russians decide to leave Afghanistan, bin Laden, he decide to make his own group,” testified Jamal al-Fadl, a former Al Qaeda insider who became a top government informant and the trial’s first witness. Al-Fadl, a Sudanese man who became the third rank-and-file member to swear a *bayat*, or loyalty oath, to bin Laden, defected after embezzling money from Al Qaeda. He showed up at the U.S. embassy in Eritrea in the summer of 1996, warning of Islamic militants who were training to attack.

“Maybe they try to do something inside the United States and they try to fight the United States Army outside, and also they try to make a bomb against some embassy outside,” al-Fadl had explained, according to his testimony. Due to his paramilitary activities in Afghanistan, bin Laden was already on counterterrorism investigators’ radar, and he was listed as an unindicted coconspirator in a foiled plot to bomb New York City landmarks inspired by the blind Egyptian cleric Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, whose followers were among the bombers of the World Trade Center in 1993.

Al-Fadl and another Al Qaeda defector in the U.S. government’s witness protection program, L’Houssaine Kherchtou, a Moroccan, offered an insider’s account of the conspiracy behind the embassy bombings and the structure of Al Qaeda. When the group was headquartered in Khartoum, Sudan, for five years starting in 1991, its business interests spanned road and bridge construction, trucking, currency exchange, a leather tannery, and exporting farm products such as sesame seeds and peanuts. Prosecutors claimed these companies were fronts to provide income for the terrorist enterprise.

After returning to Afghanistan in 1996, bin Laden and his top associates communicated with their East African cell and other operatives worldwide with a laptop-sized satellite phone. The most frequent voice on the other end was an alleged founder of the East African cell, Khaled al-Fawwaz, a Saudi dissident later based in London, who disseminated the bin Laden’s *fatwas*. British police arrested al-Fawwaz and two other alleged London cell operatives in 1998 and held them in custody for more than three years as they fought extradition to the United States and prosecution under the embassy bombings indictment.

British police also discovered what became known as the “terror manual,” an 18-chapter, 180-page opus called “Military Studies in the Jihad Against the Tyrants.” The manual, found in the Manchester home of Anas al-Liby, a Libyan Al Qaeda operative who had

fled the United Kingdom, had instructions on writing in code, poisoning people, and blending into Western society. The manual, along with seized computer files, witness testimony, and postarrest statements by al-’Owhali, Odeh, and K. K. Mohamed, revealed the anatomy of Al Qaeda terror cells. The organization would divide an attack into compartmentalized phases—surveillance, logistics and planning, preparation, and execution—with the group behind each phase not necessarily knowing any of the others.

Al-’Owhali told his FBI interrogator that Al Qaeda chose the Kenya embassy because it was an easy target that housed a variety of U.S. government and military personnel and a female ambassador whose death would generate more attention. Al-’Owhali, who rode in the passenger seat of the Nairobi truck, was seen by an eyewitness throwing stun grenades at embassy security guards so the bomb truck driver could get closer to the building. Al-’Owhali, expected to die in his mission, ran away from the building prior to the explosion. The driver blew himself up.

Odeh, trained in explosives, told his FBI interrogators that he felt the bombing had been a “blunder” because it had killed so many Kenyans—many in Ufundi house. Handwritten sketches bearing a striking resemblance to the embassy and roads leading to it were found by investigators in Odeh’s home in the rural Kenyan coastal city of Witu. Prosecutors called him a “technical adviser” to the bombing. He stayed at a Nairobi hotel blocks from the embassy along with other conspirators in the days before the attacks. Clothing in the travel bag he was carrying at the time of his arrest in the Karachi airport bore traces of TNT.

K. K. Mohamed rented the Dar es Salaam house where the Tanzania embassy bomb was assembled and bought the jeep the bombers used as a utility vehicle. On the morning of the attacks, he helped the suicide driver get on his route, but Mohamed exited the passenger seat to go back and clean up the bomb house.

After 12 days of deliberations, the jury found the four men guilty all 302 counts brought against them, starting with having joined bin Laden’s worldwide conspiracy to kill Americans. Though the U.S. sought the death penalty against the two trial defendants with the most direct roles in carrying out the embassy bombings—al-’Owhali in Kenya and K. K. Mohamed in Tanzania—the jurors rejected a death sentence. Among their reasons, stated on the verdict form, were not wanting to make them martyrs, thus inspiring

more terrorist acts, and viewing execution by lethal injection as causing less suffering than life behind bars.

Though three of the men—all but el-Hage—were convicted of mass murder, they were all arguably lower- to mid-level players in Al Qaeda in the late 1990s. Their convictions did nothing to dismantle the Al Qaeda base inside Afghanistan, given safe harbor by the Taliban. Indeed, the indictment underlying their prosecution named 18 additional Al Qaeda operatives, mostly fugitives at the time, including bin Laden; his top deputy, Ayman al-Zawahiri; his military commander, Muhammad Atef; and the ground coordinators of the embassy bombings.

When the four defendants were convicted, there were six other indicted men in U.S. or U.K. custody; one in particular stood out. Ali Abdelseoud Mohamed, a former Egyptian and U.S. Army officer and a bin Laden associate who once provided military and surveillance training to recruits, pleaded guilty to terrorism conspiracy charges in October 2000. Mohamed told the court that he conducted surveillance of the U.S. embassy in Kenya as early as 1993. “Bin Laden looked at the picture of the American embassy and pointed to where a truck could go as a suicide bomber,” Mohamed said, thus providing the first direct evidence against the terrorist leader.

The embassy bombings carried out by bin Laden’s followers forced the United States to reexamine embassy security abroad, just as the 1993 World Trade Center bombing and 1995 Oklahoma City federal building bombing forced the United States to fortify government buildings at home. But the bombings’ expressed purpose remained unfulfilled long after the trial was over: thousands of U.S. troops were still stationed on Saudi soil, and little that offended bin Laden about U.S. foreign policy, such as support for Israel or sanctions against Iraq, had changed. The embassy bombings trial in lower Manhattan allowed the U.S. to claim its first courtroom victory against Al Qaeda, but while the prosecution progressed throughout 2001, sleeper cells were inside the U.S. training for and planning the suicide hijackings that would occur on September 11, again targeting the World Trade Center, just a few blocks away from the courthouse.

**See also** MOHAMED RASHED AL-’OWHALI; AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; WADIIH EL-HAGE; KHALFAN KHAMIS MOHAMED; MOHAMED SADEEK ODEH; RAMZI AHMED YOUSEF

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## ECOTERRORISM

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Since the late 1980s, ecoterrorism, a blanket term referring to various forms of violence and sabotage committed in the name of the environment, has accounted for about one-third of the “single issue” domestic terrorist threats in the United States; antiabortion and animal rights terror groups are other examples. The growing radical environmental movement has become a pressing concern of the FBI, which estimates that more than 600 ecoterrorist acts (doing damage of nearly \$45 million) were committed between 1996 and the end of 2001.

Radical environmentalism went public in the United States in 1969, when a small group of environmental activists—the Don’t Make a Wave Committee—boarded a rented boat they called *Greenpeace* and attempted to halt nuclear testing on the Aleutian Islands. Although this mission failed, the movement grew. Five years later, Greenpeace was known worldwide for its Save the Whales campaign, in which members in a small craft placed themselves directly between whales and whaling boats. Over the next decade, as the movement grew, Greenpeace members took on new issues, dividing the campaigns into four major categories: nuclear energy, toxic pollution, ocean ecology, and atmosphere and energy.

“Loner” environmentalists throughout the country were active in the 1970s. In Chicago, an ecological saboteur known only as the Fox targeted large-scale industrial polluters, once redirecting toxic waste into an executive’s office. Minnesota’s Bolt Weevils toppled more than a dozen power poles to protest a massive power line across that state. Michigan had “billboard bandits”; Arizona had “ecoraiders.” Ecoterrorists’ early tactics were inspired, in part, by Edward Abbey’s 1975 radical environmentalist novel, *The Monkey Wrench Gang*.

## GROWING MORE RADICAL

Earth First!, one of the most prominent radical environmental groups, also used Abbey's novel as a guidebook for action. Founded in 1980, the Arizona-based group became known for its antilogging campaigns to save old-growth forests in the Pacific Northwest. By reading Earth First! cofounder Dave Foreman's book *Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching*, individual environmentalists have learned the tools of the trade: spiking trees, disabling bulldozers and other heavy equipment, toppling billboards and power line towers. Activists are instructed to pull up survey stakes to halt further development into wilderness areas and to put themselves in trees to stop loggers.

Like the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), a radical animal rights group that began in England in 1976, Earth First! was decentralized and nonhierarchical. With no membership list and no formal leaders, Earth First!ers were left to conceive of and carry out their own operations, held together only by a shared philosophy of "deep ecology," the publication of the *Earth First! Journal*, and a common goal of causing significant economic damage to environmentally destructive industries. Such a loose structure makes infiltration and tracking of any group difficult. As like-minded groups with the same organizational structure began to spring up and turn more violent and destructive, authorities became alarmed and steadily more frustrated.

The latter half of the 1980s saw a new level of environmental radicalism, which brought environmental terrorism to the forefront. In the mid-1970s, Canadian activist Paul Watson left Greenpeace to form the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, which engaged in greater levels of economic destruction in its efforts to end whale and seal hunts, driftnet fishing, and other marine industry practices. In November 1986, Watson, along with ALF activist Rodney Coronado, sabotaged a whaling station in Reykjavik, Iceland, and sank two of that country's four whaling ships. The \$2.7 million in damages hobbled Iceland's whaling industry.

A year later, in the United States, while more moderate environmentalists engaged in traditional civil disobedience, a small offshoot of Earth First! calling itself the Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy (EMETIC) sabotaged a ski lift at a resort that had encroached on Native America sacred grounds in Arizona. This act brought ecoterrorism to the attention of the FBI. (That year—1987—was also the year the first logger was seriously injured by a

tree spike, calling even more federal attention to environmentalists, though it is not confirmed that Earth First! activists placed the spike.)

Authorities spent the next 18 months and \$2 million investigating EMETIC, focusing specifically on Earth First! cofounder Foreman, who headed EMETIC. By 1989, EMETIC was planning to sabotage nuclear plants in Arizona, Colorado, and California—by far the most dangerous act planned by any environmental group. On May 29, 1989, core EMETIC members were arrested trying to down a power line leading to the Central Arizona Project water pumping stations. The nearly 1,000 hours of audiotape collected by an FBI informant helped convict all involved.

In the 1990s, just as Foreman had distanced himself from more moderate environmentalists by working with EMETIC, other environmental activists frustrated by Earth First!'s "tepid" direct action formed more dangerous offshoots. In 1992, militant members of Earth First! in England formed the Earth Liberation Front (ELF), fashioned after the Animal Liberation Front. By 1995, ecoterrorism had become the primary security priority of Scotland Yard's Special Branch, as ELF "elves" sabotaged road building with Vietcong-style *pongee* stakes. Construction equipment was routinely dismantled and set afire—the favorite form of "ecotage."

ELF arrived in North America a few years later, committing a handful of small actions in conjunction with the North American ALF. In 1998, however, ELF rose to the top of the FBI's domestic terrorist list with arson at Vail Resorts in Colorado; damages of more than \$12 million made it the largest ecoterrorist act to date. ALF and ELF continue to cooperate and collaborate; both groups claimed responsibility for setting fires at the Bureau of Land Management wild horse corrals in Oregon in November 1997, and, just over six months later, setting another fire at the U.S. Department of Animal Damage Control Building in Olympia, Washington. Then-FBI director Louis Freeh called ALF and ELF the two most active domestic terrorist organizations.

## EXPANDING REACH AND CONCERNS

Radical environmental groups, including Earth First!, were extremely active in Canada during the 1990s, especially in the West. In 1995, activists destroyed a logging bridge at the cost of more than \$2 million, and, in 1997, set off an explosion at a

logging facility in Alberta that destroyed \$5 million in equipment.

By the end of the 1990s, ecoterrorism had expanded from the traditional environmental issues of preserving trees, wilderness, and marine life to include actions against urban sprawl, the development of luxury housing and resorts on agricultural lands, and the proliferation of gas-guzzling SUVs (sport utility vehicles). In 2000, ELF claimed responsibility for more than a dozen fires at construction sites for luxury homes in Colorado, Arizona, and New York. That same year, the Anarchist Golfing Association destroyed two grass seed research facilities in Oregon. ELF later announced, through its spokesperson Craig Rosebraugh, that it hoped to see continued activity “against capitalism and industry” in 2001, suggesting ever-growing links between environmentalist and other leftist social movements, such as the anti-globalization movement. Indeed, ALF’s annual *Direct Action Report*, which tracks both ALF and ELF activities, makes the connection clear:

The same attitude which allows the torture of animals allows the torture of humans, and allows economic policies to be imposed on “third world” nations, policies which serve only corporations and the wealthy, at the expense not only of humans, but of animals and the Earth. The root of the problem is violence, greed and arrogance.

In the wake of the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City, both ALF and ELF were harshly criticized for maintaining their level of activism; other, more mainstream, environmental and animal rights groups had curtailed their protests and activities. (On September 20, ALF bombed a primate research lab in New Mexico. A month later, ELF torched the Bureau of Land Management office in Lassen County, California.)

The continuing acts of ecoterrorism throughout the United States led to a hearing on ecoterrorism sponsored by the House Resources Committee Subcommittee on Forests and Forest Health in February 2002. The hearing’s primary focus was the activities of ELF and ALF. In his testimony, James Jarboe, the FBI’s domestic terrorism section chief, claimed that more than 26 investigations related to ALF and ELF were currently under way. The committee also subpoenaed Rosebraugh, the ELF spokesperson, who invoked his Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination

more than 50 times, leaving the committee with as many questions about the clandestine activities of radical environmentalists at the end of the investigation as when they began.

*See also* ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT; RODNEY CORONADO; EARTH FIRST!; EARTH LIBERATION FRONT; EVAN MECHAM ECO-TERRORIST INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY

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**EGTK. See TUPAC KATARI GUERRILLA ARMY.**

**EGYPTIAN AL-JIHAD. See AL JIHAD.**

**EGYPTIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD. See AL JIHAD.**

**EJERCITO DE LIBERACION NACIONAL. See NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY—BOLIVIA OR NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY—COLOMBIA.**

**EJERCITO POPULAR DE LIBERACION. See PEOPLE’S LIBERATION ARMY (COLOMBIA).**

**EJERCITO REVOLUCIONARIO DEL PUEBLO. See PEOPLE’S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (EL SALVADOR).**

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## EL-HAGE, WADIH (1960– )

**aka Abdus Sabbur, Abd al Sabbur, Wadia, Abu Abdullah al Lubnani, Norman, Wa'da Norman, the Manager, Tanzanite**

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U.S. citizen Wadih el-Hage served for several years as Osama bin Laden's personal secretary and has been called a "front man" for the millionaire leader of Al Qaeda. El-Hage was indicted for his part in the August 1998 bombings of two U.S. embassies in East Africa and is now serving a life sentence for conspiracy to commit terrorism.

El-Hage was born in Sidon, Lebanon, to a Christian family. He grew up in Kuwait and converted to Islam as a teenager. El-Hage immigrated to the United States in 1978 and graduated from the University of Southwestern Louisiana with a degree in urban planning. During the 1980s, el-Hage traveled to Pakistan to join the Afghani fight against the Soviets and worked in a refugee clinic. El-Hage is thought to have first met bin Laden at this time.

El-Hage returned to the United States and in 1985 married American April Ray, a fellow convert to Islam. The couple now has seven children. El-Hage and his family lived in Tucson, Arizona, and Dallas, Texas, before he accepted the job as bin Laden's personal secretary. Between 1991 and 1994, the family lived in Sudan. El-Hage apparently worked on several of bin Laden's farming and chemical manufacturing projects. He also may have become involved with Al Qaeda at this time.

From Sudan, the el-Hage family moved to Nairobi, Kenya, and el-Hage operated the Help Africa People charity and a gemstone business called Tanzanite King. Both businesses appear to have been fronts for the Al Qaeda Kenyan cell, of which el-Hage was the leader.

After an Al Qaeda commander died in a 1996 ferry boat accident in Kenya, el-Hage allegedly investigated and sent bin Laden a report. (After el-Hage's September 1998 arrest, he denied this before a New York grand jury and provoked a perjury charge.)

The FBI twice raided el-Hage's Nairobi home in 1997 and confiscated a computer, computer disks, notebooks, and a phone book. According to press reports, the books contained coded phone numbers of Al Qaeda leaders and bin Laden's satellite telephone number. Soon after the raids, the family returned to the United

States. On August 7, 1998, truck bombs exploded just minutes apart at the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, killing 224 people. At the time of the attacks, el-Hage and his family were living in Arlington, Texas.

## INDICTMENT AND TRIAL

Al Qaeda soon emerged as the primary suspect in the East African embassy bombings; federal officials arrested el-Hage in September 1998. First indicted for perjury and making false statements, el-Hage was subsequently charged with participating in the broader terrorist conspiracy and playing an active role in the Al Qaeda Kenyan cell. Prosecutors also maintained that el-Hage had been involved in various shadowy groups in the United States, saying that he was friends with El Sayyid Nosair, who was later convicted of involvement in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing case and the 1990 assassination of Rabbi Meir Kahane.

Admitted Al Qaeda conspirator Ali Mohamed, who pleaded guilty and cooperated with U.S. investigators, said that el-Hage had used the Help Africa People charity to create false identification for Al Qaeda members.

During a 1999 Manhattan federal court hearing, el-Hage attempted to read a letter he had sent to Judge Leonard Sand into court record. When the judge stopped him, el-Hage jumped over the barrier separating him from Sand; three U.S. marshals brought el-Hage down before he could reach the judge.

Following this incident, el-Hage complained that he was subject to constant strip searches and harsh treatment. As the trial date neared, a psychologist hired by el-Hage's lawyers suggested that he had developed a mental disorder during his imprisonment and was not fit to stand trial. However, prison psychiatrists determined that el-Hage was attempting to evade prosecution. He and three other defendants linked to bin Laden went on trial for the East African embassy bombings in February 2001.

El-Hage was convicted in May 2001 of lying to a federal grand jury about Al Qaeda and acting as a facilitator for the group. He and the other three defendants—Mohamed Rashed al-'Owhali, Mohamed Sadeek Odeh, and Khalfan Khamis Mohamed—were sentenced to life in prison without parole.

*See also* MOHAMED RASHED AL-'OWHALI; AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS; KHALFAN

KHAMIS MOHAMED; EL SAYYID NOSAIR; MOHAMED SADEK ODEH

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## EL-HOORIE, ALI SAED BIN ALI (1965– )

aka Ali Saed bin Ali al-Houri

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Ali el-Hoorie allegedly played a key role in preparing and carrying out the 1996 tanker truck bombing of the Khobar Towers military barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. The explosion, attributed to the Saudi Hezbollah group, killed 19 U.S. military personnel and wounded approximately 500. The FBI, citing his involvement in the Khobar attack, has placed el-Hoorie on its list of 22 "most wanted terrorists."

According to the 2001 U.S. indictment, el-Hoorie, born in El Dibabiya, Saudi Arabia, was a member of Saudi Hezbollah (also called Hezbollah al-Hijaz) and worked as a major recruiter for the group. Saudi Hezbollah is largely made up of young men of Shiite Muslim faith who are loyal to Iran, not the Saudi government. The group is outlawed in Saudi Arabia; thus its operatives often work and recruit in Lebanon, Syria, and Iran.

El-Hoorie worked as a liaison for Saudi Hezbollah with the Iranian embassy in Damascus, Syria. Saudi Hezbollah operatives frequently gathered at the Sayyeda Zeinab shrine in Damascus, an important religious site for Shiite Muslims. The site was also a prime recruiting area for Saudi Hezbollah—operatives approached men who were on religious pilgrimages.

About three years before the Khobar attack, Ahmad Ibrahim al-Mughassil, the head of Saudi Hezbollah's military operations and a close associate of el-Hoorie, instructed him and two other group members to begin surveillance of Americans in Saudi Arabia. Al-Mughassil eventually selected the Khobar Towers as a bombing target. The service members living in the towers were assigned to the King Abdul Aziz Airbase in Saudi Arabia, and patrolled over the no-flight zone in southern Iraq that was declared after the Persian Gulf War. The towers housed approximately 2,000 U.S. military personnel.

During the first half of 1996, el-Hoorie worked to procure and stockpile explosives (many smuggled from Beirut) for the attack. He buried 50-kilo bags and paint cans filled with explosives at various sites near the town of Qatif, not far from the Khobar Towers. Early in June 1996, el-Hoorie worked with al-Mughassil and others at a farm near Qatif to build the truck bomb. Using stolen ID, a conspirator had purchased a tanker truck from a Saudi car dealership. The men filled the truck with explosives and wired a timing device.

According to the indictment, on the evening of June 25, el-Hoorie rode to the Khobar Towers as passenger in the tanker truck, with al-Mughassil driving. They parked the truck, loaded with more than 5,000 pounds of explosives, near Building 131 of the high-rise Air Force barracks. El-Hoorie and al-Mughassil then escaped in a waiting car. The truck bomb exploded within minutes.

El-Hoorie was one of 14 charged by the United States in the case. Al-Mughassil, Abdelkarim Hussein Mohamed al-Nasser, and Ibrahim Salih Mohammed al-Yacoub were also indicted and are also among the FBI's 22 "most wanted terrorists." Eleven of the men charged in the bombing are in Saudi custody; three remain fugitives. Saudi Arabia has challenged U.S. jurisdiction in the case and has refused to extradite the men it is holding. The U.S. State Department is offering a reward of up to \$25 million for information leading directly to the arrest or indictment of el-Hoorie.

**See also** AHMAD IBRAHIM AL-MUGHASSIL; ABDELKARIM HUSSEIN MOHAMED AL-NASSER; IBRAHIM SALIH MOHAMMED AL-YACOUB; HEZBOLLAH; KHOBAR TOWERS BOMBING

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## EL RUKNS

### aka Blackstone Rangers

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In 1985, El Rukns, one of Chicago's most notorious street gangs, contacted the Libyan government, offering to commit terrorist acts within the United States in exchange for \$2.5 million. The ensuing federal trial marked the first in which U.S. citizens were found guilty of planning terrorist acts on behalf of a foreign government in exchange for money.

El Rukns began as the Blackstone Rangers, a teenage street gang that ruled the Woodlawn district of southside Chicago in the 1960s. Led by Jeff Fort, the gang, which later joined with other gangs to form the Black P Stone Nation, established its reputation for extreme violence in battles against a rival gang, the Gangster Disciples.

In 1977, Fort announced his conversion to Islam and asserted that his gang was now a black Islamic religious sect, called the Moorish Science Temple of America, El Rukn tribe. (El Rukn means "The Foundation" in Arabic and also refers to the cornerstone of the Kabaa Islamic temple in Mecca.) Fort changed his name to Malik and became the imam, or spiritual leader, of El Rukns. At approximately the same time, police and federal law enforcement agencies began cracking down on the gang. By the mid-1980s, Fort was in jail in Bastrop, Texas, on cocaine trafficking charges, and more than a dozen other gang members were serving time for serious state and/or federal crimes.

In October 1986, a federal grand jury returned a 50-count indictment against several members of El Rukns, including Fort, Melvin Mayes, and Trammel Davis. The indictment charged that from March 1985 until the time of the indictment, members of El Rukns obtained explosives and weapons with the intent to kill "unspecified people" and destroy "unspecified buildings" in the United States on behalf of Libya.

The conspiracy began in March 1985, when Fort offered El Rukns's services to the Libyan government for \$2.5 million, following news that Louis Farrakhan had received twice that amount from Libya. Members of El Rukns then traveled to Libya and Panama to negotiate. On July 31, 1985, an undercover FBI agent sold Mayes a rocket launcher for \$2,000. The launcher, which had been rendered inoperative, was fixed with a radio transmitter that eventually led authorities to the El Rukns weapons arsenal. Five days later, federal agents raided two houses in southside Chicago and found the launcher, along with nearly three dozen other guns and grenades. Several gang members were immediately arrested; Mayes, however, remained at large.

During the trial, Trammel, former security chief for the gang, turned government witness. Authorities had recorded numerous phone calls that Fort made from jail to El Rukns headquarters in which Fort talked in elaborate code. Trammel translated the code—a combination of Arabic and street slang—to reveal how Fort orchestrated the conspiracy from prison. On November 24, 1987, the jury convicted five members of El Rukns.

Mayes remained at large until March 9, 1995, when he was captured by the FBI's Chicago Joint Terrorism Task Force. By then, El Rukns had been mostly dismantled through several criminal racketeering trials. It is now primarily a prison gang.

Although the Libyan government denied involvement, and no Libyan diplomats were named in the indictment, a 1997 Department of Defense memorandum about the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 suggested that the El Rukns conspiracy was part of a larger Libyan plot to retaliate for the U.S. bombing raid on Muammar el-Qaddafi's headquarters in 1986.

*See also* PAN AM FLIGHT 103 BOMBING; MUAMMAR EL-QADDAFI; TRIPOLI AND BENGHAZI BOMBING

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## ELA. See REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE.

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**ELF.** See **EARTH LIBERATION FRONT.**

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**ELLERMAN, JOSH (1979–)**

aka **Douglas Joshua Ellerman**

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In 1998, 19-year-old Josh Ellerman, a radical animal rights activist, received a seven-year prison sentence for his participation in an alleged Animal Liberation Front (ALF) attack—one of the toughest sentences ever given to an animal rights activists in the United States. His case, along with that of his brother, Clinton Colby Ellerman, marked the beginning of a crackdown on animal rights activists.

On the morning of March 11, 1997, members of ALF detonated at least five pipe bombs at the Fur Breeders Agricultural Co-op in Sandy, Utah, a plant that provided feed, materials, and live mink to hundreds of fur farms in Utah and Idaho. The ensuing blaze caused nearly \$1 million in damage; no one was injured. Such destruction of property was a hallmark of ALF, which had engaged in similar tactics during its antifur Operation Bite Back campaign in the early 1990s. (Utah, which claimed the most fur farms of any state in the country, was particularly hard hit by ALF actions.)

That same day, a caller to a Salt Lake City radio show claimed that the bombing was in support of animal rights and ALF and had been committed in the name of Jeff Watkins, a “political prisoner” on a hunger strike in a New York jail. With the help of the caller, investigators later linked Ellerman to the crime. On April 20, 1997, Ellerman turned himself in.

Ellerman initially faced charges that would have carried a minimum mandatory sentence of 35 years; in exchange for a reduced sentence, Ellerman agreed to provide “substantial” cooperation to authorities investigating ALF and other animal rights groups. The information he provided led to several arrests and indictments, as well as sustained surveillance of Salt Lake City’s straight-edge community (mostly young, punk rockers who eschew drugs, alcohol, smoking, casual sex, meat, and leather in favor of a proenvironment and animal rights lifestyle). Members of the Coalition Against Fur Trade were said to recruit straight-edgers to become part of the illegal actions of the antifur crusade at concerts in Salt Lake City.

In January 1998, Ellerman pleaded guilty to three of the 16 counts on which he was indicted: maliciously

damaging a building with an explosive, making a pipe bomb, and using a pipe bomb. Although he failed to appear for a pretrial hearing, he turned himself in on June 29, 1998.

On September 10, 1998, Ellerman was sentenced to seven years in prison and ordered to pay \$750,000 in restitution. Concurrently, five other animal rights activists were also indicted in the bombing. Three were later found not guilty, in part because of the testimony of Ellerman and that of his older brother, Clinton Colby Ellerman. Clinton Ellerman, an animal rights activist and straight-edger, was serving a sentence for releasing more than 3,000 mink from the Holt Mink Ranch in South Jordan, Utah, in July 1996.

See also ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT; ANIMAL RIGHTS MOVEMENT; RODNEY CORONADO

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**ELLISON, JAMES (?–)**

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James Ellison was a preacher from Texas who in 1971 founded Zarephath-Horeb, a peaceful fundamentalist Christian group, in the Ozark Mountains of Arkansas. He eventually adopted Christian Identity, a race-based theology, and changed the name of his group to the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA). Ellison and antigovernment Christian survivalist groups such as the Christian Patriots Defense League eventually turned the CSA’s 224-acre compound into a training camp for white supremacists.

By 1982, Ellison, who was calling himself King James of the Ozarks, had about 150 followers. This number decreased dramatically that year when he announced that he would take a second (polygamous) wife. In the debate over polygamy, Ellison made clear that he would act against the wishes of the other

church elders; in response, almost two-thirds of the congregation defected because they regarded Ellison's actions as the adoption of a one-man ministry.

Ellison and those who stayed, particularly his second-in-command, Kerry Noble, tried for a while to underplay the group's right-wing stance. That changed, however, after the 1983 Aryan Nations World Congress that commemorated the death of Gordon Kahl, a member of Posse Comitatus who had refused to pay his taxes. After killing two U.S. marshals, Kahl was considered a martyr by the extreme right when he, in turn, was killed during a skirmish with federal authorities. Ellison has often been quoted as saying at that conference that he was sorry he was not with Kahl at his death and announced that he was "here to tell you that the sword is out of the sheath, and it's ready to strike. For every one of our people they killed, we ought to kill a hundred of theirs."

Ellison's terrorist activities included arson—he and his followers set fire to an Arkansas church with a largely homosexual congregation and to a Jewish center; they also bombed a natural gas pipeline in Arkansas. He later admitted to having plans to assassinate key government officials and national personalities and to bomb the Oklahoma federal office building, but none of these came to fruition because of what he took to be signs from God.

In 1985, after a four-day standoff with federal authorities at the CSA compound ended peacefully, Ellison was convicted on racketeering and weapons charges. At age 38, he was sentenced to 20 years in prison. In 1988, he agreed to be the chief prosecution witness at the sedition trial of 14 other white supremacists, including some former CSA members. Although the defendants in that case were found not guilty, Ellison's sentence was reduced to 10 years for testifying. Released in 1991, after serving only six years in prison, he returned to prison briefly for violating parole and was released in April 1995. He reportedly moved to Elohim City, a Christian Identity camp located in Adair County, Oklahoma.

*See also* COVENANT, THE SWORD, AND THE ARM OF THE LORD;  
WHITE SUPREMACY

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**ELN. See NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY—BOLIVIA OR NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY—COLOMBIA.**

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**EMETIC. See EVAN MECHAM ECO-TERRORIST INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY.**

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## EMPIRE STATE BUILDING SHOOTING

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On February 23, 1997, Ali Hassan Abu Kamal, a 69-year-old Palestinian teacher, began shooting on the observation deck of the Empire State Building, killing one and injuring six before committing suicide. The attack led to tougher federal gun laws for foreign visitors and recent immigrants.

Abu Kamal arrived in the United States on December 24, 1996, on a tourist visa. After staying with friends in New York City for two weeks, he traveled to Melbourne, Florida, where, using his motel address, he obtained a temporary resident card on January 30, 1997. Taking advantage of Florida's lax gun laws, he used the card to purchase a \$500 semi-automatic handgun. Abu Kamal received the gun in five days, returning to New York City a week later. Law enforcement officials have speculated that Kamal must have had assistance from terrorists (or sympathizers) within the United States.

Just before 5 P.M. on Sunday, February 23, Kamal entered the Empire State Building. Security cameras later revealed he concealed the gun under a long coat. He took the elevator to the 86th-floor observation deck. Witnesses claimed to have heard Abu Kamal mention something about Egypt before he opened fire on the crowd. After wounding seven, he shot himself in the head.

Initially, Abu Kamal's family described him as having become "unbalanced" after losing more than \$300,000 in a business deal; they claimed that the loss of his life savings caused his rampage. Investigators,

however, found no evidence to support this claim. They did find two letters, one in English and one in Arabic, on Abu Kamal's body after the shooting. The English letter, titled "Charter of Honour," clearly outlined his four targets: (1) Americans, Britons, French, and all Zionists; (2) a group of his students who attacked him in 1993; (3) an Egyptian police officer and his brother in Cairo; and (4) several Ukrainian students in Gaza who had beaten his son. The letter also proved that the attack was premeditated. Abu Kamal wrote, "My restless aspiration is to murder as many of them as possible, and I have decided to strike at their own den in New York, and at the very Empire State Building in particular." Authorities did not find any connections between Abu Kamal and any pro-Palestinian terrorist groups.

In response to the shooting, New York mayor Rudy Giuliani railed against Florida's lax gun laws, citing New York's stringent requirements; within days, Senators Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts and Richard Durbin of Illinois introduced legislation that would ban foreign visitors from purchasing and carrying guns. Existing federal law required legal foreign immigrants to prove 90-day residency to purchase a weapon (how Abu Kamal circumvented this law remains unclear.) On March 5, 1997, President Bill Clinton asked the Treasury Department to both restrict gun access by foreign visitors and strictly enforce existing residency requirements of federal firearms laws.

*See also* FREELANCE TERRORISM

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**EPANASTATIKO LAIKOS AGONAS.**  
**See REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE.**

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**EPL. See PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY (COLOMBIA).**

**ERP. See PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (EL SALVADOR).**

**ETA. See BASQUE FATHERLAND AND LIBERTY.**

**EUSKADI TA ASKATASUNA. See BASQUE FATHERLAND AND LIBERTY.**

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## EVAN MECHAM ECO-TERRORIST INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY

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In the late 1980s, the Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy (EMETIC), an Arizona-based offshoot of the radical environmentalist group Earth First!, engaged in ecoterror acts against nuclear power plants until it was infiltrated and dismantled by the FBI.

EMETIC (named, sarcastically, after the conservative Republican governor of Arizona, Evan Mecham) first emerged in November 1987, when the ski lifts at the Fairfield Snow Bowl Ski and Summer Resort in Flagstaff, Arizona, were sabotaged. EMETIC claimed responsibility and called for a halt to further development of the resort, which was located on lands sacred to the Navajo and Hopi in the San Francisco Peaks. In 1988, members of the group attacked the Snow Bowl Resort again. That same year, EMETIC also sabotaged 29 power lines leading to a uranium mine (also located on land sacred to Indians) near the Grand Canyon, causing a "significant interruption of power" according to FBI reports.

No arrests were made until May 29, 1989, when two EMETIC members, Mark Davis and Marc Baker, were apprehended while using a propane torch to cut down a utility line pole from an electrical substation in Wenden, Arizona. More than 50 armed FBI agents wearing bullet-proof vests and night-vision goggles, traveling in helicopters, on horseback and on foot, participated in the capture. Another EMETIC member,

Margaret Millett, fled the scene, but was apprehended in Prescott the next day. When authorities took David Foreman, cofounder of Earth First!, into custody at his home in Tucson, EMETIC was all but finished.

EMETIC was infiltrated in 1988 by an FBI mole named Michael Fain, who posed as a mentally disturbed Vietnam veteran and self-proclaimed “redneck for wilderness.” In an 18-month, \$2 million operation, Fain collected more than 1,000 hours of audiotape, which helped convict EMETIC members by proving that the May 29 attack was a test-run for a series of attacks on nuclear facilities in California, Arizona, and Colorado. EMETIC planned to cause severe physical and economic damage to the companies: costly repairs and millions in lost income.

The grand jury indicted Davis, Baker, and Millett on counts of conspiracy, destruction of property that affected interstate commerce, destruction of an energy facility, and destruction of government property. Foreman faced charges of conspiracy for instructing EMETIC members and funding their actions. The prosecution called the group’s actions ecoterrorism; the defense responded with allegations of government misconduct, coercion, and entrapment, with the intent to discredit the environmental

movement. In September 1991, Davis, Baker, and Millett were all sentenced to prison, with terms ranging from one to six years. Another EMETIC member, Ilse Apslund, was sentenced to one year. Foreman pleaded guilty to conspiracy, but his five-year sentence was deferred.

Throughout the investigation, the FBI considered EMETIC to be a “small vanguard” of individuals committing illegal acts in the name of the environment. The audiotapes show Foreman and Earth First! were the FBI’s key targets. Despite EMETIC’s small membership and short lifespan, the group earned a substantial reputation and was named “mother of all eco-terrorists” by Ron Arnold, father of the Wise Use movement and opponent of environmentalists.

*See also* EARTH FIRST!; ECOTERRORISM

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## **FADHIL, MUSTAFA MOHAMED**

(1976– )

**aka Moustafa Ali Elbishy, Mustafa Mohammed, Mustafa Fazul, Hussein, Hassan Ali, Mustafa Muhamad Fadil, Abd al Wakil al Masri, Abu Anis, Abu Yussrr, Hassan Ali, Nu Man, Khalid, Abu Jihad, Abu Jihad al-Nubi, Brother Khalid**

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Born in Cairo, Mustafa Mohamed Fadhil is believed to be a key member of Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda network. The United States indicted Fadhil in 1998 for his alleged role in the bombings of U.S. embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya.

According to the indictment, in 1997 Fadhil received instructions from bin Laden to militarize the East African sector of the Al Qaeda group. Al Qaeda, an Arabic word meaning "The Base," is an international terror network that engages in violence to drive the United States from Saudi Arabia and other Islamic countries. In addition to the 1998 bombings, the group is widely thought to have planned and executed the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C. Headed by bin Laden, a Saudi citizen, the network acts as an umbrella group for other militant organizations.

The indictment asserts that Fadhil began plotting the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Tanzania in the spring of 1998. Fadhil is said to have rented the hideout in Dar es Salaam where he and fellow Al Qaeda conspirators assembled the truck bomb. In the house, officials later found a computer that contained a

document echoing bin Laden's desire to murder Americans. The document referred to "Brother Khalid," an alias reportedly used by Fadhil. The indictment also charges that Fadhil worked to prepare the truck bomb, grinding the explosives used to make the bomb and later loading a truck with boxes of TNT, oxygen and acetylene tanks, fertilizer, sandbags, and detonators.

On August 7, 1998, the truck exploded at the U.S. embassy in Dar es Salaam. In a coordinated attack 400 miles away, a truck bomb devastated the U.S. embassy in Nairobi, Kenya. The bombs killed 224 people.

In the wake of the bombings, the United States declared that bin Laden and Al Qaeda operatives were responsible. In retaliation, U.S. president Bill Clinton ordered air attacks on Al Qaeda's Afghanistan training grounds and on a pharmaceutical manufacturing plant in downtown Khartoum, Sudan.

Just days before the bombing in Dar es Salaam, Fadhil flew to Pakistan. He is thought to have later fled to Afghanistan, along with many of the other 26 indicted in the case. Three suspects indicted in the case pleaded guilty and cooperated with the U.S. government as witnesses. Four men linked to bin Laden were convicted of conspiring in the bombings and sentenced to life in prison without parole. For his alleged role in the attack, Fadhil was named one of the 22 "most wanted terrorists" by the FBI in October 2001. The U.S. State Department offers a reward of up to \$25 million for information leading directly to his apprehension or conviction.

*See also* AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS



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## FADLALLAH, SHEIK MOHAMED HUSSEIN (1936– )

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A Shiite Muslim scholar, Sheik Mohamed Hussein Fadlallah is said to be the religious adviser of Hezbollah, the Lebanese militant group and political party also known as Party of God. In his impassioned speeches, Fadlallah has called for Lebanon to be organized as a theocratic Islamic state.

Fadlallah was born in 1936 in Najaf, the Iraqi city holy to Shiite Muslims where his father, a religious leader from southern Lebanon, was studying. Fadlallah grew up in Iraq, and reportedly speaks with a slight Iraqi accent.

While a student in Najaf, Fadlallah helped one of his professors, Mohammed Bakr al-Sadr, to found the underground Dawa Party, which was later banned by Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein.

Fadlallah moved to Beirut in 1966, after he had finished his studies. He soon married Nouredin Nouredin, daughter of a prominent Lebanese Islamic scholar. They are said to have 11 children. As an imam at a mosque, Fadlallah worked to organize Islamic students, forming the Islamic Students' Union in Lebanon and writing some 40 books on Islamic law.

Fadlallah served as an important spiritual adviser to members of Hezbollah from its beginnings in the early 1980s. After the 1983 bombings of the U.S. Marine barracks and French paramilitary compounds in Beirut, both linked to Hezbollah, Christian rivals claimed that Fadlallah had blessed the two suicide drivers. Fadlallah has repeatedly denied this accusation,

and followers have explained that "giving a blessing" is a largely Christian practice.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s hostage crisis in Lebanon, Fadlallah was said to command respect among the militants; relatives of hostages visited him to plead for release of the captives.

In 1985, an explosive was planted on the path between Fadlallah's mosque and his home. The blast spared Fadlallah, who had stopped to listen to an old woman on his way home, but killed 80 people. Press reports claimed that a group linked to the CIA was responsible for the bombing.

Fadlallah's influence has grown in Lebanon, and he is often called the country's most respected Shiite Muslim cleric. He has often spoken against a peace agreement with Israel and the idea of "land for peace." In 1995, when the United States declared a freeze on the assets of extremist groups that did not support the peace process, including Hezbollah, Fadlallah urged Muslims to boycott U.S. goods.

As violence increased in the Middle East in 2002, Fadlallah told the Arab press that suicide bombing attacks are required in what he calls a "holy war" against Israel.

*See also* HEZBOLLAH

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## FALN

**aka Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional;  
Armed Forces of National Liberation**

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Between 1974 and 1983, the Puerto Rican nationalist group commonly known as the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional) perpetrated more than 130 bombings in the United States, mostly in New York City and Chicago.

Like other anti-imperialist groups founded in the late 1960s and early 1970s, including the Black Panther Party, the FALN was committed to the revolutionary ideal of "armed struggle." The FALN

wanted to win Puerto Rico's independence from the United States and to end "Yankee imperialism" in the Caribbean. The FALN, along with other Puerto Rican militant nationalist groups, quickly became the second most important focus of the FBI's Cointelpro division, which was created to investigate and infiltrate leftist groups.

Unlike other Puerto Rican nationalist groups, such as the Macheteros, the FALN focused on urban areas in the continental United States. In a communiqué on October 26, 1974, the group took credit for firebombs at five New York banks, as well as the bombings of the Newark, New Jersey, police headquarters and city hall. Within a month, the group planted a bomb in the Bronx; when that bomb exploded, one police officer lost an eye. These early FALN attacks were typical—aimed at government and corporate offices and the police, with few civilian casualties

On January 11, 1975, a bomb went off in a restaurant in Mayagüez, Puerto Rico, injuring 10 and killing two young activists and a 6-year-old child. The FALN quickly blamed the CIA for the attack. Two weeks later, on January 24, 1975, FALN members bombed the Fraunces Tavern, a historic bar and restaurant near Wall Street in lower Manhattan, killing four and injuring more than 50. The group claimed responsibility in a note left in a nearby telephone booth. No one has ever been tried for the crime, the bloodiest and most infamous attack ever carried out by the FALN. The FALN is also the major suspect in the 1975 bombing of the TWA terminal at La Guardia Airport in which 11 people were killed.

Over the next three years, the group set off bombs in the Chicago Loop area, a Chicago Merchandise Mart, the FBI's Manhattan headquarters, the New York Public Library, and a Mobil Oil employment office, as well as several pipe bombs at corporate headquarters throughout New York City and firebombs at New York's major airports.

In 1978, an explosion in Queens, New York, led police to Willie Morales, a suspected FALN leader. Morales was making a bomb that accidentally detonated; he lost most of his fingers. He was arrested soon after for possession of explosive devices and jailed on Riker's Island. His lawyer, Susan Tipograph, pressed to have him transferred to the prison ward at Bellevue Hospital in Manhattan. Once there, he escaped from a window, allegedly sliding down a rope of bandages with his maimed hands. Tipograph, a major suspect as she was the last to visit Morales before his escape, was

a member of the May 19 Communist Organization, a clandestine militant group who often provided support for anti-imperialist causes, such as the FALN and the Black Liberation Army.

In September 1979, the FALN announced that it would join forces with the Macheteros and other smaller nationalist groups in Puerto Rico. On October 17, 1979, in coordinated attacks, Macheteros bombs went off in Puerto Rico, while FALN bombs struck in Chicago and New York.

FALN activities continued into the 1980s, with attacks on military recruiting offices in Chicago and the armed occupation of the Carter-Mondale and Bush-Quayle presidential campaign offices in Chicago in 1980. Eleven FALN members were arrested in April 1980 in Evanston, Illinois. These individuals, including Carlos Alberto Torres, were charged with bombing and conspiracy to bomb 28 government, military, and corporate offices in the Chicago area; another member, Haydee Beltran Torres, was arrested in connection with the 1977 bombing of the Mobil Oil office in New York.

On December 10, 1980, the 12 FALN members were additionally indicted for "seditious conspiracy" and on 12 other charges. The prisoners, challenging the validity of the U.S. court system, refused to enter pleas; nevertheless, all were found guilty.

One prisoner, Alfredo Mendez, cooperated with the investigators in hopes of lessening his sentence. The information he supplied led to the capture, in May 1981, of Oscar Lopez Rivera, a suspected leader of the FALN. Lopez was charged with seditious conspiracy and armed robbery, found guilty in July 1981, and sentenced to 55 years. In 1988, he was charged with attempting to escape and given an additional 15 years. Two former members of Weatherman, Claude Banks and Donna Wilmott, were arrested in connection with this attempted escape—a testament to the enduring links between the remaining radical organizations in the 1980s.

Although FALN members conducted a few more attacks in the 1980s, including the 1982 New Year's Eve bombings at police and federal buildings in New York City, the organization began to buckle from the effects of lost leadership. In June 1983, three more FALN members—Alejandrina Torres, Edwin Cortes, and Alberto Rodriguez—were arrested. All three were also members of the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War (founded to support the prisoners arrested in 1980). Torres, Cortes, and Rodriguez were each accused of conspiring to free

11 Puerto Rican prisoners and of bombing two military recruiting centers in Chicago. In 1985, all three were found guilty of seditious conspiracy and bomb and weapons violations.

Police estimated, even after the great number of arrests in 1980 and 1983, that the FALN retained a membership of 120, with more than 2,000 supporters in New York, New Jersey, Chicago, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., Denver, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and El Paso, Texas. Following the August 20, 1985, FBI raids in Puerto Rico, FALN activities died down almost completely.

In 1999, U.S. president Bill Clinton granted clemency to 16 Puerto Rican nationalists and suspected FALN members. Although they were charged with seditious conspiracy, possession of unregistered firearms, or interstate transportation of stolen vehicles, none had actually been convicted of the 130 bombings, or any related injuries and deaths.

*See also* BLACK PANTHER PARTY; MACHETEROS; PUERTO RICAN NATIONALIST TERRORISM

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## FARABUNDO MARTI FRONT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

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The Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation (FMLN) was an alliance of five leftist guerrilla groups that fought a 12-year civil war against El Salvador's military junta.

A military dictatorship had risen to power in El Salvador in 1929; in January 1932, the junta had put down a peasant rebellion led by Farabundo Marti, executing him and massacring between 10,000 and 30,000 of his followers. In the late 1960s, resistance to the regime began to coalesce, and by 1972 the middle-class, centrist Christian Democratic Party was poised to win that year's presidential election. The military regime engaged in electoral fraud and sent Jose Duarte, leader of the Christian Democrats, into exile. Following the election, many began to seek other methods of opposing the dictatorship.

The election scandal fostered the creation of many leftist political groups, some of which advocated open rebellion. As the decade progressed, protests, demonstrations, and terrorist attacks against the ruling elite—particularly in the form of kidnappings for ransom—escalated. The government responded with increasing repression: by 1979, roving government death squads were killing hundreds each month.

At the peak of civil unrest in 1979, leftist guerrillas formed an alliance, calling the new group the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation. Five guerrilla groups were involved in the organization: each group's leader sat on the equivalent of an executive committee; joint operations were discussed among them and subjects of contention voted on. The five groups collectively had an estimated 5,000 to 10,000 fighters.

In 1981, the FMLN launched a so-called Final Offensive, an assault on the capital and security forces. The guerrillas anticipated that citizens would rise en masse; when they did not, FMLN fighters retreated to their strongholds in the countryside. The 1981 offensive proved that although the FMLN lacked the popular support to defeat the government, it could remain a long-term disruptive force. During the mid-1980s, helped by billions of dollars of U.S. military and economic aid, the Salvadoran government made some tentative moves toward democratization. The FMLN began to press for political recognition over military victory, putting forward its peace conditions. In 1989, another large-scale FMLN offensive pushed the government into negotiations. A U.N.-brokered peace agreement was signed in January 1992. Out of a population of 5 million, 80,000 people had been killed during the 12 years of fighting.

The immediate postwar period was a difficult transition for FMLN. The five organizations had

retained much of their original character and diverse political ideologies, and the FMLN's attempts to recreate itself as a political party were adversely affected by a report issued by a U.N. Truth Commission, which called for some of its top leaders to be banned from political office. By 1997, however, the FMLN has regrouped and doubled its representation in Parliament in that year's elections.

*See also* PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

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**FARC. See REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF COLOMBIA.**

**FATAH, AL. See AL FATAH.**

**FATAH REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL. See ABU NIDAL ORGANIZATION.**

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## FATWA

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A *fatwa* is a ruling or decision by an Islamic cleric. A fatwa can be a ruling on anything, and fatwas are issued by Islamic clerics all the time on everyday religious subjects, such as dress and behavior. Fatwas on everyday subjects rarely receive mention in the non-Islamic press. Much more controversial are fatwas calling for the death of "heretical" Muslims or non-Muslims.

## THE RUSHDIE FATWA

One of the most famous such "death" fatwas in modern times was the 1989 decree issued by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, then leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, calling for the death of British writer Salman Rushdie. The fatwa declared that Rushdie should be executed for having insulted Islam in his novel *The Satanic Verses*, published in late 1988. It also called for the death of any editor or publisher involved in publishing the novel. The fatwa read, in full:

The author of *The Satanic Verses*, a text written, edited, and published against Islam, against the Prophet of Islam, and against the Koran, along with all the editors and publishers aware of its contents, are condemned to capital punishment. I call on all valiant Muslims wherever they may be in the world to execute this sentence without delay, so that no one henceforth will dare insult the sacred beliefs of the Muslims.

A group in Iran offered a reward for anyone, Muslim or non-Muslim, who killed Rushdie. Rushdie spent the following 10 years in hiding and received round-the-clock police protection.

On February 12, 1997, the Iranian charitable foundation 15 Khordad announced an increase in the reward for the murder of Salman Rushdie to \$2.5 million. At the same time, the Iranian government gave its assurances that it would not send anyone to kill Rushdie but also said it cannot ever revoke the fatwa.

While Rushdie himself has not been attacked, some of those associated with Rushdie's work have not escaped the fatwa. A Japanese translator of the book, Hitoshi Igarashi, and an Italian translator, Ettore Capriolo, were stabbed in their own countries in July 1991. Igarashi died immediately, and Capriolo was seriously injured. The Norwegian publisher of the book, William Nygaard, was shot at three times outside his home in Oslo in 1993, but survived the attempt on his life. No one was arrested in any of those cases.

## OTHER CONTROVERSIAL FATWAS

In October 1999, a British cleric issued a fatwa calling for the death of American playwright Terrence McNally, author of a controversial play that portrays Jesus Christ as a homosexual crucified as the King of Queers. The *shari'a* (Islamic law) court of the United

Kingdom issued the fatwa, saying McNally had insulted Jesus, who is a prophet in the Koran. The fatwa was signed by Omar Bakri Muhammad, an extremist cleric and a judge of the U.K. shari'a court.

During the Gulf War, Sheikh Muhammad had issued a fatwa calling for the assassination of former British prime minister John Major. Sheikh Muhammad said, "The fatwa is to express the Islamic point of view that those who are insulting to Allah and the Messengers of God must understand it is a crime."

Perhaps the best-known recent fatwa was the proclamation by Osama bin Laden and four other fundamentalist figures, two from Egypt, and one each from Bangladesh and Pakistan, on February 23, 1998. That fatwa, issued in the name of the International Front for the Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders called for Muslims to "kill the Americans and their allies—civilians and military," calling it an "individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it." That fatwa has since been used by various Islamic extremist groups around the world to justify attacks on military and civilian targets.

*See also* AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; STATE-SPONSORED TERRORISM

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## FBI. See FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION.

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is the U.S. government agency responsible for investigating

crimes, including terrorism, that involve transgression of federal law. (A very few, specific federal crimes are investigated by other agencies, for example, tax evasion is the responsibility of the Internal Revenue Service.) The bureau is part of the U.S. Department of Justice; the bureau director is appointed by the attorney general. The FBI employs almost 28,000 people, 11,000 of whom are special agents. Its headquarters in Washington, D.C., develops policy and provides support to the 56 field offices and 400 satellite offices within the United States, and the 44 posts abroad headed by legal attaches ("legats").

The FBI was reorganized in late 2001 in response to a perceived need to concentrate on counterterrorism in the wake of the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C. Four executive assistant directors, each in charge of one of the four major branches of the bureau, now report directly to the deputy director and director of the FBI. These four are responsible for the bureau's work in criminal investigations, counterterrorism/counterintelligence, law enforcement services, and administration. Dale Watson was appointed to the post of executive assistant director for counterterrorism/counterintelligence, a newly created position, in December 2001.

The FBI began in 1908, when Attorney General Charles Bonaparte hired 10 former Secret Service agents as investigators for the Department of Justice. These detectives were to confine themselves to investigating violations of antitrust, postal, and banking laws, and crimes targeting the federal government. The passage of the Mann Act (1910) and Dyer Act (1919) broadened its mission to investigating prostitution and motor vehicle theft. The World War I-inspired Espionage Act (1917) and Sedition Act (1918) further broadened the bureau's mandate. In 1919, following a series of attempted anarchist bombings, the bureau under Director William Flynn embarked on an antiradical campaign, investigating suspected communists, anarchists, and foreign-born agitators. Hundreds of suspected revolutionaries were subsequently deported under the 1917 and 1918 Immigration Acts. By 1920, more than 500 special agents were working at the bureau, with roughly the same number of support staff.

Bureau investigations of dissenters within the United States continued throughout the early 1920s. Trade union and civil rights activists and political radicals were all monitored. The FBI kept close watch on both the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and the National

Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Investigations of the KKK were initiated because Southern juries refused to indict Klan members for a series of murders. The investigations ultimately led to the prosecution of KKK leader Edward Y. Clarke under the Mann Act; he was convicted in 1924.

## THE HOOVER YEARS

J. Edgar Hoover, appointed director of the bureau in 1924, ushered in the era of massive growth and professionalization of the agency. Over the course of a half-century, Hoover's administrative skills, public relations talents, and political abilities propelled the bureau to its position as the foremost law enforcement agency in the country. In 1935, the bureau received its current name, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Monitoring of politically "undesirable" individuals and groups expanded. Concerns about fascist and communist sabotage during the 1930s led the bureau to interpret a 1916 statute as authorizing it to conduct noncriminal investigations into the supposed activities of foreign governments, when requested to do so by the U.S. Department of State. In 1939, Hoover managed to free the FBI from the requirement of a State Department request, thus allowing the FBI to initiate espionage investigations.

During World War II, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt directed local law enforcement officials to give the FBI any information they discovered about subversive activities. Wartime investigations by the FBI were successful in identifying and convicting German agents and saboteurs, including eight Germans who came ashore in Florida and New York from enemy U-boats. (After the war, foreign intelligence became the responsibility of the newly formed CIA.)

During the Cold War era, the FBI was occupied with potential threats to internal security from the U.S.S.R. and communist sympathizers. Although the agency's successes included convictions of foreign spies, serious doubts began to be voiced about its methods, the subjects of its investigations, and the legality of its activities. Hoover authorized the first Cointelpro (counterintelligence program) in 1956; its aim was the disruption of the Communist Party within the United States. Subsequent Cointelpro operations targeted organizations ranging from the KKK to the "new left"; its operatives routinely engaged in illegal wiretapping. Only after Hoover's death in 1972 did a series of congressional hearings make existence of these programs public knowledge.

## POWER REMOVED AND RESTORED

In 1975, Attorney General Edward Levi issued guidelines covering the FBI's domestic security operations, which reined in the FBI's authority and ability to initiate and carry out investigations without oversight. In 1983, during the administration of U.S. president Ronald Reagan, Attorney General William French Smith rescinded the guidelines and issued his own, which again permitted the FBI to initiate domestic security/terrorism investigations to anticipate or prevent crime. Smith's guidelines permitted investigations to begin when individuals or organizations advocated crime or indicated an intent to engage in crime. The Department of Justice was to be notified whenever such an investigation was begun. The Smith guidelines allowed the antiterrorist investigations into CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) to expand, eventually encompassing more than 100 disparate groups opposed to U.S. activities in Central America. After five years of work the investigations had uncovered no evidence of terrorism and were halted.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, domestic security and counterintelligence investigations were radically curtailed, with resources shifted to crime investigation. The FBI's counterespionage activities did, however, uncover the spy Aldrich Ames in 1994.

During the 1980s, the term *terrorism* was increasingly used to describe what would previously have been described as internal security concerns. Following the overthrow in 1979 of the Shah of Iran by fundamentalist Islamic groups, the FBI gave particular attention to Islamic Americans of Middle Eastern origin. In addition, the FBI was concerned about armed Christian militia groups, violent antiabortion activists, and white supremacists. As the 1990s saw the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center and the 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, the concerns seem to have been justified.

## TERRORISM AND COUNTERTERRORISM

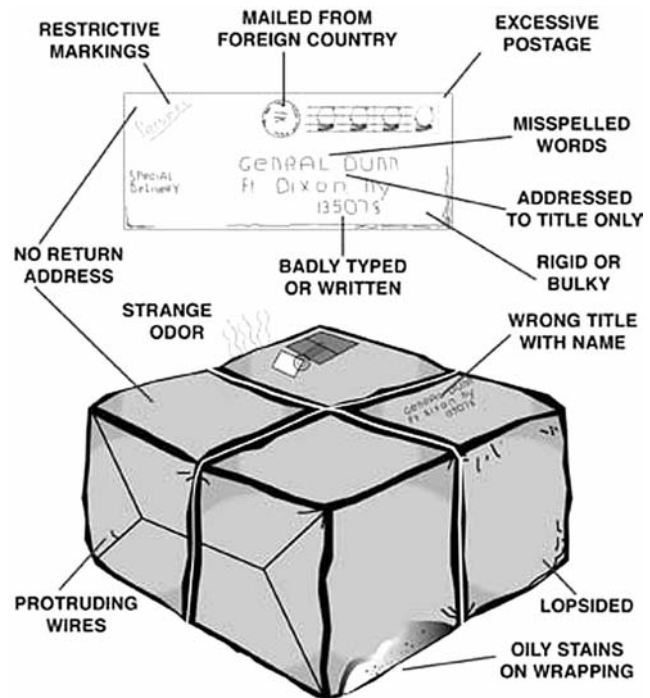
The FBI divides terrorism into domestic and international categories. Of the 335 terrorist incidents within the United States recorded by the FBI between 1980

and 2000, 247 were considered to be domestic and 88 international. Domestic terrorism is defined by the FBI as the unlawful use, or threatened use, of violence by a group or individual operating entirely within the United States and its territories, without foreign direction. Included in this category would be the Oklahoma City bombing and the parcel bombs of the Unabomber (Theodore Kaczynski). International terrorism is defined by the FBI as violent acts that are in violation of U.S. laws or that would violate U.S. laws if occurring within the United States and that are intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population or influence a government policy or government conduct.

Domestic terrorists fall into one of three categories: right-wing terrorist groups (such as the Order), left-wing groups (including violent Puerto Rican separatists, anarchists, and extremist socialist groups), and single-interest terrorist groups (including the Animal Liberation Front and antiabortion groups). International terrorists are also divided into three: the radical international jihad movement, formalized terrorist organizations (such as the Irish Republican Army and the Palestinian Hamas), and state sponsors of terrorism (identified as primarily Iran, Iraq, Sudan, and Libya).

FBI counterterrorist programs were centralized in 1996 at a new Counterterrorism Center. The FBI has identified the use of weapons of mass destruction and cyberterrorism as emerging threats to national security. To counter the latter, the agency created the National Infrastructure Protection Center in 1998. The FBI crime laboratory collects and analyzes forensic evidence from scenes of terrorist attacks; the mobile crime laboratory has worked at the sites of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing and the 2001 attack, the East African embassy bombings, and the Khobar Towers bombing. FBI laboratory work was crucial in convicting a suspect in the Pan Am Flight 103 bombing over Lockerbie, Scotland, and suspects in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. In October 2001, the agency established a "most wanted terrorists" list, which is separate from its traditional "10 most wanted fugitives" list.

During the past 20 years, presidents from both parties have broadened the powers of the FBI in response to terrorist threats. President Reagan designated the FBI as the lead agency for countering terrorism in the United States. In 1984 and 1986, Congress passed laws allowing the FBI to exercise federal jurisdiction abroad in cases where a U.S. national is murdered, assaulted, taken hostage, or when certain U.S. interests are



*U.S. government advisory on identifying potential letter and package bombs*

Source: Rewards for Justice, U.S. Department of State.

attacked. President Bill Clinton signed the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act; this law broadened FBI investigative powers and made deportation of suspected terrorists easier. President George W. Bush signed the U.S.A. Patriot Act in October 2001; this legislation granted the FBI more funds, enhanced its surveillance abilities, and allowed agents access to grand jury information. FBI powers were further expanded in 2002, giving the agency greater leeway in monitoring public spaces and the Internet.

**See also** OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING; PAN AM FLIGHT 103 BOMBING; PATRIOT ACT; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS; UNABOMBER; WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING (1993)

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# FBI Advisory

**If you receive a suspicious letter or package**

**What should you do?**

- 1** Handle with care  
Don't shake or bump
- 2** Isolate and look  
for indicators
- 3** Don't Open, Smell  
or Taste
- 4** Treat it as Suspect!  
Call 911



**If parcel is open and/or a threat is identified...**

**For a Bomb**

Evacuate Immediately  
Call 911 (Police)  
Contact local FBI

**For Radiological**

Limit Exposure - Don't Handle  
Distance (Evacuate area)  
Shield yourself from object  
Call 911 (Police)  
Contact local FBI

**For Biological or Chemical**

Isolate - Don't Handle  
Call 911 (Police)  
Wash your hands with soap and warm water  
Contact local FBI



**Police Department** \_\_\_\_\_

**Fire Department** \_\_\_\_\_

**Local FBI Office** \_\_\_\_\_

(Ask for the Duty Agent, Special Agent Bomb Technician, or Weapons of Mass Destruction Coordinator)

GENERAL INFORMATION BULLETIN 2000-3  
Produced by: Bomb Data Center  
Program of Mass Destruction Operations Unit

*U.S. government advisory on identifying potential letter and package bombs*  
Source: Rewards for Justice, U.S. Department of State.

## FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY

The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) is an all-hazard response agency established by U.S. president Jimmy Carter's executive order in 1979. FEMA has the mission of planning for and responding to disasters of any type, ranging from natural catastrophes (floods, earthquakes, wildfires,

hurricanes, etc.) to deliberate attacks (terrorist bombings; biological, chemical, nuclear, or radiological epidemics). FEMA's 2,600 full-time employees work at headquarters in Washington, D.C., 10 regional offices, the Mt. Weather Emergency Assistance Center in Berryville, Virginia, and the FEMA training center in Emmitsburg, Maryland. There are also 5,000 stand-by emergency reservists.

If a disaster event warrants, FEMA assumes the responsibilities of the lead federal agency for consequence management. FEMA works closely with the FBI and other agencies on the Federal Response Plan team, as well as the American Red Cross. FEMA also oversees Urban Search and Rescue Teams, each of which is composed of 62 specialists from four major functional elements—search, rescue, technical, and medicine.

FEMA provides a source of funding in addition to the communications infrastructure necessary for multiple-agency recovery efforts. For example, after the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the

Pentagon near Washington, D.C., the agency distributed more than \$285.5 million in individual assistance (for mortgage and rental payments, food stamps, unemployment checks, or business grants) to 52,500 people affected by the disaster. Financial assistance from FEMA is not only given to individuals: for example, in August 2002 FEMA pledged \$4.5 billion in aid to help rebuild the infrastructure of lower Manhattan.

Along with consequence management activities FEMA trains state and local governments in domestic



terrorism preparedness. In the area of planning, for example, FEMA published, in cooperation with the FBI and other key agencies, the 2001 U.S. Government Interagency Domestic Terrorism Concept of Operations Plan (CONPLAN). CONPLAN outlines a federal strategy and an interagency coordination and management structure in anticipation of or following a domestic terrorist threat, particularly one involving weapons of mass destruction. FEMA created the Rapid Response Information System, a database that contains an inventory of key federal assets available for state and local disaster response efforts. FEMA also participates in interagency activities that provide security and the appropriate level of preparedness at important events that may be targeted by terrorists, such as international conferences or the Olympic Games.

FEMA develops, delivers, and financially supports terrorism-related courses for state and local emergency management personnel and first-responders, particularly fire specialists. Many of the training exercises FEMA teaches are simulations of realistic crisis scenarios, such as No-Notice Exercise Top Officials (TOPOFF) 2000, a training mission that included two concurrent scenarios of a chemical attack in a metropolitan area on the East Coast followed by a biological attack in the Midwest. Future training scenarios will include lessons learned from actual terrorist attacks, such as the possibility of loss of senior staff immediately prior to or during a disaster.

To enhance coordination of all federal programs dealing with weapons of mass destruction consequence management, FEMA set up the Office of National Preparedness (ONP) in May 2001 at its headquarters and added an ONP element to each regional office. FEMA's director is a member of the Office of Homeland Security.

**See also** BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND FIREARMS; FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION; HOMELAND SECURITY, OFFICE OF; OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS; WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING (1993)

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**FEMA. See FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY.**

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## 15 MAY ORGANIZATION

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The now defunct 15 May Organization, an Iraqi-based Palestinian terrorist group, was led by Muhammad al-Umari, aka Abu Ibrahim or "the bomb man." It became known for carrying out several high-profile airplane bombings during the 1980s, often recruiting couriers to plant nitroglycerin or dynamite beneath jetliner passenger cushions.

The 15 May Organization first came together in 1979, splintering from Wadi Haddad's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-Special Operations Group. It was always a small group, only garnering 50 to 60 members in its heyday. The 15 May Organization, named for the day that the state of Israel came into existence, was never part of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), according to the U.S. State Department. The group was based in Baghdad and operated in the Middle East, Europe, and East Asia before disbanding. Iraq provided the 15 May Organization with logistic and financial support, as well as a safe haven.

The group became infamous for many bombings during the 1980s, beginning with a hotel bombing in London in 1980, attacks on the airline El Al's Rome and Istanbul offices, and attacks on the Israeli embassies in Athens and Vienna during the following year. The 15 May Organization is perhaps best known for its attack on a Pan Am jet flying from Tokyo to Honolulu on August 11, 1982 in which 15 May operatives planted a bomb on board and the resulting blast killed a Japanese teenager and wounded more than a dozen other passengers. In 1988, Greek authorities arrested top 15 May operative Mohammad Rashid

for his suspected involvement in the crime. The Greek authorities, which had originally apprehended Rashid on false passport charges, turned down multiple U.S. extradition requests and decided instead to try Rashid in Greece.

During 1982, the very year that they attacked the Pan Am jet, 15 May members made the mistake of recruiting former Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) captain Adnan Awad. They ordered Awad to blow up a Jewish-owned Hilton Hotel in Geneva with a bomb sewn into the seams of his carry-on luggage. Instead, he turned himself in to American and Swiss authorities and told them everything he knew about the plot. Two years later, Awad traveled to the United States to testify against Rashid in the Hawaii jet bombing case, and U.S. authorities put him into the witness protection program. A Greek court convicted Rashid in 1992. However, he went free four years later and was finally extradited to the United States in 1998. Once arraigned in the United States, Rashid attempted to dismiss most of the U.S. indictment counts against him, saying he had already been tried in Greece. He lost this appeal in December 2000.

Press accounts have further linked Rashid and 15 May with the 1986 midair bombing of a TWA flight from Rome to Athens. However, the group then disbanded in the mid-1980s, according to the State Department; it dissolved when important members left to join the Special Operations Group of Al Fatah, led by Colonel Abdallah Abd El Labib, often known as Colonel Hawari.

*See also* AL FATAH; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE; SADAAM HUSSEIN

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## FIGHTERS FOR THE FREEDOM OF ISRAEL. See STERN GANG.

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## FINANCING TERRORISM

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The often-spectacular nature of terrorist activities sometimes obscures the simple fact that terrorist organizations need financial support to sustain operations. Without some method of securing funds, groups conducting terrorist actions would be unable to function. This funding may be necessary for activities ranging from proselytizing to training to purchasing materials for specific operations to basic commodities such as food and lodging.

The sources of funding vary according to the political environment in which a given terrorist organization exists and the goals of the organization. For example, several groups appeared in Western Europe in the 1970s espousing a vague leftist ideology and resorting to actions such as kidnapping high-ranking government and corporate officials. The relatively low cost of these operations meant that these groups did not require a large, steady supply of funding. Sometimes these groups resorted to illegal activities like bank robbery to raise revenue. Many U.S.-based terrorist groups have resorted to bank robberies, as well; in the 1980s, a white supremacist group known as the Order netted more than \$3 million in a series of robberies staged to fund their right-wing revolution.

In contrast, some organizations have more precise objectives and depend on an assortment of methods to reach these objectives, including terrorism. These organizations need reliable sources of ongoing funding. For instance, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, also known as the FARC, has been in existence since the mid-1960s. The FARC represents the interests of Colombian peasants and endorses a socialist political philosophy with the goal of seizing national power. The country's illegal drug trade has proved to be a valuable source of revenue for the organization.

### PUBLIC FUNDING SOURCES

Prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union, terrorist organizations typically conducted activities within the context of the political rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States. In this environment, terrorist

groups depended heavily on state sponsorship or financial backing from a national government because the goals of the organization were almost always defined in the broad, ideological terms of the Cold War, for example, anti-imperialism, anticolonialism, and so on. During this period, the majority of organizations using terror had as their goal either redistribution of wealth or the attainment of basic political rights against a ruling authority. This meant that, in practice, these organizations had the financial backing of either the Soviet Union or governments allied with the Soviet Union.

The end of the Cold War dramatically has altered the character and the prevalence of state-sponsored terrorism. Groups can no longer use the rivalry between superpowers as leverage for extracting revenue for their operations. To the extent that groups had relied on the Soviet Union, support from Russia has disappeared primarily because the Russian government no longer had a political reason for underwriting groups with disruptive or subversive agendas.

A few terrorist groups continued to receive assistance from national governments. Lebanon's Hezbollah has a very close financial and political relationship with Iran, for example. But this link between terrorist group and national government has become the exception rather than the rule. Unable to depend on financial support from national governments, most terrorist organizations have turned to developing their own financial sources.

### PRIVATE FUNDING SOURCES

One such source involves the solicitation of contributions abroad from those sympathizing with organization goals. Foreign sympathizers may share the philosophical goals of the terrorist organization or they may identify with the ethnic or religious background of the organization. Throughout the 20th century, the Irish Republican Army regularly depended on contributions from Irish Americans. Indeed, Irish revolutionary leaders would sometimes conduct fund-raising tours in U.S. cities, much to the consternation of British authorities.

This reliance on foreign solicitations takes many forms, but an important common denominator is that the link between contributions and the terrorist organization is almost never overt. In many cases, in fact,

funds are raised for purposes that have no apparent connection to terrorist activities or to terrorist organizations. Consequently, it can be difficult to establish a clear relationship between contributions and terrorist group, thus creating significant obstacles for anyone attempting to track and interrupt the flow of funds. These obstacles are augmented by the fact that governments home to the sympathizers may be reluctant to intervene and disrupt the fund-raising.

Raising money via private solicitations is an inherently unstructured, unreliable method. The features that make this approach appealing from the standpoint of avoiding detection and interference—decentralization and anonymity—mean that groups depending on this method can never be sure how much they will receive or when. Some terrorist groups have begun to use private charities to collect and remit funds. The vast majority of the work done by these charities may be legitimate, and most of the charity's donors may be unaware of any ties between the charity and terrorist groups. They also possess a high level of political insulation. Public officials and law enforcement are reluctant to accuse charities of wrongdoing, since the political repercussions of a false accusation would likely be significant.

Related to terrorist fund-raising in the Arab world is a mode of exchanging and transferring money known as a *hawaala*. *Hawaalas* involve a network of people with multistate contacts and established reputations. Instead of actually collecting and remitting funds from one individual to another, the *hawaala* operator merely extends lines of credit. *Hawaala* operators emerged in parts of the Middle and Near East centuries ago, before banks were established. Even with the advent of banks, *hawaalas* continue to function. They are not subject to the same record-keeping and regulatory requirements as banks, thus making *hawaalas* an attractive alternative to banking for anyone seeking to conceal the movement of funds.

### FINANCING AL QAEDA

Al Qaeda—a confederation of loosely organized groups sharing a common agenda and relying on common methods of attack—is unique in that the initial funds for the organization came from the group's wealthy founder, Osama bin Laden. Access to a portion of his family's fortune enabled bin Laden to bankroll

his activities in Afghanistan during that country's resistance against the Soviet Union in the 1980s. From this involvement, bin Laden developed a network of allies whose reach is worldwide.

This network includes extensive training, education, publications, and the maintenance of Al Qaeda cells in many parts of the world. These cells sometimes turn to ordinary crime to raise revenue. Groups with Al Qaeda affiliation have been involved in stolen merchandise rings and in various kinds of smuggling.

Bin Laden has also invested heavily in a number of business enterprises, some of which (such as transportation businesses) are directly related to the group's violent mission and some of which have been chosen apparently solely for their earnings potential. This web of businesses provides Al Qaeda with camouflage to better conduct terrorist strikes; a dependable, expanding source of funds; and a method of raising money that is well hidden from governments seeking to stop Al Qaeda activities.

To interrupt the flow of terrorist funds, some governments have created various agreements that essentially make financial transactions more transparent and outlaw certain kinds of financial activities. In 1999, for example, the U.N. General Assembly unanimously adopted the International Convention on the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. This agreement focuses on the financial supporters of terrorist activities rather than either terrorists or acts of terrorism, thus allowing for greater flexibility in using criminal law to combat terrorism.

**See also** AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; COUNTERTERRORISM; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; NARCOTERRORISM; THE ORDER; REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF COLOMBIA

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## FIRST OF OCTOBER ANTIFASCIST RESISTANCE GROUP

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The First of October Antifascist Resistance Group (GRAPO) is a Spanish leftist terrorist organization founded in the mid-1970s. From the beginning of its existence it has been overshadowed by the larger and more active nationalist Basque Fatherland and Liberty (Euskadi ta Askatasuna; ETA), and little is known about the group.

The group seems to have originated as the armed wing of the Reconstituted Communist Party, a hard-line faction that broke from the Spanish Communist Party in 1968. GRAPO takes its name from date of the revenge killing of four police officers on October 1, 1975; the four were murdered in retaliation for the execution by Francisco Franco's regime of three radical leftists in September 1975. GRAPO advocates a Leninist revolutionary strategy, in which a vanguard of Communist rebels acts as a catalyst for revolution by the working class; in practice, its attacks, inasmuch as they seem to be directed toward a political goal, seem to center around getting amnesty for and better treatment of political prisoners. (The group did, however, organize a bombing campaign in support of labor interests during 2000.) While GRAPO has engaged in several bombing campaigns, kidnappings, and robberies during its history, the group's main tactic has been assassinations, mostly of security forces and other government officials.

GRAPO was most active between 1976 and 1982, a time of great upheaval in Spain. The fascist dictatorship of Gen. Francisco Franco had come to an end with his death in October 1975, and the country was making the difficult transition to democracy and restoration of a constitutional monarchy. Many pro-Franco officials retained high positions in the government and especially the military, while political activity by radical leftists increased greatly after long suppression. During these years, GRAPO was at its most vehement about demands for amnesty for political prisoners, a very controversial issue in Spanish politics.

Despite GRAPO's attacks on rightist figures such as military generals, speculation was widespread that the group was a cat's-paw of the extreme Spanish right. Accusers point to the timing of GRAPO's attacks—many of the most spectacular occurred

during times of political upheaval for the democratic government—and seemingly endless funds, as well as the scheduling of its attacks, which would seem to have required an intimate knowledge of the daily agendas and security precautions of the group's high-profile victims. No evidence has come to light in support of these suspicions, but in the late 1970s many GRAPO members were quietly released several months after being arrested without being tried.

The number of attacks attributed to GRAPO declined during the mid-1980s, after members began to serve lengthy prison sentences. The group appears to resemble the phoenix in its ability to resurrect itself. The Spanish police have announced that they believe the group to be all but destroyed more than half a dozen times, yet it has always returned to commit more attacks. The group's strength and funds have certainly been seriously diminished since its heyday. From a high of about 200 members, GRAPO is now believed to have about a dozen members who are not imprisoned.

In the late 1990s, the government began secret talks with the group to convince it to lay down its arms; talks broke down in 1998 over GRAPO demands that the government to reduce the prison sentences of some of its members. Spain's government refused unless the group revealed the whereabouts of Publio Cordon, a kidnapping victim that GRAPO claims to have set free in 1995 but who has not been seen since his abduction. In November 2000, French police arrested seven GRAPO leaders living in hiding in that country; officials hoped the group might finally be destroyed, but a week later GRAPO claimed responsibility for the killing of a police officer in Madrid. GRAPO remains an enigma, and its future is a mystery.

*See also* BASQUE FATHERLAND AND LIBERTY

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**FLNC.** See NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF CORSICA.

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**FMLN.** See FARABUNDO MARTI FRONT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION.

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## FORCE 17

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In the early 1970s, Force 17 emerged as an elite personal security squad in charge of protecting Yasir Arafat and other leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The group later branched out into terror attacks on Israel and was officially dissolved in 1994.

Theories explaining the group's name abound. It may be named for the address of its first headquarters at 17 Faqahani Street, or for the 17 Palestinians killed in the 1968 battle of Karameh, Jordan, that brought Arafat to the world's attention. The name may have been coined in an attempt to one-up the fearsome Lebanese Christian militia called Force 16, or in reference to the number of bows that a devout Muslim makes during daily prayers. Other theories say the name derives from the last two digits of the telephone number of its first commander, Ali Hassan Salameh, who was assassinated by the Israelis in 1979; in yet another theory, the name was taken from the number of the Beirut hotel room that served as Salameh's office.

The group is said to have carried out covert attacks upon and assassinations of Palestinians opposed to Arafat's leadership. In the 1980s, Force 17 expanded its operations and attacked Israeli targets. In 1985, the group claimed responsibility for an attack that killed three middle-aged Israelis on a yacht in the marina in Lanarca, Cyprus. The PLO claimed that the Israelis were members of Mossad, Israel's secret intelligence service. Force 17 was known for recruiting foreigners to serve in its ranks, and an Englishman was one of three members convicted in the Lanarca killings. The British press reported that the man, named Ian Davidson, was a carpenter who volunteered to serve "because I was sick of my empty life."

When the PLO was exiled to Tunisia, Force 17 members trained in Russia and Libya. With the establishment of the Palestinian Authority in 1994,

Force 17 officially ceased to exist. It was merged into the Presidential Security force, called *al-Amn al-Ri'asah*. The terms of the Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement permitted the development of a Palestinian police force, and many Force 17 members returned to the Gaza Strip after more than a decade of exile in Tunisia. Al-Amn al-Ri'asah, commanded by Faisal Abu Sarah, is responsible for protecting Arafat and other prominent Palestinians, collecting intelligence information, and carrying out counterterrorism operations. The group's counterterrorism targets are mainly opposition activists and suspected collaborators with Israel. Palestinians have accused the squad of police brutality. According to press reports, force members earn about \$310 a month, wear camouflage uniforms, and are largely armed with Kalashnikov machine guns.

According to the Israeli Army, Force 17 members carried out multiple attacks and drive-by shootings against Israelis during the *intifada* that began in 2000. The Israeli Army has in turn bombed many police stations and other buildings used by the squad, which has denied all charges of recent terrorist activity. On February 13, 2001, Israeli Army helicopters tracked long-time senior officer Masoud Ayad as he drove his white Honda Civic along the main road in the Jabaliya refugee camp near Gaza City. They opened fire and killed him. Ayad had been accused of being involved in mortar attacks against the Israeli settlements and Army positions.

*See also* AL FATAH; YASIR ARAFAT; PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

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## FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS, TRIAL

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In 1987, several prominent white supremacists, including key members of the Order, the Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, and the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA), were indicted on conspiracy charges. A year later, all were acquitted,

striking a major blow to government efforts to root out domestic terrorism of the far right.

More than two dozen white supremacists were named in two separate indictments returned by grand juries in Fort Smith, Arkansas, in April 1987. Five men, including CSA member Richard Wayne Snell, were indicted for conspiring to murder a federal judge and an FBI agent. Ten others, including the chief of the Aryan Nations, Richard Girnt Butler, and two top Aryan Nations leaders, Louis Ray Beam, Jr., and Robert E. Miles, were indicted for conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. government by force.

The government maintained that the various conspiracies sprang from a July 1983 meeting of the Aryan Nations World Congress in Hayden Lake, Idaho. There, Butler, Beam, Miles, and the late Robert Jay Mathews, founder of the Order, allegedly discussed plans to create a separate white nation in the Pacific Northwest. Some of the 119 acts said to be part of the conspiracy include the firebombing of a Jewish community center in Bloomington, Indiana, the purchase of firearms and explosives in Missouri and Oklahoma, and the theft of more than \$4 million from banks and armored cars in Washington State. The money was intended to fund the establishment of an Aryan nation; the bombings, murder, and sabotage were intended to disrupt society, with hopes of inciting a race war that would eventually topple the U.S. government.

The defense cast the case as a First Amendment issue, asserting that the defendants had rights of free speech and free association, and claiming that they were being persecuted by a Jewish-controlled government. In turn, the prosecution attempted to prove that Butler, Beam, Miles, Mathews, and others agreed to, and then engaged in, the conspiracies. The prosecution relied heavily on the testimony of James Ellison, founder of the CSA, who turned government witness to lessen his existing prison term, as well as Kerry Wayne Noble, second-in-command of the CSA.

Ellison testified that he was present at two meetings in which the conspiracies were originated and discussed. He also claimed that, in December 1983, he participated in the plan to murder federal judge H. Franklin Waters and FBI agent Jack D. Knox. Waters and Knox were both involved in cases related to Gordon Kahl, a tax protestor who was known to several of the defendants and who had been killed by federal

agents earlier that year. The plan was aborted after a traffic accident. Both Ellison and Noble testified that the white supremacist leaders planned to use the CSA compound in Arkansas for paramilitary training. Noble added that the murders would be used to incite “total insurrection across the United States.”

After seven weeks of testimony and four days of jury deliberations, on April 7, 1988, the jury found all the defendants not guilty, much to the disappointment of groups such as the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, which had lauded the initial indictments. (Many of those charged, however, were already serving prison sentences.)

The Fort Smith sedition trial followed three successful federal cases against white supremacists in the 1980s, and many had hopes that it would further hobble the movement. Critics of the government’s case point to the weakness of Ellison’s and Noble’s testimony.

*See also* ARYAN NATIONS; COVENANT, THE SWORD, AND THE ARM OF THE LORD; JAMES ELLISON; KU KLUX KLAN; THE ORDER; RICHARD WAYNE SNELL

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## FPCON LEVELS

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FPCON (formerly THREATCON, or “terrorist threat condition”) is an abbreviation for “force protection condition.” The U.S. Department of Defense uses FPCON levels to determine which security measures to use when threatened by a terrorist attack. The Pentagon declared FPCON Delta, the strongest possible level, for U.S. forces around the world during the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon just outside Washington, D.C. Different locations usually have different levels, which are assigned taking into consideration the assets and infrastructures that may appeal to a terrorist group, how vulnerable the place

may be to an attack, and the ability to recover and respond.

The first two of five terrorist threat conditions are general. The first level, FPCON Normal, means that a general threat exists but that security should be routine. FPCON Alpha—a slightly stronger, but unpredictable, terrorist threat—means that officials have not gathered enough intelligence to justify implementing the next level of security measures. Military personnel should be suspicious of strangers and alert for unidentified vehicles and abandoned packages or luggage. The military should secure all storage rooms and other areas not in regular use and increase spot checks on vehicles entering the area. This level may be maintained indefinitely.

An increased and more predictable threat leads to the third level—FPCON Bravo. All of the Alpha measures apply. Cars must be kept at least 25 meters from buildings, and all mail must be examined. Personnel must inspect buildings and visitors and have random patrols check vehicles, people, and buildings. Anti-terrorist personnel must be on call.

The fourth level, FPCON Charlie, is assigned when an incident occurs or when officials gain intelligence about an imminent terrorist attack. All antiterrorist personnel are called in to duty, access points are severely restricted, and vehicles are searched. Guards are issued weapons.

The fifth and highest level, FPCON Delta, is applied to the immediate area where a terrorist attack has occurred, or where officials learn that an attack on that location is likely. More guards are called to duty. All people and vehicles in a military installation must be positively identified. The military will consult with local authorities about closing roads and facilities that could be vulnerable. The fifth level does not always apply to a single location. During the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, the Pentagon applied Delta to U.S. forces worldwide, not just in New York and Washington, D.C.

*See also* COUNTERTERRORISM

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**FPM. See MORAZANIST PATRIOTIC FRONT.**

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**FPMR. See MANUEL RODRIGUEZ PATRIOTIC FRONT.**

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## **FRAUNCES TAVERN BOMBING**

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In 1975, Puerto Rican nationalists bombed Fraunces Tavern, a historic bar and restaurant in New York City. The attack was one of the bloodiest ever perpetrated by the Puerto Rican nationalist group known by the acronym FALN, which eventually claimed responsibility for more than 130 bombings during the late 1970s and 1980s.

The Fraunces Tavern bombing was an early incident in the new wave of Puerto Rican nationalist terrorism that flared up in the mid-1970s. The FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional, in Spanish; Armed Forces of National Liberation, in English) had announced its presence in October 1974, claiming responsibility for bombings in New York City and Newark, New Jersey.

The Fraunces Tavern bomb, which was placed by an unused exit door, went off during a busy lunch hour on the afternoon of January 24, 1975. Four people died in the explosion, and more than 50 others, both patrons and passers-by, were seriously injured. Investigators found that the bomb used propane gas canisters to magnify the strength of the explosion. The tavern and the adjacent New York Angler's Club sustained more than \$300,000 of damage.

In a communiqué left in a nearby telephone booth, the FALN claimed responsibility for the attack, stating that the bombing was in retaliation for a CIA-ordered bomb that had exploded in a restaurant in Mayagüez, Puerto Rico, killing two young independence activists and a 6-year-old child and injuring at least 10 others.

Although no one has ever been formally charged with the bombing, federal investigators believe that FALN leader Willie Morales was its mastermind. Morales, who escaped from the Bellevue Hospital prison ward and fled to Cuba in 1979, said in a 1993 interview: "It may sound heartless to say it that way,

but it is hard to fight a war without bystanders getting injured." Except for the Fraunces Tavern bombing, most of the 130 bombings attributed to or claimed by the FALN resulted in few deaths or injuries; damage was done mostly to buildings—often banks and government offices.

The tavern itself is an icon of United States history. Built in 1719 on the corner of Broad and Pearl Streets in lower Manhattan, the bar was a favorite gathering place during the Revolutionary War. There General George Washington bid farewell to the officers of the Continental Army in 1783. Since 1904, the Sons of the Revolution has owned and managed the establishment, still in operation today. The tavern's iconic status was acknowledged again after the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center. In December of 2001, a woman whose husband had been killed on September 11 held his funeral reception at the tavern in recognition of the history of terrorism in New York City.

*See also* FALN; PUERTO RICAN NATIONALIST TERRORISM

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## **FREEDOM FIGHTERS**

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Much like the term *terrorist*, the term *freedom fighter* means many things to different people. This is why trying to define or classify freedom fighter to everyone's satisfaction proves nearly impossible: thus the adage, "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter." According to that logic, one could theoretically label Yasir Arafat a freedom fighter and George Washington a terrorist. While it is conceivable that comparing the first president of the Palestinian Authority with the first president of the United States might not raise eyebrows by the 22nd century, for now the comparison is problematic.

Freedom fighters and terrorists can be distinguished from each other by taking into consideration the targets of their operations. Freedom fighters predominantly concentrate on military targets, whereas terrorists deliberately target civilians; for terrorists, inspiring fear in a general population is as



important as, if not more important than, the particular individuals killed or injured. Most terrorists view themselves as freedom fighters, especially those who are fighting for national liberation or some other worthy goal. However, while one might feel that the unification of Ireland is a legitimate political objective, the actions of the Irish Republican Army in targeting civilians require that they be viewed as terrorists, not freedom fighters.

More than semantics is at stake. The distinction between the terms is important because these terms, especially when used by the media, can serve to subtly legitimize particular groups. In other words, describing a group as being made up of freedom fighters implies legitimate involvement with a struggle for national liberation or the like. However, the use of the term freedom fighter by the media does not guarantee legitimacy of mission. For example, Hezbollah fighters, often referred to in the press as guerrilla fighters, ousted the Israeli Army from southern Lebanon ending a 22-year occupation. Yet Hezbollah is characterized by many as a terrorist organization and so listed by the U.S. State Department.

It can be safely assumed that the terrorist/freedom fighter paradox will continue to provide the backdrop for debate about the legitimacy of individual and group actions. For example, some news organizations in the United States inspired a heated controversy in 2001 when it was announced that they would not use the word *terrorist* when referring to the perpetrators of the September 11 attacks. Defenders of the decision argued that it was an attempt to remain neutral by avoiding an emotionally loaded term. However, the vehemence of the reaction against this decision demonstrates how much power a simple word can wield.

*See also* YASIR ARAFAT; HEZBOLLAH; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; TERRORISM, DEFINITION AND HISTORY OF

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## FREELANCE TERRORISM

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Freelance terrorism describes the actions of individuals or small groups who take it upon themselves to act against a target without the direct support of a terrorist organization. Their actions are largely the outcome of their own rage, although they have usually been encouraged, subliminally or otherwise, by others harboring similar hatred. Such is the case when extremist animal rights and environmental groups invite individuals visiting their Web sites or reading their literature to join the cause and launch an attack on the objects of their incendiary rhetoric.

Almost by definition, freelance terrorists, or “lone wolves” as they are sometimes called, are not tied to any traditional terrorist group—or any other group, for that matter. This is not to say that at one time they might have been a card-carrying member of some type of terrorist organization; they might even have obtained some financial support or training. In large measure, however, they take solitary action with only their conscience to guide them. The advice and counsel of others, even those sympathetic to the cause, is for the most part absent during their freelance actions.

However, a concerned, tentative, or even frightened comrade can often stop freelance terrorism from taking place. This was most certainly the case in the summer of 1997 when someone approached an officer of the 88th Precinct in the Fort Greene section of Brooklyn, New York, and said, “My friend is going to kill people in the subway.” On July 31, Gazi Ibrahim Abu Maizar and Lafi Khalil were arrested in an explosive-laden Brooklyn apartment before they could carry out a suicide attack on the subway. Abu Maizar and Khalil were later convicted and sentenced to long prison terms.

A lesson learned from this abortive suicide attempt is that more than one freelancer makes a group of freelancers more vulnerable, because the actions of one, impulsive or not, might compromise the mission of the group. An old saying attributed to organized crime members applies here: “Two can keep a secret if one is dead.” Two, three, or more freelancers acting in concert are, in theory, less dangerous than the solitary freelancer acting alone, such as Mir Aimal Kasi. On the morning of January 25, 1993, freelancer Kasi, a 29-year-old Pakistani, using an AK-47 automatic rifle, shot five individuals as they sat in rush-hour

traffic outside the gates of CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia.

Other acts of international freelance terrorism took place in the United States in 1994 and 1997. In 1994, a Lebanese immigrant cab driver, Rashid Baz, spray-fired a Cobray M-11/9 assault pistol at a van carrying Hasidic students across the Brooklyn Bridge in New York killing one and wounding three others. And in 1997, Ali Hassan Abu Kamal, a 69-year-old Palestinian visiting the Empire State Building, took a semiautomatic handgun from under his coat and began shooting. After the rampage was over, two were dead—including Abu Kamal, who shot himself—and six others were injured. The solitary nature of these acts can lead to confusion in the media as to the motivation—was Kamal a mere deranged gunman or freelance terrorist? Investigators subsequently discovered letters written by Kamal, in which he rails against Americans and Zionists, that leave little doubt as to the political nature of his assault.

In the United States, domestic terrorist leaders of various stripes have encouraged the formation of small, phantom-like cells of individuals. These cells, usually fewer than six in number, try to stay small and are wont to split apart into other cells when membership becomes too large. This technique, known as “leaderless resistance,” encourages small groups with fewer members. The leaderless group can act spontaneously to commit an act of terrorism, and their small size makes the groups difficult to infiltrate.

Using the behavior of one freelancer to help predict or explain the actions of another freelancer will prove difficult, if not impossible, given the differences between individuals. Take, for example, the actions of Theodore Kaczynski, the Unabomber, who killed three people and wounded 23 others in a nearly decade-long serial bombing campaign aimed at saving the environment from modern technology. Knowing the Unabomber’s behavior would prove helpful only if

other serial bombers also built 10-by-12-foot cabins without electricity or running water on the edge of the continental divide. They do not, however. Future serial bombers or freelancers might want to live the life of a hermit and decry the evils of modern technology; then again, they may not. They will have their own peculiarities and grievances, and this is why profiling is an art, rather than a science. That is also why freelance terrorism poses such a problem to the intelligence-gathering and law enforcement communities.

*See also* BROOKLYN BRIDGE SHOOTING; EMPIRE STATE BUILDING SHOOTING; MIR AIMAL KASI; LEADERLESS RESISTANCE; SUBWAY SUICIDE BOMBING PLOT; UNABOMBER

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**FRENTE PATRIOTICO MANUEL RODRIGUEZ.** *See* MANUEL RODRIGUEZ PATRIOTIC FRONT.

**FUERZAS ARMADAS DE LIBERACION NACIONAL.** *See* FALN.

**FUERZAS ARMADAS REVOLUCIONARIOS DE COLOMBIA.** *See* REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF COLOMBIA.

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## GAMA'A AL-ISLAMIYYA

aka Islamic Group, IG

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Gama'a al-Islamiyya, Egypt's largest militant group, seeks to overthrow the Egyptian government and replace it with an Islamic theocracy. The organization, formed in the late 1970s, carried out terrorist attacks on foreigners and police officers. Because so many of the attacks targeted tourists, Egypt's tourism industry had been severely affected.

The U.S. State Department reports that at its height, Gama'a boasted membership of several thousand as well as thousands of sympathizers. The group claimed responsibility for the 1995 attempted assassination of Egypt's president Hosni Mubarak in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, as well as many attacks on tourist buses and a Nile cruise ship. While Gama'a operates primarily in southern Egypt, the group has support in Cairo, Alexandria, and other cities, as well as a presence in Sudan, the United Kingdom, Afghanistan, Austria, and Yemen. The Egyptian government has said that Gama'a received financial support from Osama bin Laden as well as from Iranian and Afghan groups.

In November 1997, Gama'a members killed 58 foreign tourists and four Egyptians near the Valley of the Kings in Luxor. The tourists were entering the ancient Hatshepsut Temple when six gunmen disguised as police officers fired automatic rifles into the crowd. The international press reported that some of those killed had been stabbed after they were shot. In the gun battle, all of the terrorists were killed by Egyptian security forces.

When claiming responsibility for the attack, Gama'a maintained that it had intended only to take the tourists hostage, in an attempt to secure the release from prison of the group's spiritual leader, blind cleric Omar Abdel Rahman. (Rahman was convicted of involvement in a broad terrorist conspiracy that culminated with the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. He had fled Egypt and lived in exile in Brooklyn before his conviction.) However, witnesses reported no attempt at hostage taking, just unprovoked gunfire. The flood of travel cancellations following the attack caused an estimated \$500 million in lost revenue.

Egypt immediately cracked down on Gama'a, sentencing those convicted of participating in terror attacks to death in military courts. Defendants in the trials accused the state of torture and, in support of their claims, displayed injuries to the press.

According to the U.S. State Department, Gama'a, currently led by Mustafa Hamza, has become fractured as jailed and exiled members vie for influence and leadership. In a break with Hamza's leadership, Rifa'i Taha Musa, a former senior member of Gama'a, signed bin Laden's 1998 fatwa against the United States. The fatwa called for attacks against U.S. civilians. Taha Musa appeared in late 2000 with bin Laden and his second-in-command, Ayman al-Zawahiri, in an undated video threatening retaliation against the United States for Rahman's continued imprisonment. Gama'a has publicly denied supporting bin Laden and has not broken the unilaterally declared cease-fire, despite Taha Musa's call to arms. However, from his prison cell in the United States, Rahman withdrew his support for the cease-fire in June 2000.

*See also* OMAR ABDEL RAHMAN

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## GERMAN RED ARMY FACTION

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A descendant of the Baader-Meinhof Gang, the German Red Army Faction (RAF) perpetrated some of the most devastating terrorist attacks of the 1970s and has remained a threat for more than 20 years.

The Baader-Meinhof Gang grew out of the German student movement of the 1960s; many students believed that the West German government was fascist and corrupt and wanted to replace it with communism. The name "Red Army Faction" had been adopted by the members of the Baader-Meinhof Gang in honor of the Japanese Red Army soon after its formation; however, this self-designation was at first largely ignored by the press and the public. Many of the gang's leaders were arrested in the summer of 1972, including Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof, but the group was by no means destroyed.

The German RAF took on a character different from that of Baader-Meinhof. Whereas Baader-Meinhof concentrated on bank robberies and bombings, the RAF concentrated on hijackings, kidnappings, and assassinations. While Baader-Meinhof was known for its fast-living communal lifestyle, the RAF was organized into separate isolated cells. However, many RAF attacks involved demands for both Baader-Meinhof and RAF prisoners to be released. During the 1970s, some members were involved with operations by other terrorists groups,

such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and Carlos the Jackal (Ilich Ramírez Sánchez).

The first major attack following the capture of the Baader-Meinhof leaders was the February 1975 kidnapping of West German politician Peter Lorenz by RAF members calling themselves the 2 June Movement. Some experts view 2 June as a splinter group of the RAF. Lorenz was released in return for five RAF prisoners. RAF's next major attack, undertaken with the aid of the PFLP, was the June 27, 1976, hijacking of an Air France flight on its way from Tel Aviv to Paris. Diverting the plane to Entebbe, Uganda, the hijackers demanded \$5 million and the release of 53 terrorists and RAF leaders. The crisis was ended by a daring military operation by Israeli counterterrorism forces; three hostages and one Israeli soldier were killed. The success of the operation made governments much less willing to negotiate with terrorists.

On September 5, 1977, the RAF kidnapped Hanns-Martin Schleyer, a right-wing German politician, once again demanding the release of RAF prisoners and adding the demand that the prisoners be given free passage to the country of their choice. Negotiations dragged on for five weeks while the West German government tried to find a country willing to take them. On October 14, 1977, in an effort to spur the German government into action, the RAF hijacked a Lufthansa flight and diverted it to Kuwait; five days later, a raid by Grenzschutzgruppe 9, German antiterrorist commandos, freed the hostages. As it became clear that the government was not going to meet the terrorists' demands, several of the imprisoned Baader-Meinhof leaders committed suicide, while the RAF kidnappers killed Schleyer.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, several important RAF members were arrested or killed in gun battles with police. From December 1984 to October 1986, the group carried out a string of attacks on U.S. Army bases and North Atlantic Treaty Organization facilities in Germany; concurrently, the RAF engaged in an assassination campaign against German leaders that killed eight and injured dozens. RAF continued with sporadic bombings through the 1980s, but support began to peter out with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the subsequent reunification of Germany. During the 1990s, the group made few attacks, while several of its remaining leaders were arrested or turned themselves in. In

1998, the German RAF officially announced it was disbanding.

**See also** BAADER-MEINHOF GANG; GRENZSCHUTZGRUPPE 9; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE; ILICH RAMÍREZ SÁNCHEZ (CARLOS THE JACKAL)

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## GHAILANI, AHMED KHALFAN (1974– )

**aka Ahmad Khalafan Ghilani, Ahmed Khalfan Ahmed, Abubakar K. Ahmed, Abubakary K. Ahmed, Abubakar Ahmed, Abu Bakr Ahmad, A. Ahmed, Ahmed Khalfan, Ahmed Khalfan Ali, Abubakar Khalfan Ahmed, Ahmed Ghailani, Ahmad al Tanzani, Abu Khabar, Abu Bakr, Abubakary Khalfan Ahmed Ghailani, Mahafudh Abubakar Ahmed Abdallah Hussein, Shariff Omar Mohammed, "Foopie," "Fupi," "Ahmed the Tanzanian"**

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Born in Zanzibar, Tanzania, Ahmed Khalfan Ghailani is alleged to be a member of the Al Qaeda network. He is said to have been directly involved in the 1998 attacks on the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. He is accused of procuring the materials for and assembling the truck bomb that devastated the embassy in Dar es Salaam. The FBI has placed him on its "most wanted terrorists" list.

During the late 1990s, Ghailani was allegedly a member of the Tanzanian cell of Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda group. Al Qaeda serves as an umbrella group for other militant organizations and establishes cells in areas where attacks are carried out. Ghailani allegedly worked closely with Al Qaeda operatives from the Kenyan and Tanzanian cells.

According to the 1998 U.S. indictment charging Ghailani with the murders of the 224 dead in the embassy bombings, Ghailani and fellow Al Qaeda

operative Sheikh Ahmed Salim Swedan are charged with buying the Nissan Atlas refrigeration truck used to bomb the Dar es Salaam embassy. A few months before the attack, Ghailani also purchased the oxygen and acetylene tanks used in the bomb's construction, and helped load all of the bomb equipment (tanks, boxes of TNT, detonators, fertilizer, and sandbags) onto the truck.

Prosecutors in the embassy case say that Ghailani checked into the Hilltop Hilton in Nairobi, Kenya, on August 1, 1998. While there, he met with the fellow Al Qaeda operatives. Ghailani is said to have fled Africa for Pakistan on August 6, 1998. The very next day, in synchronized attacks 400 miles apart, truck bombs exploded at the embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, one bomb detonating just minutes before the other.

Ghailani is believed to be in Afghanistan along with many of the other 26 indicted in the embassy bombings case. Three suspects in the case pleaded guilty and cooperated with the U.S. government as witnesses. In October 2001, four men linked to bin Laden were convicted of conspiring in the bombings; all the defendants, who had pleaded not guilty, were sentenced to life in prison without parole. The U.S. State Department offers a reward of up to \$25 million for information leading directly to Ghailani's apprehension or conviction.

**See also** AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS; SHEIKH AHMED SALIM SWEDAN

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**GIA. See ARMED ISLAMIC GROUP.**

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## GOLDSTEIN, BARUCH (1957–1994)

**né Benjamin Carl Goldstein**

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Ultra-nationalist and member of the Jewish group Kahane Chai, Baruch Goldstein massacred 29 Muslims bowed in prayer at the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron in 1994.

Born in Brooklyn, Goldstein was a serious and quiet child, graduating a year early near the top of his high school class. At Yeshiva University in Manhattan, Goldstein changed his name to Baruch and became involved in Kahane Chai, a group founded by Rabbi Meir Kahane, a militant Jewish nationalist who had argued that no Jew was safe as long as there was a single Arab in the land of Israel. Goldstein met his wife at Kahane Chai headquarters in Jerusalem, and Kahane officiated at their wedding. Kahane was assassinated in New York in 1990.

Goldstein graduated from medical school and moved to Israel in 1983, joining the Kiryat Arba settlement in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Kiryat Arba was one of many Jewish settlements in Hebron, a town of nearly 100,000 Arabs. Goldstein worked as the Israeli Army doctor in Hebron and served for several years as a Kahane Chai representative on the Kiryat Arba local council. Admirers and friends said that his anger grew as he tended Jewish settlers who had been shot in Arab-Israeli violence in Hebron. He and many other right-wing settlers did not support the peace talks between the Palestine Liberation Organization and the government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. In an interview on Army Radio a few months before he attacked the mosque, Goldstein complained that the Army was not protecting Jewish settlers.

Before dawn on February 25, 1994, Goldstein walked into the Cave of the Patriarchs carrying an automatic weapon. At the time, Jewish settlers were allowed to carry weapons inside the holy site, held to be the burial place of Abraham. The site, called the Hebron shrine by Jews and the Ibrahimi Mosque by Muslims, is sacred to both religions and divided into separate prayer halls. Goldstein burst into the mosque and opened fire on a crowd of praying Muslims, killing 29 before the shocked crowd bludgeoned him to death. About 125 others were wounded.

During an Israeli government commission's investigation, Palestinian witnesses and Army guards had raised the possibility of a second gunman. However,

the commission determined that Goldstein had told no one, including his wife, of his plans. The government subsequently outlawed Kahane Chai and arrested some of its leaders.

Goldstein's supporters among the Jewish settlers transformed his grave into a shrine and pilgrimage site. Many continued to maintain that Goldstein's actions were justifiable, telling U.S. and British journalists that the doctor had had inside information on a large Arab attack in Kiryat Arba. No proof of this claim has been provided, however. Having passed legislation banning monuments to terrorists, the Israeli government razed the shrine but left the controversial inscription on Goldstein's headstone calling him a "martyr" with "clean hands and heart."

*See also* JEWISH TERRORIST GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES;  
KAHANE CHAI

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## GRAND CENTRAL STATION BOMBING

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On September 10, 1976, terrorists calling themselves Fighters for Free Croatia diverted TWA Flight 355, bound for Chicago, to the Mirabel Airport in Montreal. The terrorists then instructed the pilot to radio a message directing the New York City Police Department (NYPD) to a bomb located in a Grand Central Station subway locker. Describing the bomb as a "gel" type, the terrorists threatened to detonate it if they detected any "false moves." The group also threatened to detonate another bomb located "in a highly busy location" if their demands were not published by several newspapers, including

the *Los Angeles Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Chicago Tribune*. All published the demands.

The Federal Aviation Administration picked up the pilot's radio message and alerted the NYPD. The city's bomb squad roped off the area identified by the hijackers and had pried open 24 lockers surrounding locker no. 5713, where the bomb was located. Inside locker no. 5713, police found a sealed pressure cooker. After attempts to x-ray the bomb were unsuccessful, it was moved to the bomb squad range in Rodman's Neck, Bronx. There, four members of the bomb squad—Police Officer Brian J. Murray, Police Officer Henry Dworkin, Deputy Inspector Fritz Behr, and Sergeant Terence McTigue (none of whom were wearing protective gear)—placed the bomb in a dirt pit and attempted to detonate and/or deactivate it via remote control. After several attempts, the four men approached the bomb for inspection. It exploded, killing Murray instantly and showering shrapnel on the others, leaving McTigue with permanent injuries.

In the ensuing trial, Zvonko Busic, the leader of the group, took full responsibility for both the hijacking and setting the bomb at Grand Central Station, claiming that the others, including his wife, Julienne, were not aware of his specific plans. Busic testified that he purchased eight sticks of dynamite from a "Mafia"-type man that he met in a bar in Yorkville. He then fashioned the bomb, using instructions from *The Anarchist's Cookbook*, and placed it in the locker 48 hours before the hijacking.

The Grand Central Station bomb was used to convince authorities and the hijacked passengers that other devices brought onto the plane, some made from clay, other crafted from cast-iron pots, black tape, and timers, were true bombs. Busic testified that he cautioned the police about a switch on the bomb, which he had deliberately set in the off position, rendering it inactive. He later claimed that the explosion was attributable to faulty police equipment.

In May 1977, four of the five Croatian Nationalists on trial were found guilty of air piracy. Busic and his wife were also charged in the death of Police Officer Murray and received life sentences. Two others received 30-year sentences. The fifth man, who pleaded guilty before the trial, also received a 30-year term. All but Busic, who will be eligible for parole in 2006, have been released.

*See also* BOMBINGS AND BOMB SCARES; TWA FLIGHT 355 HIJACKING

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### GRAPO. See FIRST OF OCTOBER ANTIFASCIST RESISTANCE GROUP.

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## GREAT EASTERN ISLAMIC RAIDERS' FRONT

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The extremely anti-Semitic and anti-Christian Great Eastern Islamic Raiders' Front (IBDA-C) has allegedly been active in Turkey since the 1970s, but was officially "founded" in 1985. With the stated aim of replacing Turkey's secular government with Islamic rule, the group has been most active in the region around Istanbul since 1993. The group's alleged leader, Salih Izzet Erdis, was arrested in 1998 and remains in prison.

The IBDA-C, the more independent of the two well-known radical Islamic activist groups in Turkey, was first heard from in 1989 after it held demonstrations in Istanbul; the group has been aggressive since the beginning of the 1990s. Targeting Turkish secularism, the group's members have murdered scores of journalists, politicians, and academics outspoken in their defense of a secular Turkey.

Erdis, the leader of the IBDA-C, is also known by the name Salih Mirzabeyoglu and is referred to as "commander" by IBDA-C members. Erdis was arrested on December 29, 1998, and imprisoned in Turkey; he was tried at the Istanbul State Security Court for "attempting to replace the Secular Constitutional order with Islamic Shariah rules." The Turkish court sentenced him to death for "the armed attempt to overthrow the constitutional order." Two of his cohorts were sentenced to 18 years in prison. Apparently, Erdis later tried to hang himself in his cell, but survived when a fellow inmate cut the rope.

The structure of the IBDA-C allows members to organize independently. Anyone familiar with and subscribing to the beliefs of the IBDA-C can form a group and begin to function autonomously, usually in groups of four or five that act as their own front, or teams, within the organization. Some past IBDA-C fronts have been called Ultra Force, Altinordu, Lazistan, and Union of Revolutionist Sufis.

Since the early 1990s, the group has claimed responsibility for attacks on left-wing, Western, and secular targets; it published a list of Jewish targets, murdered a famous film critic, and sent a dire warning to a Turkish TV journalist whom it accused of being "anti-Islam." They have also targeted banks and taverns, even brothels and discotheques.

The number of IBDA-C members is unknown, but the IBDA-C name is well known throughout Turkey. While many have been imprisoned, the group remains active in publication and has many bookstores, Web sites, and print houses where meetings are held.

The front is suspected of the 1997 bombing of the Ecumenical Patriarchate Cathedral in Istanbul—an act strongly condemned by the United States. Its most notable attack, though, was the 1999 pipe bomb assassination of Ahmet Taner Kislali, a former minister, professor, respected newspaper columnist—and firm critic of Islamic fundamentalism.

Turkish authorities have continued to arrest and try IBDA-C members and have thus reduced their threat. According to Turkish officials, 20 separate operations were staged against IBDA-C in 1998 and 1999 leading to the capture of some 170 suspects and clarification of 35 acts of terror. The group still manages to make small attacks, however.

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## GRENZSCHUTZGRUPPE 9

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Grenzschutzgruppe 9 (GSG-9) is an elite German counterterrorist unit that was formed after the massacre at the 1972 Munich Olympics. All GSG-9 members undergo advanced counterterrorism training in areas such as building assault, hand-to-hand combat, marksmanship, and explosives. GSG-9's 1977 assault on a hijacked Lufthansa plane in Mogadishu, Somalia, brought the group to world attention.

After the defeat of the Nazi regime in World War II, the West German government was reorganized. West Germany had an army, but no national police force or intelligence agency. The national government had very little power to regulate the internal affairs of its states. In 1972, when the city of Munich hosted the Olympics, security for the games was the responsibility of the state of Bavaria (of which Munich was the capital). That security was deliberately relaxed, in an effort to prove to the world that Germany had moved beyond its fascist, militaristic past.

On September 5, 1972, a team of Palestinian terrorists from the Black September group entered the Olympic Village, killing two members of the Israeli Olympic team and taking nine others hostage. After hours of tense negotiations televised worldwide, the Munich police made a last desperate attempt to free the hostages. The operation was a disaster, and all nine Israelis were killed.

To prevent another such catastrophe, GSG-9 was created. GSG-9 was a part of the Bundesgrenzschutz, or border guard, one of the few German security agencies with national authority. Headed by Ulrich Wegener, who handpicked the initial 200 border guards, the group had three combat teams of 30 men, with additional members trained in logistics, support, communications, and intelligence. In later years, the GSG was expanded and divided into three divisions: GSG-9/1, the ground forces; GSG-9/2, trained for maritime operations; and GSG-9/3, an aerial assault team.

On October 13, 1977, a team of Palestinian terrorists hijacked a Lufthansa flight from Majorca, eventually diverting it to Mogadishu, Somalia. They demanded the release of 13 terrorists, including the leaders of the West German Baader-Meinhof Gang, in



exchange for the 90 hostages. While negotiators stalled for time, a GSG-9 team was flown to Mogadishu. At 2:07 on the morning of October 18, while the Somali Army provided a diversion, the GSG-9 team broke into the plane. Taken by surprise, the terrorists retreated to the cockpit. In less than 10 minutes, the four terrorists had been killed or wounded and all 90 hostages had been freed unharmed. The success of the operation was vital in restoring public confidence in Germany's security forces.

Following the Mogadishu raid, GSG-9 began to concentrate on counterterrorism at home, tracking down and arresting members of the German Red Army Faction. In June 1993, the unit's reputation was somewhat tarnished by accusations that it had killed Red Army member Wolfgang Grams, in cold blood, but subsequent investigation proved that he had shot himself. Even before the investigation was complete, GSG-9 was able to redeem itself in the eyes of many with its August 1993 rescue of a hijacked KLM flight from Tunis to Amsterdam, in which the commandos were able to capture the hijacker without firing a shot. The GSG-9 remains one of the best-trained and most respected counterterrorism units in the world.

*See also* COUNTERTERRORISM; GERMAN RED ARMY FACTION; MUNICH OLYMPICS MASSACRE

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## GREY WOLVES

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The Grey Wolves were the youth wing of the Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP), a neo-fascist political party in Turkey. Fighting between the Grey Wolves and leftists during the late 1970s resulted in more than 5,000 deaths.

The Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (Nationalist Action Party or Nationalist Movement Party) was founded in 1969 by Alpasan Türkeş, a Turkish military officer

and ardent supporter of pan-Turkism, the idea that all Turkic-speaking peoples should be united under one political regime. Many observers compare the MHP's structure, ideology, and tactics to those of Europe's fascist regimes of the 1930s. The Grey Wolves were composed of young Turkish men, often students or rural migrants to Turkey's largest cities: Istanbul and Ankara, the capital. The organization was run on military lines, with followers undergoing training in the martial arts and the use of various weapons and explosives. Members were fed and clothed by the MHP; the party's willingness to provide for them combined with the thorough political indoctrination they received often inspired a blind devotion to the party. By the end of the 1970s, the group had tens of thousands of members.

Throughout the 1970s, Türkeş had held a series of high governmental positions, including the post of minister of monopolies and customs. Türkeş's control of the customs department led to a profitable association between the MHP and Turkey's vast array of smugglers and drug traffickers. Türkeş's position also allowed the MHP to obtain whatever weapons it needed.

As the decade progressed, Turkey's leftist groups became more politically active, and political violence worsened; the MHP, which was fanatically anti-communist, began to deploy the Grey Wolves in earnest. They are alleged to have been behind a May 1977 massacre at a leftist parade that killed more than 20 people and injured hundreds. In 1978, a leftist government headed by Bulent Ecevit came to power in Turkey and violence worsened. The Grey Wolves were used to attack leftist political party headquarters, and gangs of Grey Wolves were sent into the countryside to incite riots. A December 1978 attack in the southeastern town of Kahramanmaraş was typical: a bomb set off in a movie house led to several days of rioting and gun battles in the streets between the Grey Wolves and the leftists. Two hundred people were killed with more than 1,000 wounded, and more than 900 buildings destroyed. By the end of the decade, the country was near anarchy.

In September 1980, the military overthrew Turkey's government in a bloodless coup. Türkeş and several dozen high-level MHP members were arrested, and the Grey Wolves reined in. Although many MHP members, including Türkeş, were convicted and given stiff sentences, most served no time in prison, having been released at the conclusion of the trial. Türkeş resumed his political career.

The Grey Wolves continued on the path of violence. A former Grey Wolf member tried to assassinate Pope John Paul II in 1981; neither his motivation nor possible state sponsorship of the assassination attempt were ever fully clarified. The Grey Wolves were linked to an attempted assassination of the Turkish prime minister in 1988 and to a series of ethnic killings in Turkey in the early 1990s. The Grey Wolves have been accused of inciting violence within Cypriot, German, and English Turkish expatriate communities during the 1990s.

The extent of the Turkish government's connection to and sanctioning of the Grey Wolves' activities remains unclear, although rumors abound. In 1999, a resurgent MHP (with a new, pro-Islam stance) gained 18 percent of the vote in the Turkish parliamentary elections, winning a place in a coalition government.

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## GRIFFIN, MICHAEL (1962– )

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In 1993, in the midst of an increasingly violent antiabortion movement in the United States, Michael Frederick Griffin became the first activist to murder an abortion provider, ushering in a new level of terrorism in the abortion wars.

Shortly after 10 A.M. on March 10, 1993, Dr. David Gunn arrived at the Pensacola Women's Medical Services clinic. Protestors from the antiabortion group Rescue America had been gathered outside the clinic since 9 A.M. As Dr. Gunn moved past the crowd, Griffin shot him three times in the back with a .38 caliber gun, shouting repeatedly, “Don't kill any more babies.” Dr. Gunn, then 47, was rushed to a hospital, where he died hours later.

Gunn knew he was a target. Aside from being the only individual providing legal abortions in the region, Gunn traveled more than 1,000 miles weekly

to clinics throughout Florida, Georgia, and Alabama. In 1992, he was featured on a “Wanted” poster circulated at an Operation Rescue antiabortion rally in Montgomery, Alabama.

The Sunday before the murder, Griffin, then a 31-year-old chemical plant employee, asked the congregation at his fundamentalist church, Charity Chapel, to pray for Dr. Gunn. Griffin and his wife, Patricia, had recently become active in the antiabortion movement, joining the antiabortion group Our Father's House, led by John Burt, who also headed Rescue America. Burt encouraged the Griffins' activism, showing them videos of aborted fetuses and urging him and his wife to attend protests. Allegedly, Michael Griffin also saw an effigy of Dr. Gunn hanging from a rafter in Burt's garage, bearing a quote from Genesis 9:6—“Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.”

Immediately after shooting Dr. Gunn, Griffin approached a nearby police officer and turned himself in. As news spread, activists on both sides of the abortion debate decried Griffin and his actions. However, a small contingent of antiabortion activists justified the murder; most vocally—former Presbyterian minister Paul Hill. In July 1993, Hill drafted a “Defensive Action Statement,” signed by 29 antiabortion activists, that read, “We assert that if Michael Griffin did in fact kill David Gunn, his use of lethal force was justifiable provided it was carried out for the purpose of defending the lives of unborn children.”

Griffin was held, without bond, at the Escambia County jail and courthouse, on an open murder count. At his trial, Griffin's lawyers presented an insanity defense, suggesting that antiabortion propaganda caused Griffin to lose his sense of right and wrong—a defense that was ultimately not allowed because Griffin refused psychiatric examinations. On the opening day of trial, February 21, 1994, the judge announced that Griffin would not receive the death penalty. In March, Griffin was found guilty of first-degree murder, and he was sentenced to life in prison with no chance for parole for 25 years.

By 1995, Griffin had denounced antiabortion violence, claiming that a conspiracy of antiabortion groups, police officers, and his own defense team had framed him. Antiabortion groups, in turn, denounced Griffin as mentally unstable. Regrettably, his actions had already inspired more violence within the movement, inciting others, including Rachelle Shannon, Paul Hill, and John Salvi III, to murder.

*See also* ANTIABORTION MOVEMENT; PAUL HILL

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## GSG-9. *See* GRENZSCHUTZGRUPPE 9.

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## GUEVARA, ERNESTO (CHE) (1928–1967)

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Che Guevara was a Latin American Marxist guerrilla who helped lead the Cuban revolution and attempted to instigate communist revolutions in several other countries. His political theories and adventurous life have inspired many followers.

Guevara was born to middle-class parents in Rosario, Argentina, on May 14, 1928. (His birth certificate, forged to avoid scandal, states June 14, 1928.) At the age of two, Guevara developed the asthma that would haunt him throughout his life. Guevara's liberal, intellectual parents fostered his pursuit of knowledge. Guevara excelled at school, displaying an early interest in both politics and athletics—he was a passionate rugby player, a remarkable achievement given his asthma.

Graduating from secondary school with honors, in 1947 Guevara went on to medical school. In 1952, before completing his studies, he set off with a friend for several months, traveling through Argentina, Chile, Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela on a motorcycle. Traveling without much money, his journeys took him among the slums and rural villages of Latin America, where he witnessed the poverty and oppression of the people by the ruling elites and North American plantation owners.

After passing his final examinations in 1953, Guevara spent time in Bolivia and Guatemala, where in May 1954 he witnessed the CIA-sponsored coup that toppled Guatemala's leftist government. (While in Guatemala he acquired the nickname Che, which is Argentine slang for "Hey, you.") These experiences transformed him into an ardent Marxist. Expelled from Guatemala in the aftermath of the coup, he soon traveled to Mexico City, by now determined to become a revolutionary.

There, in 1955, Guevara met Fidel Castro, who had already made one abortive attempt to overthrow the Batista regime in Cuba. The two men became close friends, and when Castro and his ragtag band of rebels returned to Cuba in December 1956, Guevara went with them. He became Castro's second-in-command, and his ideological fervor and tactical theories (made famous in his 1960 book, *La Guerra de Guerrillas*, or *Guerrilla Warfare*) shaped the Cuban Revolution. In January 1959, Castro and his followers overturned the Batista regime. Guevara spent five years in Cuba, where he took charge of economic development. Guevara's unbending radicalism and hard-line anti-American views soon irritated Cuba's Soviet supporters, and a rift grew between Guevara and Castro. In 1965, a frustrated Guevara left Cuba, hoping to inspire Cuban-style revolutions in other third world countries.

The main tenets of Guevara's revolutionary theory held that a *foquista* or *foco* (focal point) of hardened guerrillas operating in the countryside should be used to crystallize opposition to a ruling regime among the peasantry; by this method, a very small number of actual fighters could mobilize opposition without needing to confront the state military head on. Looking for a suitable country to try to repeat his success, he and a small band of supporters traveled first to the Democratic Republic of Congo, which was then in the midst of a civil war. Guevara found the Congolese guerrillas undisciplined and ineffectual, and after six months he left the country. After a brief stop in Cuba, in March 1966 he traveled incognito to Bolivia to attempt another revolution.

Bolivia, too, would prove unripe for revolution. Both the local peasantry and the Bolivian Communist Party were suspicious and resentful of Guevara and his Cuban guerrillas; Guevara's asthma began to trouble him, and he spent long periods incapacitated and unable to organize his troops. Desperate, Guevara made a number of tactical errors that put the Bolivian Army on his scent; as the Bolivian mission began to seem more and more futile, even Castro dropped his support. In October 1967, Guevara was captured and killed. Fearful that news of his death would spark massive unrest, the Bolivian authorities buried him in an unmarked grave; his remains were finally recovered and transported to Cuba in 1997.

After his death, and in part thanks to Cuban propaganda, Guevara became a legendary figure, a martyr to his ideals who embodied the romance of the revolution. His treatises on guerrilla warfare and communist

ideology have inspired thousands of rebels in Latin America and elsewhere, and his bearded image has become a contemporary icon.

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## GUZMÁN, ABIMAE (ABIMAE GUZMÁN REYNOSO) (1934– )

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Abimael Guzmán Reynoso is founder and was leader of the Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) terrorist organization of Peru.

The illegitimate son of a wealthy Peruvian businessman, Guzmán was born in December 1934 in Arequipa, Peru. He excelled as a student but showed little interest in politics until his late teens, when he began associating with leftist intellectuals. He became the protégée of the painter Carlos de la Riva, an ardent admirer of Joseph Stalin; Guzmán joined the Peruvian Communist Party in the late 1950s.

In 1962, Guzmán was appointed to the post of professor of philosophy at San Cristobal del Huamanga University in Ayacucho, a remote, desperately poor province inhabited mostly by Peruvian Indians. There, Guzmán began to hold weekly political discussions with students and colleagues; Guzmán was a passionate speaker, and his tirades against the injustices of Peruvian society and the need for Indian peasants to rebel found a receptive audience. Many students were of Indian heritage and often the first in their families to obtain an education. By the late 1960s, the discussion group had become a political faction calling itself the Communist Party of Peru.

Guzmán studied the theories of Mao Tse-tung, which held that a successful communist revolution did not require an industrialized, urban proletariat; an agrarian, preindustrial society could be transformed into a modern Communist society by making the peasantry politically conscious. Between 1965 and

1967, Guzmán visited China several times and saw the Cultural Revolution unfold. Seeing Mao's theories put into practice radicalized Guzmán, and he returned to Peru convinced that a rapid, violent revolution was necessary to destroy Peru's existing government and culture and institute a peasant dictatorship.

Under Guzmán's leadership, by the mid-1970s the Communist Party of Peru had begun to transform itself into a guerrilla army—the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), a name taken from a quotation by Peruvian Marxist Jose Carlos Mariatigua. Early adherents from San Cristobal became Guzmán's top commanders and closest advisers, with his wife, Augusta, assuming a leading role. Guzmán ran the organization with an iron hand; new recruits were required to sign a loyalty oath not to Shining Path but to Comrade Gonzalo, the nom de guerre Guzmán had chosen for himself. As the organization's power increased, Guzmán's revolutionary fervor would begin to assume legendary proportions: followers regarded him as the “Fourth Sword” of Communist thought, after Marx, Lenin, and Mao. His ability to inspire complete devotion in his followers, especially in his officers—college-educated, middle-class intellectuals—was crucial to Shining Path's success.

Shining Path began military operations in Ayacucho in 1980, rapidly winning peasant support. Guzmán's tight-knit, hierarchical organization easily resisted infiltration by the military. Guzmán regarded anyone with the slightest connection to the state as a potential target, and Shining Path did not hesitate to torture and kill anyone it perceived as an enemy, including civilians. By the late 1980s, in part because of lucrative connections to the drug trade, Shining Path controlled the majority of Peru's countryside.

In 1988, Guzmán decided to focus on Peru's urban coast, particularly the capital, Lima. For four years, Shining Path made steady gains as its bombing campaigns and assassinations immobilized the capital, and the country was brought close to anarchy. In 1992, Peru's president suspended the constitution and declared a state of emergency, effectively placing the country under martial law. In September 1992, Guzmán and 14 other top Shining Path commanders were captured.

The dictatorial control Guzmán exerted over Shining Path proved to be the movement's Achilles' heel. With no clear second-in-command to take over leadership, the organization rapidly disintegrated. In 1993, Guzmán helped negotiate a peace agreement with the government that provided amnesty for former

Shining Path fighters. Sentenced to life in prison, Guzmán is now in solitary confinement in a specially built naval prison in El Callao, outside Lima.

*See also* SHINING PATH

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# H

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## **HABASH, GEORGE (1926– )**

**aka al-Hakim, the Physician**

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Founder of the guerrilla group Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Dr. George Habash was famous for being Yasir Arafat's main rival for many years. The fiery Marxist leader, called al-Hakim or the Physician by his followers, was often said to be the world's second best known Palestinian. Poor health has caused him to largely withdraw from the public arena.

Habash was born in the Palestinian town of Lydda in 1926, the son of a Greek Orthodox family. As a young medical student, Habash fled Lydda in 1948 as a refugee. (His birthplace, now part of Israel, is now called Lod.) Habash earned his medical degree at the American University of Beirut, and in the 1950s he was one of the founders of the Arab nationalist movement.

In 1967, Habash founded the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, combining Arab nationalism with Marxist-Leninist ideology. In the early days of the Damascus-based organization, Habash became known for saying, "[Arafat's] Fatah represents the petite bourgeoisie. The PFLP represents the laboring classes." Habash built his Marxist-Leninist group into the second-largest faction, after Fatah, of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Under Habash's command, the PFLP became famous for a series of spectacular airplane hijackings during the 1960s and 1970s. On a single day in September 1970, PFLP members hijacked American,

Israeli, British, and Swiss airliners and landed them in Amman, Jordan. The PFLP's actions sparked the expulsion of Palestinian guerrillas from their bases in Jordan and led to the fighting between Jordanian troops and Palestinians that would come to be known among Palestinians as Black September.

Habash is known for having trained the infamous international terrorist Carlos the Jackal (Ilich Ramírez Sánchez), and the PFLP is said to have given Carlos his first assignments. Habash made Carlos head of the PFLP's European operations section in 1973.

In 1988, Habash accepted the principle of a divided Palestine and accepted U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338. However, after Arafat signed the Oslo Peace Accords with Israel in 1993, Habash and the PFLP resigned from the PLO Executive Committee in protest.

In 1999, representatives of the PFLP met with Arafat for the first time since the 1993 split. Habash did not attend the meeting, saying that he refuses to meet with Arafat until the Palestinian leader admits that the November 1998 revision of the Palestinian National Charter (in which the Palestinians removed language calling for Israel's destruction) was an error.

Throughout much of his later career, Habash was plagued with health problems. In 1980, he became partially paralyzed as the result of a mistake during brain surgery. He has had several serious strokes and has traveled to Europe for treatment. His trip to France for medical treatment in 1992 caused a furor in that country. He was admitted to a Paris hospital and was allowed to leave France after his three-day stay, while angry opposition parties accused the governing Socialist Party of harboring a terrorist. In what became known as the "Habash affair," four senior civil servants

and an adviser to President François Mitterrand were fired. Mitterrand himself told journalists that when he heard Habash had been allowed into the country he thought that those responsible had gone “mad.”

In recent years, Habash has largely withdrawn from public view; he stepped down from PFLP leadership in July 2000, and continues to live in Damascus, Syria. In August 2001, Israeli forces assassinated Habash's successor, Abu Ali Mustafa, killing him as he sat in his Ramallah office.

*See also* YASIR ARAFAT; HIJACKING; PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE; ILLICH RAMÍREZ SÁNCHEZ (CARLOS THE JACKAL)

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**HAGE, WADIH EL-. See EL-HAGE, WADIH.**

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## HAMAS

**aka Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya, Islamic Resistance Movement, Students of Ayyash, Students of the Engineer, Yahya Ayyash Units, Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades**

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The main Islamic movement in the Palestinian territories, Hamas (“zeal” in Arabic and also an acronym for Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamia, or Islamic Resistance Movement) opposes the Oslo Peace

Accords and does not recognize Israel's right to exist. The military faction of the group, called the Izz-al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, has carried out scores of suicide bombings and terror attacks inside Israel and the occupied territories since Hamas began in 1987. The group's military wing is also said to have carried out attacks on Fatah rivals and Palestinians suspected of collaborating with Israel.

Formed in 1987 during the first *intifada* by members of the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, the group aims to establish an Islamic Palestinian state in place of Israel, on the land once mandated as Palestine. Hamas maintains a large social, religious, and political presence in the Palestinian territories and has built hospitals and schools. The group also engages in political activity, with candidates running in elections for the West Bank Chamber of Commerce.

According to the U.S. State Department, which lists Hamas as a terrorist group, Hamas has an unknown number of hard-core members, plus tens of thousands of supporters and sympathizers, largely in the Gaza Strip. The group also maintained a large presence in Jordan until the fall of 1999, when King Abdullah II came into power and prohibited Hamas from operating. Jordanian authorities then arrested Hamas leaders working in the country and closed Hamas's Political Bureau offices in the capital.

The spiritual leader of Hamas, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, was an Islamic scholar in Cairo during his youth. He was left quadriplegic after a childhood accident but rose to prominence when Hamas emerged from the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Israeli forces arrested Yassin in 1989 and sentenced him to life in prison for ordering the killing of Palestinians suspected of collaborating with the Israeli Army. After eight years in prison, Yassin was released in a trade-off with Jordan for two Israeli Mossad agents who were caught attempting to assassinate a Hamas leader in Jordan.

Yassin is famous for publicly repeating, “The so-called peace path is not peace and it is not a substitute for jihad and resistance.” He is said to provide inspiration for and promise martyrdom to those who engage in suicide bombings. These bombers are often young unmarried men, although women and men with families have also used themselves as human bombs for Hamas. The bombers often strap nail-filled explosives to their bodies that kill them when detonated but also cause greater damage to their victims.

As leader of the Palestinian Authority, Yasir Arafat has long been under international pressure to clamp down on Hamas and other terrorist Palestinian groups, such as Palestinian Islamic Jihad, that carry out terror attacks. The Palestinian Authority's first crackdown on the group was in 1996, when it arrested some 1,000 people and shut down many Hamas institutions including the group's weekly newspaper, *The Message*.

Although Yassin has recognized Arafat and his Palestinian Authority as the only national authority in the Palestinian territories, many other Hamas leaders do not grant recognition, saying that to recognize the Palestinian Authority is to recognize the Oslo Peace Accords. Members of Hamas maintain that they will never be drawn into a civil war with Arafat's Palestinian Authority, despite their ideological differences.

## PEACE PROCESS HALTED

Hamas succeeded in bringing the peace process to a halt in the late 1990s, carrying out multiple bus bombings that killed nearly 60 Israelis in 1996, and attacks in 1997 in Jerusalem that killed 15. These attacks were said to be in retaliation for the Israeli assassination of Hamas commander Yahya Ayyash, known as "the Engineer," who was killed by the blast of a tiny bomb hidden in a cellular phone.

During the 2000 intifada, Israeli, U.S., and other international officials called on Arafat to take greater steps to control Hamas as the group's deadly attacks became increasingly frequent. After a December 2001 bus bombing that killed 10 people in Israel, Arafat ordered the closing of all Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad offices and arrested several Hamas political leaders and many group members. When Palestinian Authority attempts to place Yassin under house arrest caused riots, the Hamas spiritual leader ultimately agreed to a "voluntary" house arrest.

At the close of 2001, the FBI called for the seizure of assets of a Texas charity accused of funding Hamas and publicly tallied Hamas's terrorist acts during the most recent intifada: 20 bombings, 2 shootings, a kidnapping, and a mortar attack between October 1, 2000, and September 10, 2001. These attacks killed 77 and wounded 547. Hamas carried out many more attacks during the spring of 2002.

*See also* YASIR ARAFAT; YAHYA AYYASH; MOSSAD; PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD; SUICIDE TERRORISM

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## HANAFI MUSLIM MOVEMENT

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The Hanafi Muslim Movement was founded in 1958 by Khalifa Hamaas Abdul Khaalis (ne Ernest Timothy McGee). Khaalis was an African American Muslim who had joined the New York-based Hanafi Madh-Hab Center in 1947. The center was a peaceful institution dedicated to the study and teaching of the Hanafi school of Islamic jurisprudence.

The Hanafi school was founded in eighth-century Baghdad by the noted legal scholar Abu al-Hanafa. It was initially involved in developing court of law procedures and rules of evidence for the rapidly expanding Islamic Abbasid Empire. Considered the least "fundamentalist" of the four major schools of Islamic jurisprudence, the Hanafi legal system and interpretations of Islamic law became the preeminent throughout the Ottoman Empire.

## INVOLVEMENT WITH THE NATION OF ISLAM

In 1950, Khaalis joined the Nation of Islam in an attempt to bring its teachings into line with orthodox Islam. At that time, the Nation of Islam taught a kind of Islam that was considered heretical by most Muslim leaders. In 1956, Khaalis became the national secretary of the Nation of Islam.



Khaalid eventually fell out with the Nation of Islam over the group's refusal to adopt mainstream Islam. In 1958, Khaalid left the Nation of Islam and moved to Washington, D.C., where he opened his own Hanafi Madh-Hab Center. At its height, during the 1960s, the center had more than 1,000 members and Khaalid led several protests for Muslim causes. The most famous member of the center was basketball star Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, whom Khaalid had helped convert to Islam.

Khaalid continued to disagree with the teachings of the Nation of Islam. In 1973, five members of the Philadelphia Nation of Islam murdered Khaalid's wife, their four children, and two other Hanafi members. Khaalid was angered by the police investigation, which was, in his view, cursory; the police did not appear interested in finding the killers.

### TAKING HOSTAGES

In 1977, Khaalid and a group of his followers seized control of three Washington, D.C., buildings and took 124 people hostage. Khaalid was protesting what he felt to be the lack of progress in the investigation of his family's murder, and the group was also protesting the planned release of a movie about the life of the prophet Muhammad (many Islamic teachings forbid the display of images of Mohammed).

The hostages in the B'nai B'rith building, the City Council chambers, and the Islamic Center were held for more than 30 hours. One hostage was killed during the initial takeover and several, including Marion Berry, future mayor of Washington, D.C., were injured.

The hostages were eventually released with the help of ambassadors from Egypt, Iran, and Pakistan, who talked Khaalid into giving himself up, at one point taking turns reading to him passages from the Koran emphasizing God's compassion and mercy.

Although the Jewish hostages were subjected to threats and anti-Semitic statements while being held, the incident did temporarily help bring the area's Jewish and Muslim communities closer. After his release, the director of the Islamic Center told the leaders of B'nai B'rith, "Now we are one." After the siege, a statement by the Hanafi Madh-hab Center threatened "all Zionist Jews and their allies" with a "bloodbath."

Khaalid and the other kidnapers were all arrested. Khaalid remains in prison in Washington, D.C., serving a sentence of 41 to 120 years. The Madh-hab Center

is still in operation, teaching orthodox Hanafi Islam. The movie, *Mohammed: Messenger of God*, was never released.

*See also* HOSTAGE TAKING; MILITANT ISLAM

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## HARAKAT UL-MUJAHIDIN

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A large militant Sunni Muslim group that throughout the 1990s operated largely in the disputed states of Jammu and Kashmir on the India-Pakistan border, Harakat ul-Mujahidin once reportedly had troops in such far-flung locales as Bosnia, Tajikistan, Algeria, the Middle East, Chechnya, and the Philippines. The group, headquartered in Pakistan, has recently seen its operations curtailed because of a crackdown on militant groups by Pakistan's government following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States. It has been speculated that Harakat ul-Mujahidin may alter the focus of its attacks to the now-hostile Pakistani regime. Before September 11, Harakat ul-Mujahidin had several training camps in Afghanistan, as well as close ties to the Taliban government of that country and the Saudi radical Osama bin Laden. Indeed, links among the three were so well established that the "American Taliban" John Walker Lindh, a U.S. citizen captured by U.S.-backed forces during the overthrow of the Taliban government in 2001, was briefly a member of Harakat ul-Mujahidin before moving to bin Laden's Al Qaeda. Like Al Qaeda, Harakat ul-Mujahidin is strongly anti-Western and has targeted U.S. and Western European tourists for kidnap and murder.

Harakat ul-Mujahidin was founded as Harakat ul-Ansar in 1993 by Pakistani activist Fazlur Rheman Khalil and four veterans of the war against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The organization, created through the merger of two militias initially established to fight the Soviets, essentially inherited the training camps of a Sunni Muslim faction of the anti-Soviet mujahideen.

Harakat ul-Ansar, which had a mostly Pakistani membership, was established to support Pakistani governance in the states of Jammu and Kashmir. The largely Muslim country of Pakistan and the largely Hindu country of India have long quarreled over which should have sovereignty in Jammu and Kashmir; armed groups within the two states also support independence. Once established, Harakat ul-Ansar quickly received backing from the Pakistani government; in 1994 the group was granted membership in a Pakistani-based umbrella association of Muslim, pro-Pakistani militant groups that operate in Jammu and Kashmir.

In September of that year, Harakat ul-Ansar kidnapped two British citizens on vacation in Kashmir; the two were eventually released. The same month, group members participated in the kidnapping of four Westerners in New Delhi, India. In that case, Indian police arrested the kidnapers and freed the captives. The New Delhi kidnappings were apparently undertaken to secure hostages to trade for the release of Maulana Masood Azhar, also known as Wali Azam, a Harakat ul-Ansar leader arrested in Jammu and Kashmir by India in early 1994.

In July 1995, a Harakat ul-Ansar faction called Al Faran kidnapped six Westerners who were hiking through Kashmir. The kidnapers demanded the release of several jailed militants, including Azhar. One of the captives escaped, but the headless and mutilated body of a second was found a month after the kidnapping. The remaining four were never found and are believed to have been killed by their captors in the winter of 1995. Harakat ul-Ansar initially denied responsibility for the kidnappings, but evidence strongly pointed to the group.

In response to the kidnappings, the United States designated Harakat ul-Ansar as a terrorist organization in 1997, leading Pakistan to reduce its support of the group. Following the U.S. designation, the group changed its name from Harakat ul-Ansar ("Movement of Helpers") to Harakat ul-Mujahidin ("Movement of Holy Warriors"). During 1998 Harakat ul-Mujahidin was active in the fighting between Sunni and Shiite Muslims in the Punjab province of Pakistan.

Several members of Harakat ul-Mujahidin died in August 1998 when the United States launched a cruise missile attack on a bin Laden training camp in Afghanistan. The following year, in a press conference in Islamabad, Pakistan, Khalil announced that his group

would kill 100 Americans for every Muslim killed by the United States.

On December 24, 1999, a group of men believed to be members of Harakat ul-Mujahidin hijacked Indian Airlines Flight 814, which was carrying 189 people from Katmandu, Nepal, to New Delhi. The hijackers stabbed to death a 25-year-old passenger and demanded the release of more than 30 militants, including Azhar.

Eventually the plane began to run out of fuel, and the pilot landed in Amritsar, India. A delay in refueling made the hijackers nervous, and they forced the pilot to take off. The plane was allowed to land and refuel in Lahore, Pakistan. Then the hijackers forced the pilot to fly to Dubai, where the body of the stabbed passenger was unloaded, and finally to Kandahar, Afghanistan, where the plane, still filled with passengers, sat on a runway for six days while Indian authorities negotiated with the hijackers.

On December 31, 1999, an agreement was reached. India released Azhar and two other militants, including Ahmed Omar Sheikh, a Harakat ul-Mujahidin member who had been jailed for the 1994 New Delhi kidnappings. Both men were released in Kandahar, but eventually made their way to Pakistan. Shortly after his release, Azhar founded Jaish-e-Mohammed, a rival militant group espousing an even more radical brand of militant Islam.

In December 2001, Pakistani authorities placed Azhar under house arrest as part of a crackdown on radical groups following the September 11 attacks in the United States and the suicide attack on the Indian Parliament complex in New Delhi. The New Delhi attack was linked to Jaish-e-Mohammed and another radical group, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba. Sheikh, who was also believed to have aligned himself with Jaish-e-Mohammed, was condemned to death in July 2002 after being convicted of the murder of *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl. Members of Harakat ul-Mujahidin are also believed to have participated in Pearl's kidnapping and murder.

The United States has frozen Harakat ul-Mujahidin's U.S. assets; in January 2002, in a significant reversal of earlier policy, Pakistan banned the organization and arrested many members. Despite these setbacks, many observers fear that the remnants of Harakat ul-Mujahidin will join forces with surviving members of other Muslim militant organizations such as Al Qaeda, Jaish-e-Mohammed, and Lashkar-e-Tayyiba to attack Western and government targets in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

*See also* AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; JAISH-E-MOHAMMED; LASHKAR-E-TAYYIBA; MILITANT ISLAM; MUJAHIDEEN; DANIEL PEARL; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS; TALIBAN

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## HAWATMEH, NAJIB (1936 OR 1937– )

aka Nayef Hawatmeh

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Najib Hawatmeh was one of the most powerful Palestinian terrorists during the 1960s and 1970s. Hawatmeh is the founder and leader of the Syria-based militant Marxist group Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP).

Hawatmeh was born to a Greek Orthodox family in Salt, Jordan. He joined Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, but Hawatmeh's disagreements and power struggles with Habash led him to leave the Popular Front in 1969. He formed the Democratic Front, a Marxist-Leninist organization working to create an independent, secular Palestinian state through revolution, and he brought other more radical Popular Front members into his new organization. The group, which was strongly connected with the U.S.S.R. and other communist countries during the Cold War, has long been based in Damascus, Syria.

During the 1970s, Hawatmeh became famous for masterminding plane hijackings and other terrorist acts. In 1974, Democratic Front members attacked a school in the Israeli town of Maalot, taking the children hostage and killing more than 20. When Arafat signed the Oslo Peace Accords with Israel in 1993, Hawatmeh condemned him and famously called Arafat "an American stooge."

Nonetheless, Hawatmeh (said to be acting in accord with Syrian leaders) soon took a more moderate tack. At the funeral for King Hussein of Jordan in February 1999, Hawatmeh shook hands with Israeli president Ezer Weizman and complimented him for being a man of peace. Weizman told Hawatmeh that the time had arrived for Israel to make peace with Syria and Lebanon. The controversial handshake was much discussed in the international press, as reporters and Israeli and Palestinian officials disagreed over who had initiated the gesture.

In August 1999, Hawatmeh met with Arafat for the first time in six years, in response to Arafat's call to strengthen the Palestinian position before upcoming talks with Israel.

Most active during the 1970s and early 1980s, the DFLP has lost much of its influence in recent years. The group now largely focuses on social and political actions. In its most recent global terrorism report, the U.S. State Department did not list the Democratic Front as an active foreign terrorist group.

*See also* YASIR ARAFAT; DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

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## HEARST, PATTY (1954– )

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Heiress to the Hearst newspaper empire, Patty Hearst is best known as a kidnapping victim turned terrorist. As a member of a small, leftist terrorist group in California, Hearst, along with her kidnapers, went to prison in 1976 for bank robbery.

The granddaughter of legendary publishing tycoon William Randolph Hearst, Patty Hearst was raised by her parents to be privileged but not spoiled by their family's wealth. In 1974, while attending college at University of California, Berkeley, and living with her fiancé, Steven Weed, her life suddenly changed dramatically. On the evening of February 4, members of

the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) barged into their apartment, injured Weed badly, and kidnapped Hearst. The SLA held her captive at their safe house for about two months.

Led by a man called Cinque after his escape from prison, the SLA was a radical terrorist group campaigning to overthrow the white bourgeois capitalists of America. SLA members originally intended to exchange Hearst for the release of two SLA members jailed for the murder of Oakland school superintendent Marcus Foster. However, when her capture generated extensive media coverage, the SLA decided it would demand even more. For Hearst to be released, her father would have to organize and pay for the distribution of \$70 worth of food to every poor person in California. This amount exceeded even the wealth of the Hearst family. Although he could not give that much, her father did donate \$2 million, but the distribution locations were looted and the operation was not very successful.

It is said that the SLA then brainwashed Hearst into believing that her father was a “capitalist pig” and that he did not care enough about her or the people to comply with their demands. While keeping her locked in a closet and blindfolded, SLA members battered her with their beliefs and condemned her for her background. It is said that several of the men also raped her. Ultimately, they gave Hearst the choice to go free or stay and fight for the cause with them. Her rationale in deciding to stay has been a cause for great debate. Some believe that Hearst was indeed brainwashed into sympathizing with her captors, while others believe that if she chose to go free they would have immediately killed her and that she complied only to ensure her own survival. Still others believe that Hearst had prior associations with the SLA and had helped them orchestrate her own kidnapping.

Calling herself Tania, Hearst became involved in several of the SLA activities. First, she issued a tape recording to the media denouncing capitalism and her family, and then participated in a San Francisco bank robbery on April 15, 1974. On May 17 of the same year, a shootout occurred between the SLA and police at their safe house in Los Angeles. The house caught fire and six SLA members perished. Hearst and two other SLA members, Bill and Emily Harris, were not present when the shootout occurred. With the help of Kathleen Ann Soliah, the three became fugitives and lived in hiding for more than a year. The FBI was tipped off to their location, and in September of

1975 the FBI found and arrested several remaining members, including Hearst. She was convicted of committing the bank robbery and of using firearms, but served only three years of her seven-year sentence before President Jimmy Carter granted her a pardon in 1979. Released from prison, Hearst married her former bodyguard, Bernard Shaw, and moved to Connecticut where they had two daughters.

Hearst has since written an autobiography and a novel and has acted in several films directed by John Waters. She was called on to serve as a witness during the trial of Soliah (aka Sara Jane Olsen), who was apprehended in 1999 for her involvement with the SLA. On the last day before President Bill Clinton left office, he granted Patricia Hearst an absolute pardon for her role in the bank robbery.

*See also* HOSTAGE TAKING; STOCKHOLM SYNDROME; SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

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## HEZBOLLAH

**aka Ansar Allah, Followers of the Prophet Muhammed, Islamic Jihad, Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine, Islamic Jihad Organization, Organization of the Oppressed on Earth, Organization of Right Against Wrong, Party of God, Revolutionary Justice Organization**

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Hezbollah was responsible for some of the most infamous acts of terror during the Lebanese civil war, including the bombing of the U.S. embassy and Marine barracks in Beirut, the hijacking of TWA Flight 847, and the kidnapping of Western journalists and academics. After the war's end in 1990, Hezbollah reinvented itself as a force in national politics and social programs, while simultaneously continuing to exist as one of the most active and dangerous terrorist groups in the Middle East.

Hezbollah was formed in June 1982 as a radical offshoot of the main Shiite Muslim party, Amal. At

that time, Hezbollah supported the transformation of Lebanon into an Islamic state and collaborated with Palestinian terrorist groups in their fight against Israel. Many Hezbollah leaders had studied theology with Iranian clerics and maintained close ties to Iran during and after its 1979 revolution that brought the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini to power. The group's first leader, Secretary General Sheik Sobhi Tufeili (replaced in May 1991) was famous for refusing to consider Lebanon as a nation-state. Israeli agents assassinated his successor, Abbas Musawi, in 1992. Current Hezbollah leaders include Secretary General Sheik Hassan Nasrallah and spiritual adviser Sheikh Mohamed Hussein Fadlallah.

Hezbollah was first recognized with a representative in Lebanon's Parliament in 1992. The 128-member Parliament now has about a dozen Hezbollah members; the party also owns or funds several hospitals, schools, cultural societies, and charities in Lebanon. Members deliver drinking water to slums, repair roads, and feed the poor. Hezbollah also runs a weekly newspaper, *Al-Ahid*; a television channel, *Al-Manar*; and a radio station, *Al-Nour*.

## WESTERN TARGETS

Early on, Hezbollah targeted Western institutions and individuals. U.S. officials maintain that former Hezbollah security chief Imad Mughniyah, who is one of the FBI's "most wanted terrorists," planned the 1983 suicide truck bombings of the U.S. embassy in Beirut and the attacks on the French and American military headquarters in the city later that year. More than 350 people were killed in the suicide attacks, and the U.S. Marines withdrew from Lebanon soon thereafter.

In the mid-1980s, Hezbollah began kidnapping Westerners and holding them hostage, hoping to gain more influence in regional affairs and bargain for the release of Shiites held in Israeli, Kuwaiti, or Western jails. Militants kidnapped, in separate instances, U.S., British, Irish, French, Saudi, West German, and South Korean nationals. A splinter group called Islamic Jihad, later revealed to also be a front for Hezbollah, publicly claimed responsibility for many of the kidnappings. Ten of the hostages died in captivity, including Beirut CIA station chief William Buckley. For nearly a decade, the kidnappers fed dictated communiqués and orchestrated images to the media.

Associated Press journalist Terry Anderson was seized at gunpoint in western Beirut on March 16,

1985, becoming one of the first Americans to be kidnapped. The former Marine was held in windowless cells, often blindfolded or chained to the floor. Irish national Brian Keenan was abducted in April 1986 as he left his apartment to give a lecture at the American University in Beirut. Four armed men threw him into the back of an old Mercedes and took him to a 4-by-6-foot cell, where he was held in solitary confinement.

English journalist John McCarthy, who had traveled to Beirut to film a news feature on Keenan's kidnapping, was himself abducted on the way to the airport. The kidnapers later confined the two men together in a large room. Still later, Keenan and McCarthy were transferred to a dungeon in the Bekaa Valley where they were imprisoned with Anderson, American University professor Thomas Sutherland, and American Frank Reed. It was common for the captors to beat all of the hostages on the feet, and some of them were chained for days on end.

Although the administration of U.S. president Ronald Reagan had publicly promised not to negotiate with the terrorists, officials secretly negotiated an arms-for-hostages deal with Iran. Professor David Jacobsen, Father Lawrence Martin Jenco, and Rev. Benjamin Weir were released under the arrangement. Congressional investigations into the deal, and charges that the officials were channeling money from the arms sales to the Contras in Nicaragua, led to the resignation of top administration officials. On December 4, 1991, the terrorists released the last remaining captive, Anderson, bringing nearly a decade of hostage-related turmoil and fear to an end.

Although Hezbollah now denies all involvement in the kidnappings, the prisoners told the media that they believed their kidnappers were affiliated with the group. Some hostages talked about seeing pictures of Ayatollah Khomeini on the wall, reinforcing U.S. suspicions that Hezbollah remained closely aligned with Iran. One of the Shiite prisoners that the kidnappers demanded be released in exchange for the Westerners was Mustafa Badreddin, brother-in-law of Hezbollah's security chief Mughniyah. Held in a Kuwaiti jail, Badreddin and 16 other Shiite prisoners escaped during Iraq's invasion of that country.

In 1985, terrorists linked to Hezbollah hijacked TWA Flight 847, commandeering the plane as it traveled from Athens to Rome. The plane flew between Beirut and Algiers a number of times as the hijackers negotiated for the release of Shiite prisoners held



*U.S. Marines and members of the multinational peacekeeping force assess damage after the terrorist truck bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut, Lebanon, on April 18, 1983.*

Source: Defense Visual Information Center.

by Israel. During the ordeal, a U.S. Navy diver was shot and dumped onto the tarmac of the Beirut airport. Their involvement with this hijacking led

the FBI to put Mughniyah, Ali Atwa, and Hasan Izz-al-Din on its list of “most wanted terrorists.”

In the early 1990s, after all other Lebanese militias had disarmed, Hezbollah continued to fight with Israeli troops stationed in southern Lebanon. At times, Hezbollah forces fired Katyusha rockets across the border. Heavy Israeli attacks bombed Shiite villages. In 1996, Israel began a 17-day air raid effort to wipe out Hezbollah bases, fighters, and weaponry.

In 1992, Israeli helicopters fired on a convoy in southern Lebanon, killing Hezbollah leader Abbas Musawi. A month later, a bomb exploded in the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires, Argentina, killing nearly 30 people. In 1999, the Argentine government issued an international warrant for former Hezbollah security chief Mughniyah’s arrest.

After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., President George W. Bush had the U.S. assets of Hezbollah frozen. As the Israeli-Palestinian conflict intensified in 2002, Hezbollah once again attacked across the disputed “blue line,” hitting Israeli villages near the Shebaa Farms. U.S. intelligence believes that

Hezbollah and Al Qaeda have more than a nodding acquaintance with each other. At the time of this writing, it was widely reported in the media that both

organizations, along with a variety of other Islamic terror groups, had held strategy meetings in Lebanon.

*See also* TERRY ANDERSON; ALI ATWA; HASSAN IZZ-AL-DIN; IMAD FAYEZ MUGHNIYAH; TWA FLIGHT 847 HIJACKING

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## HIJACKING

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Also known as skyjacking, airline hijacking was first used as an act of terrorism in the late 1960s by terrorist groups who took command of flights and held passengers and crew hostage in order to make political demands. Press reports have placed the total number of airplane hijackings throughout history to about 1,000. Although many past hijackings ended in tragedy, the scope of hijacking horrors widened on September 11, 2001, when Al Qaeda operatives carried out a hijacking plot that created missiles out of commercial jetliners, destroying the World Trade Center, damaging the Pentagon, and killing thousands.

The first recorded air hijacking took place in 1931, in Peru. However, hijackings did not become well known until after World War II, when Eastern Europeans attempted to take over flights and cross over the line from communist-controlled Europe, landing outside of the so-called Iron Curtain.

In 1961, a commercial airliner flying from Miami to Key West, Florida, was hijacked. The plane was forced to fly to Cuba, beginning the decade-long hijacking spree known as the "Cuban shuttle," as planes between the United States, Cuba, and Mexico were frequently hijacked by homesick Cubans or American leftists.

Although the hijacking of aircraft would soon become a common terror tactic for terrorist groups working to free comrades or gain publicity for a cause, many early hijackings were motivated by simple greed. In a legendary 1971 attempt, Dan "D. B." Cooper took over a Northwest Airlines plane over the Pacific Northwest of the United States. He gathered \$200,000 in ransom and then parachuted out the back of the plane, never to be seen again.

The situation in the Middle East drove hijackings in the late 1960s and 1970s, as Palestinian terrorists brought notoriety to their cause. The first hijacking related to the Palestinian movement happened in July 1968, when hijackers from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) commandeered Israeli El Al Flight 707 in Rome and forced it to fly to Algiers. Flight 707 is often referred to as the only successful hijacking attempt aboard an El Al plane.

On August 29, 1969, Palestinian Leila Khaled, a member of the PFLP, carried out her first hijacking and captured world headlines. Khaled and a cohort stormed the cockpit of TWA Flight 840 from Rome to Tel Aviv. They redirected the plane to Damascus, where the passengers and crew were released unharmed.

On September 6, 1970, Khaled and other Palestinian terrorists from the PFLP carried out the first mass hijacking in history. Khaled, who underwent plastic surgery in order to pass airport security, and a companion hijacked an El Al jet from Amsterdam, while others took planes from TWA, Pan Am, and Swissair. Armed guards aboard the El Al flight opened fire, taking Khaled prisoner and killing her companion. However, the other three planes were successfully hijacked and taken to an airport near Amman, Jordan. The hijackers released the hostages in exchange for Palestinian prisoners, then blew up the planes. The mass hijackings provoked Jordan's King Hussein to declare war on the Palestinian groups in Jordan.

The frequent hijackings soon caused the United States and other countries to take preventive action. Fifty countries ratified in 1970 a U.N. convention calling for stricter measures toward those who unlawfully seizure aircraft. Airports introduced screening and other new security measures in the early 1970s, and the

number of successful hijackings declined. According to press reports, between 1973 and 1979, only one in 36 hijacking attempts was successful.

To further curtail hijacking attempts, the United States put sky marshals on select flights, a program that endured through the Johnson and Nixon administrations. In 1973, the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration instituted systematic searches of passengers and their bags. Many other countries, mostly in Europe, made similar changes to airport procedures. At a 1978 Group of Seven summit meeting, the United States, West Germany, Italy, Japan, Canada, and Great Britain signed a pledge to impose sanctions on countries that give sanctuary to hijackers.

However, hijackings continued throughout the political turbulence of the 1970s. On June 27, 1976, Palestinian terrorists hijacked an Air France jetliner bound from Tel Aviv to Paris and directed it instead to Entebbe, Uganda. Israeli forces carried out a famous raid to rescue the mostly Israeli hostages, killing the hijackers.

Croatian nationalists armed only with Silly Putty hijacked an aircraft in September 1976. The hijackers displayed what they said were “five gelignite bombs” and convinced all aboard TWA Flight 355 from New York to follow their instructions. The hijackers said they had left a bomb and political tracts inside a locker in New York’s Grand Central Station, and demanded U.S. newspapers publish their call for Croatian independence. Police experts opened the locker and found an actual bomb. The device was taken to a police range to be disarmed, but exploded unexpectedly, killing a New York police officer.

In 1977, hijackers calling for the release of prisoners in West Germany commandeered a Lufthansa airliner as it left the Spanish island of Majorca for Frankfurt. The hijackers instead made stops in Rome, Cyprus, Bahrain, Dubai, and Aden, South Yemen, before landing in Mogadishu, Somalia. During the ordeal, the hijackers killed the plane’s pilot and dumped his body onto the Mogadishu airport runway. The hijack attempt ended when German commandos stormed the plane, killing three hijackers and wounding the fourth.

A revisiting of the Cuban shuttle happened in 1980, when, according to press reports, eight U.S. domestic flights were hijacked and rerouted to Havana, Cuba. A Cuban refugee wanting to return home commandeered each plane.

In August 1980, an overwhelming number of passengers, 168, took over a Braniff plane in Peru. The

hijackers demanded to fly to Miami. Reportedly, after they gave up the United States agreed to expedite their immigration applications.

In 1981, three Pakistani hijackers, said to be backed by Soviet Afghanistan, forced a Pakistan International Airlines jet to fly to Kabul, where one passenger was killed. After the plane flew on to Damascus, the Pakistani government agreed to free more than 50 political prisoners and the hostages were released.

A tragic 16-day hijacking ordeal began on June 14, 1985 when two Lebanese Shiite Muslim terrorists, later tied to the Hezbollah organization, hijacked TWA Flight 847 bound to Rome from Athens. The hijackers ordered the pilot to fly first to Algiers, but the planes low fuel supply led him to land in Beirut, where the hijackers demanded the release of hundreds of prisoners held in Israel. One of the gunmen killed Petty Officer Robert Dean Stethem at close range and dumped his body onto the Beirut tarmac. The plane flew back and forth between Algiers and Beirut for several days, until it was finally grounded in Beirut. The hijackers and their accomplices kept many of the passengers and crew hostage until June 30, when Israel agreed to release some of the prisoners.

In November 1985, Palestinians said to be linked to Abu Nidal captured an EgyptAir plane and forced it fly to Malta. Egyptian commandos stormed the plane and 59 people were killed in the shootout.

While aerial hijackings are the best known, the capture of a cruise ship in 1985 is also an important moment in hijacking history. On October 7, four Palestine Liberation Front terrorists seized the Italian cruise liner *Achille Lauro* when it was traveling off Port Said, Egypt. The hijackers held more than 400 people aboard hostage for two days, and shot and killed a wheelchair-bound passenger.

Hijackings continued to occur around the world during the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s, but at a lower frequency. Many terrorist groups turned toward the more deadly tactic of destroying planes in flight, as in the tragic 1988 bombing of an American airliner over Lockerbie, Scotland.

On April 5, 1988, Shiite Muslim terrorists hijacked a Kuwait Airways plane flying from Bangkok to Mashhad, Iran. The hijackers directed the flight to Cyprus and then Algiers, and demanded that Kuwait free imprisoned comrades. The terrorists killed two passengers, and released the remaining passengers after 16 days.





*Dressed in safety gear and armed with a paint gun, a member of a shipboard security team looks into a passageway during antiterrorism training aboard the destroyer U.S.S. Ingersoll. Destroyer security teams use these guns to provide realistic training during defense force exercises.*

Source: Defense Visual Information Center.

A particularly harrowing hijacking took place in Karachi, Pakistan, on September 5, 1986, after hijackers linked to the Abu Nidal Organization took over Pan Am Flight 73. The plane's crew was alerted and slipped out through an emergency exit in the cockpit. The gunmen, dressed as security personnel, held the plane on the tarmac for 16 hours, demanding a new crew to fly to Cyprus. When the plane's auxiliary power stopped working and the lights went dim, the hijackers began firing at the passengers. Pakistani security forces soon burst aboard the plane and rescued the hostages; 22 people died in the incident.

On March 27, 1991, four Pakistani hijackers captured a Singapore Air flight en route from Malaysia to Singapore. The hijackers demanded the release of Asif Ali Zardani, ex-Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's husband. After nine hours, Singapore security forces rushed onto the plane and shot the hijackers to death. No passengers or crew were killed in the incident. A former adviser to Bhutto's government was later arrested and accused of masterminding the hijacking.

On Christmas Eve 1994, terrorists from the Algerian group Armed Islamic Group (GIA) captured an Air France plane at the Algiers airport and flew it to Marseilles. The GIA terrorists killed three passengers before French security forces stormed the jetliner. The commandos burst into the cockpit and killed the hijackers.

Hijackers also took over a plane on Christmas Eve 1999. Terrorists from Kashmir hijacked an Indian Airlines jet en route from Katmandu to New Delhi and forced it to fly to Kandahar. The terrorists demanded the release of their comrades and held the passengers hostage in a weeklong standoff. They released the hostage after India agreed to release the jailed fighters.

On September 11, 2001, the history of air hijacking took an unprecedented violent turn. Terrorists, working as part of the Al Qaeda network, hijacked four U.S. airplanes, flying two of them into the World Trade Center towers in New York City and one into the Pentagon near Washington, D.C. A fourth plane crashed into a field in Pennsylvania. Thousands were killed aboard the airplanes, in the buildings, and on the ground.

**See also** ABU NIDAL ORGANIZATION; *ACHILLE LAURO* HIJACKING; HEZBOLLAH; LEILA KHALED; PAN AM FLIGHT 73 HIJACKING; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE; TWA FLIGHT 355 HIJACKING; TWA FLIGHT 840 HIJACKING; TWA FLIGHT 847 HIJACKING

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### HILL, PAUL (1954– )

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In 1994, Paul Jennings Hill, a former Presbyterian minister, became the first antiabortion terrorist to be sentenced to death for the murder of an abortion provider. Hill was also the first person to be tried under the federal Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances law, which was passed by Congress after the first murder of an abortion provider by Michael Griffin in March 1993.

Hill first embraced the antiabortion movement after graduating from the Reformed Theological Seminary

in Jackson, Mississippi, in 1983. At the time, Hill contemplated assassinating a Supreme Court justice to hasten an appointment that might lead to the overthrow of *Roe v. Wade*; because he was a minister, Hill decided against murder. In 1990, however, Hill voluntarily turned in his ministerial credentials, leaving him free, in his mind, to follow Griffin's lead.

Although Griffin and Hill never met, five days after Griffin shot Dr. David Gunn outside the Pensacola Women's Medical Services clinic in Florida, Hill appeared on a television show, *Donahue*, to justify the murder of Dr. Gunn, who Hill compared to a Nazi concentration camp doctor. Within months of Dr. Gunn's murder, Hill formed Defensive Action, a small antiabortion group that advocated violence to end abortion, and drafted a "Defensive Action Statement," signed by 29 other antiabortion activists.

Hill was quickly becoming one of the most outspoken members of the movement. His rhetoric eventually led to Hill's excommunication from a Presbyterian Church in Valparaiso, Florida, where he lived with his wife and three children. Undaunted, in December 1993, Hill appeared on *Nightline* to justify Rachele Shannon's attempted murder of Dr. George Tiller, an abortion provider in Wichita, Kansas.

Hill protested each week outside the Ladies Center in Pensacola, Florida, where 69-year-old Dr. John Bayard Britton, Dr. Gunn's successor, provided abortion services. On July 29, 1994, Paul Hill arrived at the Ladies Center just before 7:00 A.M. to join the usual Friday protests. A half-hour later, as Dr. Britton and his bodyguard, James Barrett, drove into the parking lot outside the clinic, Hill opened fire with a shotgun, killing both Britton and Barrett; Barrett's wife, June, was also struck, but survived.

Hill claims he had decided to kill Dr. Britton just one week earlier; however, FBI informer Jerry Reiter, once a volunteer with the antiabortion group Operation Rescue, claimed that Hill prophesied, months earlier, an "IRA-type reign of terror" following Griffin's murder trial.

In December 1994, Hill received two life sentences for violating federal clinic protection laws, and was convicted of a Florida State murder charge, for which he was sentenced to death. Unlike Griffin, who denounced antiabortion violence after two years in jail, Hill remains unrepentant. In March 1997, following a Florida Supreme Court decision that affirmed Hill's death sentence, Hill officially waived his right

to participate in the appeals process. In an interview given from the Florida State Penitentiary, Hill has stated that he is convinced he can save more babies by becoming a martyr for the antiabortion movement than by trying to save his own life.

*See also* ANTIABORTION MOVEMENT; MICHAEL GRIFFIN

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## HIZB-UL-MUJAHIDEEN

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Hizb-ul-Mujahideen is one of the largest militant Muslim groups operating in the disputed territories of Jammu and Kashmir—both are claimed by India and Pakistan. Hizb-ul-Mujahideen supports the integration of Jammu and Kashmir into Pakistan, a Muslim country where the group is headquartered. Hizb-ul-Mujahideen is unusual among Muslim groups in that many of its members are native Kashmiris, rather than foreign militants. Hizb-ul-Mujahideen has been linked to the vicious massacres of non-Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir in 1998 and 2000. Although the group has continued to embrace violence, it has more recently reached brief cease-fires with India.

Hizb-ul-Mujahideen was founded in the late 1980s as a militant wing of Pakistan's Jamaat-e-Islami, an Islamic political party. The group was reportedly backed by Pakistan's intelligence agency as a counterforce to the secular, proindependence Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front. Hizb-ul-Mujahideen members received training in terrorist camps in Afghanistan.

For years, Hizb-ul-Mujahideen operated as a sort of a local intelligence wing, assisting other militant Muslim groups whose members were largely foreign. Hizb-ul-Mujahideen attacked both Indian forces and proindependence Kashmiri groups, especially the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front. Eventually, Hizb-ul-Mujahideen became linked with Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, a radical Muslim group known for extremism and violence. Hizb-ul-Mujahideen forces took part in widespread murders of non-Muslims in

Jammu and Kashmir in hopes of creating a Muslim-only state.

Two joint operations between Hizb-ul-Mujahideen and Lashkar-e-Tayyiba attracted especial condemnation. On January 23, 1998, 23 Hindus, including several women and small children, were massacred in the village of Wandhama; two years later, during a visit of the president of the United States to South Asia, 35 Sikh men were slaughtered in Chattisinghpora.

Such violence alienated many supporters of Hizb-ul-Mujahideen. The Wandhama massacre led Jamaat-e-Islami to publicly renounce terrorism in late 1998 and to apparently sever ties with the group. The leader of the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen faction involved in the massacre, Hamid Bhatt, also known as Hamid Gada or Bambar Khan, was forced out of a leadership position because he was considered to be too closely allied with the more radical foreign Muslims. On March 13, 2000, he was killed by security forces operating on information provided by an unpaid Kashmiri Muslim informant.

In late June 2000, Syed Salahuddin, leader of Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, announced a cease-fire and suggested that the group negotiate with India. As a result, he was expelled from the leadership of a Pakistan-based umbrella organization of Muslim militant groups. The cease-fire lasted only a few weeks because Salahuddin insisted that Pakistan be included in any negotiations, a condition India found unacceptable. Nonetheless, brief negotiations did take place, and for the rest of 2000 and 2001, India and Hizb-ul-Mujahideen seemed to alternate between attacking each other and making proposals for further cease-fires and negotiations.

*See also* LASHKAR-E-TAYYIBA; MILITANT ISLAM

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## HOMELAND SECURITY, OFFICE OF

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On October 8, 2001, in response to the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., President George W. Bush issued an executive order creating the Office of Homeland Security (OHS). The mission of the office was to develop and coordinate the implementation of a comprehensive national strategy to secure the United States from terrorist threats or attacks. The office was charged with coordinating the executive branch's efforts to detect, prepare for, prevent, protect against, respond to, and recover from terrorist attacks within the United States.

The Homeland Security Council was also established by the executive order. Members of the council include the directors of the FBI, CIA, and Federal Emergency Management Agency; the attorney general; the secretaries of Defense, Health and Human Services, Transportation, and Treasury; and any other officers of the executive branch designated by the president. The council was to ensure coordination of homeland security-related activities of executive departments and agencies, and the development and implementation of homeland security policies.

More than 40 agencies and offices are responsible for domestic security; the challenge before the OHS was to coordinate and organize these disparate entities—which may have different mandates and goals, are geographically widespread, and may see themselves in competition with each other—into an efficient organization capable of devising successful antiterrorist strategies. Communication is the greatest hurdle: information collected by one agency may not be routinely shared with others, computer systems can be incompatible, and public announcements can contradict one another.

In late 2001, Governor Tom Ridge of Pennsylvania was appointed by Bush to head the Office of Homeland Security. Ridge, a Republican, was familiar with Washington, having served 12 years in the House of Representatives. Ridge grew up in a public housing project in New Jersey, graduated from Harvard, and served in the Vietnam War as a sergeant. He has a reputation as a coalition-builder and a history of successfully battling bureaucracies.

Ridge has been described as having the position of "terrorist czar" in the tradition of presidential appointees given responsibility for high-profile problems



*Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld. Known for his no-nonsense style, the secretary reported on the U.S. War on Terrorism in Afghanistan, Operation Enduring Freedom.*

Source: Department of Defense photograph by R.D. Ward.

and issues. Such “czars” have been named for drugs, AIDS, rubber, and energy; as Congress has not granted them statutory powers, their power, and thus sometimes their success, has been limited. Much depends on the relationship between the president and the appointee.

Ridge is supported by a staff of about 80, which is expected to grow to around 120. The top jobs have been awarded to officials associated with Ridge, Vice President Richard Cheney, and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. The chief deputy, Steve Abbott, is a retired admiral and former senior aide. The OHS is establishing a national coordination center a few miles from the White House that will be staffed by federal employees of the FBI, CIA, and other agencies. The center’s goal is to improve information sharing and coordination among federal agencies, and eventually include state and local agencies.

This OHS agenda includes plans for creating a new border security agency; revamping collection and

distribution of intelligence; creating national homeland security performance standards for federal, state, and local agencies, particularly first responders including police and firefighters; creating a national alert system; and encouraging private industry to improve security. Ridge encountered his first serious opposition while working on border security. Ridge succeeded in negotiating a border security pact with Canada, but critics have argued that the agreement includes nothing that was not under discussion before Ridge’s appointment.

By summer 2002, critics from many quarters suggested that the efforts of the OHS had been largely ineffective, in part because it lacks any real authority over entrenched bureaucracies such as the FBI. In response to these criticisms, President Bush announced a plan to replace the OHS with a Cabinet-level department, thus providing it with a staff and standard procedures, giving it budget authority over antiterrorism spending, making Senate confirmation of its director mandatory, and making it accountable to Congress.

According to the Bush proposal, the new Department of Homeland Security would have a budget of \$37.4 billion and be organized into four divisions: Border and Transportation Security; Emergency Preparedness and Response; Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear Countermeasures; and Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection. As such, the department would take control of a variety of functions now overseen by the Department of Justice, the Treasury, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the FBI, as well as the Commerce, Transportation, and Energy departments. Although the House passed legislation approving a new department, there was opposition in the Senate to the proposal, because of disagreement over collective bargaining rights of the new department’s employees.

*See also* NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS

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**HOORIE, ALI SAED BIN ALI, EL-. See EL-HOORIE, ALI SAED BIN ALI.**

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## HOSTAGE TAKING

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Hostage taking is the act of abducting and/or imprisoning a person for political or monetary gain; since the 1960s, it has evolved into one of the distinctive tactics of modern terrorism.

The practice of taking hostages has a long history. In ancient and medieval times, hostages (often the families of nobles) were sometimes taken by rival powers during times of peace, in the hope that the possibility of their death would prevent the outbreak of war. In war, kings and other rulers were also often captured and held hostage in exchange for ransom payments. This kind of hostage taking had generally ceased with the evolution of the modern nation-state—the relationship of a political leader to the hostage, or the hostage to the functioning of a state, was no longer so close or direct. Terrorism in the 1960s reverted to some of the earlier concepts: terrorists regard individuals as emblems of their nation and do not distinguish between combatants and civilians in planning attacks.

Hostage taking as a major terrorist tactic was encouraged in the late 1960s and early 1970s by the rise of urban guerrilla warfare and the revolutionary ideology of George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Since the 19th century, guerrilla uprisings have been endemic in Latin America; the guerrillas, however, operated in remote rural areas, and their strategies and tactics depended on their ability to retreat into and hide in the jungle. Not until the theories of Brazilian communist Carlos Marighella, set forth in his *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla* (1969), became popular did guerrillas begin to operate in cities. Marighella's treatise discussed the threefold purpose of terrorism: to disrupt the workings of government and civil authority, to create a climate of fear and apprehension among the populace, and to publicize the terrorists' cause. Hostage taking, especially when the victim is a high government official or industrial leader, accomplishes all these purposes.

Beginning with the abduction of the U.S. ambassador to Brazil in 1969, guerrillas across Latin America executed a daring series of kidnappings over the next

several years, in particular targeting diplomats and the executives of Western companies. Governments reacted variously to the kidnappings, with some making concessions to terrorist demands and others adamantly refusing to negotiate. Latin American guerrillas proved that hostage taking could be an effective and profitable terrorist tactic. Even if the hostage were rescued or killed and no ransom received, the kidnappings brought immense publicity to the terrorist group.

Latin American terrorist groups laid the groundwork, but Habash and the PFLP were the first to put the principles they had demonstrated into action in the Middle East. A Marxist, Habash's primary goal was the liberation of Palestine; his ambition was to spark world revolution. Perhaps his most important innovation was the idea of an international terrorist front, in which terrorists from various countries and groups (many with widely varying goals and allegiances) supported each other's operations and worked together on specific attacks. During the early 1970s, at the peak of the PFLP's power, the Palestinian group was provided training and funds to terrorist groups from around the world, and in turn terrorists from Germany, Japan, Uruguay, Venezuela, Lebanon, and Turkey took part in operations to further the Palestinian cause.

The PFLP was able to seize world attention to a degree undreamed of by its Latin American counterparts. The Latin American guerrillas had generally kidnapped their victims. Kidnapping offers a tactical advantage: as long as security forces are unable to locate the hostage—often extremely difficult and sometimes impossible—the government is generally compelled to negotiate in some way with the terrorists and may acquiesce to some of their demands. The PFLP and its associate groups, by contrast, favored much more public attacks, in which a band of terrorists would take over a given location (a building, train, or airplane) and conduct negotiations on the spot. The PFLP pioneered airplane hijacking for political purposes with its July 1968 attack on an El Al flight; some of the many other terrorist attacks in which the PFLP was involved include a 1974 attack on the French embassy at The Hague, Netherlands, and a 1975 attack on an Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries meeting in Austria attended by representatives of more than a dozen countries.

Because such hostage situations are public, the media can and do provide live, round-the-clock coverage, greatly increasing public awareness of the terrorists' cause. Intense media coverage also makes

such attacks considerably more risky, both for the hostages and the terrorists. Although governments strive to keep the progress of negotiations secret, the heavy media coverage usually means that both resistance and acquiescence to the terrorist demands are often known instantly; terrorists encountering resistance often kill one or more hostages to prove their seriousness.

Another risk to the hostages is the Stockholm syndrome, a psychological phenomenon named after a bank robbery in which hostages were taken in Stockholm, Sweden. In that event, after several days of imprisonment, some of the hostages came to sympathize with their captors, even defending them from the police. Psychologists believe that the Stockholm syndrome may be a consequence of the hostages' desperate attempt to stay alive; what may begin as an attempt to stay on their captor's good side transmutes into complete identification with their captor. Patty Hearst is generally regarded as the most famous victim of the Stockholm syndrome. In 1974, she was kidnapped by members of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA); after weeks of being beaten and imprisoned she joined the SLA and helped them rob a bank.

The terrorists are also endangered by taking hostages in a public place—the government knows the whereabouts of the hostages, thus an attempt at rescue is always possible. During the initial wave of hostage takings in the late 1960s and 1970s, the responses of governments involved were often confused and inconsistent because of inexperience. (Tragedies such as the massacre of the Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics resulted.) Since the safety and release of the hostages were the paramount concerns of the authorities, governments sometimes the granted huge concessions to the terrorists, for example, ransom money, freeing of imprisoned terrorists, and safe passage to a terrorist-sponsoring state. Governments soon realized that such concessions only encouraged more such attacks. By the mid-1970s, hostage negotiation protocols had begun to be developed, and governments began to deploy highly trained commando teams to rescue hostages, for example, the 1976 Entebbe, Uganda, operation of the Israeli Defense Force.

These tactics had their effect, and through the 1980s and 1990s the type of spectacular attacks that the PFLP had used to capture world attention (and that had been imitated by many others) became less and less frequent. The new counterterrorist methods were not foolproof; the 1979 hostage crisis in Iran revealed their



*Hostage-taking scene from Exercise Orbit Sunset at Fort Mead, Maryland. The training exercise was designed to test the base's special threat operations plan and the counterterrorism readiness of the 519th Military Police Battalion and the 144th Explosive Ordnance Disposal Unit.*

Source: Defense Visual Information Center.

shortcomings. In 1979, Iranian students overran the American embassy and subsequently held 53 hostages for more than 14 months. The government of Iran tacitly condoned the students' actions, and, in the resulting atmosphere of mutual hostility, direct negotiations with the hostage takers could not be conducted. In the end, the United States was forced to make certain strategic concessions to win the hostages' release.

A series of abductions of journalists and other Westerners in the mid-1980s in Lebanon also demonstrated the limitations of counterterrorism, for crisp and efficient military operations such as those that had freed so many other hostages were impossible in that country, torn as it was by civil war. One hostage in Lebanon, Terry Anderson, was held for nearly seven years.

In the late 1990s, guerrilla-style kidnappings once again became a favored terrorist tactic, with tourists and businesspeople the primary targets. This wave of kidnappings has further blurred the line between politics and crime. Ransom demands have always been associated with hostage taking, but groups such as the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) have begun treating hostage taking less as a means of attracting publicity to their cause and more as a

for-profit enterprise, generally choosing wealthier but less visible targets, such as midlevel executives and other professionals. Hundreds of people are kidnapped each year in Colombia by the FARC and other guerrilla groups; their ransoms bring millions of dollars of funding to these groups. Almost endemic in Colombia, for-profit kidnapping has also become a worrisome occurrence in the Philippines, Kashmir, and many Latin American countries. Many experts caution that terrorists' use of a particular tactic is cyclic in nature, as governments unacquainted with past crises move into power. Given the long history of hostage taking and the many terrorist goals it can be accomplish, the tactic is certain to continue to be a threat.

**See also** GEORGE HABASH; PATTY HEARST; HIJACKING; CARLOS MARIGHELLA; MUNICH OLYMPICS MASSACRE; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE; REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF COLOMBIA; STOCKHOLM SYNDROME

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## HUSSEIN, SADDAM (1937–)

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Saddam Hussein is the dictator of Iraq, a position he attained and maintains through the use of state terror. He has also sponsored international terrorism for almost 30 years.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Hussein was born on April 28, 1937, in the village of Al Auja, near the town of Tikrit, in northern Iraq. His father appears to have died before his birth, and he was raised by his mother, Subha, and stepfather, Ibrahim Hassan. The family was poor, and relations between Hussein and his stepfather seem to have been strained; Hussein did not attend school until he left home at age 10, when he went to live with his maternal

uncle, Khayrallah Tulfah, in Baghdad. Khayrallah, a schoolteacher and former Army officer, became a significant influence in his life.

A mediocre student, Hussein failed the entrance exam for the Baghdad military academy in the mid-1950s. He then worked at a series of odd jobs and became involved in the Ba'th Party. The Ba'th was a socialist, pan-Arab group that dreamed of deposing the Western-supported monarchs who then ruled most Arab nations and uniting all Arab people in a single modern state. Hussein became a recruiter for the Ba'th youth wing in Iraq, leading street protests and organizing gangs.

In 1958, a coup led by Gen. Abdul Karim Kassam overthrew the Iraqi monarchy. The Ba'th rapidly became dissatisfied with Kassam's leadership, however, and in 1959 Hussein was involved in attempting to assassinate Kassam. When the attempt failed, Hussein fled to Syria, where he joined other Ba'th exiles.

While Iraq was roiled with political turmoil, Hussein studied law in Cairo and rose within party ranks. His cousin, Gen. Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr, was an important Ba'th leader, and his patronage brought Hussein a number of important positions. In 1968, al-Bakr led another coup, becoming president of Iraq, while Hussein became head of Iraq's security services.

Hussein then began his quest for power in earnest. He used his control of the Iraqi intelligence agencies to attach agents loyal to him to Army units at every level, thus neutralizing the only segment of Iraqi society that could contend against the Ba'th Party. Eventually, all non-Ba'th leaders involved in the 1968 coup were forced to step down; most were executed. At the same time, Hussein vastly increased membership in the Ba'th Party, and made such membership a prerequisite for certain forms of employment.

Hussein began accumulating ministerial positions. At first he took on less glamorous jobs that other party leaders did not want (the intelligence position being one such), but eventually he added the ministries of health and education to his portfolio, becoming al-Bakr's second-in-command. Hussein used his position to provide patronage to his family and to old acquaintances from Tikrit, thus creating a pool of loyalists. Hussein remained deferential to al-Bakr, who enjoyed all the privileges of office while being taxed with none of the work, and al-Bakr's faith in and reliance on Hussein increased.

By the mid-1970s, al-Bakr was largely a figurehead; Hussein truly ran the country. In 1979, after al-Bakr made a belated attempt to regain power, Hussein forced him to step down and made himself president of Iraq.

## CONNECTIONS TO TERRORISM

Hussein has been likened to Joseph Stalin, and Iraq under his rule to Stalinist Russia; the comparison is apt and useful in expressing the quality of terror employed by his regime to control the people of Iraq.

Hussein has apportioned power in Iraq to members of his family, their loyalty guaranteed by his patronage and their fear. Almost every agency or department within the government reports directly to him or to a member of his family. He has created many intelligence agencies; their agents are expected to spy not only on the Iraqi people but also on other agencies, and then report directly to Hussein. The slightest dissent or protest against his rule is considered treason and often carries a sentence of death. Iraqi security forces routinely use physical and psychological torture to extort confessions or information from prisoners, and Hussein has ordered extra-judicial executions. This overarching state terror is designed to impress upon the Iraqi people that there is no alternative to Hussein's rule.

Despite Hussein's best efforts, however, two groups have openly resisted his regime: Kurds and Shiite Muslims. The Shiites form the majority of Iraq's population; their exclusion from political power by minority Sunni Muslims forms the basis of their dissent. Several Shiite leaders have been imprisoned and executed.

The Kurds, a mostly Muslim ethnic group with their own language and culture distinct from Arab Iraqis, have long desired a separate state. Since the 1920s, they have engaged in periodic rebellions. In the mid-1970s, Hussein began a campaign (which continues today) to nullify Kurd resistance by forcibly removing Kurdish people from their homes in northern Iraq and moving them to southern Iraq. Some observers contend that the relocation campaign amounts to an attempt to eliminate the Kurds and constitutes genocide. In 1988, during the last days of the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), Hussein bombed dozens of Kurdish villages with a still-unknown mixture of chemicals, possibly including

the nerve agent sarin and cancer-inducing aflatoxin. Tens of thousands of people are believed to have been killed.

In addition to his actions against his own people, Hussein has supported various terrorist groups. The Abu Nidal Organization (ANO) operated from Iraq from 1974 to 1983 and undertook attacks against Syria at Hussein's behest. The leader of the ANO is believed to have returned to Iraq in 1999, and Hussein may once again be funding the organization. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Hussein channeled funds to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), but the PLO-Iraq connection was suspended following the 1991 Gulf War.

Hussein has also sponsored Abu Abbas, the former PLO member responsible for dozens of bombings, and Abu Ibrahim, founder of the 15 May Organization, which was responsible for many bombings in the early 1980s. Both men are believed to be currently living in Baghdad.

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In 1990, Iraq invaded and annexed neighboring Kuwait. Believing that Iraq intended to invade Saudi Arabia and take control of the region's oil supplies, President George Bush organized a multinational coalition to seek Kuwait's freedom and restoration of its legitimate government, and he ordered U.S. troops to protect Saudi Arabia at the Saudis' request. In 1991, after U.S. and coalition forces smashed through Iraq's defenses, Allied and Iraqi military leaders negotiated a cease-fire, and Iraq agreed to abide by all of the U.N. resolutions passed to protect Kuwait's independence. The cease-fire terms also required Iraq to accept the



imposition of “no-fly zones” over her territory and to allow United Nations inspection of her nuclear and other weapons programs.

At the end of the Persian Gulf War, the U.N. Security Council created UNSCOM, a special commission to find and dismantle biological- and chemical-weapons and ballistic-missile programs. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was charged with uncovering and dismantling Iraq’s clandestine nuclear program. The U.N. imposed economic sanctions on Iraq that would be enforced until the country eliminated all nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons.

From 1991 to 1998, UNSCOM and IAEA carried out numerous inspections in Iraq, but with varying degrees of success. For the first few years, Iraqi officials failed to disclose much of their special weapons programs to the inspectors. In 1995, Saddam Hussein’s son-in-law Kamel Hussein defected. He had been in charge of the bioweapons program and revealed to UNSCOM that there was a vast arsenal of weapons they had failed to uncover, including biological weapons, and described how the Iraqis were hiding them. This was a breakthrough for the inspection teams, and they continued their work until 1998, when Iraq blocked further access and expelled UNSCOM.

In the aftermath of September 11, President George W. Bush urged increased pressure on Iraq to allow weapons inspections that would lead to disarmament. The U.S. Department of Defense also began investigating possible links between Iraq and Al Qaeda. In October 2002, the U.S. Congress authorized President Bush to use force against Iraq if

Iraq refused to cooperate fully with U.N. weapons inspections and agree to disarmament.

At the time of this writing, great upheavals are taking place in the Middle East, and a second war between the United States and Iraq is a distinct possibility. The current uncertainty makes predicting the future direction of Hussein’s regime difficult. Analysts suggest that, if threatened with defeat, Hussein would likely not hesitate to employ weapons of mass destruction.

**See also** ABU NIDAL ORGANIZATION; BIOLOGICAL TERRORISM; CHEMICAL TERRORISM; 15 MAY ORGANIZATION; PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION; PERSIAN GULF WAR; STATE TERRORISM; STATE-SPONSORED TERRORISM; WAR ON TERRORISM; WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

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**IBDA-C. See GREAT EASTERN ISLAMIC RAIDERS' FRONT.**

**IMU. See ISLAMIC MOVEMENT OF UZBEKISTAN.**

**INLA. See IRISH NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY.**

**INTERAHAMWE. See ARMY FOR THE LIBERATION OF RWANDA.**

**INTERNET. See CYBERTERRORISM.**

**IRA. See IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY.**

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## **IRANIAN HOSTAGE CRISIS**

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Beginning in late 1979, Iranian radicals held 53 Americans hostage for a grueling 444 days. Americans hungry for news of the hostages watched television

reports and taped statements from the captives, and their safety and return became a national focus. The inability of the administration of U.S. president Jimmy Carter to quickly master the crisis is often cited for Carter's loss to Ronald Reagan in the 1980 presidential election.

The crisis developed in the midst of Iran's Islamic revolution, after the U.S.-supported Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi fled the country in January 1979. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, living in exile in Paris, returned to Tehran in February, and anti-American sentiment reached a fever pitch. The hostage crisis began soon after the United States permitted the Shah to enter the country for cancer treatment in October 1979.

On November 4, a crowd of about 500 radical students occupied the U.S. embassy in Tehran, taking embassy employees hostage. The students soon had the backing of Khomeini and most of the government and demanded concessions from the United States and Iran's former monarch. After capturing approximately 90 people inside the embassy, the captors freed most of the women, non-Americans, and African Americans. They held the remaining 53, many of them elderly diplomats, hostage until January 1981.

Television screens across the United States broadcast images of the hostages nearly every night and showed video messages released by the kidnapers. Soon after the hostages were taken, ABC began showing a nightly report called *America Held Hostage*; the show's name was changed in the spring of 1980 to *Nightline*. The hostages were often shown handcuffed and blindfolded, growing thinner as the ordeal continued. Two Christmases in a row, Katherine Koob,

director of the Iran-America Society, looked into the cameras to send a message home and gathered enough wry humor to report that she had finally solved her weight problem.

According to the captives' later testimony, many were tied to chairs, blindfolded, for weeks at a time. They worked to keep records of their days and even fashioned a coffee stove from a discarded tin can. At times they were separated into small groups and not allowed to communicate; at least one hostage attempted suicide.

In the winter of 1979, Penelope Laingen, wife of hostage Bruce Laingen, tied a yellow ribbon around a tree in the front yard of her Maryland home. Millions across the nation followed suit, hanging yellow ribbons as symbols of solidarity with the hostages and hoping for the prisoners' safe release. However, President Carter's diplomatic attempts and economic sanctions (halting oil imports from Iran and freezing Iranian assets in the United States) failed to bring the captives home.

## DESPERATE TIMES

As the crisis dragged on, the administration called on the military. The United States launched a failed airborne commando raid called Operation Eagle Claw in April 1980 that ended in disaster after a rescue plane and a helicopter collided during a sandstorm in the Iranian desert. Eight people were killed in the accident. Without enough spare helicopters to continue, mission leader Army Col. Charles Beckwith aborted the mission. The hostages later told the press that their treatment worsened thereafter.

President Carter took full responsibility for the disastrous attempt; Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, who had opposed the mission, resigned in its wake. Beckwith wrote in his memoirs that he had recurring nightmares after the failed mission.

In Iran, hard-line anti-Western clerics gained influence over moderates during the hostage crisis and justified the situation by documenting what they saw as U.S. actions hostile to Iran. The students who had captured the embassy published classified documents that revealed U.S. intelligence activities in Iran.

In 1980, the Shah died in exile in Egypt. After Iraq invaded Iran in September 1980, starting the eight-year Iran-Iraq War, the Iranian government became more receptive to resolving the hostage situation. The United States had broken diplomatic ties with Iran because of the ongoing crisis; negotiations for release

were brokered through Algeria. Iran demanded \$24 billion in exchange for the hostages' release, later dropping that figure to \$20 billion, and then \$8 billion.

After months of talks, the hostages were released on January 20, 1981—the day of Reagan's inauguration as president. The captives, who had been held for one year and 79 days, were released after the United States unfroze \$8 billion in Iranian assets. The hostages were brought to the U.S. Air Force hospital in Wiesbaden, Germany, for medical assessment and treatment before being flown home.

In 1991, eight of the hostages signed a letter demanding that the U.S. Congress investigate claims that the Reagan-Bush campaign delayed the hostages' release in 1980. A congressional task force later cleared the campaign.

*See also* HOSTAGE TAKING; OPERATION EAGLE CLAW

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## IRGUN ZVAI LEUMI

aka Etzel, IZL

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The main Jewish underground militant group during Israel's formation, the Irgun Zvai Leumi is famous for blowing up the British administration headquarters in the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, killing 91 people.

Formed in 1931, the Irgun revolted against British rule over Palestine, demanding that the British leave the country and calling for the establishment of a Jewish state.

The Irgun and other militant Zionist factions began a fierce armed struggle against Britain in British-ruled Palestine as it became clear that the Balfour Declaration of 1916, which promised the Jewish people a national home in Palestine, was being ignored. In 1939, the British signed what is known as the "White

Paper," which limited Jewish immigration into the territory to 75,000 through 1944.

In 1943, former Polish soldier and Zionist youth movement leader Menachem Begin became leader of the Irgun. Later prime minister of Israel, Begin was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978 for his work toward peace in the Middle East.

During World War II, the Irgun believed Germany to be a greater enemy of the Jewish people and ceased attacks on British military installations. Some Irgun supporters even joined the British Army. However, not all Irgun members were in agreement about this temporary peace with the British. Avraham Stern declared the British to be the ultimate enemy and led a more extreme splinter group called Lehi, or the Stern Gang, to carry out attacks on British targets even as the fight against the Nazis raged.

After World War II, British troops blocked the arrival of Jewish Holocaust survivors seeking a refuge in Palestine. The Irgun resumed its attacks on the British, and carried out what is now perhaps the best-known Jewish strike against British administration in Jerusalem. On July 22, 1946, Irgun operatives set out disguised as hotel workers to place bombs hidden in milk churns inside the King David Hotel, where much of the British administration in Palestine was based. According to Begin and other Irgun commanders, the group made three phone calls to people inside before the blast in hopes of minimizing casualties. The British denied that they were warned. In any case, the staff of the government secretariat and military command remained in their rooms; the blast killed 91 people: 41 Arabs, 28 Britons, 17 Jews, and five others.

After the King David bombing, Irgun continued to fight against British forces, often brutally retaliating for attacks on Irgun operatives. In response to the executions of its men by the British, the Irgun captured and executed two British sergeants in 1947, leaving their bodies hanging on a tree. The British instituted a manhunt, and offered a £10,000 reward for Begin, dead or alive. A 1947 Irgun raid on a British prison in the fortress of Acre led to spectacular escapes; more than 200 people broke free, including 41 Irgun and Stern Gang members. In a controversial attack in 1948, more than 200 Palestinians were killed by Irgun forces at the village of Deir Yassin.

The Irgun emerged from the underground in May 1948, after the proclamation of the state of Israel. Begin and the Irgun kept fighting independently, however, until June. After the Irgun arms ship *Altalena* was shelled by Israeli artillery on June 22, Begin

accepted the authority of Israel's first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion. He transformed the Irgun into a political movement, the Herut, or Freedom, Party.

*See also* KING DAVID HOTEL BOMBING; STERN GANG

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## IRISH NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY

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The Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) is a Marxist terrorist group that has campaigned since 1974 for a united Ireland.

Since the late 1960s, Northern Ireland has endured armed conflict between the province's Roman Catholics (also called Republicans or Nationalists), who want Northern Ireland to become part of the Republic of Ireland, and the province's Protestants (also called Loyalists or Unionists), who want it to remain a part of the United Kingdom. The resurgence of violence in the 1960s brought about a revival of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), which was originally formed in 1919. The modern IRA split into two factions in late 1969. One, calling itself the Provisional IRA, went on to become the largest and most powerful of the Republican paramilitary groups; it is the Provisional IRA most outsiders think of when they think of the IRA.

The other faction, calling itself the Official IRA, was less ideologically committed to armed struggle. The leaders of the Officials were leftists with Marxist inclinations; they believed that Protestant and Catholic working-class solidarity could overcome sectarian interests. The Officials were thus much more open to political solutions and intercommunity dialogue. In 1972, the Officials declared a cease-fire, hoping to parlay their military strength into open political power.

Dissatisfied with the Officials' continuing cease-fire, in December 1974 a small faction of Official members, who shared the group's Marxist beliefs but lacked their leadership's faith in the political process, formed the Irish National Liberation Army. The political wing of the INLA, founded simultaneously, is

called the Irish Republican Socialist Party. At present, most observers believe it to have no more than a few dozen members. (It has sometimes carried out attacks using the cover names People's Liberation Army, People's Republican Army, and the Catholic Reaction Force.) At the height of its power in the mid- to late 1970s, the INLA was estimated to have more than 100 members

The Officials were displeased with the INLA's defection from its ranks; in early 1975, a feud erupted between the two groups. The first death attributed to the INLA is that of an Official IRA leader, Paul Crawford, in April 1975. In the years following, the INLA would be involved in several more vicious feuds, both with other paramilitary forces and within the group itself.

The INLA was responsible for several significant terrorist attacks, including the 1979 car bombing in parking lot of the House of Commons that killed Airey Neave, a prominent Unionist member of Parliament, and the 1982 bombing at the Droppin' Well disco, which killed 17 people, 11 of them British soldiers. The INLA was also very involved in the 1981 prison hunger strikes led by IRA member Bobby Sands; of the 10 men who died, three were INLA members. In December 1997, three INLA prisoners obtained a gun and assassinated Billy "King Rat" Wright, leader of the Loyalist Volunteer Force, in the courtyard of the Maze prison. Wright's death led to riots and a string of revenge killings both inside prison walls and beyond them.

On August 22, 1998, following the Omagh bombing by splinter group the Real IRA, the INLA declared a cease-fire. (Government security forces allege that INLA and Real IRA provided mutual aid; they believe that the INLA provided the vehicles that the Real IRA used in the Omagh bombing.) The INLA is thought to be responsible for between 125 and 150 deaths. Although the INLA has maintained its cease-fire since 1998, it has not disarmed and claims it retains the right to engage in armed campaigns.

*See also* IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; REAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY

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## IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY

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The Irish Republican Army (IRA) is a terrorist organization originally formed in 1919 and revived in the late 1960s that aims to reunite the Republic of Ireland with Northern Ireland, a province of the United Kingdom.

### ORIGINS

When the IRA was originally formed, all of Ireland was a British colony. The majority of Ireland's population was Roman Catholic, Celtic, and nationalist—that is, desirous of independence. In the northeast of the country, however, the majority of the population was Protestant, of British or Scots descent, and intent on remaining part of Great Britain.

Under the leadership of Michael Collins, the IRA successfully instigated the Anglo-Irish War (1919–1921).

The peace treaty that followed called for Ireland's partition: 26 Irish counties would become the largely independent Irish Free State, while the remaining 6 northeastern counties (Antrim, Down, Fermanagh, Armagh, Derry, and Tyrone) would become the province of Northern Ireland (also called Ulster) and be governed by a special Parliament in Belfast.

A great number of IRA members were dissatisfied with the treaty—they wanted all 32 counties to be included in the Irish Republic. A civil war between the pro- and antitreaty forces was fought during 1922–1923. The protreaty forces were victorious, but the IRA remained viable, although membership and activities gradually declined. The contemporary IRA regards itself as a continuation of the organization begun in 1919, with the same goal—a 32-county Irish Republic.

### REVIVAL OF THE IRA

Catholics were widely discriminated against in Protestant-dominated Northern Ireland, most notably in the arrangement of voting districts, distribution of

public housing, and employment, particularly in the civil service. Inspired by the civil rights movement in the United States, in 1967 the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) was formed to agitate on behalf of Catholic rights.

Many Protestants (also called Unionists or Loyalists) felt that NICRA's protest marches and sit-ins were merely a covert method of stirring up Republican sentiment. They began to organize counter-marches and protests. During 1968–1969, marches by both sides had sparked riots. On August 12, 1969, a Protestant march in the city of Derry incited a three-day riot. The violence spread throughout the province and was particularly vicious in Belfast, where six people died and Catholic homes were burned. British troops were called in to restore the peace.

The IRA made a lackluster showing as a Catholic defense force during the riots; indeed, the Catholic population warmly welcomed the British troops, viewing them as their only protection from the Protestant mobs and local police force, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC). A crisis ensued within the IRA's depleted ranks. At a meeting of the leadership in late 1969, the organization split. One faction became the Official IRA, which was dedicated to accumulating political power that could be openly exercised. The Official IRA declared a cease-fire in 1972 and has largely been inactive since (the cease-fire spawned the Irish National Liberation Army).

The second faction called itself the Provisional IRA because its leadership and structure had not been formally codified. The Provisionals (also known as Provos or the PIRA) were committed to a military struggle as the only solution to Northern Ireland's conflict. They adopted many of the same structures as the 1919 IRA, instituting a governing body called the Army Council, organizing their forces into brigades (one for each county) that were further subdivided into battalions and companies, and associating with a political party called Sinn Féin, which had been associated with the original IRA.

Viewing British military presence in Northern Ireland as the most important obstacle to Irish reunification, the Provisionals targeted British military installations and soldiers, the RUC and Northern Irish politicians, Loyalist paramilitary forces, and sites in mainland England in an effort to force the British to withdraw. Although the IRA views itself as choosing legitimate military and economic targets, in truth its campaigns have killed far more civilians than security forces.

## RISE OF THE PROVISIONALS, 1969–1974

After its formation, the Provisional IRA began to set itself up as a Catholic defense force. Catholic neighborhoods in Derry and Belfast had become “no go” areas after the riots; neither the British Army nor the RUC was allowed inside them, a prohibition enforced by IRA snipers. Instead, the Provisionals patrolled the Catholic neighborhoods, conducting punishment beatings of petty criminals and occasionally executing them.

During this period, the relationship between the British Army and Catholic residents deteriorated severely, and IRA membership soared for two reasons: the 1971 introduction of internment without trial, meaning a suspect could be arrested and held for months without charge, and the events of January 30, 1972, a day known as “Bloody Sunday.” On that day, members of the British Parachute regiment opened fire on a crowd of unarmed civil rights demonstrators in Derry, killing 14.

The worst year of the conflict, 1972, saw 479 people killed and more than 5,000 injured. In March 1972, the IRA detonated the world's first car bomb in Belfast. On March 22, 1972, the British government suspended the Northern Irish Parliament at Stormont and instituted direct rule from London. The IRA regarded the move as a clear indication that it was winning and escalated the violence.

In 1973, the British government made its first attempt to establish peace, initiating secret talks with the IRA and public discussions with more moderate Unionist and Nationalist political parties. The result was the Sunningdale Agreement, which contained many of the same provisions as the current Good Friday Accords. Protestant Unionists despised the agreement, and the Ulster Worker's Council launched a massive strike, effectively crushing Sunningdale.

The IRA did not see the agreement's failure as a setback; ignoring the massive Unionist opposition, it felt the agreement's failure would make Britain more inclined to withdraw. Declaring 1974 the “Year of Victory,” the IRA began a bombing campaign in Britain itself, hoping it would push the British to withdraw. Forty-three people were killed in the attacks on England's soil, 21 of those in the November 1974 Birmingham Pub Bombing. The campaign, however, had the opposite effect. Following the pub bombings, the British Parliament passed the Prevention of Terrorism Act, which gave the police sweeping new powers.

In the years that followed, the British government began to change its antiterrorism tactics. It abolished internment and launched a new “criminalization” strategy—reducing military presence by restoring civil authority in the form of the RUC and treating terrorist offenses as criminal acts to be handled by criminal courts, not as a form of political rebellion to be put down militarily.

## THE LONG WAR

By this time, the IRA had settled in for a war of attrition, known informally as the “Long War.” Informants within IRA ranks had enabled the British to foil several attacks during 1975 and 1976. In response, the IRA undertook serious reforms, abolishing the structure of brigades and battalions, instead establishing small independent terrorist cells that were much more difficult to penetrate.

In support of criminalization, in 1976 the British government had revoked certain special privileges IRA and other paramilitary convicts had enjoyed owing to their status as political prisoners. Republican prisoners launched a protest, eventually known as the Dirty Protest or the Blanket Protest because of the prisoners’ refusal to wear prison uniforms or empty their cells’ chamber pots. The British government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher refused to negotiate with the prisoners.

In March 1981, after the failure of the Dirty Protest, prisoner Bobby Sands, an IRA member, led a hunger strike. Soon joined by dozens of Republican prisoners, Sands and the others began to attract international attention. In April, Sands was elected to Parliament for West Belfast. By September, he and 10 other prisoners had died, and the British government acquiesced to some of the prisoners’ demands. The political successes of the hunger strike, particularly the election of Sands, would prompt the IRA to become politically involved, using Sinn Féin to field candidates in elections; in the 1982 and 1983 elections, Sinn Féin secured more than 40 percent of the nationalist vote.

Militarily, the IRA had begun to suffer from the defections of the “supergrasses,” a succession of captured IRA men who informed on their comrades in exchange for sentencing leniency. During 1982–1986, when the British security force relied most heavily on this tactic, hundreds of IRA men were arrested and convicted based solely on information supplied by supergrasses. The lack of corroborating evidence

in many of the cases eventually led to most of the supergrass convictions being overturned and the prisoners freed.

Although the supergrass cases had damaged the IRA’s military capabilities severely, it was still able to carry out one of the most spectacular attacks in the conflict’s long history, the October 1984 Brighton bombing, which killed five people and very nearly killed Prime Minister Thatcher and her entire cabinet.

Between August 1985 and September 1986, the IRA received approximately 150 tons of weapons and explosives in four shipments from Libya. Using the new arms supply, the IRA began attacking RUC stations in the rural counties of Armagh, Fermanagh, and Tyrone. The aim was to drive security forces from the countryside, and thus establish a secure area from which to attack the cities. However, British counterintelligence was able to thwart the campaign by ambushing an IRA active service unit on May 8, 1987, at RUC station in Loughgall, County Armagh. Eight IRA members were killed, the most casualties the IRA has suffered in a single attack.

## FROM STALEMATE TO PEACE, 1993–1998

Recognizing that the armed campaign had come to an impasse, IRA members began to seek a political solution. Beginning in 1988, the leader of Sinn Féin, Gerry Adams, started meeting with John Hume, leader of the nonviolent Irish nationalist Social Democratic and Labor Party. In September 1993, Hume and Adams released a joint statement outlining the IRA’s position on peace.

The British government, however, could not openly negotiate with the IRA, because the IRA had not declared a cease-fire and was conducting a bombing campaign in London at the time—it had already detonated a one-ton bomb in central London’s financial district in April 1992, causing an estimated £750 million (\$1.32 billion) of damage. Prime Minister John Major did begin talks with the Irish government and Unionist politicians, talks that resulted in the December 1993 “Downing Street Declaration,” a document that established important principles for opening peace talks.

In August 1994, the IRA declared a cease-fire. This preliminary move would allow Sinn Féin to participate in peace talks. Major’s government then asked the IRA to begin a limited decommissioning, or disarmament, as a good-faith gesture. The IRA refused. For the next 18 months, negotiators fruitlessly tried to achieve

some kind of compromise. On February 9, 1996, the IRA declared its cease-fire over and detonated a truck bomb at London's Canary Wharf, killing two and causing millions of dollars of damage.

Not until the summer of 1997, after the election of Tony Blair as prime minister, did peace negotiations resume. (The Real IRA split from the Provisionals at this time.) On April 12, 1998, negotiations culminated in the Good Friday Accords, which called for a new Northern Irish Parliament in which Catholics and Protestants shared power, a joint commission to oversee affairs between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, extensive reforms in the RUC, the early release of paramilitary convicts, and eventual decommissioning.

In the years since the accords, the issue of decommissioning has several times threatened to destroy the peace; only in October 2001 did the IRA agree to begin destroying its arms. In 2002, it was revealed that at least 15 IRA members had made visits to Colombia, allegedly to train members of the Marxist terrorist group Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC); observers have expressed profound concerns about what possible links between FARC and the IRA may mean for the cease-fire. Meanwhile, the IRA continues to patrol Catholic neighborhoods and has been implicated in several murders since 1998.

Under international pressure to increase its support of the Good Friday Accords, in July 2002 the IRA issued an unprecedented apology to the civilian victims of its attacks. Nonetheless, sporadic violence and rioting continues in many areas of Northern Ireland, and the peace remains fragile.

**See also** BOMBINGS AND BOMB SCARES; CONTINUITY IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; IRISH NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY; REAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; RED HAND DEFENDERS; REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF COLOMBIA; ULSTER DEFENSE ASSOCIATION; ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTERS; ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE

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## ISLAMIC ARMY FOR THE LIBERATION OF HOLY PLACES

aka Islamic Army for the Liberation of Holy Sites

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Possibly based in Germany, the Islamic Army for the Liberation of Holy Places is a mysterious terrorist group that has claimed responsibility for bombings later proven to be the work of Al Qaeda operatives; it is sometimes called Al Qaeda's military wing.

The group was unknown until the East African U.S. embassy bombings in 1998. On August 7, car bombs exploded nearly simultaneously at the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The blasts killed 224 people and destroyed both embassies. The Islamic Army for the Liberation of Holy Places subsequently sent statements to Arab news organizations claiming responsibility for the attacks. Many experts cautioned that the Islamic Army could be a new group trying to make a name for itself by taking responsibility for an action it had no part in.

U.S. investigators soon declared that Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda network was responsible for the attacks and indicted 26 people. Al Qaeda, an Arabic word meaning "The Base," is an international network that employs violence to attempt to drive the United States from Saudi Arabia and other Islamic countries. Al Qaeda uses a long list of pseudonyms in addition to Islamic Army for the Liberation of Holy Places; these include Islamic Salvation Foundation, the Group for the Preservation of the Holy Sites, the World Islamic Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders, Osama bin Laden Network, and Osama bin Laden Organization.

The name Islamic Army for the Liberation for Holy Places surfaced again in April 2002, when a truck



carrying natural gas crashed into a synagogue on a Tunisian resort island. The crash killed 17 people at the Ghriba synagogue on the island of Djerba, a Jewish pilgrimage site and popular tourist destination.

The synagogue president and Tunisian officials at first called the crash an accident. However, the Islamic Army for the Liberation of Holy Places soon claimed responsibility, faxing a statement with corroborating details to two Arabic newspapers in London. The statement said the attack was in retaliation for Israeli crimes against Palestinians. The synagogue bombing is said to be the first Al Qaeda attack outside of Afghanistan since September 11, 2001. The Tunisian blast, like the Tanzanian embassy attack, used a truck filled with butane gas. Tunisian officials later said that the 24-year-old truck driver, Nizar Newar, had links to Islamic militant cells around the world.

*See also* AL QAEDA; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS

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## ISLAMIC GREAT EASTERN RAIDERS. See GREAT EASTERN ISLAMIC RAIDERS' FRONT.

## ISLAMIC GROUP. See GAMA'A AL-ISLAMIYYA.

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## ISLAMIC JIHAD

Although the term *jihad* can refer to a nonviolent or violent struggle against evil, *Islamic jihad* usually refers to the use of force in an attempt to establish an Islamic state or in an attack on individuals or nations viewed as enemies of Islam.

Today, several terrorist organizations are sometimes referred to as "Islamic Jihad." These include the following:

Al Jihad (aka Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Egyptian al-Jihad, Jihad Group, New Jihad): Active since the 1970s, it has the goal of overthrowing the secular Egyptian government and replacing it with an Islamic State.

A splinter group from Hezbollah (aka Islamic Jihad Organization, add most common other akas): Hezbollah had its origins in the Iranian revolution in 1979; during 1982, it evolved into a group in with the goal of transforming Lebanon into an Islamic state and supporting Palestine in its battle with Israel. In the mid-1980s, Hezbollah began kidnapping Westerners and holding them hostage, hoping to gain more influence in regional affairs and bargain for the release of Shiites held in Israeli, Kuwaiti, or Western jails. The Islamic Jihad splinter group claimed responsibility for many of these kidnappings.

Palestinian Islamic Jihad: Founded in the late 1970s to carry out attacks on Israeli military and civilian targets in support of a Islamic Palestinian state.

These Islamic Jihad groups share a focus on using violence to further establishment of Islamic states in the Middle East, but they may be more or less nationalist, religious, or territorial. These groups probably have global connections with other terrorist groups and may function as factions within Al Qaeda. However, because of their shifting membership, such groups may be called by different names in the mass media and even in government reports.

The groups referred to as Islamic Jihad, like other terrorist groups may begin as structured organizations with a hierarchical leadership. However, they tend to evolve into loosely affiliated groups or "cells" that act independently, with little or no centralized leadership. However, they share a common commitment to conducting a "holy war" that is viewed as sanctioned or even mandated by Islamic law.

*See also* AL QAEDA; FREELANCE TERRORISM; JIHAD; LEADERLESS RESISTANCE; SPECIFIC GROUPS

*See also* AL JIHAD; HEZBOLLAH; PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD

### Further Reading

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## ISLAMIC JIHAD FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE. See HEZBOLLAH.

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## ISLAMIC MOVEMENT OF UZBEKISTAN

aka Islamic Party of Turkestan

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The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) is a coalition of fundamentalist Islamic militants from Uzbekistan and other Central Asian countries that oppose Uzbek President Islam Karimov's secular government and that work to establish an Islamic theocracy.

Founded in 1999, the IMU seeks to destabilize the country and the region; although not the only group to oppose the current government of Uzbekistan, it is the only group that has resorted to terrorism to achieve its goals. The change of name to the Islamic Party of Turkestan in June 2001 may signal an expansion of the original goal of establishing an Islamic state in Uzbekistan to the creation of Islamic states throughout Central Asia.

The IMU has conducted only small-scale armed attacks—car bombings and hostage taking—and initially operated only in the Fergana Valley on the Uzbek/Kyrgyz border; the IMU is now active in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and throughout Uzbekistan. IMU members have been known to carry out their attacks in the open, withdrawing to villages and disguising themselves as locals rather than retreating to the mountains following an attack. The group is considered responsible for at least five car bombings in Uzbekistan in February 1999 and a number of hostage takings in 1999 and 2000. Among those taken hostage were four U.S. mountain climbers, four Japanese geologists, and eight Kyrgyzstani soldiers.

In November 2000, Uzbek courts sentenced IMU leaders Tahir Yuldashev and Juma Namangani to death in absentia for the February 1999 bombings. Both Yuldashev and Namangani had fled the country in 1999 for Afghanistan, where they recruited and trained militants under shelter of the Taliban. Security officials now believe that the IMU controls the drug trade between Afghanistan and Central Asia, using the profits to finance its operations.

The IMU has expanded rapidly; IMU forces may now be significantly concentrated—even have military bases—in Tajikistan and Afghanistan, and the group may have been aided by Al Qaeda, the Taliban, and Osama bin Laden. The group also receives support from other fundamentalist Islamist groups throughout Central and South Asia.

The group's heavy recruitment in Central Asia suggests that it aims to "liberate" the whole of Central Asia, not only Uzbekistan. Although the overthrow of the Uzbek government remains its priority, should the IMU prevail in Uzbekistan and go on to conquer parts of the Fergana Valley, Central Asia could experience an Islamic domino effect.

By designating itself a "party," the group may hope to gain political recognition and integrate into regional governments. Several countries—Russia, the United States, China—have provided military aid, intelligence, and advice to Uzbekistan in its fight against the spread of the IMU.

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## ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT.

See HAMAS.

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## IZZ-AL-DIN, HASAN (1963– )

aka Ahmed Garbaya, Samir Salwwan, Sa-id

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For his alleged role in the 1985 hijacking of TWA Flight 847, Lebanese Hasan Izz-al-Din is named on the FBI's October 2001 list of the 22 "most wanted terrorists." A hijacker convicted in the TWA case testified that Izz-al-Din killed a U.S. Navy diver during the two-week ordeal.

The FBI believes Izz-al-Din has returned to Lebanon. Although he was tied to the Shiite Muslim militant group and political party Hezbollah during the 1980s, Lebanese officials have claimed that Izz-al-Din is not currently linked to Hezbollah's party structure. (Although the U.S. government continues to regard Hezbollah as a terrorist organization, the group recast itself as a legitimate political party during the 1990s and holds elected seats in Lebanon's Parliament.)

According to U.S. officials, Izz-al-Din was one of the two hijackers who took over Flight 847 from Athens to Rome on June 14, 1985. The two men's weapons included a pistol and hand grenades they had smuggled through Athens airport security.

The hijackers redirected the Boeing 727 to Beirut; once landed, the hijackers called for the release of hundreds of prisoners, many of them Shiite Muslims, held by Israel. Mohammad Ali Hamadei, who was sentenced to life in prison in 1989 by a West German court for his role in the hijacking, testified that at this point Izz-al-Din shot U.S. Navy diver Robert Stethem and dumped his body onto the tarmac.

The plane eventually logged 8,300 miles, flying between Beirut and Algiers. The hijackers released some of the 153 passengers and crew held hostage each time the plane landed. Eventually, the plane stayed in Beirut while negotiations were under way. On June 30, the last of the hostages was released after Israel agreed to free 300 prisoners. The hijackers had also negotiated a flight to Algiers and freedom for themselves. The United States indicted Izz-al-Din and fellow Lebanese Hamadei, Imad Fayez Mughniyah, and Ali Atwa on July 3, 1985, on charges related to the TWA hijacking. Hamadei was later caught in Frankfurt and sentenced to life in prison.

Izz-al-Din has avoided capture for decades. Press reports in 1994 told of failed U.S. efforts to kidnap Izz-al-Din from his Beirut home and bring him by speedboat to a U.S. warship in the Mediterranean.

Mughniyah and Atwa also remain fugitives and are also on the FBI's 22 "most wanted terrorists" list. In January 2002, the U.S. State Department began offering a reward of up to \$25 million for information leading to Izz-al-Din's arrest and/or conviction.

*See also* ALI ATWA; HEZBOLLAH; IMAD FAYEZ MUGHNIYAH;  
TWA FLIGHT 847 HIJACKING

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## JAISH-E-MOHAMMED

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Jaish-e-Mohammed (Mohammed's Army; JEM) is a militant Islamist group based in Pakistan. JEM was founded in the late 1990s by Maulana Masood Azhar, a former leader of the ultra-fundamentalist Islamist group Harakat ul-Mujahidin.

Azhar was active in the Harakat ul-Mujahidin throughout the 1980s and 1990s. He spent time training with Al Qaeda and fighting in Afghanistan during the Soviet occupation and organized groups that fought alongside Al Qaeda against U.S. troops in Somalia and Yemen.

The main aim of Harakat ul-Mujahidin, however, was to reunite Kashmir with Pakistan, and the group was responsible for numerous attacks on Hindus and Indian Army troops in Kashmir. Pakistan's intelligence service is believed to have supported both Harakat ul-Mujahidin and other terrorist groups in their operations in Kashmir. Azhar was arrested by Indian authorities in 1994 in connection with several attacks and held in a Jammu jail.

Azhar's supporters made several attempts to free him, including the 1994 kidnappings of U.S. and British nationals in New Delhi and the July 1995 kidnappings of Westerners in Kashmir. In 1999, members of Harakat ul-Mujahidin hijacked an Indian Airlines jet and flew the plane to Afghanistan. They demanded the release of Azhar in exchange for the 155 passengers and crew. The Indian government agreed to their demands and flew Azhar to Afghanistan; all the hostages were then freed and returned to India.

On his release, Azhar announced the formation of the Jaish-e-Mohammed and organized recruitment drives throughout Pakistan. About three-quarters of the members of Harakat ul-Mujahidin joined the new group. The Harakat ul-Mujahidin and JEM are now thought to be at war with each other. JEM is based primarily in Peshawar and Muzaffarabad, Pakistan, but members are active primarily in Kashmir. Until the United States invaded Afghanistan in 2001, JEM also maintained training camps in that country and was heavily supported by the Taliban and pro-Taliban groups in Pakistan.

In July 2000, JEM launched a rocket grenade attack on the chief minister of Kashmir at his office in Srinagar. In December 2000, JEM militants threw grenades at a bus stop in Kupwara, India, injuring 24, and at a marketplace in Chadoura, India, injuring 16. JEM militants also planted two bombs that killed 21 people in Qamarwari and Srinagar.

JEM was responsible for the October 1, 2001, suicide bomb attack on the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly in Srinagar that left 31 people dead, including members of the Indian Parliament. On October 11, 2001, Britain, Pakistan, and the United States froze JEM's assets. The next day, JEM announced that it had renamed itself Tehrik-al-Firquan, and moved all of its assets into new accounts. Azhar remained in charge of the new organization, which declared "the opening of jihad against the United States."

With the fall of the Taliban in late 2001, Pakistani government support for JEM and other extremist groups seemed to have evaporated. Declaring the Pakistani government to be in thrall to the West, JEM then turned against the government of Pakistan.

Jaish-e-Mohammed is currently suspected of having been involved in the January 2002 kidnapping and murder, in Pakistan, of American journalist Daniel Pearl. Ahmed Omar Sheikh, convicted in July 2002 of the crimes, is a close friend and associate of Azhar.

*See also* AL QAEDA; HARAKAT UL-MUJAHIDIN; DANIEL PEARL

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## JAMAAT UL-FUQRA

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*Fuqra* is an Arabic word that translates as “the impoverished.” Jamaat ul-Fuqra (“Community of the Impoverished”) was founded in the late 1970s by Pakistani cleric Sheikh Mubarak Ali Jilani Hasmi. An Islamic sect that advocates the purification of Islam by force and violence, the group is named on the U.S. State Department’s list of “other terrorist organizations.”

Although active in the guerrilla war in Kashmir, until recently Jamaat ul-Fuqra had a low profile in Pakistan. In the United States, however, its members have committed at least 13 murders and firebombings and are currently believed to have been connected with the 2002 kidnap and murder in Pakistan of *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl and with failed “shoe bomber” Richard Reid.

### UL-FUQRA IN THE UNITED STATES

Court documents link ul-Fuqra to Muslims of the Americas, a tax-exempt group established in the United States in 1980 by Sheik Mubarak Ali Shah Gilani. Almost all of the U.S.-based ul-Fuqra members are American citizens.

During the 1980s, Jamaat ul-Fuqra members in the United States attacked a variety of targets that they saw as enemies of Islam, including Hindus and Muslims they regarded as heretics. The group is believed to be

responsible for firebombing Hare Krishna temples in Denver and Philadelphia, and the January 1990 murder of a Tucson, Arizona, Muslim cleric, Rashad Khalifa. Jamaat ul-Fuqra and its members have been investigated for alleged terrorist acts including murder and arson in New York, Detroit, Philadelphia, Toronto, Denver, Los Angeles, and Tucson.

During the 1980s and 1990s, ul-Fuqra members in the United States purchased isolated rural compounds, where they lived communally and engaged in paramilitary exercises.

The discovery in 1989 of guns, explosives, pipe bombs, military training manuals, false identification documents, and workers compensation claim forms in a storage locker in Colorado eventually led to the arrest of several members of the group. A two-year investigation resulted in the indictment of several ul-Fuqra members by the Colorado State grand jury in 1992 on racketeering charges including theft, mail fraud, murder, arson, and forgery.

In 2001, several members of an ul-Fuqra commune in Virginia were arrested on fraud and weapons charges. The group was believed to be filing fraudulent workers compensation claims and sending the proceeds to Gilani in Pakistan.

Today, Jamaat ul-Fuqra continues to be active in the United States. In California, a member was arrested for the murder of a Fresno County deputy sheriff in August 2001. Active ul-Fuqra training compounds are believed to be located in New York, Virginia, South Carolina, and California.

In January 2002, *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl was kidnapped in Pakistan while investigating a connection between Jamaat ul-Fuqra and Richard Reid. Pearl’s family told the authorities that he was scheduled to meet with Sheikh Gilani before he disappeared. Pearl was murdered by his abductors. The National Movement for the Restoration of Pakistani Sovereignty claimed responsibility; however, it was an organization unknown to Pakistani authorities. Several Islamic militants were arrested by Pakistan, including Sheik Gilani, but were later released. On July 15, 2002, British-born Islamic militant Ahmed Omar Sheikh was convicted and sentenced to death by a court in Hyderabad, Pakistan, for the Pearl kidnapping and murder; three accomplices, Salman Saqib, Fahad Naseem, and Shaikh Adil, received life sentences.

*See also* DANIEL PEARL; RICHARD REID

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## JAPANESE RED ARMY

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The Japanese Red Army (JRA) was a 1970s terrorist group famous for its actions on behalf of Palestinian nationalism, including a 1972 massacre at Israel's Ben-Gurion Airport.

The JRA arose from the Japanese student protest movement of the mid- to late 1960s. Protests were directed not only at the Japanese government, which students felt was corrupt, but also at the U.S. military presence in Japan and against the Vietnam War. As the decade progressed, rampant factionalism overtook the Japanese student movement, with intergroup violence often more deadly and more frequent than student clashes with the police. The Japanese student movement was also marked by a certain militarism; students arrived at protests equipped with color-coded helmets and staves strikingly similar to the helmets and batons of the riot police. The end of the decade saw hundreds of student groups, many of which espoused radical strains of Marxism. The Red Army was one such group.

By 1969, the JRA had come to accept that student protests were not swaying public opinion in conservative Japan, nor were they likely to in the immediate future. Inclined to radical action rather than political persuasion, the JRA decided to align with the international communist movement. In March 1970, six JRA members hijacked a Japan Airlines plane and forced it to take them to North Korea, where the hijackers freed the hostages and surrendered themselves to the Communist North Korean government.

The successful hijacking had left a void within the JRA leadership, and the group soon split into two

factions. The first, under Mori Tsuneo, decided to remain in Japan and ally itself with another radical student group, the Keihin Anti-Joint Treaty Struggle. The new organization, called the United Red Army (URA), went into hiding in the Japanese countryside in the winter of 1972. It then conducted a brutal internal purge: 12 of the group's few dozen members were killed by their comrades. As the purge was winding down in mid-February, area police became aware of the group's presence and members fled their hideout. Five URA members invaded an inn and took the innkeeper hostage; a weeklong siege ensued. Police raided the building on February 28; one officer was killed, the innkeeper was freed, and the terrorists surrendered. This episode put an end to Mori's JRA faction.

The second JRA faction, no more than a few dozen who were led by Fusako Shigenobu, left Japan in 1971 and went to Lebanon to support the Palestinian cause. There they became protégés of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). In May 1972, three JRA members attacked Ben-Gurion Airport (Lod Airport) near Tel Aviv, gunning down passengers in the terminal and attempting to blow up a plane. Twenty-three people were killed and more than 80 injured.

In July 1973, the JRA and Palestinians hijacked a Japan Airlines plane flying from Amsterdam, eventually landing in Libya, where the hostages were released and the plane destroyed. In February 1974, JRA and PFLP members blew up a Shell oil rig in Singapore; a second team attacked the Japanese embassy in Singapore, after which the Japanese government acceded to their demands and both groups of terrorists were allowed safe passage to Yemen.

In September 1974, the JRA attacked the French embassy in The Hague, Netherlands. Negotiations stalled at first, but after Carlos the Jackal (Ilich Ramírez Sánchez) orchestrated an attack on a Paris café on the JRA's behalf, the French ambassador and the other hostages were released in exchange for several JRA members who had been arrested in Europe. Once again the terrorists escaped to the Middle East.

In August 1975, the JRA attacked the U.S. and Swedish consulates in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, taking more than 50 hostages. As in The Hague attack, the hostages were released in exchange for imprisoned JRA members, and the terrorists allowed to fly to Syria. The last major attack by the JRA was the

September 1977 hijacking of another Japan Airlines plane; the plane, flying from Bombay, India, was forced to land at Dacca, Bangladesh. During the ensuing standoff, elements in the Bangladeshi Army attempted a coup d'état, which resulted in considerable confusion, but eventually the government restored control, and the JRA freed the hostages in exchange for a prisoner.

In the hostage taking in 1974 and 1977, the JRA had also demanded and received large ransoms. By the early 1980s, however, the JRA was seriously short of funds, and the country where it had found permanent refuge, Lebanon, was embroiled in civil war. Little was heard from the group for several years. Between 1985 and 1987, several prominent former JRA members were arrested on charges of smuggling and trafficking in false passports. In April 1988, a JRA member was arrested in New Jersey with bomb-making materials; on April 15, a U.S. officers' club in Naples, Italy, was bombed and five people killed in what was believed to be a JRA attack. The group's surprising resurgence resulted in strict security during the 1988 Olympics in Seoul, South Korea.

The JRA seemed once again to fade into oblivion until 1997, when five JRA members were deported from Lebanon to Japan. On November 8, 2000, JRA leader Shigenobu was arrested in Japan (she had entered on a false passport).

In April 2001, Shigenobu announced that the group was disbanding. She is currently on trial for her 30 years of terrorist activities. Shigenobu's daughter and the children of some of the 1969 hijackers have recently gone to Japan to act as their parents' advocates.

**See also** YU KIKUMURA; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE; ILICH RAMÍREZ SÁNCHEZ (CARLOS THE JACKAL); FUSAKO SHIGENOBU

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**JAR. See JEWISH TERRORIST GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES.**

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**JDL. See JEWISH TERRORIST GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES.**

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**JEM. See JAISH-E-MOHAMMED.**

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## JEWISH TERRORIST GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

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The few organized Jewish terrorist groups outside Israel operate mainly in the United States. They were most active during the 1970s and 1980s and were responsible for numerous bombings directed at Soviet personnel and institutions and individuals doing business with the Soviet government.

### THE JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE

The Jewish Defense League (JDL) was founded in 1968 by Meir Kahane, an orthodox Brooklyn rabbi. The group's original function was to protect elderly Brooklyn residents from street attacks. Kahane, however, was outspoken, even strident, and the JDL soon was known for its confrontational style.

Focusing mainly on the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union, who were often jailed and refused exit visas, the JDL decided that violence was necessary to draw attention to the plight of Soviet Jewry. The goal was to strain U.S.-Soviet relations; the reasoning was that Moscow would need to respond to the pressure by allowing more Soviet Jews to immigrate to Israel.

The JDL began a series of demonstrations against, physical attacks on, and harassment of Soviet offices and personnel in 1969. While the majority of JDL members participated in peaceful political demonstrations, Kahane later publicly admitted that some members of the JDL "bombed the Russian mission in New York, the Russian cultural mission here [Washington] in 1970, and the Soviet trade offices."

JDL members were also implicated in two high-profile murders. Jerome Zeller was indicted for the 1972 bombing of the office of agent Sol Hurok, which killed his receptionist and injured 12 others; in 1992 Kahane admitted that he too had had a part in that attack. Two other JDL members, Robert Manning and his wife Rochelle, were indicted for the 1985

bombing death of Alex Odeh, regional director of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) in Santa Ana, California.

According to a 1985 U.S. Department of Justice report, the FBI also suspected Manning and several other JDL members of being involved in a yearlong series of violent incidents in that year. These included the August house-bomb slaying of Tscherim Soobzokov, a suspected Nazi war criminal, in Paterson, New Jersey; the August 16 attempt to bomb the Boston offices of ADC office in which two policemen were severely injured; the September bombing at the Brentwood, Long Island, home of alleged Nazi Elmars Sprogis, in which a 23-year-old passerby lost a leg; and the setting afire of the ADC office in Washington, D.C., on October 29.

Manning and his wife were arrested in Israel on March 24, 1991, and charged in a separate suit involving the 1980 letter-bomb murder of Patricia Wilkerson, a secretary in California. Manning was extradited to the United States on condition that he not be tried in the Odeh murder and the other cases, because the events occurred after he became an Israeli citizen. However, on October 13, 1994, Robert Manning was found guilty of complicity in the Wilkerson murder.

The 1985 Department of Justice study of terrorist acts in the United States since 1981 found that of 18 incidents initiated by so-called Jewish terrorist elements, 15 were by the JDL. In a 1986 study of domestic terrorism, the U.S. Department of Energy concluded: "For more than a decade, the Jewish Defense League (JDL) has been one of the most active terrorist groups in the United States."

Kahane moved to Israel in 1971, where he won a following among that country's extreme right. He established a political party, Kach, which eventually won several seats in the Knesset, or Israeli Parliament. Kahane was assassinated in New York in 1990. (The suspect, El Sayyid Nosair, an Egyptian-born Muslim who was a naturalized U.S. citizen, was acquitted by a Manhattan jury but later sentenced to a life term after he was convicted in a new trial.)

During the 1990s, Jewish terrorist acts were infrequent; in December 2001, however, two top leaders of the Los Angeles branch of the JDL were arrested and charged with a plot to bomb the King Fahd Mosque in Culver City, California, the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), and the office of Congressman Darrell Issa, an Arab American. Both

men pleaded not guilty and they have not yet gone to trial.

## THE JEWISH ARMED RESISTANCE

Throughout 1976 and 1977 a group calling itself the Jewish Armed Resistance (JAR) took responsibility for a spate of bombings of Soviet targets in the United States. In January 1976, a pipe bomb exploded in front of the Polish consulate in New York City. After the explosion, a man called two wire services and took responsibility for the bombing, claiming he represented "the voice of Jewish Armed Resistance."

Over the next two years, the JAR, which also acted under the name Jewish Armed Resistance Strike Group, claimed responsibility for a number of terrorist acts, including: firing shots at the Soviet U.N. Mission residence, bombing a building housing the Soviet airline offices, firebombing two vehicles at Kennedy Airport, and firebombing the national headquarters of the Communist Party and a Russian bookstore.

In 1977, the group claimed responsibility for setting afire a New York area bank, saying the arson was a political protest. That year the JAR also took responsibility for bombing a Jewish center in California, claiming in a letter that the center was too liberal. However, as protests against the JAR from Jewish rabbis and Jewish social action groups mounted, the group became considerably less active and eventually seemed to disappear.

## OTHER GROUPS

During the 1980s, other Jewish groups mounted a few isolated attacks on Soviet targets. In 1983, a group calling itself the United Jewish Underground took responsibility for the pipe bombing of a car belonging to a Russian diplomat. In 1984, a Soviet residential compound in Brooklyn was bombed by a group calling itself Jewish Direct Action.

*See also* KAHANE CHAI; MEIR KAHANE

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## JIBRIL, AHMED (1937?– )

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Ahmed Jibril is the militant Palestinian leader of the Syrian-sponsored terrorist group, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–General Command (PFLP–GC). He is a master bomb maker and is considered by many to be one of the most dangerous terrorists of the late 20th century.

It is believed that Jibril was born in Yazur, south of Tel Aviv, although some accounts list his birthplace as Ramallah or even Syria. In any case, his family later moved to Syria, and Jibril joined the Syrian Army in 1956, rising to the rank of captain before being expelled as a troublemaker and suspected Communist in 1958. Jibril briefly worked with Yasir Arafat’s Fatah movement in its early days, but left to cofound the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF). With Syrian support, the PLF carried out assassinations as well as multiple terror attacks against Israel. Jibril served as a commander and became particularly known for training others in terror techniques.

In 1967, Jibril and George Habash formed the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Jibril soon broke away from the group, however, as tensions developed between Syria and Habash. In 1968, Jibril founded the separate, pro-Syrian group PFLP–General Command, claiming that fighting, not politics, was the way to achieve Palestinian goals.

The PFLP–GC carried out many attacks and kidnappings during the 1970s and 1980s, including the 1970 bombing of Swissair Flight 330, and numerous attacks on Israeli civilian targets such as school

buses and apartment buildings. In May 1985, Jibril negotiated with Israel for the release of more than 1,000 Palestinian prisoners in exchange for three Israeli soldiers the PFLP–GC had taken hostage while fighting in Lebanon. The trade became known as the “Jibril exchange.”

Jibril also orchestrated Operation Kibya, referred to as Night of the Hang Gliders. On November 25, 1987, four heavily armed PFLP members hang-glided into Israeli territory. Three of the terrorists experienced mechanical problems and did not get far, but the fourth, Khaled Aker, managed to penetrate the Israeli Defense Force’s Camp Gibor and kill six soldiers before being shot himself. The spectacular attack made a terror icon of Jibril and inspired the first *intifada* (“throwing off”), a period of intense violence against Israel. The Night of the Hang Gliders has such symbolic weight that the Israeli military traditionally makes a point of striking PFLP–GC targets every November 25.

The explosion of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988, struck many intelligence officials as the work of Jibril and the PFLP–GC. From his Damascus headquarters, Jibril denied any involvement. However, the type of bomb used appeared to investigators to be a Jibril trademark, leading many to suspect that Jibril had, at the very least, trained the bombers. Investigators thought it more likely still that Jibril had orchestrated the entire attack, possibly as revenge for the 1988 downing of Iran Air Flight 655 by the United States. Scotland later indicted two employees of Libyan Arab Airlines for the Pan Am attack, in which a total of 270 people died.

In 1989, during the international uproar about Salman Rushdie’s novel *The Satanic Verses*, Jibril told the press that he and his group were ready to murder Rushdie for heresy as called for by Iranian religious leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

Rumors abound that Jibril has been experiencing health problems since the early 1990s; this, along with a concerted effort by the Israeli military to eliminate the PFLP–GC, seems to have led the group to scale back its activity in recent years. Nonetheless, the U.S. State Department has listed the PFLP–GC as an active terrorist organization in its most recent report on global terrorism.

*See also* GEORGE HABASH; PAN AM FLIGHT 103 BOMBING; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE–GENERAL COMMAND

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## JIHAD

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Although the Arabic term *jihad* is often interpreted as "holy war," the word is derived from a word root meaning "to strive" or "to make an effort." The word *jihad* is commonly followed by the Arabic expression *fi sabil Allah*, meaning "in the path of God." The concept of *jihad* is often defined as a struggle against injustice or ungodliness—from the injunction in the Koran (the Islamic holy book) to "command the right and forbid the wrong."

The form that *jihad* should take—violent war or peaceful striving—has been the subject of much discussion and disagreement by Islamic scholars throughout history. The Koran and the *hadiths* (reports on the sayings and acts of the prophet Muhammad) refer to four ways by which the duty of *jihad* can be fulfilled: by the heart, the tongue, the hand, and the sword.

*Jihad* is seen by some Muslims as primarily a struggle against evil and injustice within oneself. One *hadith* recounts how Muhammad, after a battle, said, "We have returned from the lesser *jihad* (*al-jihad al-asghar*) to the greater *jihad* (*al-jihad al-akbar*)." When a follower asked, "What is the greater *jihad*?" Mohammed replied, "It is the struggle against oneself." This view of *jihad* was predominant in Sufism, an extremely influential form of Islamic spirituality. To this day, many Muslims conceive of *jihad* as a personal rather than a political struggle.

However *jihad* is understood, it is considered by most Muslims to be one of the primary duties of Islam. Sayid Abdul Ala Mawdudi (1903–1979), the founder of the Ja'mat-i-Islami Party in Pakistan and a leading fundamentalist scholar, described *jihad* as "just as much a primary duty of Muslims as daily prayers and fasting. One who shirks it is a sinner. His very claim to being a Muslim is doubtful. He is clearly

a hypocrite who fails in the test of sincerity and all of his [religious observances] are a sham, a worthless hollow of devotion."

Islamic jurists described *jihad* as a general obligation of the Muslim community. In this view, Muslims are required to participate in violent *jihad* only when Islam comes under attack. The Islamic legal philosopher Ibn Taymiya (1268–1328), however, took a more confrontational position. He declared that a ruler who fails to enforce the *shari'a* (Islamic law) rigorously in all its aspects, including the performance of *jihad*, forfeits his right to rule. Most jurists at the time tolerated Muslim rulers who violated the *shari'a* for the sake of the community, preferring tyranny over disorder, but Ibn Taymiya insisted that waging *jihad* is a requirement for a Muslim ruler.

## INTERPRETATIONS OF JIHAD

Beginning in the 20th century, some Islamic thinkers sought to reconcile Islam with the interdependence of modern nation-states, which required adherence to non-Islamic international laws and treaties. One scholar, Muhammad Shaltut, a former rector of Al-Azhar University in Cairo, described *shari'a*'s emphasis on international peace and the legitimate right of self-defense through *jihad* as similar to the principles of the United Nations.

Modern Islamists, particularly Islamic extremists, describe *jihad* differently. Mawdudi presented *jihad* as warfare not merely to expand Islamic political dominance but also to establish Islamic rule. For Mawdudi, *jihad* was akin to a war of liberation; Islamic rule meant freedom and justice.

Mawdudi's ideas were very influential in the development of modern Islamist ideas of *jihad*. Thus, in the 20th century, *jihad* became associated more with Islamic liberation movements and the fight against colonialism. This approach allowed any resistance, even by non-Muslims, to Zionism and Israel (and more recently the United States and Jews everywhere) to be termed *jihad*.

For Islamist thinkers such as Mawdudi, Hassan al-Banna (1906–1949), and Sayyid Qutb (1906–1956), *jihad* includes the overthrow of governments, even Muslim governments, that fail to enforce the *shari'a*. Significantly, Islamists consider *jihad* to be a mandatory and individual duty for all Muslims, rather than a duty of the state. This view sanctions terrorism as a legitimate form of *jihad*.

Iranian Shi'ite revolutionaries had a similar perspective. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1903–1989), leader of the Iranian revolution, argued that Muslim jurists “by means of jihad and enjoining the good and forbidding the evil, must expose and overthrow tyrannical rulers and rouse the people so the universal movement of all alert Muslims can establish Islamic government in the place of tyrannical regimes.”

Other modern Islamic thinkers apply the term jihad to political and social action to establish justice, not only to warfare. For example, President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia once described the struggle for economic development in Tunisia as a jihad against poverty.

### MEANING OF JIHAD TODAY

A war jihad can be called for by any Islamic leader, but individual Muslims must decide whether to answer the call to arms. Most calls for jihad tend to appeal mostly to Islamist extremists and do not result in total war within or between countries.

However, America's war in Afghanistan, and the threat of another war in Iraq, have led many Muslims to rethink jihad. While the majority does not see jihad as a violent struggle, more and more Muslims would argue that all Muslims have a duty to defend Islam. The increase in terrorist acts against American and Israeli civilians reflects this widened, violent interpretation of jihad. More Muslims now consider some form of jihad—violent or nonviolent—to be an obligation of the faith. Today, Muslims can mean many things by jihad—the extremists' idea of warfare, Ibn Taymiya's revolt against an impious ruler, the Sufi's moral self-improvement, or the modern concept of political and social reform.

Terrorist organizations often take advantage of the disagreements over the types of jihad to insist to less sophisticated Muslims that war is the only acceptable form of jihad. The different interpretations of jihad have also caused confusion in the West. For example, in 1997, when Yasir Arafat called for a “jihad for Jerusalem,” he intended his Muslim audience to hear a call to arms while simultaneously assuring his Western supporters he intended only a peaceful struggle.

Usually, however, the meaning of the word jihad is clear from its usage. When Sufis discuss spiritual jihad, they use the term “greater jihad.” Advocates of a jihad on social issues, like Bourguiba's war on poverty, clearly do not intend to use violence to improve

education and development. When the World Islamic Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders, backed by Osama bin Laden, called for a jihad in 1998, its aim was clearly violent.

*See also* AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; MILITANT ISLAM

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**JIHAD GROUP.** *See* AL JIHAD.

**JIHAD, ISLAMIC.** *See* AL JIHAD; HEZBOLLAH; ISLAMIC JIHAD; PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD.

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**JRA.** *See* JAPANESE RED ARMY.

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## JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

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The emergence of the Justice Department, a small, extremely violent animal rights group active in England and North America, demonstrated a significant philosophical change within the extreme wing of the animal rights movement. The group went beyond the financial sabotage carried out by groups such

as the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) to actually threatening and harming individuals—a tactic similar to that employed by the Unabomber.

Since its inception in October 1993, the England-based Justice Department has specialized in directly targeting individuals involved in industries that use and may abuse animals. Its first act was to mail devices—such as razor-tipped mousetraps—to “blood sport” supporters (i.e., hunters).

The Justice Department seemed to have declared war in 1994. That year the traditional Boxing Day (December 26) hunts in Sussex saw more than 30 bomb attacks against them, including two bomb hoaxes; responsibility for the attacks and hoaxes was claimed by the Justice Department. The group targeted Prince Charles with a razor-tipped mousetrap after he took his two sons on their first hunts in October. Finally, the Justice Department shut down several ferries involved in the meat industry’s live-export sector.

In 1996, the Justice Department became active in Canada. In January, group members mailed 65 envelopes containing razor blades tainted with rat poison to big-game hunting guides throughout British Columbia and Alberta. Borrowing a tactic from another extremist animals rights group, Britain’s Animal Rights Militia, in November 1997 the Justice Department began a contamination hoax in the eastern United States, claiming to have injected toxic substances into Thanksgiving turkeys at large chain supermarkets.

The Justice Department’s most significant acts occurred in fall 1999, with two large-scale razor-blade campaigns in North America. The first wave, in August, against the fur industry, involved more than 100 envelopes with rat-poisoned razor blades. The second, in October, targeted more than 80 scientists and researchers at major U.S. universities that conducted AIDS and cancer-related research on primates. The Justice Department indicated that the razor blades had been contaminated with AIDS-infected blood.

The envelopes also contained four typewritten lines: “You have been targeted and you have until autumn 2000 to release all your primate captives and get out of the vivisection industry. If you do not heed our warning, your violence will be turned back upon you.” (A similar message had been included in the antifur campaign.) Although no one was hurt by the razor blades, the FBI and Americans for Medical Progress (AMP) officially recognized the mailings as an anti-science act of domestic terrorism.

With passage of the Terrorism Act of 2000 in Great Britain, the Justice Department became the first-ever animal rights group to join the company of the Irish Republic Army as a domestic terrorist group. Because the Justice Department operates in a loose, anonymous, and decentralized cell structure, much like ALF, it has been difficult for authorities to infiltrate.

While bombing campaigns continue, more recently, the Justice Department has been the key suspect in two violent physical attacks. Brian Cass, of Huntingdon Life Science, the British animal research institution that has been targeted for one of the largest animal rights campaigns, was beaten by three masked assailants wielding baseball bats. In a separate attack, British journalist Graham Hall was attacked, and the letters *ALF* carved into his back.

*See also* ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT; ANIMAL RIGHTS MOVEMENT; UNABOMBER

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**JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, U.S. See  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, U.S.**

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**KACZYNSKI, THEODORE J. See UNABOMBER.**

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## **KAHANE CHAI**

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A Jewish nationalist group banned in Israel, Kahane Chai spreads the anti-Arab ideology of the late Rabbi Meir Kahane. Right-wing Jewish people in the West Bank largely support the group, particularly those from Airyat Arba in Hebron. Kahane Chai is listed as a terrorist group by the U.S. State Department.

Rabbi Kahane founded the right-wing nationalist Kach Party in Israel in the 1970s and disseminated his violent, anti-Arab ideas until he was assassinated in New York City in 1990. After Kahane's death, the rabbi's son Binyamin gathered together Kach members and Kahane supporters to found the Kahane Chai or "Kahane Lives" group. The group's stated goal is to restore the biblical state of Israel, replacing democracy with theocracy. Its rallying cry is often, "Rabbi Kahane was right!"

Baruch Goldstein, the Brooklyn-born doctor who massacred 29 praying Muslims at a Hebron mosque in February 1994, was a staunch Kahane Chai supporter and close follower of the rabbi. The group was outlawed in Israel after making public statements in support of Goldstein's bloody attack. Under the 1948 Terrorism Law, the Israeli cabinet banned Kach, Kahane Chai, and any organization following

Kahane's teachings. The Israeli government vote also made it a crime to financially or verbally support such groups.

Many members of Kahane Chai are the children of Holocaust survivors. The group is predominantly based in Israel but maintains a presence in the United States, mainly in Brooklyn, New York. In the mid-1990s, the group ran a summer training camp, called Camp Meir, in the Catskill Mountains in New York State.

Kahane Chai often organizes protests against the Israeli government, and its members harass and threaten Palestinians in Hebron and the West Bank. According to the U.S. State Department, the group has issued many death threats. In July 1993, Israeli authorities charged four teenage Kahane Chai members with a grenade attack in the Old City of Jerusalem that killed one Arab merchant and wounded nearly a dozen others. According to press reports, Kahane Chai members have carried out a long list of unsophisticated attacks, such as throwing eggs at the Israeli ambassador in a Queens synagogue, beating Palestinian demonstrators in front of the White House, and punching and kicking a U.S. journalist visiting a settlement in the occupied territories.

On December 31, 2000, Palestinian gunmen assassinated Binyamin Kahane, killing him and his wife in a drive-by shooting. The group has vowed revenge for these deaths. In 1995, Yigal Amir, a Kahane sympathizer, assassinated Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin.

*See also* BARUCH GOLDSTEIN; JEWISH TERRORIST GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES; MEIR KAHANE

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## KAHANE, MEIR (1932–1990)

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Brooklyn-born Rabbi Meir Kahane was a radical ideologue and founder of Kach, the militant nationalist and outlawed political party in Israel that advocates violence against Arabs. Kahane was assassinated on November 5, 1990, in New York City.

Kahane developed and disseminated his beliefs that Greater Israel, including the occupied West Bank, was given to the Jews by God and that all Arabs should be expelled from the land. In the 1960s, Kahane formed the anti-Arab Jewish Defense League (JDL), a forerunner of Kach and Kahane Chai. He used the slogan "Never Again!" in reference to the Holocaust, when recruiting for the league. Kahane moved to Israel in 1971 and founded the Kach Party. Kach means "thus" or "this is the way" in Hebrew.

After he won a seat in the Israeli Parliament in 1984, Kahane is said to have submitted a bill to Israel's Parliament to completely separate Jews and non-Jews in Israel. The government of Israel declared the Kach Party racist and ineligible to field candidates in 1988.

Kahane was assassinated on the evening of November 5, 1990. In a meeting room of the Marriott Halloran House Hotel in midtown Manhattan, Kahane gave a speech calling for the forcible expulsion of native Palestinians from Israel to an audience of about 100; he was answering questions when a man approached and shot him in the neck with a handgun. Kahane was mortally wounded; the gunman fled the scene. Egyptian-born El Sayyid Nosair was arrested a few blocks away.

Kahane's funeral was marked by violence; a mob of his supporters stabbed an Arab gas station attendant and stoned camera crews, shouting "Kill the Arabs" and "Kill the Media." Nosair was tried and found not guilty on the murder charge but was later convicted on weapons charges. When the not guilty verdict was read, teenage followers of Kahane shouted "Death to Nosair!" and clashed with Nosair's supporters in the hallways of the court.

In Kahane's absence, the Kach Party withered. However, Kahane's son Binyamin founded the Kahane Chai, or "Kahane Lives" group to pursue his father's goals. Kahane's teachings remain influential among right-wing Jewish settlers in the West Bank. After Kahane disciple Dr. Baruch Goldstein massacred 29 praying Muslims in a Hebron mosque in February 1994, the Israeli government voted to outlaw Kach, Kahane Chai, and any organization following Kahane's teachings under Israel's 1948 Terrorism Law. The ban also criminalized giving financial or verbal support to these groups. In December 2000, Binyamin Kahane was also assassinated, shot by Palestinian gunmen in a drive-by shooting.

*See also* BARUCH GOLDSTEIN; JEWISH TERRORIST GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES; KAHANE CHAI

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## KAMAL, ALI HASSAN ABU. *See* EMPIRE STATE BUILDING SHOOTING.

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## KASI, MIR AIMAL (1964– )

aka Mir Kanshi

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In 1993, Mir Aimal Kasi, a Pakistani national, murdered two CIA employees outside the CIA

headquarters in Langley, Virginia. He shot and permanently injured three other persons. Kasi was sentenced to death in 1998.

Born in 1964 to a wealthy family in Quetta, Pakistan, Kasi inherited about \$100,000 after his father's death. Reportedly involved in a militant nationalist group in Pakistan, Kasi traveled to the United States in 1991, entering the country on a business visa. On January 25, 1993, Kasi stepped out of his car near the CIA gates in Langley. While morning commuters waited at a traffic light outside CIA headquarters, Kasi used an AK-47 assault rifle to shoot through car windows, walking between the lanes and spraying bullets left and right. Kasi first shot 28-year-old CIA communications worker Frank Darling in the back. Kasi also shot and killed 66-year-old CIA analyst and physician Lansing Bennett, and wounded three others.

Kasi fled to Pakistan the next day; he evaded capture for more than four years. He spent much of that time in Afghanistan. At first, the U.S. government did not label the CIA killings an act of international terrorism, reportedly to minimize problems with Pakistan. Judy Becker-Darling publicly spoke about what she saw as the CIA's indifference to her husband's death and became a gun control activist. Originally, the government offered a \$100,000 reward for information leading to Kasi's capture, later raising the amount to \$2 million.

On June 17, 1997, Kasi was arrested in a Punjab hotel room and then extradited to the United States, where he was tried in Virginia. Prosecutors in his trial said that his actions aimed to protest and take revenge for U.S. involvement in Muslim countries. Kasi did not testify at his trial but wrote a series of letters to a reporter at Salon.com, explaining that he had intended to assassinate CIA director James Woolsey or the former director Robert Gates.

The jury found Kasi guilty on November 10, 1997, and began deliberating its recommendation on his sentence. The next day, four auditors from the U.S. oil company Union Texas were shot, along with their Pakistani driver, in Karachi, Pakistan. Because the jury was still deliberating, jury members were sequestered to shield them from news of the Karachi shootings. The jury recommended the death penalty, and the judge sentenced Kasi to death on January 24, 1998.

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## KHALED, LEILA (1944– )

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A member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Leila Ali Khaled became famous in the late 1960s and early 1970s for being one of the few Arab women publicly involved in terrorist activity.

One of 13 children, Leila Khaled was only four years old when her family was forced to leave her birthplace of Haifa in Palestine due to the creation of the Israeli state in 1948. They settled in a refugee camp in Tyre, Lebanon. Khaled and her siblings shared the belief that Palestine should be liberated and the refugees should be allowed to return home.

While Khaled was a teenager, she joined the Arab Nationalist Movement to fight for her beliefs. To help her struggling family, in 1963 Khaled became an English teacher in Kuwait. There, she became a member of the political group that would lead to her fame, the PFLP, created by George Habash.

The 1967 Israeli defeat of the Arabs was the impetus for Khaled's move to Jordan to join the resistance. She was trained by Wadi Haddad to hijack airplanes. On August 29, 1969, Khaled and a colleague hijacked TWA Flight 840 en route from Rome to Tel Aviv; no passengers were harmed. The case attracted extensive media coverage because female hijackers were not common, especially not ones with a conservative Arab background. Khaled became well known as a terrorist to some and a hero to others. The most famous picture circulated depicts her holding a gun and wearing a ring made of a hand-grenade pin and a bullet.

Before attempting her second hijacking, Khaled underwent several cosmetic surgeries so that she would be unrecognizable. On September 6, 1970, she and Patrick Arguello hijacked an El Al jet flying from Amsterdam to New York. No passengers were harmed, but security guards on the plane opened fire and killed Arguello. The plane landed at London's Heathrow Airport where Khaled was arrested and detained in the Ealing Police Station for 23 days. Prime Minister Edward Heath set her free in exchange for the release

of 56 hostages taken in a PFLP hijacking that occurred after Khaled's arrest. Since 1970, Khaled has taken a less prominent role in the Palestinian struggle to regain their homeland. She was associated with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) until 1982. Today, she lives in Amman, Jordan, with her second husband and two sons. She remains an ardent supporter of the Arab movement.

**See also** GEORGE HABASH;  
PALESTINE LIBERATION  
ORGANIZATION; POPULAR  
FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION  
OF PALESTINE; TWA FLIGHT  
840 HIJACKING



*The bomb crater in front of the severely damaged north side of the Khobar Towers complex. The explosion of a fuel truck set off by terrorists on June 25, 1996, killed 19 and injured hundreds.*

Source: Defense Visual Information Center.

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## KHOBAR TOWERS BOMBING

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Nineteen U.S. service members were killed when a truck bomb destroyed their high-rise Air Force barracks in Dhahran, eastern Saudi Arabia, on June 25, 1996. Bombers pulled a tanker truck stuffed with explosives up next to the dormitory, and then jumped into waiting vehicles, escaping just before the detonation. About 500 people were injured in the explosion.

The towers housed the 2,000 U.S. military personnel assigned to the King Abdul Aziz Airbase in Saudi Arabia. The service members were at the airbase near Dhahran in order to mount patrols over the no-flight zone in southern Iraq that was declared after the Persian Gulf War.

The tanker truck that pulled up to Khobar Towers just before 10 P.M. on the evening of the attack carried 5,000 pounds of explosives—an even larger cache than that used by Timothy McVeigh to blow up Oklahoma City's federal building. The intense explosion, so loud it was heard some 20 miles away, left a crater 85 feet wide and 35 feet deep.

FBI director Louis Freeh traveled several times to Saudi Arabia to interview suspects held in Saudi jails, and publicly claiming that the Clinton administration was not doing enough to pursue evidence involving the Iranian government. U.S. officials built a case charging leaders of the Iranian-backed Saudi Hezbollah terrorist group, and as the fifth year anniversary of the bombing grew near, the United States indicted 14 men in the attack. The 46-count indictment, announced on June 21, 2001, charged 13 Saudi Shiite Muslims and one Lebanese man in the bombing plot. According to the indictment, the bombing plot had been in the works for more than three years by Saudi Hezbollah members, who wanted to oust Americans from Saudi Arabia. The bombers transported the explosives from Beirut and stuffed them into a tanker truck.

At a news conference announcing the indictment, Attorney General John D. Ashcroft said that Iranian



government officials “inspired, supported and supervised members of Saudi Hezbollah” in the attack. However, no Iranian officials were actually charged in the indictment.

Iran denied any role in the bombing, and Saudi Arabia challenged U.S. jurisdiction in the case, as the act took place in Saudi Arabia and 13 of the men charged are Saudi citizens. Eleven of the suspects are in Saudi custody, while the rest remain fugitives. Saudi officials stated that it is impossible to extradite the men now in their custody and that the Saudi Arabian government will try them instead. In June 2002, the Saudi deputy interior minister announced that Saudi Arabia has sentenced some of the people it arrested, but did not say how many or what the sentences were.

Four of the men indicted by the United States in the Khobar case, Abdelkarim Hussein Mohamed al-Nasser, Ahmad Ibrahim al-Mughassil, Ali Saed bin Ali el-Hoorie, and Ibrahim Salih Mohammed al-Yacoub, number in the list of the FBI’s 22 “most wanted terrorists” released by President George W. Bush in October 2001.

*See also* AHMAD IBRAHIM AL-MUGHASSIL; ABDELKARIM HUSSEIN MOHAMED AL-NASSER; IBRAHIM SALIH MOHAMMED AL-YACOUB; BOMBINGS AND BOMB SCARES; ALI SAED BIN ALI EL-HOORIE

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## KIKUMURA, YU (1952– )

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Yu Kikumura is the member of the Japanese Red Army (JRA) who was apprehended on the New Jersey Turnpike in 1988 with bombs and bomb-making materials. He may have been planning to bomb targets in New York City.

Kikumura was born on the island of Kyushu, Japan, on July 18, 1952. Little is known of his early life, although he has stated that he was politically influenced by his father, a labor organizer and political activist. In the late 1960s, he participated in the Japanese student protest movement, although he has claimed that his involvement was slight. He is known

to have lived in London and Athens for a number of years during the 1970s.

At some point, he became a member of the JRA, a radical Marxist terrorist group that conducted many hijackings and terrorist attacks during the 1970s. Realizing the difficulty of fomenting a communist revolution in Japan, a large number of the group’s members, led by Fusako Shigenobu, left that country in 1971 and moved to Lebanon. There they became protégés of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a Middle Eastern Marxist group that was affiliated with many Western terrorists groups during the 1970s. Kikumura may have been trained in the manufacture and use of explosives at a PFLP training camp during this time.

In April 1986, the U.S. government bombed Libya for Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi’s role in the La Belle discotheque bombing in West Berlin, in which an American serviceman was killed. In response, the JRA planned a campaign of reprisals against U.S. targets. In May 1986, Kikumura was arrested in Amsterdam, after airport security discovered more than a kilogram of plastic explosives and several detonators concealed in his luggage. After Kikumura spent four months in prison, a Dutch judge ruled that the search of his luggage had been conducted illegally, and he was freed and deported to Japan. Kikumura traveled extensively on a false passport during the next year; he left Madrid, Spain, days after a cache of bombs believed to be intended for the U.S. embassy was discovered, but no connection between Kikumura and the Madrid bombs could be proved.

On March 8, 1988, Kikumura entered the United States. He spent the next several weeks crisscrossing the country collecting bomb materials. On April 12, a New Jersey state trooper searched Kikumura’s car while he was parked at a rest stop. Three bombs, consisting of shrapnel and gunpowder encased in fire extinguishers, were discovered, along with bomb-making materials and maps of New York City, including the subway system.

Two days later, on the anniversary of the Libyan bombings, a U.S.O. canteen in Naples, Italy, was bombed by the JRA. Kikumura’s thwarted attack may have been planned to coincide with the Naples bombing. An ambiguous mark on one of his maps led investigators to believe that he intended to bomb a naval recruitment office in Manhattan. In February 1989, Kikumura was tried in the United States and sentenced to 30 years for terrorist activities. In 1991, this

sentence was reduced to 21 years and 10 months upon appeal. He is currently imprisoned at a maximum-security federal facility in Florence, Colorado.

*See also* JAPANESE RED ARMY; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE; FUSAKO SHIGENOBU

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## KILBURN, PETER (1924–1986)

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Peter Kilburn, a librarian at the American University in Beirut, is believed to have been the first American hostage to be executed during the Lebanon hostage crisis.

Kilburn, who had worked for the American University library for more than 20 years, was reported missing after he failed to show up for work on December 3, 1984. He was last seen alive on November 30, 1984. Unlike most hostage takings, no group claimed responsibility for Kilburn's disappearance. During the 16 months Kilburn was missing, his name was notably absent from the various videos, letters, and messages sent by American hostages to their families and the U.S. government.

Little is known about the conditions in which Kilburn was held or how he was abducted. Some have suggested that Kilburn was kidnapped because he hired a Christian over two Shiites for a library position at the university. Later CIA intelligence indicates that thugs more interested in money than political causes abducted Kilburn and that he was to be "sold" to the highest bidder.

In the summer of 1985, a Canadian of Armenian descent who claimed to be a representative of the group holding Kilburn claimed that Kilburn's freedom could be purchased for \$500,000. That figure later jumped to \$3 million once the Canadian offered proof—Kilburn's American University identification

card. By March 1986, the CIA and FBI had planned an elaborate sting operation in which the kidnappers were to be paid with chemically treated bills that would dissolve a few days after the swap. Ross Perot, the Texas billionaire, supplied the \$100,000 to be paid to the Canadian intermediary, and the altered money was delivered to Europe. However, in the midst of these transactions, a Libyan intelligence agent in Lebanon paid to have Kilburn murdered, based on rumors that the United States was planning a military strike against Libya's Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi for his role in the La Belle discotheque bombing in West Berlin.

On April 17, 1986, two days after the United States bombed Libya, the bodies of Kilburn and two British schoolteachers, John Leigh Douglas, and Philip Padfield, were found in the hills of eastern Beirut. They had been shot in the back of the head. Farid Fleihan, Kilburn's longtime friend and physician at American University hospital, identified Kilburn's body in Beirut. A later autopsy at Bethesda Naval Hospital revealed no signs of torture or mistreatment.

The Arab Fedayeen Cells (aka Arab Revolutionary Cells), a pro-Libyan group of Palestinians affiliated with the terrorist Abu Nidal, claimed responsibility for these deaths. A note found with the bodies described the men as "two British intelligence agents" and a "CIA agent" who were killed in response to the U.S. air strikes against Libya and Britain's cooperation in that action.

Kilburn's body was returned to the United States on April 20, 1986, and buried later that month in the Army cemetery in San Francisco's Presidio. Six years later, the United States offered up to \$2 million for aid in capturing the individuals involved in Kilburn's death, as well as the deaths of Beirut CIA station chief William Buckley and U.S. Col. Walter Higgins.

*See also* ABU NIDAL ORGANIZATION; WILLIAM BUCKLEY; LA BELLE DISCOTHEQUE BOMBING

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## KING DAVID HOTEL BOMBING

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On July 22, 1946, the primary Jewish underground militant group, Irgun Zvai Leumi, blew up the southern

wing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, in what was then British-ruled Palestine.

Zionists clashed many times with the British during the mid-20th century. The Balfour Declaration of 1916 promised the Jewish people a national home in Palestine. However, the 1936 Arab Revolt led Britain to retreat from this commitment, and in 1939, the British enacted the "White Paper," which limited Jewish immigrants to 75,000 over the next five years. During World War II, the Irgun suspended attacks against the British in Palestine, concentrating instead on fighting the Germans; many Irgun supporters joined the British Army. However, a more extreme splinter group called Lehi, or the Stern Gang, continued attacking the British in Palestine.

Most of the British administration in Palestine was based in the seven-story luxury hotel. The Irgun strike force set out disguised as hotel workers in the morning of July 22, riding in a van loaded with seven milk churns filled with explosives and detonators. They entered the hotel, brought the churns in through the hotel's side gate, and placed them next to supporting pillars in the hotel restaurant. The timers on the bombs were set for 30 minutes.

Irgun leader Menachem Begin, who became Israel's prime minister in 1977, has publicly stated that the Irgun placed three phone calls to various parties before the blast, issuing a warning to minimize casualties. The British have long denied that they were warned before the explosion. If the calls were made, they were ignored, for the staff of the government secretariat and military command remained in their rooms. Ninety-one people were killed in the blast: 41 Arabs, 28 Britons, 17 Jews, and five others. In the face of this and other attacks, Britain soon turned over the administration of Palestine. The last British high commissioner, Gen. Sir Alan Cunningham, sailed from Haifa in May 1948.

In a controversial move in 1995, the Jerusalem Municipality chose to name a street "Gal Boulevard," after Joshua "Gal" Goldschmidt, one of the planners of the King David Hotel attack.

*See also* IRGUN ZVAI LEUMI; STERN GANG

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**KKK.** *See* **KU KLUX KLAN.**

**KLA.** *See* **KOSOVO LIBERATION ARMY.**

**KLINGHOFFER, LEON.** *See* **ACHILLE LAURO HIJACKING.**

**KORESH, DAVID.** *See* **WACO.**

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## KOSOVO LIBERATION ARMY

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Terrorist group Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) emerged in 1996 and instigated a war between Kosovo and Serbia in the hope of winning Kosovo's independence.

Kosovo, which borders on Albania, is a province of Serbia, which itself is a part of the former Yugoslavia. Kosovo was once the center of Serbian culture and society, but over the past several hundred years, its population has changed: Today, more than 90 percent of its people are of Albanian ethnicity, most of them Muslim. Serbs still consider Kosovo an integral part of their country.

In Communist Yugoslavia, which united several Balkan provinces including Serbia, Kosovo was considered to be a part of Serbia but was administered autonomously. In 1989, during the death throes of the Communist government, Slobodan Milosovic was elected president of Serbia on a nationalist platform. One of his first actions was to strip Kosovo of its independence, replacing Albanian officials with Serbian ones and closing Albanian-language schools. The reaction of the Kosovo Albanians was to boycott all Serbian institutions in a form of peaceful protest, setting up their own shadow government. These tactics did not gain the hoped-for attention and support of the international community, however. After the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords (which resolved a separate

war between Serbia and Bosnia) failed to address Kosovo's independence, many Kosovo Albanians began to look for other solutions.

In this atmosphere the KLA emerged. In 1996 and 1997, the KLA, which was originally composed of a few hundred Albanian Muslim veterans of the Bosnian war, attacked several Serbian police stations and wounded many officers. The KLA made its first public statement on December 1, 1997, during a funeral service for an Albanian teacher killed by Serbian police. The speech was a call to arms outlining the KLA's position and objectives. (Prior to this appearance, some observers suspected that the KLA was actually a Serbian tool—an indirect way of stirring up ancient ethnic tensions that would allow Milosovic to move against Kosovo's Albanian population.)

The KLA's stated objectives were the secession of Kosovo from Serbia and the eventual creation of a "Greater Albania," encompassing Kosovo, Albania, and the ethnic Albanian minority of neighboring Macedonia. The KLA found great moral and financial support among the Albanian diaspora; it used the money to purchase weapons, which were then smuggled over the porous Albania-Kosovo border. As the KLA became better armed, its attacks became more effective; the Serbian president of the University of Pristina, Kosovo's capital, narrowly escaped assassination in January 1997.

In response, the Serbian government began a crackdown against the Kosovo Albanian population, raiding villages and expelling people from their homes. Massacres by the Serbian police were reported, and suspects taken into police custody were often beaten and tortured to extort confessions. The crackdown on the Kosovo Albanian population only increased support for the KLA, which attracted thousands of new recruits. Throughout 1998, the KLA escalated its attacks and Serbia followed suit with reprisals. By the end of the year, the KLA had killed scores of police; the Serbian government had sent 40,000 troops to the region; and an estimated 200,000 Kosovo Albanian refugees had fled into neighboring countries.

The mounting refugee crisis began to attract serious international attention. In February 1999, the allied governments of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), led by the United States, forced the Serbian government and the KLA into truce negotiations in Rambouillet, France. The KLA

was prevailed upon to sign the treaty, but the Serbian government refused; in March 1999, NATO commenced air strikes on Serbian forces. The air campaign lasted for 11 weeks. During the campaign, an estimated 1.5 million Albanian refugees are believed to have left the area, about 85 percent of Kosovo's total population. KLA ranks also expanded; by the end of the campaign some observers estimated that the organization had about 20,000 troops, several thousand of whom were well-trained former soldiers. The KLA forces on the ground played an important role—especially during the campaign's final weeks, when the organization was at full strength. By engaging Serbian troops, they were able to concentrate the Serbian forces so that NATO air strikes were much more effective. Between 25 and 50 percent of the Serbian equipment is thought to have been destroyed during the campaign.

Following the war, the United Nations sent a multinational peacekeeping force of 50,000 into the region. All Serbian government forces were removed, and many Kosovo Serbs left as well. In contrast, almost all the Kosovo Albanian refugees returned; the population of the province is now believed to be about 95 percent Albanian. The presence of the U.N. forces quickly quelled the retaliatory violence by returning refugees on their former Serb neighbors. The KLA has submitted to demilitarization, and several of its most important leaders have gone on to form political parties. The KLA parties won 37 seats in Kosovo's first parliamentary elections in November 2001.

During the Rambouillet negotiations, the international community had hoped to reestablish Kosovo's autonomy, not full independence, as it was believed an independent Kosovo would tend to destabilize the entire region and lead to further war. Independence remains, at the time of this writing, a dream deferred; the new Kosovo parliament is actually prohibited from voting on the subject. But as even the pacifist Albanian parties claim independence as their goal, and the KLA itself remains a potent political force whose goal of "Greater Albania" has not altered.

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## KROPOTKIN, PETER (1842–1921)

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A Russian geographer and revolutionary, Peter Kropotkin published a large body of work promoting anarchism, but was ultimately disappointed in the economic and social outcomes of Russia's 1917 revolution.

Born in Moscow to a noble family, Kropotkin held the title of prince. When he turned 15, he joined the elite Corps des Pages of St. Petersburg so that upon graduation he could become a page to Czar Alexander II. In the 1860s, he chose to work in Siberia helping to implement Alexander's social reforms. In 1867, he studied the geography of eastern Siberia and was offered the position of secretary of the Imperial Geographical Society. Kropotkin turned down the job, renounced his aristocratic heritage, and devoted himself to instigating Russian revolution.

Kropotkin developed a theory of anarchist communism, a system in which goods and services could be distributed freely and equally with the cooperation of every member of society. Kropotkin was also a proponent of "propaganda by deed," a theory of Mikhail Bakunin that argued individuals should undertake violent actions in order to inspire revolutionary fervor in the general population. In the early 1870s, Kropotkin joined the revolutionary First International Working Men's Association.

He was arrested for openly criticizing the Russian government but then managed to escape to Switzerland. His extreme socialist views made him unpopular in Switzerland as well, so in 1881 he moved to France. The French authorities arrested Kropotkin in 1883 for sedition. While in prison, he wrote a book on his anarchist views called *Paroles d'un revolte* (*Words of a Rebel*, 1885); he often explains his views from a scientific standpoint. After he was released and had moved to England, he wrote another book called *In Russian and French Prisons* (1887). In this, he calls for more humane treatment of prisoners.

In the next few years, he was an active participant in the international socialist movement and authored many more books, including *Conquest of Bread* (1892), *Fields, Factories, and Workshops* (1899), *Mutual Aid* (1902), and *The Great French Revolution 1789–1793* (1909).

Now known around the world for his political views, Kropotkin returned home to Russia after the revolution took place in 1917. He soon became dismayed with the authoritarian regime of the Bolsheviks, and he felt that the revolution had ultimately failed. Kropotkin remained in Russia until his death on February 8, 1921. He left *Ethics, Origin, and Development* unfinished, but it was subsequently published in 1924.

*See also* ANARCHISM; MIKHAIL BAKUNIN

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## KU KLUX KLAN

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The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) is the oldest organized hate group in the United States, dating back more than 135 years to the Reconstruction Era following the end of the Civil War. Although the Klan's original intent was to assert the supremacy of the white race over the newly freed black slaves, over the decades the organization widened the scope of its hatred to include Roman Catholics, Jews, immigrants, and homosexuals. The KKK has been a model for other extremist groups in the country, who have emulated Klan practices of intimidation and violence.

### THE HISTORICAL KLAN

Accounts vary, but many believe that six Confederate soldiers formed the KKK on Christmas Eve 1865, in Pulaski, Tennessee. (Other accounts place the founding in May or June 1866). In its early years, the group was considered to be a social organization; however,

the KKK soon began to terrorize local freed slaves. Klansmen would don white flowing robes and pointed hats, sometimes cloaking their horses in white sheets as well to affect the appearance of Confederate soldiers risen from the dead, and would raid the homes of blacks in the middle of the night.

Scholars believe that the Klan formed initially in response to white anxiety over the weak Reconstruction Era governments in the South and the possibility of insurrection on the part of newly freed slaves. Klansmen attacked black freedmen and their white Republican supporters alike, as well as assailing “carpetbaggers” from the North. Their intimidation was intended to keep black men and Republicans from voting, thus maintaining white political power in the South. In short, the Klan hoped to uphold Southern culture and politics as it existed before the Civil War and was willing to take violent measures to succeed.

In 1867, the disparate chapters of the Klan, which had taken root throughout Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama, held their first national convention in Nashville and elected as their national leader, or Grand Wizard, General Nathan Bedford Forrest, a former Confederate cavalry leader. This convention established the elaborately named organizational hierarchy, including Grand Cyclops, Magi, and Night Hawks who governed over dominions and dens, and the concept of the Klan as an “invisible empire” was born.

As the Klan grew, it was plagued by infighting—always part of the group’s turbulent history. By 1869, Forrest officially disbanded the organization. Even the individual KKK chapters had nearly died off by the 1870s from a confluence of several factors, including national anti-Klan legislation in 1870 and 1871, Southern “Jim Crow” laws that neatly reestablished segregation, and internal dissension over the use of violence.

## THE MODERN KLAN

After lying dormant for more than 40 years, the Klan’s “second era” began in 1915, when William J. Simmons, a former minister, resurrected the Klan at Stone Mountain, Georgia—an event marked by a cross burning, soon to become the Klan’s calling card. Scholars attribute the renewed interest in the Klan to the release and popularity of D. W. Griffith’s 1915 film, *Birth of a Nation*, which was based on a book by Thomas Dixon called *The Clansman* (1905) and credited the Klan with the preservation of the Southern way of life.

Within a decade, the Klan reached the height of its power, rapidly spreading nationwide. The Klan in its second incarnation opposed immigration, mostly of Jews and Catholics, and benefited from a growing Protestant fundamentalism and the patriotic fervor generated by World War I. By the mid-1920s, membership had developed from approximately 10,000 to between 4 and 5 million, and Klan leaders attained high political offices—governors, senators, and representatives.

Scandal soon rocked the organization. After David C. Stephenson, a Klan leader in the Midwest, was convicted for the rape and mutilation of a woman, evidence emerged that led to the indictments of the governor of Indiana and the mayor of Indianapolis, both Klan supporters. Once again, upper-class and more mainstream Klansmen distanced themselves from such violence. During the Great Depression (1929–1941), the Klan also lost its core dues-paying members, mostly from the lower and middle classes, to poverty.

The Klan reemerged in the 1950s, fighting racial desegregation and terrorizing blacks and civil rights workers with cross burnings, beatings, bombings, death threats, and murder. In 1963, Klan members Robert Chambliss, Bobby Frank Cherry, Herman Frank Cash, and Thomas E. Blanton, Jr. bombed the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, in which four girls were killed—an incident widely considered to be the lowest point of the civil rights struggle. Klan members were also behind the murders of civil rights activists: James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner in June 1964; Viola Liuzzo in March 1965; and Medgar Evers in June 1963.

By the mid-1960s, the federal government had begun to intervene. The FBI added the KKK to the organizations targeted by the FBI’s Cointelpro counterintelligence program. This federal program aimed to “disrupt and neutralize” both left- and right-wing extremist groups. The House Un-American Activities Committee also investigated the Klan. This government involvement and the KKK’s persistent factionalism caused a membership decline in the 1970s.

## VIOLENCE REEMERGES

Significant violence occurred in 1979, when Klansmen killed five anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina, and again in 1981, when Klansmen lynched Michael Donald, a black teenager, in Mobile, Alabama. The 1980s and 1990s, however,

were marked by mostly sporadic, isolated violence. In the early 1990s, the Texas Knights of the White Camellia Ku Klux Klan engaged in extensive racial intimidation in Vidor, Texas, to prevent the desegregation of a federal housing project. Klan groups are also believed to be behind a rash of nationwide church burnings that began in January 1995.

At the same time, several organizations, the Southern Poverty Law Center among them, worked successfully against the Klan in the courts, dismantling the United Klans of America in 1987 for the Donald lynching, and, in 1993, the Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan for attacking civil rights activists in Forsyth, Georgia. Arrests of Klan members continued throughout the late 1990s, including an April 1997 arrest of three Klan members for conspiracy to blow up a natural gas refinery in Fort Worth, Texas, and several arrests in February 1998 for plots to poison water supplies, rob banks, plant bombs, and commit assassinations. In July 1998, the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were found to have participated in a conspiracy to burn a black church.

Today, there are more than 100 Klan chapters and splinter groups. While some factions are openly racist and follow the Christian Identity movement, others have tried to mainstream themselves, cloaking racism as “civil rights for whites.” More recently, the Internet has aided Klan recruitment efforts and membership has risen. Many Klan chapters maintain Web sites with explanations, propaganda, historical accounts, and membership applications, as well as links to other Klan chapters.

*See also* SIXTEENTH STREET BAPTIST CHURCH BOMBING

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## KURDISTAN WORKERS PARTY

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The Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) was founded to establish a Kurdish state and self-rule in southeastern

Turkey, an area that is predominantly Kurdish. Established in 1978 by Abdullah Ocalan, the PKK began its terrorism campaign focusing on Turkish security forces and civilians in the early 1980s; this intensely bloody conflict would last some 15 years.

PKK's history is inextricably linked with the plight of the Kurds, the world's most numerous stateless people. Largely Muslim, Kurds number between 15 and 20 million, have their own language and culture, and live in an area known as Kurdistan, a mountainous region that lies within portions of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Armenia. Nearly 11 million Kurds live in Turkey and represent roughly 20 percent of that country's population; they are the highest concentration of Kurds anywhere.

After World War I, the breakup of the Ottoman Empire formed new nation-states, but no separate Kurdistan. Thus, the Kurds, who were until then nomadic, could no longer keep to their ancient migratory ways. Although the 1920 Treaty of Sevres promised independence, the Kurds were never granted nation status. In 1923, Turkey refused to honor that provision of the treaty; thus, the Kurds remained an ethnic group within Turkey. The Kurd revolts of the 1920s and 1930s were met by the Turkish government with mass executions and village burnings.

The current leader of the PKK, Abdullah Ocalan, was born in 1948 in southeastern Turkey, near the Syrian border. While attending the university at Ankara, he studied political science and developed, many believe, what would become the thinking behind the PKK. He dropped out of school, wrote the manifesto “The National Road to the Kurdish Revolution,” and, in 1978, formed the PKK as a terrorist group to help establish a Kurdish state. Today, many of the Kurdish people refer to him as “Apo,” the Kurdish word for “Uncle.”

Although Ocalan left Turkey for exile in 1980, he directed the PKK from Syria and other countries, and orchestrated most PKK plots. The PKK held its first congress in July 1981 and later established a Presidential Council—10 senior commanders to run the day-to-day operations. In 1984, the PKK began to use terror (usually serial kidnappings and bombings) to spread its message. Some of the first targets were police stations and other state buildings in Turkey's southeast provinces, but the campaign eventually turned against civilians, most of them Kurds whom the PKK accused of conspiring with the state.

The Turkish government fought back; between 1984 and 1999 (with 1991 and 1993 seeing the peak

of PKK activity), nearly 40,000 people died as a result of PKK violence and government retaliation. In 1999, Ocalan was apprehended in Kenya and returned to Turkey, where he was sentenced to death. The day he was sentenced, riots, demonstrations, and occupations of embassies occurred throughout Europe. Ocalan has appealed his sentence, and the courts have not yet ruled on his appeal. From his prison cell, however, he announced a cease-fire and asked all PKK forces to abandon Turkey. In February 2000, the PKK officially ceased its 15-year revolution and agreed to the political program put forward

by the imprisoned leader. Today, the PKK has nearly 10,000 active members and many supporters scattered throughout Europe.

*See also* ABDULLAH OCALAN

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## LA BELLE DISCOTHEQUE BOMBING

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On April 5, 1986, a bomb packed with nails exploded at the La Belle discotheque in the West Berlin, killing two U.S. soldiers and a Turkish woman and injuring 229 people. The four-pound bomb exploded at 1:40 A.M. on the crowded dance floor; the flying nails caused such grave injuries that dozens of the victims lost their limbs.

U.S. president Ronald Reagan quickly accused Libya of the bombing of La Belle, a popular nightclub for U.S. soldiers stationed in West Berlin. Citing intercepted communications between the Libyan embassy in East Berlin and Tripoli, Libya, Reagan ordered U.S. air raids on Libya. One of the U.S. bombs dropped 10 days after the La Belle attack hit Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi's home and killed one of his children.

The case went unsolved for years, until the collapse of the Berlin Wall allowed German investigators to discover a wealth of evidence in former East Germany. Files seized from the headquarters of the Stasi, the East German secret police, led to the arrest of five suspects in 1996. More than 15 years after the bombing, a German court convicted a former Libyan diplomat and three accomplices on murder charges in the La Belle bombing.

During the four-year trial, prosecutors showed that the diplomat Musbah Abdulghasem Eter worked with Palestinian Yassir Chraidi, an employee of the Libyan embassy in East Berlin, to carry out the attack. The men recruited Ali Channa, a German man of Lebanese

descent, and his wife, German Verena Channa, to carry out the bombing. The Channas were paid about \$7,000 for their roles in the attack, according to prosecutors.

Mrs. Channa actually planted the bomb, carrying the explosives into the nightclub in her knapsack. Mrs. Channa's sister went with her to the nightclub and left with her five minutes before the blast, but claimed to have known nothing of the plot. Mrs. Channa was imprisoned for 14 years on the charge of murder, while the others were sentenced to between 12 and 14 years of jail for attempted murder.

The German court also ruled that Libya was involved in the La Belle bombing but that no evidence proved the direct involvement of Qaddafi. Prosecutors had charged that Qaddafi called for a terrorist attack against the United States in retaliation for the March 1986 sinking of two Libyan ships in the Gulf of Sidra, presenting radio messages between Tripoli, Libya, and the East Berlin Libyan embassy. "Expect the result tomorrow morning. It is God's will," read a message sent on the night of the attack. Hours after the bombing, another cable reported, "at 1:30 A.M., one of the acts was carried out with success, without leaving a trace." These messages were originally intercepted by the U.S. National Security Agency, which ran an eavesdropping station in West Berlin to monitor East Berlin diplomatic communication.

*See also* BOMBINGS AND BOMB SCARES; MUAMMAR EL-QADDAFI; TRIPOLI AND BENGHAZI BOMBING

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## LA GUARDIA AIRPORT BOMBING

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On December 29, 1975, a bomb exploded at New York City's La Guardia Airport, killing 11 and injuring more than 75. The crime, considered to be one of the most lethal bombings of its time as well as one of the first major terrorist attacks on an airport, remains unsolved more than 25 years later.

The bomb detonated at 6:30 P.M. on a busy, postholiday Monday night, shattering the 30-foot-tall plate glass windows of the lower-level baggage claim area shared by TWA and Delta. The explosion blew a 10-by-15-foot hole through the eight-inch-thick reinforced concrete ceiling and also damaged the ceiling on the floor above. The terminal's luggage carousels and huge metal doors lay mangled.

The blast touched off a two-alarm fire and triggered the airport sprinkler system. Firefighters, who battled rush-hour traffic, suppressed the fire within an hour. The damage (estimated at \$750,000) included burned walls and injuries from shards of glass that had rained over an area longer than a football field; in addition, pieces of a nearby bank of 12 metal storage lockers flew, like shrapnel, over hundreds of feet.

The bombing had come without warning; however, at approximately 7:30 P.M., an anonymous caller claimed that another bomb was in the American Airlines baggage claim area, adding to the chaos. This claim, like the many others that plagued airports and bus terminals nationwide in the days following, proved to be false.

By New Year's Eve, investigators had reconstructed most of the explosion. The bomb had been placed in one of the twelve 24-hour parcel lockers located between two luggage carousels, and had not come in on an inbound flight. The reconstructed bank of lockers, painstakingly pieced together from bits of metal found in the debris, revealed facts about the bomb, but little about who placed it. Initial guesses had put the power of the explosion at 15 sticks of dynamite. Later estimates rose to 25 sticks—approximately 12.5 pounds of explosives. This was one-and-a-half times the amount of explosives used in the

Fraunces Tavern bombing in January 1975, which had claimed four lives.

Many believed that the Puerto Rican independence group that claimed responsibility for the Fraunces Tavern bombing, the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN), was also responsible for the La Guardia bomb. However, neither the FALN nor any other prominent terrorist group came forward to claim responsibility for the bombing. In fact, the Palestine Liberation Organization, which was mentioned early on in Associated Press and UPI news reports, emphatically denied involvement and denounced the attack. In May 1976, a Cuban American charged with six other bombings in Miami, Florida, was sought in connection with the case, but was not charged. Today, Croatian nationalists are believed to have been the perpetrators, though no one has ever been brought to justice.

*See also* FALN; GRAND CENTRAL STATION BOMBING; TWA FLIGHT 355 HIJACKING

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## LADEN, OSAMA BIN. *See* BIN LADEN, OSAMA.

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## LASHKAR-E-TAYYIBA

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Lashkar-e-Tayyiba is a notoriously violent militant Muslim group operating in the states of Jammu and Kashmir on the Pakistan-India border. Jammu and Kashmir are claimed by both India, a largely Hindu country, and Pakistan, a largely Muslim country; the dispute has given rise to many armed groups within Jammu and Kashmir.

Lashkar-e-Tayyiba ("Army of the Pure") is rabidly pro-Pakistan and is one of the largest groups operating in Jammu and Kashmir. The group opposes any concessions to India, with its leaders expressing the desire to drive Hindus out of much of India once they have been eliminated from Jammu and Kashmir. The group has taken part in several massacres targeting

non-Muslim civilian populations in Jammu and Kashmir in an effort to create a Muslim-only state.

Lashkar-e-Tayyiba arose in the early 1990s as a militant wing of Markaz-ud-Dawa-wal-Irshad, an Islamic fundamentalist organization influenced by the Wahabi sect of Sunni Islam. Many of Lashkar-e-Tayyiba's members are Pakistani or Afghan. The group, headquartered in Pakistan, is believed to have had ties with Afghanistan's Taliban government and with the wealthy Saudi extremist Osama bin Laden. (Fighters from Lashkar-e-Tayyiba and another militant Muslim group, Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, were killed in August 1998 when American cruise missiles fell on bin Laden's training camps in Afghanistan.)

Lashkar-e-Tayyiba made its first incursions in Jammu and Kashmir in 1993. In the late 1990s, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba received greater funding from Pakistan and began operating in the Jammu, which has large numbers of non-Muslim minorities. Working in conjunction with Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba began a program of ethnic cleansing, slaughtering Hindus and Sikhs.

Infamous for their brutality, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba attacks were often aimed at unarmed civilians: children as young as 1 year were among 23 Hindus killed at Wandhama in 1998. Lashkar-e-Tayyiba massacred 25 members of a wedding party in Doda later that same year. Beginning in 1999, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba conducted a series of suicide attacks against Indian security forces, often targeting seemingly secure headquarters. In such attacks, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba forces have been outnumbered and eventually killed, but not before killing Indian troops and causing extensive damage. In March 2000, 35 Sikhs were killed in Chattisinghpora; five months later Lashkar-e-Tayyiba members staged eight attacks that left roughly 100 people dead, most of them Hindu civilians.

Lashkar-e-Tayyiba had a falling out in 2000 with Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, which had declared a short-lived cease-fire with India. Lashkar-e-Tayyiba lost more allies in 2001, after the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States led to the removal of the Taliban government in Afghanistan by American-led military forces and the targeting of bin Laden.

On December 13, 2001, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba undertook its most daring action, launching a suicide attack on India's parliament complex in the capital, New Delhi, in conjunction with Jaish-e-Mohammed, another militant group. In response, the United States froze the U.S. assets of Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, calling it a terrorist organization. Under pressure from the United

States to crack down on terrorist groups and to avoid a war with India, the government of Pakistan banned the group and arrested its leader, Hafiz Mohammed Saeed, but released him a few months later.

*See also* OSAMA BIN LADEN; HIZB-UL-MUJAHIDEEN; JAISH-E-MOHAMMED; MILITANT ISLAM; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS; STATE-SPONSORED TERRORISM; TALIBAN

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## LAUTARO YOUTH MOVEMENT

**aka Lautaro Faction of the United Popular Action Movement (MAPU/L), Lautaro Popular Rebel Forces (FRPL)**

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Named for a famous Araucanian Indian warrior, the Lautaro Youth Movement (MJL) is a militant Chilean leftist group that became active in the 1980s. Now said to be largely disbanded, the MJL has been linked to robbing banks, killing policemen on the beat, and attacking Mormon churches.

The movement was formed as a splinter of the political party United Popular Action Movement (Movimiento de Accion Popular Unitario; MAPU). The breakaway group called itself the Lautaro Faction of the MAPU Party, and developed a separate youth movement, the MJL, and a militia, the Lautaro Popular Rebel Forces. A major goal of the MJL and its sister organizations was to overthrow the Pinochet regime.

After Chile returned to democracy in 1990, the MJL continued its militancy. On April 29, 1992, the MJL assassinated Domingo Sarmiento, a member of the

Party for Democracy who had left armed resistance for mainstream politics. In 1990, a foiled rescue attempt turned tragic for the MJL. On November 14, guards transferred Marco Ariel Antonioletti, a top MJL militant, from the public jail to a hospital for treatment. International human rights groups have said that Antonioletti had been beaten and tortured by the police and was taken to be treated for injuries. A MJL commando team burst into the hospital and began firing at the guards and police officers watching Antonioletti. The officials returned fire; the gunfight left four guards and one police officer dead. Manuela Rodriguez, the MJL member known in the right-wing Chilean press as the *mujer metralleta*, or “machine gun girl,” was in charge of taking Antonioletti from the hospital and driving him to a safe haven. In the exchange of bullets, however, Rodriguez was shot in the back and gravely wounded. Her companions fled, and she was arrested. Police later shot Antonioletti in the forehead, killing him.

Paralyzed by her injuries, Rodriguez underwent multiple surgeries. In 1999, despite being confined to a hospital bed, Rodriguez was sentenced to 20 years in prison. Appeals for her pardon by various human rights groups and the Chilean Catholic Church moved the Chilean government to allow her to serve her sentence outside of the country.

Many top leaders of the MJL are in prison, and members have scattered. In recent years, MJL members imprisoned in Chile’s high-security prisons have engaged in hunger strikes demanding better conditions for prisoners.

*See also* MANUEL RODRIGUEZ PATRIOTIC FRONT; MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT

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## LEADERLESS RESISTANCE

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Leaderless resistance is a strategy advocated and used by some militant antigovernment groups in the

United States. Each member is free to engage in whatever actions at whatever time or place he or she believes appropriate to further the organization’s aims. The organization neither issues direct orders nor coordinates actions, thus avoiding legal responsibility for any criminal activity of individual members. Members act independently and secretly, in isolation from the group and from each other.

American militia leader and Ku Klux Klansman Louis Beam wrote and published a widely circulated essay advocating leaderless resistance as a strategy to counteract the destruction by law enforcement agencies of hierarchical U.S. militias. The essay, originally published in 1994 in *Seditionist*, a white supremacist magazine, was later widely distributed on the Internet. Beam’s vision was one where “all individuals and groups operate independently of each other, and never report to a central headquarters or single leader for direction or instruction.” Beam recognized fairly early the opportunities the Web offered for dissemination of information and communication with far-flung fellow believers. In 1984, he created a bulletin board system for the Aryan Nations.

Jeffrey Kaplan traces the development of leaderless resistance to California in the early 1970s, where Joseph Tommasi, leader of the small National Socialist Liberation Front, was frustrated by the failure of the radical right to build a revolutionary majority. Tommasi was determined “to act resolutely and alone” against the state. The willingness to act alone was in contrast to the prevailing organization of contemporary terrorist groups, where a rigid, centralized command-and-control structure existed, with a top council directing the activities of individual cells and columns.

Radical right-wing authors have helped spread the concept of leaderless resistance. In 1989, William Pierce wrote a sequel to his more famous *Turner Diaries*, called *Hunter*, in which the hero, acting alone, sets out to assassinate the enemies of the white race. A year later, another radical right author, Richard Kelly Hoskins, wrote a fantasy entitled *Vigilantes of Christendom*, featuring an order of assassins called the Phineas Priesthood. Thus inspired, some right-wing radicals and prolife activists have styled themselves Phineas priests. Order member David Lane advocated a strict division between the political arm and the armed wing of an organization, thus freeing the political wing to disseminate propaganda and recruit new members without engaging in illegal activities. Lane envisioned the armed wing recruiting

from the political wing, but, once active, having each member sever all connection with the political wing. These “Wotans” would act independently and secretly “to hasten the demise of the system.”

Timothy McVeigh appears to have been an example of leaderless resistance. McVeigh acted without direct orders from any organization in blowing up the federal office building in Oklahoma City in 1995. However, McVeigh was not a member of any right-wing militia group when he carried out the bombing; also, his knowledge of leaderless resistance is unknown. Literature found in his car advocated the creation of a mass revolutionary movement rather than individual acts of violence. He does seem to have acted in response to the vitriolic propaganda of the radical right on his own initiative, independently developing and carrying out his own strategy. His actions were thus consistent with the concept of leaderless resistance.

The Earth Liberation Front (ELF) uses an extreme form of leaderless resistance. No formal membership exists: anyone believing in the aims of ELF can carry out a terrorist act on his or her own initiative. A Web site offers advice on acts of economic sabotage and lists actions already taken. The site does not actually advocate criminal activity, and so operates within the letter of the law. Members-followers can use the Internet to communicate with each other anonymously.

A major feature of leaderless resistance is the isolation of the individual actor from the organization. The individual is not controlled by the organization and may be out of touch with the group’s ideology, particularly as it evolves. Following the Oklahoma City bombing, many members left the militias in disgust; some approached law enforcement agencies and even testified in court.

## NETWORKS

Terrorism experts see a revolution taking place in terrorist groups: a movement away from the hierarchical structure common in the 1960s and 1970s, to a flatter, networked structure like that of more recently founded groups, for example, Hamas and Al Qaeda. Characteristics of these networked terrorist groups include decentralization and delegation of decision-making authority, and loose lateral ties between dispersed groups and individuals. Networked organizations share some of the characteristics of leaderless resistance and can be thought of as an intermediate form on the continuum between the traditional

hierarchical terrorist organization and the anarchy of leaderless resistance.

Kaplan calls leaderless resistance a strategy adopted in despair, when victory is seen as impossible. It may also be attractive to those for whom the immediate disruption of normal activities is the desired outcome, antiabortion militants, for example. In addition, it may be particularly appealing to U.S. militants in its focus on the autonomous, independent individual, rather than the group. The concept of leaderless resistance is particularly dangerous because it may provide unstable individuals already stimulated by hate propaganda with added motivation to commit violent acts.

*See also* EARTH LIBERATION FRONT; FREELANCE TERRORISM; TIMOTHY MCVEIGH; PATRIOT MOVEMENT

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## LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM

aka World Tamil Association

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The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) is a Marxist Tamil separatist group that has been fighting the government of Sri Lanka since 1978.

Sri Lanka is an island nation located off the southeast coast of India. Sinhalese Buddhists comprise about 75 percent of the island's population, while Hindu Tamils, concentrated in the north and east of the country, make up roughly 15 percent. In the early 1970s, the Sri Lankan government began to place special emphasis on Sinhalese unity and cultural cohesion following a Marxist-led student rebellion; for instance, the 1972 constitution named Sinhala and Buddhism as the official language and religion of Sri Lanka, respectively. The government's efforts at overcoming divisions within the Sinhalese community only exacerbated existing ethnic tensions between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. The resurgence of Sinhalese chauvinism sparked a comparable rise in Tamil separatism, with calls for the establishment of a Tamil homeland, called Eelam. In 1978, a radical faction of Tamils led by Velupillai Prabhakaran founded the LTTE in the hope of gaining total independence.

The LTTE is considered to be one of the most effective guerrilla forces operating in the world; for 19 years it has been fighting a government force approximately 10 times larger than itself. Initially, the LTTE exclusively employed hit-and-run guerrilla tactics in its fight against the government, but as the force has grown larger—LTTE is thought to number approximately 8,000 in 2002—it has begun to operate in the traditional division-brigade-battalion structure used by most armed forces. Extremely well equipped, with heavy artillery (including anti-aircraft rockets and grenade launchers), the LTTE even has its own small navy, the Sea Tigers, that is used for smuggling as well as attacks.

Several unusual attributes of the LTTE have attracted international interest. The LTTE has a large number of women in every division, and many have risen to command positions. Its use of child soldiers in combat, some as young as 12, has brought condemnation by the United Nations. But perhaps most unusual is the LTTE's Black Tiger division, a specially trained squad used for terrorist attacks, including suicide bombings. Black Tiger assassins have killed dozens of Sri Lankan politicians; in 1991 a LTTE suicide bomber murdered the prime minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi. At all levels, LTTE members have shown an unusual willingness to die for their cause; fighters are issued cyanide caplets worn on a chain around their necks, and many have swallowed them rather than be taken prisoner. The LTTE has been equally careless of others' lives; in addition to the suicide bombings, the

organization has sometimes massacred innocent villagers to draw Army forces away from the scene of its operations.

From 1978 to 1983, the LTTE carried out sporadic attacks against the Sri Lankan police and armed forces, but was unsupported by the vast majority of Tamils. At the time, LTTE probably had, at most, a few hundred members. All this changed in July 1983, after an attack by the LTTE on a Sri Lankan Army convoy sparked days of rioting across the country in which hundreds of Tamils were killed and tens of thousands forced to flee for their lives. The riots radicalized the Tamil community, and the LTTE soon had hundreds of recruits; by 1985 some estimated the organization to have 5,000 active members and an additional 5,000 sympathizers and supporters. The riots also sparked the growth of more than a dozen other Tamil insurgent groups with which the LTTE would become bitter rivals during the next few years; some of the LTTE's most brutal attacks were made against these rival groups and their sympathizers.

The LTTE was helped in its rise to power by the clandestine aid of the Indian government, which was motivated by a number of complex political considerations, not least the hope of appeasing its own 50-million-strong Tamil population. The Indian government allowed Tamil insurgents (though not, initially, the LTTE) to operate camps in southern India and provided military training and weapons to thousands of insurgents. (The LTTE has also received money from the large Tamil diaspora.) With Indian training and arms, the Tamil insurgents from various groups soon controlled large sections of Sri Lanka's northern peninsula and most of Jaffna, the capital of the Northern Province.

In April 1987, the government struck back, orchestrating a huge counterattack that retook most of the peninsula and bottled up the rebels in Jaffna. Alarmed by these developments, the Indian government air-dropped relief supplies into Jaffna, then offered its services to help broker a peace agreement. The Sri Lankan government, afraid of displeasing (and possibly being invaded by) its much larger neighbor, agreed, and the Indians sent 10,000 troops to form the Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF). The rebels and the government proved utterly unable to reach a compromise, however, and the LTTE, which was the most hard line of the rebel groups, began to eliminate rival organizations and consolidate power. The Sri Lankans

asked the IPKF to stop the violence; the IPKF expanded to 80,000 men as India discovered the tenacity and fighting capabilities of the guerrillas.

The IPKF pulled out of Jaffna in 1990, leaving the city to the Tigers. For the next five years, a military stalemate ensued, while the Tigers set up a para-state in the Northern Province, operating schools, hospitals, courts, and other government facilities. In 1995, another government counterattack succeeded in expelling the rebels from Jaffna and in securing large parts of the peninsula. The LTTE was not destroyed, however; in 1999 it engaged in a series of battles that brought the port of Trincomalee and the Elephant Pass (the only land route into the Northern Province) under its control; the LTTE's position was greatly strengthened by these conquests. The Tigers were unable to retake Jaffna, however, and currently a military stalemate once again prevails.

Since the 1994 election of Chandrika Kumaratunga, the Sri Lankan government has been struggling to propose a peace plan acceptable to the Sinhalese majority and to the Tamils in general and the rebels in particular. The latest attempt, arrived at with the help of Norway, is a peace agreement signed on February 22, 2002. At the time of this writing, it remains unclear whether this agreement will represent an end to Sri Lanka's 24-year war. LTTE leader Prabhakaran has never altered his demand for a totally independent Eelam, while elements within the Sinhalese community view even political autonomy as too great a concession. Political rivalries between President Kumaratunga and Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe—who brokered the agreement—may tempt the president to exploit dissatisfactions for her own political gain.

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**LIBY, ANAS AL-. See AL-LIBY, ANAS.**

**LONDON NAIL BOMBING. See COPELAND, DAVID.**

**LOW-INTENSITY WARFARE. See ASYMMETRICAL WARFARE.**

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## LOYALIST VOLUNTEER FORCE

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The Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF) is a Protestant Unionist paramilitary group that has been responsible for a number of sectarian killings in Northern Ireland since 1996.

A splinter group of the larger Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), the LVF broke with its parent organization in 1996, in a dispute related to the Drumcree Protests of that year. For more than 30 years, Northern Ireland's Roman Catholic minority, who wish the province to become part of the Republic of Ireland, and its Protestant majority, who wish it to remain a part of Great Britain, have been in bloody conflict. In late 1994, the major armed paramilitary groups representing both Protestants (also called Loyalists or Unionists) and Catholics (also called Nationalists or Republicans) had declared cease-fires because they wished to participate in peace negotiations. By 1996, negotiations had stalled and remained so.

Protestant frustration and suspicion at the lack of progress was aggravated in June by the banning of the Orange Order's July 12 March (a parade in Belfast that commemorates a 1690 Protestant victory

over Catholics), the route of which passed through a Catholic nationalist neighborhood. Thousands of Loyalists assembled at a church in Drumcree for a protest lasting several days. Billy "King Rat" Wright, the UVF representative in Portadown, threatened violent reprisals if the march were not allowed. The leadership of the UVF had forbidden Wright to break its cease-fire, as this would have resulted in the organization's suspension from peace talks, but on July 8, a Catholic taxi driver named Michael McGoldrick was found murdered a few miles from Drumcree. Many observers believed the shooting to be the work of Wright's men.

Following McGoldrick's murder, Wright broke with the UVF, taking most of the organization's Portadown membership with him, and formed the rival LVF. The LVF has been linked to more than a dozen murders; as with other Loyalist paramilitary groups, most of its victims have been Catholics targeted at random. The LVF has also been implicated in a string of deaths thought to be the result of disputes over drugs.

In the spring of 1997, Wright was arrested on charges of intimidating a witness. On December 27, 1997, while in prison, he was shot to death by members of the Irish National Liberation Army, a Republican paramilitary group. His murder sparked a series of vengeance killings among the prisoners and led to two civilian deaths, as members of the LVF avenged, as best they could, their leader. With the death of the charismatic and popular Wright, a serious blow was dealt to LVF, and no new leader has yet emerged.

In 1998, the LVF declared a cease-fire because it wanted to participate in the early-release program for paramilitary prisoners set up under the Good Friday Accords. Despite the cease-fire, the LVF is thought to be operating still, using the cover name the Red Hand

Defenders for sectarian attacks. A spokesperson for the Red Hand Defenders claimed responsibility for the murder of a Catholic postman, Daniel McColgan, on January 12, 2002, and issued a threat declaring all Catholic civil servants and teachers to be legitimate targets; the threat was retracted several days later. Many observers believe that members of the LVF or the Ulster Defense Association were McColgan's actual killers.

*See also* IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; RED HAND DEFENDERS; ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE

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**LTTE. See LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM.**

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**LVF. See LOYALIST VOLUNTEER FORCE.**

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## MACHETEROS

**aka Boriqua Popular Army, Ejército Popular Boricua, EPB Movimiento Popular Revolucionario, Partido Revolucionario de Trabajadores Puertorriqueños**

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The Macheteros—Spanish for “machete wielders”—was considered one of the more successful and dangerous Puerto Rican militant nationalist organizations. Macheteros, a splinter group of another nationalist organization, the FALN, emerged in the late 1970s and is believed to be responsible for numerous attacks on Puerto Rico’s military and government, as well as one of the largest bank robberies in U.S. history.

On August 24, 1978, the Macheteros issued its first communiqué, claiming responsibility for the death of a Puerto Rican police officer, Julio Rodríguez Rivera, who had been shot and killed at a beach in Naguabo. The act was in retaliation for the murder by police of two *independentistas*, Arnaldo Darío Rosado and Carlos Soto Arrivi, at Cerro Maravilla, Puerto Rico, in July 1978.

Unlike the FALN, which primarily bombed public buildings, banks, and government offices, Macheteros concentrated on bombing military sites, including military recruiting stations, defense contractors, and post offices where men registered for the draft, and on attacking military personnel. Macheteros’s message was clear—Puerto Rico was a country occupied militarily by the United States.

In October 1979, the group took responsibility for several bombings of federal installations in Puerto

Rico; no one was hurt in these incidents. That December, Macheteros fired automatic weapons at a bus carrying 18 U.S. Navy personnel, leaving two sailors dead and 10 injured. This was a combined attack, also involving the Volunteer Organization for the Puerto Rican Revolution and the Armed Forces of Popular Resistance, in retaliation for the death of Puerto Rican independence fighter Ángel Rodríguez Cristóbal. Cristóbal had been found hanged in federal prison in Tallahassee, Florida, in what the Puerto Rican groups believed was a CIA action.

Throughout the early 1980s, the Macheteros engaged in two or three actions per year, often in retaliation for Navy maneuvers on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques and for police and government actions against a squatter village, Villa Sin Miedo (“Town Without Fear”). As a calling card, members would leave a machete with a flag near the scene of the attack, contacting UPI reporters the next day to officially claim responsibility.

On September 12, 1983, the birthday of Pedro Albizu Campos, a Puerto Rican nationalist leader, Macheteros carried out its first action in the continental United States, robbing more than \$7 million from a Wells Fargo depot in West Hartford, Connecticut. On September 13, Macheteros claimed responsibility in a communiqué sent to the *Hartford Courant*. Macheteros had named the action *agila blanca*—“white eagle”—to commemorate José Maldonado, who, during the Spanish-American War, had led a number of Puerto Rican patriots in a skirmish against the invaders from the north. It took place on the birthday of Campos.

Most of the money disappeared with Victor Manuel Gerena, the Machetero who worked at the Wells Fargo depot as a guard. Gerena fled first to Mexico, then to Cuba, where he remains in exile. (Macheteros is believed to have had significant ties to Cuba, with many of its members trained there.) Once out of the United States, the money was used to fund nationalist activities, including a toy giveaway in Hartford and Puerto Rico.

In August 1985, investigators apprehended 13 suspects in the robbery—11 in Puerto Rico, one in Massachusetts, and one in Dallas. Four others, including Gerena, were indicted. Juan Segarra Palmer and Filiberto Ojeda Rios, two of Macheteros's founders, were the first to be tried. Eventually, all were found guilty on charges connected to the robbery and sentenced to more than 35 years. Most were released in 1999, when U.S. president Bill Clinton commuted the sentences of 16 Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners.

*See also* FALN; PUERTO RICAN NATIONALIST TERRORISM

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## MANUEL RODRIGUEZ PATRIOTIC FRONT

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Founded in 1983 as the armed wing of the Chilean Communist Party, the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (Frente Patriotico Manuel Rodriguez; FPMR) was formed to carry out armed attacks against members and institutions of the brutal Pinochet regime in Chile. The Pinochet regime dealt severely with the FPMR and other dissident groups and is said to have tortured *frentistas*, as FPMR members are called. After the regime fell in 1990, the group, named for a hero of Chile's war of independence against Spain, continued its attacks on civilians and international targets.

In the late 1980s, the FPMR splintered into two factions, one of which became a political party in 1991. The other dissident faction continued its terrorist activity; the U.S. State Department has considered the group to be a terrorist organization for many years.

In 1991, the FPMR carried out two famous operations. On April 1, the group assassinated right-wing senator Jaime Guzman, killing him as he left a Catholic University campus in Santiago. On September 9, three hooded FPMR members kidnapped Cristian Edwards, whose family runs Chile's most prominent newspaper. Edwards was wrapped in a sleeping bag and taken to a FPMR hideout. His captors kept Edwards for 145 days in a small room without natural light, playing music continually. After his family paid \$1 million in ransom, the FPMR freed him. Edwards has since kept a low profile and moved to the United States.

The dissident wing of the FPMR has also attacked international targets, including U.S. businesses and Mormon churches. In 1993, FPMR operatives bombed two McDonald's restaurants and attempted to bomb a Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurant. In December 1996, four FPMR members managed a spectacular escape from a Chilean high-security prison; the facility had been widely considered escape proof. FPMR operatives on the outside hijacked a helicopter that had been rented by tourists and flew it over the prison. They then dropped a 15-meter rope with a basket into the prison yard. As guards began to shoot, the four escapees climbed into the basket and were lifted to safety. Landing the helicopter in a park in south Santiago, Chile's capital, they escaped in waiting vehicles. Chile mounted a massive police search, but the FPMR members had fled—many went to Cuba, where they received asylum.

One of the fugitives, Patricio Ortiz Montenegro, fled to Switzerland and requested political asylum. Extradition requests were denied because the Swiss government was not assured that Ortiz would be safe if returned to Chile.

On December 11, 2002 *frentistas* kidnapped Brazilian publicist Washington Olivetto as he rode home from work in São Paulo. The kidnappers, disguised as police officers, stopped Olivetto's driver and forced their way into his car. The FPMR held Olivetto for 53 days in a small, windowless room located in the countryside near São Paulo. Again, music blared 24 hours a day; Olivetto attempted to determine how much time had passed by counting the number of albums played. Shortly after Olivetto's family agreed to pay \$10 million in ransom, the landlord who rented to the kidnappers told the police he had suspicions about his strange young tenants. The Brazilian police soon freed Olivetto. After his release, Chilean experts suggested that the dissident branch of the FPMR carried

out the Olivetto kidnapping in an attempt to gain enough funds to regroup as an armed force.

*See also* LAUTARO YOUTH MOVEMENT; MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT

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## MARIGHELLA, CARLOS (1911–1969)

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Carlos Marighella, one of South America's most famous revolutionaries, founded and controlled the Acao Libertadora Nacional (Action for National Liberation; ALN). His writings include essays on revolutionary method and the *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla* (1969), a handbook for urban warfare that has influenced terrorists the world over since its publication.

Son of Augustus and Marialva Marighella, a black Italian immigrant to Brazil, Carlos Marighella was born on December 5, 1911 in the Bahia state of eastern Brazil. At age 19 he joined the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) as an organizer and activist. He spent most of the years during World War II in jail; when released in 1952, he joined the Central Committee of the Communist Party; he traveled to China in 1953 and met with Mao Tse-tung.

By 1963, Brazil had experienced a military coup and had become a totalitarian state. By 1965, two-thirds of Brazil's population were living in cities—a major change for this vast nation. The populace had never embraced the military leaders—preferring a traditional civilian government. Partly in response to the military dictatorship, a number of small urban terrorist groups formed, composed of activists, students, artists, and Communist dissenters.

The Communist Party had been forced underground by the government; when Marighella began to disagree with the PCB, he was thrown out of the party in August of 1967 and formed the ALN in 1968. Many others, mostly radical intellectuals, left the Communist Party with Marighella; these individuals formed the core of the ALN, a group that eventually

grew to nearly 200. Throughout 1968 and 1969, the ALN brought guerrilla warfare into the cities with a series of bombings, bank assaults, kidnappings, sabotage, ambushes, and assassinations. Ambassadors were kidnapped and security forces were murdered. The government struck back after each incident—sometimes arresting thousands in citywide raids. Brazil's rulers even created a Department of Social and Political Order to handle this onslaught of urban terrorism. The violence had two outcomes: it created exactly the chaos that the terrorists wanted, but also it brought about their demise.

In June 1969, Marighella wrote his *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla*. The ALN read it live over Brazilian radio, and the document, published as a book and translated into many languages, became a popular discussion of and guide to urban warfare for militant groups worldwide. The book explains the reason and strategy for urban terrorism: "It is necessary to turn political crisis into armed crisis by performing violent actions that will force those in power to transform the military situation into a political situation. That will alienate the masses, who, from then on, will revolt against the army and the police and blame them for this state of things."

On November 30, 1969, Marighella was killed in a police ambush; the ALN subsequently collapsed. Within two years, much of the urban terrorism in Brazil ceased, with most of the terrorists either dead or jailed.

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## MARZOOK, MUSA (MOUSA) MOHAMMED ABU (1951– )

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Hamas political leader Musa Mohammed Abu Marzook lived in the United States for more than a decade until an Israeli warrant for his arrest led to his being taken into custody in 1995. Amid much

controversy, he was held by the U.S. government for several years without being charged. He was finally deported to Jordan in 1997.

Marzook was born in a Gaza refugee camp and studied at Helwan College of Engineering and Technology in Cairo. He traveled to the United States in the early 1980s and earned a master's degree in industrial engineering at Colorado State University. Marzook received his Ph.D. in engineering from Columbia State University in Louisiana in 1991.

Marzook apparently first joined the Palestinian militant group Hamas in 1992, when he became head of the organization's political bureau. Soon after, Marzook moved to a suburban neighborhood outside of Washington, D.C., with his wife and family. Four of his six children were born in the United States.

In 1995, Marzook was detained at the New York's Kennedy Airport after returning from the Middle East. His name had been added to a list of suspected terrorists after Israel issued a warrant for his arrest for conspiracy to kill Israeli citizens. Israeli officials said that hundreds of thousands of dollars were transferred from Marzook's account into the bank account of Chicago auto dealer Muhammad Salah, who was later arrested in Israel for distributing money to the military wing of Hamas. Israel called for Marzook's extradition, saying he was tied to 10 violent Hamas attacks between 1990 and 1994.

Marzook freely admitted to leading Hamas's political bureau, but maintained that Hamas keeps political and military areas separate. He repeatedly denied any involvement with Hamas's military wing and compared himself to Gerry Adams, the leader of Sinn Féin, the legal-political wing of the Irish Republican Army.

For nearly two years, U.S. authorities held Marzook in solitary confinement at the Metropolitan Correction Center in New York City without charging him with a crime. Marzook first appealed the Israeli extradition request, but he waived his right to an extradition hearing in January 1997, saying he had lost faith in the U.S. justice system.

However, Israel dropped the request for Marzook's extradition in April 1997, saying that trying Marzook in Israel would provoke further violence. In May 1997, the United States deported Marzook to Amman, Jordan. Marzook was rearrested in Jordan, left the country, and is currently operating from Damascus as a Yemeni national.

*See also* HAMAS

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### MATHEWS, ROBERT JAY (1953–1984)

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In 1984, Robert Jay Mathews was killed in a confrontation with federal agents on a remote island in Washington State's Puget Sound. Few outside the white supremacist and Christian Identity movements had heard of Mathews before his death; however, he was the founder of the Order, one of the most infamous white supremacist groups of the 1980s.

Mathews embraced the right-wing ideologies early; at age 11, he joined the local John Birch Society in Phoenix, Arizona. By high school, he was attending tax resistance seminars held by Arizona Patriot Marvin Cooley, who occasionally appointed Mathews sergeant-at-arms for meetings. At 19, Mathews formed the Sons of Liberty, a paramilitary group composed mostly of Mormons and survivalists who trained in the nearby desert. By 1973, however, the Sons of Liberty was foundering. Mathews left Arizona and the tax rebellion movement and moved to the rural community of Metaline Falls, Washington.

In Metaline Falls, Mathews joined the neo-Nazi National Alliance and began a reading program in "racial progress" that included Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West* and William Simpson's *Which Way Western Man?* His education later included *The Road Back*, a terrorist instruction manual, *Essays of a Klansman*, by Louis Beam, and William Pierce's novel, *The Turner Diaries*, which portrays the violent overthrow of the U.S. government and a race war that establishes an "Aryan" world.

By the early 1980s, Mathews had also connected with the nearby Aryan Nations compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho. Mathews shared with the Aryan Nations the goal of establishing a separate white nation in

the Pacific Northwest. (Richard Girnt Butler, head of Aryan Nations, said Mathews was “of the highest idealism and moral character.”) At the Aryan Nations compound, Mathews began to form the inner circle of what would become known, variously, as Bruder Schweigen, the Silent Brotherhood, or the Order.

Mathews’s vision of the Order was inspired, in part, by the violent crimes of the far left, such as the 1981 failed Brinks armored truck robbery in New York, attempted by members of the Black Liberation Army and May 19 Communist Organization. The Order was also modeled closely on the fictional organization in *The Turner Diaries*.

From 1983 to 1984, the Order counterfeited money and stole nearly \$4 million to fund the coming race war. Members of the group bombed a synagogue in Boise, Idaho, and a pornography shop in Spokane, Washington. In June 1984, the Order murdered Alan Berg, a Jewish radio talk show host in Denver, Colorado.

By November 1984, authorities had caught up with Mathews in Portland, Oregon, with the help of FBI informant Thomas Allen Martinez. Mathews was wounded in a gunfight before escaping. In early December, police located Mathews on Whidbey Island, in Puget Sound. Two hundred officers surrounded the house where Mathews held them at bay for 36 hours with a machine gun. On December 7, 1984, Mathews died in a blaze set by a flare dropped from a helicopter by the FBI. For many on the racist right, he died a martyr.

*See also* THE ORDER; PATRIOT MOVEMENT; *THE TURNER DIARIES*

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## MAY 15 ORGANIZATION. *See* 15 MAY ORGANIZATION.

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## MAY 19 COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

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The May 19 Communist Organization, a clandestine Marxist revolutionary group with roots in the Weather Underground, participated in a 1981 armored

car robbery that renewed interest in the remnants of the new left terrorism.

By the mid-1970s, the infamous group of armed white revolutionaries known as the Weather Underground had split into bickering factions. One faction advocated a return to more traditional forms of political protest, while the other faction, which eventually took the name Weather Underground Organization (WUO), continued to advocate terrorist activity in the name of black liberation and anti-imperialism. This struggle included bombings and potential assassinations of political figures.

On November 20, 1977, after infiltrating the WUO, the FBI sent several members to jail for plotting to bomb the offices of California State senator John Briggs. Those who remained, including Kathy Boudin, a founder of Weatherman, came together to form the May 19 Communist Organization, named in honor of the birthday of both Malcolm X and Ho Chi Minh. In New York, the May 19 Communist Organization, comprising mostly white, middle-class women, joined forces with the Black Liberation Army (BLA), the violent offshoot of the New York Black Panther Party. Their mutual goal was the establishment of a “New Afrika” in the southern United States, and the socialist overthrow of the U.S. government. BLA planned to partly fund its mission by “expropriation of funds”—robbing rich American institutions, such as banks, and giving the money to Third World peoples. The women of the May 19 Communist Organization functioned as the effort’s public face, renting and driving the getaway cars, securing safe houses, and purchasing weapons, while the BLA took care of the violence.

On October 20, 1981, the two groups robbed a Brinks armored car in Nanuet, New York. Several BLA members, led by Mutulu Shakur (Jeral Wayne Williams), seized \$1.6 million and killed one guard before escaping in a rented truck driven by Boudin and David Gilbert, another ex-Weatherman. When police stopped the truck, the armed BLA members in the back opened fire, killing two police officers. Boudin, Gilbert, ex-Weatherman Judy Clark, and BLA member Samuel Brown were immediately apprehended.

The investigation into the Brinks robbery revealed the link between May 19 and the BLA, as well as alliances with other radical groups, including the Republic of New Africa and, subsequently, the FALN, the radical Puerto Rican independence group. May 19 members were suspected and later charged with assisting the prison escapes of two prominent

revolutionaries: Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard), the BLA radical serving a life sentence for killing a New Jersey state trooper in 1973, and Willie Morales, a leader of the FALN. These unique collaborations triggered new concerns about “urban terrorism,” which led the administration of U.S. president Ronald Reagan to reopen investigations, dormant since the mid-1970s, of the radical left.

In February 1983, May 19 members Silvia Baraldini and Michelle Miller were jailed for refusing to testify against the FALN. That September, three more May 19 members, Linda Evans, Marilyn Buck, and Laura Jane Whitehorn, pleaded guilty to charges relating the 1983 bombing of the U.S. Capitol and other Washington, D.C., targets. In 1985, Elizabeth Duke, the head of May 19 in Austin, Texas, was indicted on federal charges for her suspected involvement in several bombings, including a 1982 New Year’s Eve bombing in New York City that injured two police officers. These May 19 members are still considered political prisoners by those who share their beliefs.

*See also* BLACK PANTHER PARTY; KATHERINE BOUDIN; JOANNE CHESIMARD; WEATHERMAN

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**MAYES, MELVIN EDWARD.** *See*  
**EL RUKNS.**

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## MCVEIGH, TIMOTHY (1968–2001)

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Timothy James McVeigh was condemned to death for bombing the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, on April 19, 1995. One hundred and sixty-eight people, including 19 children, were killed and more than 500 were injured. At the time, the bombing was the worst act of terrorism on U.S. soil.

### EARLY LIFE

McVeigh grew up in the small, predominantly white, blue-collar, and overwhelmingly Christian town of Lockport, outside of Buffalo, New York. His parents first separated when he was 11; McVeigh staying with his father while his two sisters moved with his mother. At 13, his grandfather gave him his first gun. When McVeigh graduated from high school with honors, he was already a considerable gun enthusiast and budding survivalist.

After brief attendance at business school, McVeigh joined the Army in May 1988. He received basic training at Fort Benning, Georgia, where he befriended Terry Lynn Nichols and Michael Fortier, then joined the 1st Infantry Division at Fort Riley, Kansas. When the Gulf War broke out in 1990, McVeigh was deployed to the Gulf with the Bradley Fighting Vehicles. There, he distinguished himself as best shot in his platoon and was awarded a Bronze Star upon his return. He was invited to join the Green Berets; his brief three-day stint was followed by his resignation from the Army after 43 months of service.

In 1993, McVeigh began to travel state to state selling antigovernment literature and survival items on the gun show circuit. He also traveled to Waco, to protest the government siege of the Branch Davidian complex, believing that the members of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) were violating the Davidians’ Second Amendment rights. McVeigh watched the final fiery standoff, on April 19, 1993, on television. This moment solidified McVeigh’s hatred of the federal government and initiated his quest to stop the ATF.

### PLANNING THE ATTACK

Over the following months, as new gun laws further enraged McVeigh, he plotted to blow up the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, which he mistakenly believed housed the ATF. His plan was taken almost directly from the plot of *The Turner Diaries*, a 1978 novel that described not only a full-scale race war but also the plight of Earl Turner, who truck bombed the FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C., in protest of gun control laws. McVeigh had pushed the book on family and friends since he first read it, just after high school.

Evidence and testimony later showed that McVeigh and his former Army buddy, Nichols, bought and stole

bomb-making materials, including ammonium nitrate fertilizer and race car fuel, and stored them in lockers rented under various aliases. McVeigh and Nichols also robbed a gun collector, Roger Moore, of guns, gold, silver, and jewels to fund their conspiracy. In December 1994, McVeigh drove Michael Fortier, another former Army friend, past the Murrah building, explaining his plans as well as his getaway route.

In early 1995, McVeigh and Nichols traveled to Kingman, Arizona, where Fortier lived with his wife, Lori. Lori Fortier later testified that McVeigh showed her how he planned to position the explosives, demonstrating with cans of soup. She also helped make McVeigh a fake driver's license under the name of Robert Kling. Within months, McVeigh would act on his plan—he would drive a rented truck filled with more than 4,000 pounds of explosives to the Murrah building on a workday morning, park, and calmly walk away.

## THE INVESTIGATION

McVeigh was arrested 80 minutes after the truck bomb exploded at the Murrah building. Oklahoma state trooper Charlie Hanger stopped a yellow 1977 Mercury Grand Marquis driving north on Interstate 35. At first, it seemed to be a routine traffic stop—the Marquis had no license plates. The driver, McVeigh, emerged from the car; when Hanger asked to see his license, he noticed a gun bulging from inside the driver's windbreaker. Hanger confiscated the gun, a 9mm Glock, and handcuffed McVeigh before taking him to the Noble County jail in Perry, Oklahoma. McVeigh was booked on four misdemeanor charges: unlawfully carrying a weapon, transporting a loaded firearm in a motor vehicle, failing to display a current license plate, and failing to maintain proof of insurance. The address on McVeigh's driver's license was the Decker, Michigan, family farm of Terry Lynn Nichols.

As McVeigh waited in jail for his bail hearing, federal investigators pieced together the evidence that would eventually lead to McVeigh's arrest on federal charges. Hours before McVeigh might have been released from jail on \$500 bail, he was arrested by the FBI.

Investigators at the scene linked mangled pieces of the rented Ryder truck used for the bomb to a rental company in Junction City, Kansas. From employee descriptions emerged the sketches of John Doe No. 1, who used the alias "Robert Kling" to rent the truck, and John Doe No. 2. The manager of a nearby motel confirmed that a man resembling John Doe No. 1, but

using the name Timothy McVeigh, had rented a room and parked both a Ryder truck and a yellow Grand Marquis.

## INDICTMENT, TRIAL, AND SENTENCE

When the three indictments came down in August 1995, Fortier, who could have been indicted on conspiracy charges, pleaded guilty to lesser charges, including charges that he knew and concealed McVeigh's plan, as well as possession and transportation of illegal firearms, in exchange for his testimony against McVeigh and Nichols. Both McVeigh and Nichols faced eight counts of first-degree murder for the federal officials killed in the blast, as well as one count each for conspiracy to use a weapon of mass destruction, the use of a weapon of mass destruction, and destruction by explosive.

Opening statements began on April 24, 1997, after several pretrial decisions by the court, including moving the case to Denver; trying McVeigh and Nichols separately; and allowing for the death penalty. Over the next few weeks, the prosecution called more than 130 witnesses, including McVeigh's sister, Jennifer, and the Fortiers, who provided some of the most damning evidence. (Jennifer McVeigh and Lori Fortier were both given immunity in exchange for their testimony.) Although no one could place McVeigh at the Murrah building, substantial evidence, including explosive residue found on his clothes, confirmed his involvement.

The defense, in turn, tried to discredit the prosecution's main witnesses, focusing on Michael Fortier, who had previously lied to federal authorities and the press about his knowledge of the bombing. The defense did reveal several weaknesses in the prosecution—no fingerprints were found on the Ryder truck rental agreement or on the truck's key (found in an alley in Oklahoma City), and no explosive residue was found in the lockers allegedly used for storage. Other gaps included an unidentified severed leg discovered in the rubble and the persistent phantom of a John Doe No. 2; these led to extensive conspiracy theories, including improbable suggestions that the government orchestrated the bombing to discredit the militia movements growing throughout the country.

On June 2, 1997, after four days of deliberation, the jury found McVeigh guilty on all 11 counts. Eleven days later, the same jury condemned McVeigh to death by lethal injection. U.S. district judge Richard

P. Matsch, who would later preside over the trial of Nichols, formally sentenced McVeigh on August 14, 1997. McVeigh, who did not testify on his own behalf, expressed no remorse at any time. At his sentencing, he quoted late Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis, "Our government is the potent, the omnipresent teacher. For good or for ill, it teaches the whole people by its example."

After losing his first appeal, and forgoing all subsequent appeals, McVeigh was transferred to the federal Bureau of Prisons men's execution facility at the U.S. penitentiary at Terre Haute, Indiana. While incarcerated at the state-of-the-art federal prison known as Supermax, in Colorado, McVeigh had shared facilities with Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, convicted for the 1993 World Trade Center bombing; Ted Kaczynski, the Unabomber; and Luis Felipe, founder of the notorious Latin Kings New York street gang. (Their shared unit was nicknamed "Bombers Row.")

McVeigh's execution was scheduled for May 16, 2001. After a short delay caused by the FBI's failure to turn over 4,000 pages of documents to McVeigh's defense team during the trial, on June 5, 2001, the three-judge panel denied McVeigh's final request for a stay of execution. McVeigh was put to death, via lethal injection, just after 8 A.M. on June 11, 2001. He spoke no final words, but, in a handwritten statement, quoted from the poem *Invictus*, "I am the master of my fate. I am the captain of my soul."

*See also* BOMBINGS AND BOMB SCARES; TERRY LYNN NICHOLS; OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING; *THE TURNER DIARIES*; WACO

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## MEDIA AND TERRORISM

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Terrorism differs from other forms of violence or crime in that it is aimed at people other than its victims. Most violence is committed for its own sake; an ordinary murderer wants the victim dead and usually does not want anyone to know who is responsible. A terrorist attack, by contrast, uses violence to influence

others. The victim may be chosen at random, and the terrorists committing the act of violence generally want people to know that they are responsible. A repressive government might assassinate a relative of a political activist in order to intimidate the activist and other dissidents. A regional separatist group might bomb a police station in order to show authorities that their hold on that region is tenuous. A small fringe group might kidnap a celebrity in order to attract attention to their cause.

In each of these cases, the victim—the relative, the police officers, the celebrity—is not the real target of the terrorist attack. Instead, the target is a group or groups—enemies, potential supporters, the general public—that essentially form an audience. One highly effective way to reach an audience is through the modern media network of television, radio, newspapers, magazines, and books. The rise of satellite television and all-news channels in recent years means that modern media can now reach a worldwide audience almost instantly.

Terrorists often create their own media outlets. Pamphlets, books, videotapes, and audiotapes have all been circulated by terrorist organizations seeking support. Groups that have relatively stable control over a particular territory often have their own radio stations or newspapers. The Internet has given terrorists a new forum in which to advertise their views and make contacts with potential recruits.

Such terrorist-generated media pose fairly straightforward issues for authorities. With the appropriate legal backing, law enforcement officers can shut down Web sites and radio stations and can seize flyers or tapes. The main challenge is finding who is producing and distributing the material or broadcasts.

A more complex set of issues is created by the mainstream media's coverage of terrorist activities. In any country with a reasonably free press, terrorist attacks are almost certain to attain widespread coverage—even if the group is tiny and its attacks cause relatively little damage. Not only is the attack itself covered as an event, but often media outlets run pieces on the group responsible that detail the group's agenda. The response of authorities to terrorist attacks can be subject to highly critical coverage.

The publicity resulting from terrorism can be a boon to a cause. Terrorist acts committed by Palestinians in the early 1970s, for example, riveted world attention on an issue—the displacement of Arabs by the founding of the state of Israel—that for decades





General Tommy R. Franks, commander in chief of U.S. Central Command, and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld (right) brief reporters in March 2002 on the progress of Operation Anaconda, a large combat operation against Taliban and Al Qaeda forces in the Shahikot Mountains of eastern Afghanistan.

Source: U.S. Department of Defense photograph by R. D. Ward.

had largely been ignored by the international community.

Such terrorism was nothing new, but advances in media technology meant that by the early 1970s, it was occurring on a global stage. For example, the 1972 Olympic Games held in Munich, Germany, were the first to be televised live around the world, thanks to the now-commonplace use of satellites to broadcast television signals. During the games, a radical splinter group of Al Fatah called Black September raided the compound housing Israeli athletes. The group killed two athletes and took nine hostage; those nine were killed during a botched getaway. The horrific events were broadcast worldwide as they happened, making a formerly obscure group instantly famous, or infamous—the group was even featured fictitiously plotting a blimp attack on the Super Bowl in the 1976 movie thriller *Black Sunday*.

But such media attention does not always benefit the group or its cause. Simply because the public now knows about a group does not mean that its cause will be embraced. Support for the Palestinian cause is tepid in the United States, for example, despite the relatively heavy coverage Middle Eastern terrorism receives in the U.S. media.

In addition, disseminating information about terrorists through the media can lead to their apprehension. In 1995, for example, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* newspapers printed the manifesto

of the Unabomber, an ecoterrorist who for years had mailed bombs to people, killing three. The publication of the manifesto generated tremendous controversy, but among its readers was David Kaczynski, who realized that his brother, Theodore, probably wrote it. David Kaczynski contacted the FBI, and the Unabomber, who had eluded authorities for 18 years, was arrested in Montana in 1996.

Indeed, not all terrorists seek media attention in the first place. State terrorism, for example, is usually conducted in secret. In countries where the government relies on terrorism to maintain power, the media are usually tightly controlled and prevented from publishing or broadcasting accounts of terrorist acts committed by government agents. Instead, the perpetrators rely on word of mouth to spread the news among dissidents; consider, for example, the more than 13,000 people killed or “disappeared” during Argentina’s “Dirty War” in the 1970s.

Extremely radical groups dedicated to the elimination of a particular enemy tend to be more or less indifferent to how the public perceives them, especially if they consider the average consumer of the mainstream media as the enemy. The 1990s saw the rise of such groups, which conduct attacks designed to maximize casualties and do not take credit for them.

But many terrorist groups deliberately seek media coverage and attempt to manipulate that coverage so they will appear in a positive light. Attacks by these groups may be designed to attract maximum publicity but result in relatively few casualties, since large numbers of casualties will turn public opinion against the group.

Some groups have demonstrated considerable savvy in seeking media attention. In the 1970s, the left-wing Red Brigades of Italy habitually released communiqués to newspapers on Wednesdays and Saturdays because the Thursday and Sunday editions of Italian newspapers have a wider circulation. The communiqués were released to several newspapers to create a competitive pressure to publish, and they were released late in the day to give reporters less time to solicit a critical response from people opposed to the Red Brigades.

The Red Brigades also engaged in another common tactic for manipulating the media: attacking critical reporters and editors. Especially in Latin America and Africa, journalists are likely targets for assassination, kidnappings, and beating by terrorists, and terrorist groups have bombed newspapers and occupied television and radio stations. In some cases, as with

the execution of *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl by radical Muslims in Pakistan in early 2002, reporters are slain because their nationality or religious affiliation essentially places them in the enemy camp. Opposition journalists are often a target for state terrorism.

As such tactics suggest, most terrorists read newspapers, watch television, and listen to the radio just like ordinary people do. That means terrorists can take advantage of information that is published or broadcast—including information on how authorities plan to combat terrorism. Live coverage of terrorist attacks can feed valuable information to the terrorists conducting the attacks. In at least one hijacking, a hostage was killed because radio broadcasts revealed he was surreptitiously aiding authorities, and in other cases media reports of police activities during hostage situations have put lives at risk.

Media coverage may even influence what types of terrorist attacks take place. Terrorism tends to go through trends or phases—first kidnapping will be common, then airplane hijackings, then suicide bombs. Media coverage of, say, a hijacking may plant the idea in the minds of other terrorists that they too should conduct a hijacking rather than a bank robbery. The real anthrax attacks of 2001 were doubtless a spur to a variety of hoax attacks against abortion clinics and other targets. Of course, media coverage may only be one of many factors because terrorist groups often share information and receive similar training from a common source.

The willingness of terrorists to take advantage of the media has led some observers to the conclusion that the media contribute to the problem of terrorism. The harshest critics charge that media outlets deliberately cover terrorist attacks in a way that will lead to more attacks. These critics allege that the media and the terrorists benefit each other, since ratings and sales go up when terrorism occurs. Consequently, media reports portray the terrorists positively, as dashing freedom fighters, for example, thus encouraging future attacks.

Studies of media coverage of terrorist attacks lend little authority to this criticism, however. Media reports of terrorist attacks tend to use either neutral or condemning language, rarely expressing support. In addition, media reports are more likely to condemn attacks if they occur in the same country where the outlet is based, suggesting that any popular support for terrorist groups in a country where attacks take

place is for reasons other than positive portrayals of terrorism in the local media.

Other critics say that media outlets inadvertently encourage attacks because they help publicize the cause of a terrorist group. Since terrorists are trying to send a message, the thinking goes, media outlets merely assist them when they cover terrorism. In some cases, those messages may go beyond publicizing a group's goals: following the September 11, 2001, attacks by Al Qaeda on the United States, the group released several videotapes of its leader Osama bin Laden, raising concerns among U.S. officials that the tapes contained coded instructions intended for Al Qaeda operatives.

But even if there are no secret messages, critics argue that the guarantee of widespread coverage encourages groups to resort to terrorism in order to put their cause in the public eye. Coverage of repeated attacks emphasizes the impotence of authorities in ending terrorism and the power of the terrorist group. Such thinking led British prime minister Margaret Thatcher to declare in 1985 that democracies “must find a way to starve the terrorists and hijackers of the oxygen of publicity on which they depend.”

Forcing a halt to media coverage of terrorism is a controversial idea, however. Some argue that if the media choose to ignore a terrorist group, the group may conduct bigger, more deadly attacks that cannot be ignored. And while spreading the news about an attack likely spreads a sense of terror among the general public, if the public believes that media outlets are holding back and that the news is even worse, genuine panic can emerge. The media can also be used by authorities to publicize potential threats as well as arrests made and plots foiled, thus communicating to the public and the terrorists that the government is in control of the situation.

Preventing media coverage of terrorism while retaining the press freedoms seen as crucial to maintaining a democratic society is a tricky business. In the 1970s and 1980s, Great Britain combated terrorism by Irish nationalists by barring broadcasts featuring people who supported Irish terrorist groups. These measures were controversial and largely ineffective in preventing terrorist attacks. Indeed, some have argued that by curtailing press freedom, governments can do more damage to democracy than terrorists can.

*See also* COUNTERTERRORISM; HOSTAGE TAKING; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; MUNICH OLYMPICS MASSACRE; PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION; RED BRIGADES; STATE TERRORISM; UNABOMBER

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### MEINHOF, ULRIKE (1934–1976)

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Left-wing journalist Ulrike Meinhof was known for her affiliation with the West German Red Army Faction (RAF), later nicknamed the Baader-Meinhof Gang after its two most prominent members.

Her parents were killed when she was young, so Ulrike Meinhof was raised in West Germany by her foster mother, Renate Riemack, who was a socialist and profoundly influenced Meinhof's political views. As a college student, Meinhof married Klaus Rainer Rohl and became an editor and journalist for his left-wing student newspaper. They had twin girls together but then separated in the late 1960s.

At that time, Meinhof was becoming more involved in the radical-left student movement. She joined the RAF after she interviewed their leader, Andreas Baader, while he was in prison for arson. The aims of RAF were to revolutionize the working people, to convert the capitalist society, and to eliminate U.S. presence in West Germany, which they believed to be the cause of many injustices. They committed several bank robberies, murders, kidnapping, and bombings to forward their cause.

Meinhof became infamous on May 14, 1970, when she helped free Baader from prison in Berlin. After this event, journalists began calling RAF the Baader-Meinhof Gang. This name stuck, and has led to the frequent incorrect assumption that Meinhof was a coleader of the group. In fact, the coleader was not Meinhof but Baader's girlfriend, Gudrun Ensslin.

Meinhof evaded the law for two years after she aided Baader's escape. In these years, she continued to rob banks and bomb buildings before being caught

and sentenced to prison in 1972. While incarcerated, she grew increasingly depressed and on May 9, 1976, Ulrike Meinhof committed suicide.

*See also* ANDREAS BAADER; BAADER-MEINHOF GANG

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### MEK. *See* MUJAHEDIN-E-KHALQ ORGANIZATION.

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### METESKY, GEORGE (1904–1994)

*aka* the Mad Bomber

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During the 1940s and 1950s, George Metesky, known at the time only as the "Mad Bomber," set more than 30 bombs in the New York area. The 16-year hunt for the Mad Bomber was solved using one of the first applications of criminal profiling.

Metesky's first bomb was found on November 16, 1940, on a window ledge of the Consolidated Edison building on West 64th Street. The small, crudely made pipe bomb never exploded. A note on the outside of the bomb read, "Con Edison crooks, this is for you!" Police believed that the note's placement suggested it was never intended to detonate.

After a cursory investigation of disgruntled employees and other possible suspects, the police dropped the case. Nearly a year later, in September 1941, another unexploded bomb was found on 19th Street, a few blocks from the Con Edison office at Irving Plaza. The bomb, which was similar in construction to the November 1940 bomb, was found in an old sock, with no note. The following December, shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, a letter bearing the same block-style handwriting of the initial note arrived at police headquarters. The bomber claimed he would stop his activities for the duration of the war. He also wrote, "I will bring the Con Edison to justice. They will pay for their dastardly deeds," and signed the letter, "F. P."

Though threatening letters continued to plague Con Ed, police, and others, "F. P." did not set another bomb until March 29, 1950, when a third hoax bomb was discovered in Grand Central Station. The following month, the first of the Mad Bomber's bombs exploded in a phone booth inside the New York public library, followed by another bomb at Grand Central Station. Over the next five years, nearly 30 more bombs were planted throughout New York—at Grand Central Station, Penn Station, the Port Authority Bus Terminal, the Brooklyn Paramount Theater, Radio City Music Hall, and phone booths throughout the city—nearly half of which exploded, ultimately causing more than a dozen injuries, but no deaths.

Frustrated after 16 years of investigation, Inspector Howard Finney of the New York City Crime Lab turned to Dr. James A. Brussel, a private psychiatrist who had performed counterintelligence profiling work during World War II and the Korean War. Using police evidence, including handwriting analysis, Brussel developed an elaborate profile: he predicted that the Mad Bomber was a foreign-born male of Eastern European descent, 40 to 50 years old, an unmarried loner living with female relatives, a clean-shaven, neatly dressed man with an athletic build, who would also be a textbook paranoid. Most famously, Brussel also predicted that the bomber would be wearing a double-breasted suit, buttoned.

After local newspapers published summaries of the Mad Bomber's profile, police were inundated with false leads. The bomber continued his activities, even calling Dr. Brussel to threaten him. Meanwhile, Con Ed expanded its search of personnel files of disgruntled employees to the years before its major mergers in the 1930s, and found the file of George Metesky, of Waterbury, Connecticut, who blamed his bout with tuberculosis on his former employer, which later became part of Con Ed.

In January 1957, Metesky, who fit Brussel's profile in every detail, confessed to planting 32 bombs, admitting that "F. P." stood for "fair play." Four months later, he was committed to the Matteawan Asylum for the Criminally Insane, where he remained until 1973. Upon release, he moved home to Connecticut, where he remained until he died, in 1994.

*See also* BOMBINGS AND BOMB SCARES

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**MHP. See GREY WOLVES.**

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**MIDDLE CORE FACTION. See CHUKAKU-HA.**

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## MILITANT ISLAM

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Out of the many modern branches and sects that make up the world's 1.3 billion Muslims emerged a minority, virulent offshoot called militant Islam. A fundamentalist, utopian ideology that often justifies violence for what is seen as a higher cause, in some respects militant Islam is not unlike past ideological enemies of the West, including fascism and Marxism.

The movement, comprising perhaps 10 or 15 percent of the Muslim world, harbors a deep hatred for that which the West stands for, including capitalism, individualism, and consumerism. Those who ascribe to the ideology seek instead to implement a strict interpretation of the Koran (Islam's holy book) and *shari'a* (Islamic law) in all Muslim lands. They also seek a united Muslim polity, spearheaded by the leadership of a caliph. Jihad, commonly translated as "holy war," is often seen as the means to achieve these goals.

### THE DECLINE OF ISLAM

In the 17th century, the Muslim world was the planet's most vibrant culture and its strongest military force, with territory encompassing the Middle East and southeastern Europe. As a world power, Muslims viewed Western religious, cultural, and military developments with disdain. Accordingly, when the West achieved military superiority, the Islamic world was caught by surprise. By 1769, Russia's Army had soundly defeated the Ottoman Turks, handing the Islamic world its first military defeat.

A spate of Muslim military losses followed. Between 1798 and 1912, at least seven Muslim countries, from Aden (modern Yemen) to Morocco, succumbed to the advances of invading European armies.

By the end of World War I, the Ottoman Empire lost its grip on the Middle East; the British and French consequently divided up the former Muslim empire as spoils of war. The most painful defeat, however, was likely the loss to Israel in 1948 when a unified front of five Arab armies lost to a military of only several hundred thousand Jews.

Along with these Western military advances came cultural and intellectual concepts often new to Islam in the practical and physical sciences, modern weaponry and military tactics, mass communication, law, and political science. A threat to the status quo, these concepts were often considered radical and destabilizing, and did not fit comfortably within the traditional Muslim culture.

While many adapted, some Muslims rejected these changes. Instead, they created a rigid ideology deeply imbedded in a fundamentalist interpretation of Islam. This ideology, militant Islam, came to be seen as a struggle to return to the era when Islam was dominant. The ideology rejected the West, modernity, and many of its innovations. Indeed, it even perceived the source of these innovations (the West) as its enemy.

In time, the militant Islamic vision crystallized. It rejected not only the influence of the West but also the legitimacy of secular governments in the Muslim world for their subservience to the West. Thus, the overthrow of these regimes became an important part of their agenda.

## THE RISE OF MILITANT ISLAM

The most significant boost for the militant Islamic movement came in 1928, when the *Ikhwan al-Muslimun*, or Muslim Brotherhood, emerged in Egypt. The cornerstone for many of today's militant Islamic movements, the Muslim Brotherhood rejected Western influence and, more specifically, England's secular influence over Egypt. The organization, founded by Hassan al-Banna (1906–1949), advocated the Egyptian institutionalization of Islamic beliefs and values. Without religious governance, al-Banna argued, the Muslim world would be “a society of cultural mongrels and spiritual half-castes.” Al-Banna and his followers soon developed armed cells that attacked government officials and supporters, leading the movement to be outlawed. The group, however, continued its activities, wreaking havoc on the Egyptian regime.

In an attempt to quell the movement, al-Banna was killed in Cairo in 1949, but his death did not prevent

the spread of militant Islam. The Brotherhood soon found inspiration in Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966), who provided justifications taken from the Koran for attacking Muslim leaders with governments not in accordance with shari'a.

In his most famous book, *Milestones*, Qutb advocated “jihad for eliminating the *Jahili* [ignorant] order and its supporting authority for they interfere with and prevent the efforts to reform the beliefs and ideas of humanity at large.” The Egyptian regime executed Qutb in 1966. His followers were devastated, but his legacy survived. The Brotherhood today has hundreds of branches in more than 70 countries worldwide.

A year after Qutb's death, adherents to militant Islam were further devastated by the Arab loss to Israel in the 1967 Six-Day War. Apart from losing to the Jews, a people militant Muslims regard as inferior, Jerusalem (Islam's third holiest city) had been conquered. Moderate Muslims began to look for meaning in these shocking events. An increasing number turned to their Islamic roots. Among them, many adopted the militant Islamic ideology.

Amid the Arab oil boom of the 1970s, militant Islam grew exponentially. Nowhere was this more apparent than in Iran, where the first modern Islamic republic was established. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini overthrew Iran's secular regime and established a new militant Islamic nation. Militant Islam was no longer merely an ideology; it had inspired a state.

After Iran, Sudan fell prey to a Muslim Brotherhood coup d'état in 1989. By the mid-1990s, the militant Islamic Taliban government rose to power in Afghanistan thanks to a vacuum created by years of civil war and tribal violence. Saudi Arabia's royal family, all the while, has long been under the influence of the Wahabi strain of militant Islam since becoming a modern state in 1903.

Other countries continue to safeguard their states from militant Islamic rule, but pay the price in lives. Algeria, for instance, has engaged in an ongoing battle with the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) and Armed Islamic Group (GIA) in which more than 100,000 have died. Egypt has repeatedly been challenged by militant Islamic groups, with attacks ranging from the assassination of President Anwar al-Sadat in 1981 (Al Jihad) to the massacre of foreign tourists in Luxor in 1997 (Gama'a al-Islamiyya). Syria faced an insurgency from its Muslim Brotherhood branches in the early 1980s, but quelled the violence by literally

flattening the country's fourth largest town of Hama in 1982, leaving, by some estimates, 38,000 militants dead.

Militant Islam continues to spread throughout the Muslim world. Governments in the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Nigeria are now forced to cope with conflict between Islamic militants and Christians over the implementation of shari'a. India continues to battle militant Muslim groups over the disputed territory of Kashmir.

While the threat of militant Islam has reached the shores of nearly every Muslim country, the area that has likely witnessed the most rapid proliferation of militant Islam in recent decades is the Palestinian territories and Israel. The Muslim Brotherhood established branches in the West Bank in 1946, but it was not until the early months of the Palestinian *intifada*, or uprising, against Israel (1987–1991) that militant Islam truly began to threaten stability in that area. Within months of the uprising's outbreak came the inception of Hamas, or Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya (Islamic Liberation Movement). In 1988, the group published a covenant calling for a synthesis of militant Islam and Palestinian nationalism. The group declared that jihad against Israel was "a duty binding to all Muslims."

When the *intifada* ended, Hamas became the primary opponent to the Palestinian-Israeli peace process. The group has since claimed responsibility for dozens of shootings, stabbings, and suicide attacks against Israeli civilians and military personnel. The Palestinian Islamic Jihad also emerged as an opponent to the peace process, with a similar mode of attacking Israeli targets.

## ANTI-WESTERN TERRORISM

For its part, the West first came up against militant Islam in 1979, shortly after Khomeini's Islamic Republic was established. Islamic militants overtook the U.S. embassy in Tehran, holding 53 Americans hostage for 444 days. When that crisis was over, it was learned that Iran had successfully "exported" its brand of militant Islam to other parts of the Islamic world. The revolution was first exported to Lebanon, a country torn by internecine conflict since the mid-1970s.

When American troops arrived in Lebanon in 1983 for a peacekeeping mission, the forces of militant Islam

carried out two deadly attacks. On April 18, militants bombed the American embassy in Beirut. On October 23, Islamic militants executed a suicide attack on a U.S. Marine barracks that killed 241. That attack was sanctioned by an Iranian-backed guerrilla movement called Hezbollah (Party of God).

A rash of violence, inspired by militant Islam, soon followed. First, the American embassy in Beirut was bombed again in September 1984. In December 1984, on a hijacked plane in Tehran, militants tortured and murdered two Americans. Meanwhile, between March 1984 and January 1985, more than a dozen Americans in Beirut were abducted by suspected militants. Finally, in June 1985, militants hijacked yet another flight with more than 100 Americans aboard, killing one of them.

Militant Islam resurfaced on December 21, 1988, when Pan Am Flight 103 exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland, killing all 259 people on board, as well as 11 residents hit by the fuselage on the ground. The flight was en route to New York from Frankfurt, Germany.

The movement found further impetus in 1989 from the furor over Salman Rushdie and his controversial book, *The Satanic Verses*, which ridiculed the Prophet and his revelations. In response, Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini sentenced Rushdie to death for blasphemy.

"I would like to inform all intrepid Muslims in the world that the author of the book *Satanic Verses* . . . and those publishers who were aware of its contents, are sentenced to death," Khomeini said. "I call on all zealous Muslims to execute them quickly, where they find them, so that no one will dare to insult the Islamic sanctities." Khomeini's *fatwa*, or decree, sparked a wave of militant Islamic violence around the world. Book agents were stabbed, newspapers were firebombed, and demonstrations regularly resulted in bloodshed.

The Rushdie affair subsided, but the violence continued. In February 1993, a large bomb exploded in New York's World Trade Center, killing six and wounding 1,000. Inspired by Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, the "Blind Sheikh of New York," the plot was pinned to Gama'a al-Islamiyya, a radical Egyptian group tied to Al Qaeda. Rahman, to the surprise of many Americans, had been preaching terrorism for years in the United States. "We must be terrorists," he said several months prior, "and we must terrorize the enemies of Islam and frighten them and disturb them and shake the earth under their feet."

## OSAMA BIN LADEN

Subsequent militant Islamic attacks continued. In October 1993, America was attacked by the forces of militant Islam in Somalia. Two Army helicopters were shot down and a third crash-landed in a mission intended to capture a militant Islamic leader. In that mission, 18 Americans died and 78 were injured by guerrilla forces trained by a relatively unknown group called Al Qaeda, run by the Saudi-born militant Osama bin Laden.

In 1995, a suicide car-bomber attacked a military training school in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, taking five American lives. A year later, in June 1996, a truck bomb destroyed part of a living quarters used by U.S. Air Force personnel in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. Nineteen servicemen were killed and 240 were injured. The United States responded by imposing sanctions against Sudan's Islamist regime, where bin Laden had found asylum.

In 1995, reports of brutal violence and human rights violations emerged from Afghanistan, as the militant Islamic government known as the Taliban captured more than half of Afghanistan. The group received increased notoriety when it took in the fugitive bin Laden in 1996. With bin Laden's arrival in Afghanistan, Al Qaeda began to operate with increased efficacy.

Al Qaeda (literally, "The Base") facilitates and orchestrates the operations of Islamic militants around the globe. Al Qaeda, in essence, is a network for terrorists, whereby information, plots, funds, and human resources are connected and funneled through a hub. The organization's roots are in the CIA-sponsored Afghan war against the Soviets (1980–1989). During that time, with U.S. support, militant Muslims from all over the world came to Afghanistan in an attempt to ward off Soviet occupation. Bin Laden, the son of a Saudi billionaire, was among them. He reportedly won the hearts of his fellow mujahideen (jihad fighters) not only by fighting valiantly but also by financing a recruiting office for fighters.

Bin Laden, with the help of a Palestinian militant named Abdallah Azzam, opened *Maktab al-Khidamat*, or the Services Office. During the course of the war, bin Laden paid for the import of fresh fighters to Afghanistan, and built training camps for them. In addition, he imported experts to teach his men guerrilla tactics and terror warfare. During the war, thousands trained at bin Laden's camps.

In 1989, as the war wound down, bin Laden spun a network out of these devoted militants. He called this network Al Qaeda. While most of the mujahideen returned home after the Soviet defeat, bin Laden kept the network alive through the Internet, cell phones, faxes, and other high-tech means.

Bin Laden's goals for Al Qaeda are threefold. First, the group advocates the overthrow of today's secular Muslim states for forsaking shari'a. Accordingly, it seeks the overthrow the government of Saudi Arabia—the home of the two holiest cities in Islam. Al Qaeda derides the Saudi regime for its subservience to U.S. demands, particularly in allowing American soldiers to remain after the 1991 Gulf War. Second, Al Qaeda views the United States as the foremost enemy of Islam, and seeks to destroy it. Third, the group seeks to bolster the efforts of jihad groups throughout the world. This includes the efforts of militant groups in Algeria, Chechnya, Eritrea, Somalia, and others.

Al Qaeda, today represents the single greatest militant Islamic threat to global stability. Indeed, the group has become the least common denominator among radical groups worldwide—allowing them to pool resources and personnel. But it was not until February 23, 1998, and the creation of a front group called the World Islamic Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders that intelligence organizations began to truly understand the magnitude of Al Qaeda. Indeed, the signatures of Al Qaeda's "World Front" communiqué included leaders of the Egyptian Gama'a al-Islamiyya and Al Jihad, as well as the jihad movement in Bangladesh, and many others.

In June 1999, bin Laden was added to the FBI's "most wanted" list for his leadership of Al Qaeda. One month later, U.S. president Bill Clinton imposed sanctions on the Taliban for harboring bin Laden. U.S. intelligence, recognizing the deep threat posed by Al Qaeda, has since foiled many of the group's plots, including one designed to disrupt global millennium celebrations in December 1999.

Nevertheless, the bombing in Yemen of the U.S.S. *Cole* in 2000 and the September 11, 2001, attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Center are proof that Al Qaeda can still reach America. Due to its clandestine modus operandi, Al Qaeda's longevity is almost certainly assured. Accordingly, the prospect of a long and protracted war against militant Islam is effectively guaranteed.

*See also* AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; JIHAD; MUJAHIDEEN

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## MILLER, FRAZIER GLENN (1941– )

aka F. Glenn Miller, Jr., Glenn Miller

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During the 1980s, Frazier Glenn Miller, a former U.S. Army officer, was the leader of the Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (CKKKK) and, later, the White Patriot Party (WPP), a paramilitary offshoot of the CKKKK.

Miller was discharged from the Army in 1979 for distributing racist literature. In November of that year, he allegedly helped instigate an attack on an anti-Klan rally and march in Greensboro, North Carolina, in which five demonstrators, all members of the Communist Workers Party, were gunned down by Klansmen and American Nazis. When all of the accused were acquitted on April 15, 1984, Miller, already a vocal public figure in North Carolina, called the Klansmen and Nazis “heroes” who acted in “self-defense” and claimed that the verdict was a victory for “all patriotic, anti-communist, freedom-loving Christian people.”

In the mid-1980s, Klan activity throughout the country was declining; however, under Miller’s leadership, the CKKKK raised its profile, becoming one of the most active Klan groups. In 1983, Bobby Person, a black prison guard in rural Moore County, North Carolina, filed a civil rights suit against Miller and the CKKKK. Person was working to become the first

black sergeant at the local prison in Moore County and was being harassed by the CKKKK.

The case came to trial with Morris S. Dees, an anti-Klan activist lawyer from the Southern Poverty Law Center in Alabama, representing Person. In addition to harassment, charges related to the CKKKK’s paramilitary activities had been added. During the trial, Miller maintained that group members were only involved in “self-defense”; that they were training men, women, and children how to safely shoot and maintain firearms; and that they rarely practiced outdoor maneuvers. On January 17, 1985, the case was settled out of court, with terms that called for no monetary settlements but the end of all paramilitary activity by the CKKKK.

Miller subsequently disbanded the CKKKK and formed the White Patriot Party, a paramilitary group that embraced Christian Identity-type racist beliefs. The WPP’s goal was to create a white “Southland” in the southern United States by 1992; such a settlement had been described by William Pierce in his race-war novel, *The Turner Diaries* (1978).

In 1986, Miller and other WPP members were arrested for conspiracy to murder Dees and for continuing to conduct paramilitary operations in North Carolina. Testimony in the case revealed that Miller accepted \$200,000 in stolen funds from Robert Jay Mathews, founder of the Order, and that active-duty military personnel were involved in training members of the WPP. Miller was sentenced to six months in prison in July 1986 for disobeying the court order prohibiting him from operating the WPP.

While free on bond and awaiting appeal, Miller went underground. In April 1987, he mailed nearly 5,000 letters to other white supremacists, issuing a declaration of “total war” against the federal government, which Miller referred to as ZOG (Zionist occupation government), and urging others to take up arms against nonwhites, civil rights activists, and judges.

Miller was captured in May 1987 in Ozark, Missouri. Federal agents staged a predawn raid, firing tear gas canisters into Miller’s mobile home. At the same time, other WPP members—Robert Jackson and Lawrence Sheets (both wanted in North Carolina for failing to appear to testify in a conspiracy case), and Tony Wydra—were arrested. Wydra was later released without being charged

*See also* KU KLUX KLAN; ROBERT JAY MATHEWS; THE ORDER; *THE TURNER DIARIES*; WHITE PATRIOT PARTY; WHITE SUPREMACY



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**MILLIYETCI HAREKET PARTISI. See GREY WOLVES.**

**MIR. See MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT.**

**MIVTZA H ELOHIM. See WRATH OF GOD.**

**MJL. See LAUTARO YOUTH MOVEMENT.**

**MNLF. See MORO NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT.**

**MOGADISHU, SOMALIA, ATTACK ON U.S. SOLDIERS. See Al Qaeda; Osama bin Laden.**

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**MOHAMED, KHALFAN KHAMIS (1973– )**

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Khalfan Khamis Mohamed was the first person convicted of a direct role in the August 7, 1998, bombing of the U.S. embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. On May 29, 2001, a federal jury in New York found him guilty of participating in the attack and of murdering the 11 people killed as a result of the explosion. The same jury later deadlocked on the death sentence sought by prosecutors, thereby imposing on Mohamed

a life sentence in U.S. prison without the possibility of parole.

Mohamed was one of four defendants who went on trial in Manhattan federal court in January 2001 for the Tanzania blast and the coordinated, more lethal bombing of the U.S. embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, where 213 people were killed. He and his codefendants were all found to be part of a worldwide terrorist conspiracy led by Saudi exile Osama bin Laden and carried out by his Islamic militant organization, Al Qaeda.

Mohamed, 25 years old at the time of the embassy bombings, grew up in a mud-walled house on the rural island of Zanzibar, Tanzania, one of seven children of a farmer who grew sweet potatoes, lemon grass, and coconuts. Fatherless at seven, Mohamed never finished high school, and at 17, he moved to live and work with one of his brothers, who owned a grocery store in Dar es Salaam. There, through a mutual friend, Mohamed met an Al Qaeda member, who recruited him for religious and weapons training in Afghanistan. Mohamed underwent 10 months of training in 1994, but he was not invited to officially join the group. Mohamed returned to Tanzania in 1995, was sent on a training mission for “Muslim brothers” in Somalia in 1997, and was tapped for his jihad job the following spring.

Trial testimony and physical evidence showed that in the summer of 1998 Mohamed rented the house in the Ilala district of Dar es Salaam, a half-hour drive from the embassy, where the bomb components were assembled and loaded into a 1987 Nissan Atlas refrigeration truck. Using a flour mill, Mohamed helped grind the TNT, and with others, he loaded 20 wooden crates of the explosive powder onto the truck, along with 15 cylinders of acetylene and oxygen to enhance the explosion. Using money given to him by a cell leader, Mohamed had also purchased the Suzuki Samurai pickup truck that the conspirators used to ferry bomb-making materials to the house.

A defense attorney once referred to Mohamed’s role as a “gopher.” He did not even know the target until five days beforehand. On the day of the attacks, Mohamed helped the Nissan bomb truck embark on its journey, riding in the passenger seat next to the Egyptian suicide driver. Once the truck got to the main road, Mohamed exited to return to the bomb-making house and clean it up. He heard the news of the explosion on TV, and left Dar es Salaam the next day by bus.

Using a Tanzanian passport under a friend's name, Mohamed settled in Cape Town, South Africa, and obtained a temporary residency permit after he applied for political asylum. He worked in a hamburger restaurant and lived with its owners, impressing them as a hardworking and pious young man. His year on the run ended when FBI agents traced the passport application back to Mohamed. Agents were waiting for Mohamed on October 5, 1999, when he went to renew his South African residential papers.

Mohamed essentially confessed to his role in the terror conspiracy during two days of interrogation. "He felt it was his obligation and duty to kill Americans," FBI agent Abigail Perkins testified at the trial. Although Mohamed never met bin Laden or heard him speak, he considered him his jihad leader and shared his views. Perkins said that Mohamed "really didn't like the fact that soldiers were in Saudi Arabia, in the Holy Land" and he felt the United States, as a superpower, could make peace in "Palestine."

Because soldiers were "such a hard target to get to," Mohamed said U.S. government buildings were targeted, and although no Americans were killed in the Tanzania blast, he considered it a success. "Bombings were the only way that America would listen and that it also kept the Americans busy investigating," Perkins recalled Mohamed saying. Had he not been caught, Mohamed told Perkins, "He would have continued in his efforts to kill Americans."

Pursuing the death penalty, prosecutors focused on the impact of the Tanzania embassy bombing on the victims' families and on Mohamed's potential future dangerousness, even behind bars. Prosecutors tried to link him to a pretrial jailhouse stabbing by his one-time cellmate that left a corrections officer critically wounded.

The jury favored the death penalty, but could not agree on it unanimously, as required. On their verdict form, most jurors agreed with defense attorneys that Mohamed was not a leader of the terror conspiracy and was only a minor participant in the bomb plot. Jurors also believed that an execution would have made Mohamed a martyr and could have been used to justify future terrorist acts.

Mohamed made no statement at his sentencing on October 18, 2001. On his behalf, a defense attorney said, "We simply wish to express gratitude to the jury which spared his life."

*See also* AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS; MOHAMED SADEEK ODEH

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## MOHAMMAD, FAZUL ABDULLAH (1972 OR 1974– )

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**aka Abdallah Fazul, Abdalla Fazul, Abdallah Mohammed Fazul, Fazul Abdilahi Mohammed, Fazul Adballah, Fazul Abdalla, Fazul Mohammed, Haroon, Harun, Haroon Fazul, Harun Fazul, Fadil Abdallah Muhamad, Fadhil Haroun, Abu Seif al Sudani, Abu Aisha, Abu Luqman, Fadel Abdallah Mohammed Ali, Fouad Mohammed**

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Fazul Mohammad, who was born in the Cormoros Islands, a tiny former French colony off the coast of East Africa, is alleged to be a member of Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda network. The explosives and computer expert is included on the FBI's list of the 22 "most wanted terrorists" for his involvement in the 1998 bombings of two U.S. embassies in East Africa.

As a teenager, Mohammad received a scholarship for a fundamentalist Islamic education in Pakistan and left the Cormoros. According to the U.S. indictment in September 1998 in the embassy bombings, he attended Al Qaeda's paramilitary training camp in Afghanistan in 1991 and 1992.

Al Qaeda, an Arabic word meaning "The Base," is an international network that advocates and uses force and violence to achieve the goal of driving the United States from Saudi Arabia and other Islamic countries. The group, which serves as an umbrella group for other militant organizations, establishes cells in areas where attacks are carried out. Al Qaeda members manage the cells and recruit individuals to perform administrative and other tasks. According to the indictment, Mohammad worked for Wadih el-Hage, the leader of the Nairobi cell in Kenya. He and other Al Qaeda members also allegedly provided military training to Somali tribes opposed to the U.N. intervention in Somalia's civil war in 1993.

The indictment also claims that in late 1996 or early 1997 Mohammad began sending coded messages to coconspirators in the embassy bombings plot. He and el-Hage carried funds from bin Laden to Kenya. He later rented the Nairobi villa at 43 New Runda Estates where the bomb was assembled and where final preparations for bombing the embassy were made. On August 7, 1998, Mohammad left the villa in a pickup truck, driving just ahead of the bomber to lead the way to the U.S. embassy. In a synchronized attack 400 miles away, a bomb-laden car also approached the U.S. embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The bombs exploded just minutes apart, killing a total of 224 people.

Shortly following the embassy bombings, the U.S. government declared that bin Laden and Al Qaeda operatives were responsible. As retaliation, U.S. president Bill Clinton ordered air attacks on Al Qaeda training grounds in Afghanistan and a pharmaceutical plant in the center of Khartoum, Sudan.

Mohammad fled to the Cormoros Islands the week following the attacks, then flew on to Dubai. He is a fugitive, along with many of the 26 indicted in the United States for crimes related to the attacks. Three suspects indicted in the embassy bombings case pleaded guilty and cooperated with the U.S. government as witnesses. This resulted in the conviction of el-Hage and three other men linked to bin Laden for conspiracy in the bombing at their October 2001 trial in U.S. District Court in New York City. All of the defendants who pleaded not guilty were sentenced to life in prison without parole. The U.S. State Department is offering up to \$25 million for information leading to Mohammad's arrest or conviction.

*See also* AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN: EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS

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## MOHAMMED, KHALID SHAIKH (1965– )

aka Ashraf Refaat Nabith Henin, Khalid Abdul Wadood, Salem Ali, Fahd bin Adballah bin Khalid

Born in Kuwait, Khalid Shaikh Mohammed was reportedly a key player in the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C. Abu Zubaydah, a top Al Qaeda lieutenant in U.S. custody at a secret location, and other Al Qaeda detainees at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, told investigators in June 2002 that Mohammed was the plan's mastermind. Little evidence of his direct involvement has been released. According to a *Los Angeles Times* report, he made several visits to Hamburg, Germany, in 1999, when the September 11 hijackers were in the city.

Mohammed is said to be a bomb expert who received most of his training in Afghanistan. Little is known about his background and activities, but he first came to international attention for his participation in Ramzi Ahmed Yousef's foiled 1995 conspiracy called "Project Bojinka." This deadly and wildly ambitious plot aimed to blow up nearly a dozen American airplanes with virtually undetectable bombs made of inexpensive digital watches and liquid explosives hidden in contact lens solution bottles. Mohammed is on the FBI's list of 22 "most wanted terrorists" for his role in the plot. The conspirators were based in Manila, the Philippines, and targeted airliners flying to the United States from Southeast Asia.

In 1996, the United States indicted him for his involvement in Project Bojinka, accusing him of helping to finance the conspiracy. Prosecutors referred to Project Bojinka as a conspiracy for "48 hours of terror in the sky." Mohammed and other conspirators allegedly plotted to blow up 11 American commercial jets and, according to a *New York Times* report, crash a plane into CIA headquarters and kill the president of the United States with a deadly gas released into the air.

Yousef, the convicted mastermind of Project Bojinka, is now serving a life sentence for bombing New York City's World Trade Center in 1993. Two fellow conspirators in Project Bojinka were also convicted; Abdul Hakim Murad, a Pakistani national, and Wali Khan Amin Shah, an Afghan, are both serving life sentences.

Philippine officials found out about the plot on January 6, 1995, when a fire started in the Manila apartment where Yousef, who fled to the Philippines in 1993, and Murad were building bombs. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that Yousef and Murad hid in a karaoke bar near the apartment until firefighters left the building. In the apartment, police found bomb-making materials, pipe bombs, and a laptop computer that contained details about Project Bojinka and about an additional plot to assassinate the pope during his visit to the Philippines in January 1995. They also found Roman Catholic vestments tailored to match the attire of the pope's entourage and maps of the pope's appearances in Manila. While Murad returned to the apartment to collect incriminating materials and was arrested, Yousef fled the country; the police arrested Murad, who provided details about Project Bojinka. Murad was later extradited to the United States and convicted for his role in the plot. In February 1995, Yousef was captured in Pakistan and extradited to the United States.

In addition to taking part in and financing Project Bojinka, Mohammed was also accused of participating in the December 1994 bombing of Philippine Airlines Flight 434 from the Philippines to Tokyo. The explosion killed a Japanese passenger and wounded 10 others, but the plane was able to make an emergency landing in Guam. Murad's confession indicates that Yousef boarded the plane in Manila carrying liquid nitroglycerin in a bottle normally used for contact lens solution. He mixed the bomb solution, containing only about 10 percent of the explosives planned for use in Project Bojinka, in the plane's restroom and taped it under his seat in the economy section. Yousef then left the plane at its first layover, in the southern city of Cebu. The bomb exploded during the plane's second leg of the journey to Tokyo. Project Bojinka called for similar actions carried out by five bombers spread across Asia, who would plant similar bombs on U.S. airplanes flying multistop routes.

Because of Mohammed's alleged role in this plot, the U.S. State Department is offering a reward of up to \$25 million for information leading directly to his apprehension or conviction.

*See also* AL QAEDA; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS; RAMZI AHMED YOUSEF

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## MORAZANIST PATRIOTIC FRONT

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A Honduran terrorist group, the Morazanist Patriotic Front (FPM), now largely inactive, attacked U.S. military targets in Honduras several times during the early 1990s.

During the early 1980s, the Reagan administration began to actively support a counterinsurgency against the Communist government of Nicaragua (the Sandinistas). Neighboring Honduras provided a natural base to provide training and deliver arms and funds to the insurgents, known as Contras; through the first half of the decade the United States vastly increased its military presence in Honduras. Some Hondurans resented the U.S. military presence, feeling that their country was becoming a client state of the United States. In this climate, the FPM emerged. A leftist and extremely nationalist organization, the group's goal was the removal of all U.S. military forces from Honduras as well as the expulsion of the remaining Contras. The U.S. State Department believes the FPM may have received support from the Nicaraguan and Cuban governments.

The FPM's first known attack was on a U.S. military convoy in April 1989; the convoy, while engaged in exercises with the Honduran military, was forced to turn back. In July of that year, the group bombed a disco frequented by soldiers in La Cieba, Honduras; seven soldiers were injured. In

March 1990, four FPM guerrillas machine-gunned a bus carrying U.S. personnel, injuring eight soldiers. The group has also claimed involvement in an attack on a Peace Corps office in December 1988 and another military bus bombing in February 1989 that wounded three soldiers.

In February 1990, the Sandinista government in Nicaragua was replaced with a U.S.-backed government, which demobilized the Contras in June. The FPM now had no possibility of support from the Nicaraguan government; in addition, the United States had begun a gradual withdrawal from the region, and by the following year the FPM appeared to have disbanded. However, two bombings in the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa in 1992 and 1994 have been linked to the group. No one was hurt in either bombing. Both bombs were accompanied by propaganda critical of the U.S. and Honduran military presence. The recent stability in Honduras, coupled with U.S. disengagement, appears to have substantially lessened the threat of violence by the FPM.

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## MORO NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

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The Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) is a Muslim separatist group that waged a 24-year guerrilla war against the Philippine government.

The MNLF traces its origins to a 400-year conflict between Muslims and Christians in the Philippines. Sixteenth-century Spanish colonizers converted the majority of the country's native inhabitants to Christianity. However, the southern islands of the archipelago had a large Muslim community (today estimated at 5 percent of the country's total population) that did not convert. The Spaniards called these people “Moros” (as in Moor, or Muslim) and they became a despised and often persecuted minority. Violent clashes between

Moros and colonial administrators (first Spanish and later American) were frequent.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Philippine government began to encourage Christians to migrate to the southern island of Mindanao, the second largest island of the Philippines and one of the richest in natural resources. Mindanao's Muslim inhabitants, however, are among the country's poorest. By the late 1960s, on many islands and on parts of Mindanao itself, Christians had become the majority population. Many Muslims felt that the government—in encouraging the Christian migration—was deliberately attempting to push them out of their homes.

The MNLF was founded by Nur Misuari as a Muslim advocacy group in the late 1960s. In 1972, Philippine president Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law and attempted to disarm the Muslim population. Misuari and the MNLF went to war against the government, hoping to establish an independent Muslim state.

During the early 1970s, the MNLF army was 50,000 strong; the Philippine Army numbered about 60,000. By 1972, Marcos had vastly expanded the armed forces in response to the secessionist threat, committing about 80 percent of the country's troops to Mindanao and the surrounding islands. During those bloody years, tens of thousands of people were killed and the MNLF made substantial territorial gains. In 1976, the rebels and the government signed a Libyan-brokered truce under which the MNLF would integrate its forces with the Philippine Army and the Muslim provinces would become economically and politically autonomous but remain part of the Philippines.

Once the agreement was signed, Marcos did nothing to implement it. In 1978, dissatisfaction with the accord caused a split within the MNLF; Misuari's second-in-command, Hashim Salamat, formed the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). Salamat's group of 10,000 to 15,000 men was more Islamist in outlook. The MILF rejected limited autonomy, holding out for complete independence. Operating separately, the two groups continued attacking government forces throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s; neither the government nor the rebels was able to gain the upper hand.

In 1986, Marcos, widely regarded as corrupt, was overthrown by the Philippine military and presidential candidate Corazon Aquino, widow of a martyred opposition leader. Aquino began negotiations with the MNLF, and violence decreased briefly. Conflicts over which provinces would become autonomous soon

stalled negotiations—the MNLF wanted to place many areas with clear Christian majorities under Muslim control. Nothing substantive was accomplished until 1993, when Aquino's successor, Fidel Ramos, succeeded in drawing the MNLF to the negotiating table.

In 1996, an agreement was signed giving Misuari control over four majority-Muslim provinces on Mindanao, with the possibility of more provinces opting for autonomy in three years. MNLF members laid down their arms; the Ramos government hoped that Misuari could persuade the MILF to do likewise. The MILF declined to disarm. Over the next few years, Misuari would prove to be a better guerrilla than politician; promised aid for economic development of Mindanao and other Muslim provinces was not forthcoming. Continued dissatisfaction lent support to the MILF, which stepped up its attacks.

In 1998, former action-movie star Joseph Estrada was elected president of the Philippines. He underestimated the strength of the guerrillas and his tough talk about eliminating the rebel threat soon undid all the peace moves of his predecessor's administration. Clashes between the Army and the MILF drove 80,000 people from their homes in 1999. Escalating violence forced a tactical reconsideration, but Estrada's administration was inconsistent in its approach to the MILF. At first, the government attempted to initiate negotiations with the group under a tentative cease-fire agreement reached in 1997; however, the Army continued operations during negotiations, and, in response, Salamat refused to meet with Estrada. Estrada then authorized the Army to begin an all-out campaign against the rebels, increasing military manpower and funds to the region.

In July 2000, the Army captured Camp Abubakar, a compound that housed both rebel headquarters and three Muslim villages with schools and other services run by the MILF. Estrada celebrated the victory by trucking in beer and barbeque for the troops. Islam prohibits both alcohol and pork, and Muslims saw the victory party as a slap in the face; Salamat called for a jihad against the government. The capture of Camp Abubakar was only the first of several other advances by government troops; the MILF was forced to retreat to the hills. Once again the government was unable to eliminate the guerrilla threat. In 2001, Estrada was ousted by his vice president, Gloria Arroyo, who initiated peace talks with the guerrillas. In June 2001, the MILF and Arroyo signed a peace agreement and began

talks to determine the limits of autonomy for the southern Muslims.

## MNLF RESURGENT

During 1999 and early 2000, MNLF members had been growing steadily more displeased with Misuari's leadership. In March 2000, a breakaway faction of young MNLF members, estimated at 200 former guerrillas, launched a surprise attack on a Mindanao Army post, killing several soldiers. The group failed to inspire a mass revolt in the MNLF and was quickly disbanded. Rumblings about replacing Misuari grew steadily louder during this time, however, and in November 2001, with his loss in the upcoming presidential elections a near certainty, Misuari resigned as president of the autonomous Muslim provinces and once again called for war. His rebellion was short lived; by December 2001, Misuari had fled to Malaysia and at the time of this writing a new leader of the MNLF has yet to emerge. The group as a whole seems to favor continued peace.

At the beginning of 2002, both the MNLF and the MILF had signed peace agreements with the government. However, conditions in the Muslim homeland remain among the worst in the country. The activities of a separate Muslim terrorist group, Abu Sayyaf, continue to threaten the peaceful development of the region. Following the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, the U.S. government pledged \$100 million in aid to the Philippines and has sent Special Forces troops to the country to help train the Philippine Army to combat terrorism, causing controversy in the Philippines. MILF leaders have claimed that the counterterrorism-trained troops will be deployed against them. The region's cyclic history of violence and chronic underdevelopment makes it fertile ground for further rebellion. It remains to be seen whether the current peace will prove to be lasting.

*See also* ABU SAYYAF GROUP; ALEX BONCAYAO BRIGADE;  
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## MOSSAD

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*Mossad Merkazi Le-modiin U-letafkidim Meyuhadim* is Hebrew for Central Institute for Intelligence and Security. As members of Israel's secret foreign intelligence service, Mossad agents have hunted down Nazi war criminals and coordinated countless sophisticated assassination attacks on Arab guerrilla leaders.

Mossad was founded in 1951 by Isser Harel, who served as director of the organization until 1963. It is complemented by the Shin Bet, Israel's internal intelligence service. Israel's government describes Mossad and Shin Bet assassinations of leaders of groups such as Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad as counterterrorism, while Arab leaders have accused the agency of "state terrorism."

Mossad made its reputation as a fierce spy corps with the May 11, 1960, kidnapping of Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann from his home in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Eichmann was brought to Israel to stand trial and was found guilty of and executed for crimes against humanity. In 1976, Mossad agents also staged an impressive rescue of hostages aboard an Israeli airliner that had been hijacked to Entebbe, Uganda.

In the early part of the decade, however, agents bungled the planned assassination of the alleged organizer of the murders of the Israeli team at the 1972 Munich Olympics, mistakenly attacking an Arab waiter in Norway. In 1986, Mossad agents carried out another famous mission, as a blonde agent identified only as "Cindy" brought nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu from London to Italy on a holiday. Vanunu, an Israeli citizen, was then drugged and taken to Israel to be tried for leaking Israeli nuclear secrets to the British press. He was sentenced to 18 years in prison.

Mossad agents often targeted Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) members during the 1980s, and

in 1988 assassinated top PLO leader Abu Jihad, a cofounder of Yasir Arafat's Fatah movement.

Although in Mossad's first few decades its agents were often said to be the best spies in the world, Mossad made repeated blunders in the late 1990s. While headlines compared the agency to the Keystone Kops, high-ranking Mossad officials resigned. In 1997 in Amman, Jordan, Mossad agents tried to assassinate Hamas member Khaled Meshal with a poison injection in broad daylight. They aimed poorly and were arrested after a foiled attempt at flight. The captured agents were later exchanged for prominent Islamic leaders held by Israel. Further problems ensued when a routine wiretap was discovered in Bern, Switzerland. Another Mossad agent was put on trial for fabricating information that nearly led to a declaration of war between Israel and Syria. In 1998, two agents were caught in Cyprus with surveillance tapes and charged with spying. As the number of mistakes rose, the agency's head, Danny Yatom, was forced to resign and British-born Ephraim Halavy, who was previously Israel's diplomatic envoy to the European Union, was appointed as his replacement.

In summer 2000, Mossad advertised for new recruits in Israel's newspapers for the first time, asking qualified applicants to fax resumes and identification numbers. This advertising campaign provoked much surprised discussion in the press, as Mossad is so secretive that it had never released a telephone number. It still does not have a Web site and it never provides press releases.

*See also* AL FATAH; COUNTERTERRORISM; HAMAS; MUNICH OLYMPICS MASSACRE; PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

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## MOUSSAOUI, ZACARIAS (1968– )

aka Shaqil, Abu Kahlid al Sahrawi

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The first person to be indicted in the United States on charges stemming from the September 11, 2001, attacks on New York City's World Trade Center and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., Zacarias Moussaoui was in prison in Minnesota when the attacks occurred. Moussaoui, a radical Muslim with ties to Al Qaeda, is believed to have been a last-minute recruit who was supposed to fill in for another would-be hijacker. He was jailed about a month before the attacks for overstaying his visa.

Moussaoui was born in 1968 in St. Jean de Luz, France, the son of a Moroccan couple who married when Moussaoui's mother was 14 years old. His parents divorced when he was young, and Moussaoui's mother worked to support her four children, eventually buying a home in Narbonne. Moussaoui's mother raised her sons and daughters to share housework, a practice that was criticized by some of her more conservative relatives.

In the early 1990s, Moussaoui moved to London. There he received a master's degree in economics from Southbank University and fell in with radical Muslims, eventually becoming estranged from his immediate family. Nonetheless he made several visits to France and was outspoken enough about his views to attract the attention of French authorities, who put him under surveillance. Moussaoui traveled to Pakistan and Afghanistan more than once, training at an Al Qaeda camp in 1998. He occasionally attended the same mosque in Brixton, England, as Richard Colvin Reid, who in December 2001 attempted to blow up an airliner by igniting explosives hidden in his shoes.

In the fall of 2000, Moussaoui contacted Airman Flight School in Norman, Oklahoma, inquiring about taking flight lessons. Around the same time, Ramzi Binalshibh, a member of Al Qaeda living in Germany, abandoned his efforts to get an entrance visa to the United States; these facts led investigators to conclude that Moussaoui was a replacement for Binalshibh. In early September 2002, Binalshibh was arrested in Pakistan. Now in U.S. custody, he is suspected in connection with the September 11 attacks and the bombing of the USS *Cole*.

Moussaoui entered the United States on a student visa in February 2001. From late February to late May

2001, Moussaoui took flight lessons at Airman on small planes. He was reportedly a dreadful pilot, and after being told that he would need more lessons, he quit the school. In August, Moussaoui left Norman, moved to Minneapolis, Minnesota, and attended Pan Am International Flight Academy.

His behavior soon attracted attention. He paid a \$6,300 fee in cash, he was extremely evasive, and he adamantly insisted that he be taught to fly a large passenger plane even though he had not mastered flying a small plane. Instructors became suspicious and contacted the FBI. Moussaoui was arrested on August 17, 2001 and held on immigration charges.

In December 2001, Moussaoui was formally charged with six charges of conspiracy related to the September 11 attacks in a federal court in Alexandria, Virginia. In March 2002, the U.S. government announced that it would seek the death penalty for Moussaoui. Although as a French citizen Moussaoui was eligible to be tried before a special military tribunal empowered to charge foreign terrorists, he was instead indicted in a civilian court. Moussaoui is representing himself and was granted a delay in his trial in order to prepare for it. The trial was postponed to June 30, 2003.

*See also* AL QAEDA; MOHAMED ATTA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; HIJACKING; MILITANT ISLAM; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS

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## MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT

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The militant Movement of the Revolutionary Left (Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionaria; MIR) began



as a Marxist-Leninist group in Chile dedicated to popular revolution. Founded by Miguel Enriquez, a young medical student in Concepción, the MIR held its first meeting in August 1965.

The group, made up primarily of young students associated with the Young Socialist Party, grew in influence first in Chile's provinces, and later among university students in the capital, indigenous people, industrial workers, and miners. At its strongest in 1970, the MIR had some 40,000 members.

In the mid-1960s, the MIR organized the poor and homeless to take over land as squatters and to work cooperatively to build houses. By 1969, the MIR had also developed an underground structure of armed groups across the country. These groups began to rob banks; discussion was heated among the established Chilean left about MIR's evolution and tactics. Enriquez publicly claimed that the robberies funded the MIR's social programs, and it was reported that the MIR gave stolen money directly to the poor.

When socialist Salvador Allende was elected president in 1970, the MIR made an informal union with his Popular Unity Party. As the threat of a military coup increased, the MIR worked against Allende's wishes to build up an armed popular force to fight Chile's Army.

After the 1973 military takeover in which Allende was killed, Gen. Augusto Pinochet's death squads hunted down suspected MIR members, torturing and killing them in detention centers; many MIR members were murdered or exiled. Enriquez was killed in October 1974. Andres Pascal Allende, nephew of the late president, assumed leadership of MIR and continued to operate a small underground network inside Chile.

During the 1980s, the group carried out bombings and attacked targets related to the military government. The MIR claimed responsibility for the January 1988 killing of high-ranking police squad chief Julio Benimeli: The group set a booby trap with six TNT charges inside a small house. "The formation of an armed people's power is needed to overthrow the dictatorship and win freedom," read part of the communiqué the MIR released after the blast.

In December 1989, the MIR kidnapped millionaire Brazilian businessman Abilio Diniz, abducting him in a fake ambulance. Asking a ransom of \$30 million, 10 MIR members held the supermarket magnate prisoner for six days in a tiny room dug at the bottom of a well. The kidnappers equipped the room with a mattress and a portable toilet, and piped in fresh air with hoses. Among those involved in the kidnapping were

long-time MIR member Sergio Uturbia and two Canadians Uturbia had met while in exile in Vancouver, David Spencer and Christine Lamont. When police burst into the house where the abductors were staying, all 10 surrendered. Officials said that the group had kidnapped Diniz to get funds to support the MIR.

Pinochet was overthrown in 1990; subsequently, the MIR greatly reduced its activities.

*See also* LAUTARO YOUTH MOVEMENT; MANUEL RODRIGUEZ PATRIOTIC FRONT

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**MOVIMIENTO IZQUIERDA REVOLUCIONARIA.** *See* MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT.

**MOVIMIENTO REVOLUCIONARIO TUPAC AMARU.** *See* TUPAC AMARU REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.

**MRTA.** *See* TUPAC AMARU REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.

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## MSALAM, FAHID MOHAMMED ALLY (1976– )

aka Fahid Mohammed Ally, Fahid Mohammed Ali Musalaam, Fahid Mohammed Ali Msalam, Fahid Muhamad Ali Salem, Mohammed Ally Msalam, Usama al-Kini, Fahad Ally Msalam

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Born in Mombasa, Kenya, Fahid Mohammed Ally Msalam is alleged to be a member of the Al Qaeda network. He is said to have been directly involved in the 1998 attack on two U.S. embassies in East Africa,

working closely on the bombing in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. He is included on the FBI's "most wanted terrorists" list for his role in the bombings, which killed 224 people.

According to the FBI, Msalam is a young Al Qaeda member who has worked in the past as a clothing vendor. Al Qaeda, an Arabic word meaning "The Base," is an international network that uses force and violence in an attempt to drive the United States from Saudi Arabia and other Islamic countries. The network, headed by Saudi Osama bin Laden, serves as an umbrella group for other militant organizations and establishes cells in areas it plans to attack.

In 1998, the United States indicted Msalam and 26 others with alleged links to bin Laden for the East African embassy bombings. According to the indictment, as early as 1996, Msalam showed coconspirators TNT and detonators that he had obtained in Tanzania. Prosecutors say his fingerprints were also found on a magazine inside a gym bag that contained clothing with traces of TNT. Msalam is accused of buying the vehicle used as a bomb by the conspirators in Dar es Salaam and of purchasing the truck used in the Nairobi bombing with fellow Al Qaeda operative Sheikh Ahmed Salim Swedan.

The indictment charged that Msalam then helped to prepare the Dar es Salaam bomb truck, loading it with oxygen and acetylene tanks, TNT boxes, detonators, fertilizer, and sandbags before fleeing to Pakistan on August 6, 1998. On August 7, 1998, in synchronized attacks 400 miles apart, the truck bombs exploded at the embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, one bomb detonating just minutes before the other.

The U.S. government declared that bin Laden and Al Qaeda operatives were responsible for the bombings. Officials at the Karachi, Pakistan, airport detained the Al Qaeda operative traveling with Msalam on August 6; however, Msalam slipped through their net and remains a fugitive. The U.S. State Department offers a reward of up to \$25 million for information leading directly to his apprehension or conviction.

**See also** AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS

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## MUGHASSIL, AHMAD IBRAHIM AL-. See AL-MUGHASSIL, AHMAD IBRAHIM.

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## MUGHNIYAH, IMAD FAYEZ (1962– )

aka Mr. Haij

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Deemed "the ultimate faceless terrorist" in press accounts, Imad Fayez Mughniyah has eluded the FBI since the early 1980s. According to U.S. officials, he has been tied to the hijacking of a commercial jet, four mass bombings, and the abductions of six American, one British, and five French hostages. At times described as the senior intelligence officer of Hezbollah, at others Hezbollah's security chief or operations chief, he is on the FBI's list of the 22 "most wanted terrorists."

Born in Tir Dibba in the hills of southern Lebanon overlooking the Mediterranean Sea, Mughniyah was forced to leave his town for the slums of southern Beirut when Israel began attacking Palestinian guerrillas in Lebanon in the late 1970s. The death of his brother, who was shot by Lebanese Army troops in the Muslim suburbs of Beirut, was a turning point in Mughniyah's life.

He joined the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as a teenager, did extremely well in military training, and was placed in Force 17, Yasir Arafat's personal security detail. After Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982, driving out the PLO, Mughniyah joined a small Shiite Muslim-based militia, which would later fuse with similar groups to become the Iran-backed Shiite Muslim Hezbollah terror group. Many of the terrorist acts Mughniyah, who has operated almost exclusively in Lebanon, is charged with committing were aimed at ending Israel's presence in Lebanon,

Gaza, and the West Bank, and at putting an end to U.S. involvement in the Middle East. U.S. intelligence officials have said that Mughniyah planned the 1983 suicide bombings of the U.S. embassy in Beirut and similar attacks on the Marine Corps barracks and French paratroopers headquarters in Beirut later that year. More than 350 people died in the 1983 Beirut attacks. He is also said to have played a role in the kidnapping and eventual death in captivity of Beirut CIA station chief William Buckley in the 1980s.

The United States indicted Mughniyah for involvement in the 1985 hijacking of TWA Flight 847 in which a U.S. Navy diver was shot at close range and then dumped onto the tarmac of Beirut International Airport. When Flight 847 was finally grounded in Algiers, the passengers and crew were held hostage for more than two weeks until Israeli officials partly acceded to the hijackers' demands for the release of hundreds of prisoners, many of them Shiite Muslims.

Mughniyah was also implicated in a chain of hostage takings in Lebanon from 1984 to 1991. Mughniyah's brother-in-law, Mustafa Badreddin, was jailed in Kuwait awaiting execution after being tried in 1984 for the 1983 Beirut bombings. The hostages were taken in an attempt to barter for Badreddin's freedom. Badreddin later escaped from jail during Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

In 1999, the Argentine government issued an international warrant for Mughniyah's arrest in connection with the 1992 bombing of the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires, which killed 29 people. The embassy was bombed one month after Israeli forces killed Hezbollah leader Abbas Musawi, his family, and bodyguards. Argentine officials further implicated Mughniyah in the 1994 bombing of a community center that killed 85 in Buenos Aires.

Mughniyah has eluded capture for decades and is rumored to have had extensive plastic surgery to change his appearance.

According to a report published in the *Washington Post*, just five months after the hijacking of TWA Flight 847, Lebanese security officials traced Mughniyah to Paris. He was staying in a luxury hotel across the street from the U.S. embassy. The Lebanese told U.S. officials of Mughniyah's presence. However, instead of releasing him into U.S. custody, French agents met with him several times over six days to broker an agreement. They eventually released Mughniyah in return for the freedom of a French hostage. According to further press accounts, Mughniyah also narrowly evaded capture when U.S. officials

heard of his plans to stop over in Saudi Arabia during a flight from Khartoum, Sudan, to Tehran, Iran. Saudi authorities did not respond to U.S. pressure to take Mughniyah into custody and refused to allow the plane to land. Mughniyah flew safely to Tehran. The U.S. State Department offers a reward of up to \$25 million dollars for information leading to Mughniyah's arrest or conviction.

*See also* FORCE 17; HEZBOLLAH; TWA FLIGHT 847 HIJACKING; U.S. EMBASSY BOMBING, BEIRUT; U.S. MARINE BARRACKS BOMBING, BEIRUT

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**MUHAJIROUN, AL. See AL MUHAJIROUN.**

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## MUJAHEDIN-E-KHALQ ORGANIZATION

**aka National Liberation Army of Iran (NLA), the People's Mujahidin of Iran (PMOI), National Council of Resistance (NCR), Muslim Iranian Student's Society**

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In the 1960s, years before Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was overthrown in Iran, college-educated children of Iranian merchants formed the

Mujahedin-e-Khalq Organization (MEK). With an ideological blend of Marxism and Islam, the MEK originally sought to work against Western cultural and economic influences that the group's founders felt pervaded their country. After the revolution of 1979, the MEK developed into Iran's largest and most active armed dissident group, opposing the mullahs' control of the country.

Although the U.S. State Department has declared the MEK to be a terrorist organization, others consider it to be a grassroots movement opposing a tyrannical theocracy. The MEK has also been described as a group of stooges for Saddam Hussein's military government in Iraq, where its organization of several thousand fighters is based.

During the 1970s, the MEK worked to overthrow the Shah and his backers. The group engaged in terrorist attacks against Western interests in Iran, killing several U.S. military personnel and civilians; the MEK also supported the takeover of the U.S. embassy in Tehran in 1979. After the Shah fled in January 1979 and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini returned from French exile during the Islamic revolution, the MEK fought against the ayatollah's supporters in street battles in an enduring struggle for power over governmental control.

During the 1980s, Iranian security forces persecuted the MEK's leaders and forced them to flee to France. MEK members and other dissidents were killed or abducted, and many were tortured; the MEK accused the government of holding up to 140,000 political prisoners. By 1987, most MEK leaders resettled in Iraq, where the group has been based ever since. According to the State Department, the MEK is largely supported by Iraq, and fought for that country in the 1980–1988 war. The group also depends on front organizations to raise donations from expatriate Iranians.

In the 1990s, the MEK carried out and claimed responsibility for a number of attacks in Iran, including a bombing in a Tehran public building that killed two children. In April 1992, in a large-scale attack, the MEK targeted Iranian embassies in 13 different countries. When the U.S. State Department first designated the armed wing of the MEK, the National Liberation Army, a terrorist organization in 1997, more than 100 members of Congress signed a statement criticizing the administration of President Bill Clinton. They said that the administration was labeling a group of freedom fighters as terrorists. In 1998, a member of the MEK tried to gain access to a U.N. meeting attended

by world leaders, including Iranian president Mohamed Khatami and U.S. president Bill Clinton. He was foiled by a routine screening of his application.

During MEK's Operation Great Bahman in February 2000, the group claimed that it had launched more than 12 attacks against Iran. Later that year, the MEK regularly accepted responsibility for mortar attacks and hit-and-run raids along the Iraq-Iran border; these attacks targeted Iranian military, police, and government units. It also accepted responsibility for six mortar attacks on government and military buildings in Tehran.

*See also* SADDAM HUSSEIN; IRANIAN HOSTAGE CRISIS

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## MUJAHIDEEN

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The mujahideen were a loose alliance of Afghan traditionalists who in the late 1970s rebelled against the Soviet-backed government of Afghanistan. The term *mujahideen* ("holy warriors") is the plural of *mujahid*, which means fighter who defends his country, honor, or religion. The mujahideen overthrew the government in 1992 before being largely conquered themselves by the Taliban a few years later.

The mujahideen emerged in 1978, after the leftist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) seized power in a military coup. The PDPA allied itself with the Soviet Union and quickly began reshaping Afghan society along Marxist lines. The effort quickly provoked a backlash: tribal leaders saw their authority threatened, and many Muslims saw an effort to destroy Islam. By the end of 1978, rebellion broke out, and by the summer of 1979, the mujahideen controlled much of the countryside.

In late December 1979, Soviet forces entered Afghanistan to defend the PDPA government. Although the Soviets initially tried to broker a compromise, the invasion threw more popular support

behind the mujahideen. Roughly 6 million Afghans fled to the neighboring countries of Pakistan and Iran; once there, they established bases of operation from which to attack Soviet forces.

The invasion also prompted countries hostile to the Soviet Union—including the United States, Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, China, and Egypt—to support the mujahideen with arms and training. The United States alone spent more than \$2 billion on weapons and supplies for the mujahideen during the 1980s.

The mujahideen consisted of dozens of factions that had little in common besides wanting to rid Afghanistan of the Soviets and the PDPA government. Afghans of different ethnic groups and with different approaches to Islam found themselves in different factions, and each faction found different foreign backers.

Among the various factions were Islamic fundamentalist groups, who were soon joined by fundamentalists from other countries. The Saudi billionaire Osama bin Laden joined the mujahideen in the late 1970s or early 1980s. In the mid-1980s, he helped found an organization that recruited thousands of people from the world over to come to Afghanistan and fight; this organization would ultimately become Al Qaeda (“The Base”), a virulently anti-Western terrorist network. By the end of the decade, Afghanistan was home to terrorist training camps for Al Qaeda and other Islamic terrorist groups.

By the late 1980s, the war in Afghanistan had become extremely unpopular in the Soviet Union. In 1988, the Soviet Union, United States, Pakistan, and Afghanistan reached an agreement ending all foreign intervention in Afghanistan, and the Soviet Union withdrew its forces the next year.

But the mujahideen did not stop fighting. The 1988 agreement left the PDPA government in power, and both the United States and Soviet Union continued to send arms. In 1992, the mujahideen laid siege to the capital of Kabul, overthrowing the PDPA in April.

Following the overthrow of the PDPA, many of the foreign mujahideen returned to their home countries, establishing or joining Islamic terrorist groups. The Afghan mujahideen promptly began fighting among themselves, further decimating a country ravaged by decades of war. Two years after the fall of the PDPA, a new group, the Taliban, emerged, promising to rid the country of the mujahideen. The Taliban quickly swept the country, seizing Kabul from a mujahideen faction in 1996.

**See also** OSAMA BIN LADEN; TALIBAN; *UNITED STATES v. USAMA BIN LADEN ET AL.* INDICTMENT

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## MUNICH OLYMPICS MASSACRE

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Before the 1972 Munich Olympics, security for major international events was often lax, and terrorism was generally not a major concern among civilians. Much changed in 1972, when a group of Palestinian terrorists kidnapped nine Israeli athletes at the Olympic Games in Munich, Germany.

The hostage drama, which resulted in the death of 11 athletes, took place almost entirely under the glare of the media cameras. The world watched, horrified, as terrorism was brought into their homes for the first time. Neither security considerations, media coverage of terrorist incidents, nor the way the Western world views terrorism has ever been the same since.

### THE BEGINNING

At around 5:00 A.M. on September 5, 1972, five terrorists hopped over the six-foot-six-inch fence surrounding the Olympic Village in Munich. Although they were seen by several people, athletes routinely hopped the fence and no one thought it was odd. Once inside, they were met by three more terrorists who had obtained credentials to enter the village.

The terrorists first knocked on the door of 33-year-old Israeli wrestling coach Moshe Weinberg. Weinberg opened the door, saw the attackers and shouted, “Boys get out!” He and weightlifter Joseph Romano attempted to block the door while other Israeli athletes escaped. The terrorists fired through the door, mortally wounding Weinberg and killing Romano.

The noise of the shots alerted the Olympic Village to news of the attack. Although some Israeli athletes escaped by climbing out windows, the terrorists managed to capture nine more people before armed German police officers sealed off the area. Once the

siege began, the terrorists announced that they were members of a Palestinian terrorist organization called Black September. At 9:35 A.M. the terrorists issued their demands. They set a noon deadline for the release of 200 Arab prisoners being held in Israeli jails, and safe passage out of Germany. They threatened to begin killing the athletes if their demands were not met.

Negotiations dragged on for hours as the deadline was set back to 1 P.M., then 3 P.M., then 5 P.M., and finally cancelled. During the standoff, a great number of people became involved in the negotiations, including A. D. Tuney, the Egyptian mayor of the Olympic Village. West German chancellor Willy Brandt consulted by phone with Israeli prime minister Golda Meir. The Israeli government announced that it would stand by its policy of never dealing with terrorists and would not negotiate. At 9 P.M., Brandt phoned President Anwar Sadat of Egypt. Egyptian premier Aziz Sidky took the call, told Brandt, "We don't want to get involved in this," and hung up.

The Germans decided that the terrorists would kill their hostages if their demands were not met, so the decision was made to allow the terrorists to leave West Germany in exchange for the hostages' release. Avery Brundage, president of the International Olympic Committee, decided to allow the Games to continue during the siege. The public could watch the hostage drama unfolding on one TV channel, while athletes competed on another.

## THE AIR FIELD

Although several plans were proposed, terrorists and police eventually agreed to a plan whereby the terrorists would be flown by helicopter to the military air base at Furstenfeldbruck, 15 miles away. There they would be met by a 737. The Tunisian government agreed to let a plane carrying the hostages and terrorists fly to Tunisia. Once in Tunisia, the hostages would be let go. West German negotiators would accompany the terrorists to the airfield to ensure their safety.

Shortly after 10 P.M., the terrorists and hostages, followed by hundreds of media cameras, emerged from the building and walked to the helicopters. The Israeli hostages were bound, blindfolded, and tied close together.

The German counterterrorist team had not dealt with such well-trained terrorists before and were not prepared. The German snipers had no radios with

which to communicate with each other, and no night-vision goggles to help them see at night. This was to lead to disaster.

The German helicopter pilots had been told the police would try to rescue the Israelis once they had landed at the airbase, but after landing the terrorists told the pilots to stand in front of their aircraft, breaking an earlier promise that West Germans would not be involved as hostages.

Two terrorists then walked the 170 yards to the 737 for an inspection, bringing two hostages with them. As they were returning to the helicopters, German sharpshooters opened fire. In the ensuing firefight, the two terrorists and their hostages were killed. The remaining terrorists leaped from the helicopters, then turned and fired into one helicopter, and tossed a hand grenade into the second, killing all of the hostages.

The firefight continued, but with the hostages dead, the police did not hold back and it was all over in a few minutes. In all, 11 athletes, five terrorists, and one policeman were killed. Three of the terrorists were captured.

Despite much criticism, Brundage decided to go ahead with the Games. The remaining 11 members of the Israeli team, however, did not stay for the end of the Games.

## THE AFTERMATH

Although the 1972 Games ended, the story of the Munich massacre continued for another 30 years, and its impact continues today. On October 29, 1972, just over a month after the Games, a Lufthansa jet was hijacked by Palestinian terrorists demanding the release of the three captured Munich terrorists.

The Germans capitulated and the terrorists were released. Israeli prime minister Golda Meir gave instructions for Israeli agents to hunt down and kill all those responsible for the Munich massacre. She told the Israeli Knesset on September 12: "We have no choice but to strike at the terrorist organizations wherever we can reach them. That is our obligation to ourselves and to peace. We shall fulfill that obligation undauntedly." At least eight Palestinian terrorists connected with Munich were assassinated in the following months, including the three released by West Germany.

In 1999, Abu Daoud, a member of the Palestine National Council, admitted in his autobiography, *Palestine: From Jerusalem to Munich*, that he had

been responsible for planning the Munich operation. Daoud (whose real name is Mohammed Daoud Machmoud Auda) had earlier admitted that Black September was a cover for Al Fatah, Yasir Arafat's faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Daoud wrote in his autobiography that he had briefed Arafat before the attack, and Arafat had sent him off on the mission with the words, "Allah protect you." Daoud wrote that he had no regrets over the deaths, but did regret that instead of rousing sympathy for the PLO cause, they caused only revulsion.

Besides Daoud, at least one other PLO terrorist linked to the Munich attack was given a position in the Palestinian Authority (PA)—Amin al-Hindi, who headed Arafat's General Intelligence Service. Israel objected in 1995 when Arafat tried to appoint another Munich suspect, Mustafa Liftawi (Abu Firas), as PA police chief in Ramallah.

The families of the victims were initially paid \$1 million in compensation by the German government, but they later sued, saying that the German police had bungled the rescue attempt by stationing only five poorly equipped snipers at the airfield. The German government has always denied responsibility for the deaths, arguing that they had done everything they could, and the lawsuit brought by the families was

rejected by several German courts, most recently in 1999.

The Munich Olympics marked the end of naivete in planning security for large, international proceedings. Never again would police find themselves so unequipped or have such a lax attitude about security precautions for major events. Watching the events on TV also brought terrorism that much closer to home for many ordinary people, and created, for the first time, an awareness of the price paid for poor planning and inadequate protection.

*See also* AL FATAH; YASIR ARAFAT; PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

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## NARCOTERRORISM

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The term *narcoterrorism* was coined in 1983 by Peru's president Belaunde Terry to describe attacks on the anti-narcotic police in that country. Even as use of the word has spread, experts are arguing about its definition. Some claim that narcoterrorism designates too broad a range of activities to be definitive for a particular form of terrorism. This entry will consider narcoterrorism to mean forms of terrorism that are linked to the production of illegal drugs, either through (a) the use of drug profits to fund political violence or (b) the use of violence and terror to protect and preserve illegal drug production.

These two purposes may overlap: a group using illegal drug profits to fund an armed political campaign will need to preserve the lawlessness and atmosphere of fear necessary for large-scale illegal drug production. Any large drug trafficking group will also need to influence the political climate of the country where it operates so that the general population fears the traffickers. Terrorism is effective in accomplishing these goals.

### ORIGINS OF NARCOTERRORISM

During the tumultuous 1960s, the United States and many other Western countries saw attitudes toward recreational drugs change significantly, and use of illegal drugs increased steadily in the industrialized world. Drug sales are believed to generate \$30 billion dollars in revenue in the United States alone; this figure does not include profits from money laundering and

other services necessary for drug trafficking. Countries that are the source of most illegal drugs are often extremely poor, their governments weak, and the civil and social structures chaotic. In such conditions, drug traffickers have been able to attain tremendous power and influence.

Political activism and rebellions also increased during the 1960s, with some student and revolutionary movements giving rise to terrorist groups still operating today. During the Cold War (1947–1991), terrorist groups, particularly those that advocated communism, often received funds in secret from various state sponsors. During the 1980s, however, state sponsorship of terrorism began to decline, and, with the fall of communism in Russia and Eastern Europe during the early 1990s, this source of funds for terrorists dried up almost completely. In a world dominated by a sole superpower and becoming ever more interconnected via globalization, the international community found cooperation (e.g., passing economic sanctions) against terrorist-sponsoring states easier.

Terrorist groups turned to other sources of revenue—kidnappings, hostage taking, bank robbery, and drug trafficking. Drug trafficking is quite possibly the most profitable and reliable of these revenue sources, and terrorist groups throughout the world engage in it.

### THE NARCOGUERRILLA

Narcoterrorism was first recognized in Latin America; the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (known by its Spanish acronym, FARC) provides a typical example.



Coca, the main ingredient of cocaine, is indigenous to Colombia. As cocaine consumption increased worldwide during the 1970s, coca became a major cash crop for many Colombian peasants, one whose profit margin was vastly superior to every other. This decade also saw the rise of the FARC. The group's goal—to inspire a Marxist revolt among the Colombian peasantry—is political and originated independent of drug trafficking. As with any guerrilla army or rebel group, however, one of the FARC's goals was to drive government armed forces from its areas of operation. The FARC had had some success in the remote Colombian countryside.

When the FARC was firmly in control of remote areas and effectively replacing government authority, it began to traffic in drugs. Initially, this may have grown out of its assertion of control: the FARC exacts "taxes," or extortion payments, from every landowner or business in the areas it controls—coca-growing peasants were no different from coffee-growing peasants, and coca traffickers no different from coffee exporters. The revenues the FARC received from drug traffickers and growers were considerably higher than those realized from legal industries, however. The guerrillas quickly moved from taxing the traffickers to offering to protect coca markets, labs, and airstrips from government attack. For the narcoguerrilla, the illegal nature of both the drug trade and the rebellion were complementary; untrammelled by national or international law, guerrillas can openly offer traffickers their services, and traffickers are happy to pay richly for that protection.

Drug profits allowed the FARC to expand aggressively throughout the 1980s and 1990s; the FARC recruited more troops and equipped them better than their Army counterparts. At the same time, the FARC's reliance on drug money unmoored it from the causes and grievances that had inspired its formation. As the FARC no longer had to depend on popular support to survive, it quickly lost it. However, the incredible wealth the FARC realized from its participation in the drug trade (revenues are currently estimated to be between \$300 million and \$1 billion yearly) allowed it to continue to attract recruits and expand its territory. The group currently controls almost 40 percent of Columbia's land area.

The FARC is a premier example of the unique danger of narcoterrorism: the potential for drug profits to turn a rebellion into a self-perpetuating criminal enterprise. Several attempts at negotiation with the FARC

have failed. Few political concessions can induce a group to lay down its arms once it is no longer reliant on the support of some part of the populace.

The FARC's case, while prominent and extreme, is one of many. Colombia's National Liberation Army (ELN) and United Self-Defense Forces (AUC) have exhibited a growing dependence on drug profits, as have the Shining Path in Peru and dozens of smaller groups in Southeast Asia, including the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. The Taliban in Afghanistan also used drug profits as a major source of funds for several years; in the months before its downfall, the regime had banned poppy cultivation in an effort to improve its reputation and secure aid money. Following the Taliban's destruction, poppy growing has burgeoned. (The Northern Alliance forces, currently allied with the United States, had been even more dependent on drug revenues for funds.) Given the extremely close relations between the Taliban and Al Qaeda forces in Afghanistan, drug money is almost certainly a major source of revenue for Al Qaeda also.

## TERRORISM AS AN OUTGROWTH OF CRIMINAL VIOLENCE

The second type of narcoterrorism grows out of drug trafficking itself. Just as the vast profits generated by the drug trade tend to transform political rebellions into criminal enterprises, they tend to create criminal empires with evolving political agendas.

Any legal multi-billion-dollar industry, particularly one dominated by a few key firms, will attempt to influence political policies that affect the industry. However, legitimate businesses are often restrained by law from exercising certain types of political influence. The illegality of drug trafficking makes bribery necessary, and corruption of the government is inevitable. Drug traffickers may begin by buying the silence of local officials—village mayors, local police, even Army lieutenants—in areas of production. As a cartel becomes more influential, it is able to buy the influence of ever more powerful officials—senators and members of congress, the chief of the national police, Army generals. If an official cannot or will not be corrupted, drug traffickers usually resort to violence against the official or the official's family. Bribery and violence are typical of most organized crime syndicates; however, as they serve merely to enable drug traffickers to operate and not to influence politics, many experts do not classify them as terrorist acts.

If a cartel becomes large enough and powerful enough, its interests may come to be affected by a vast array of political issues not specifically related to drug production. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Medellín cartel of Colombia engaged in a series of spectacular political assassinations in an effort to change Colombia's extradition laws. Culminating with the August 1989 murder of Luis Carlos Galán, a popular presidential candidate, the violence of the cartel's campaign and the cartel's demonstration that even the country's highest officials were not safe prompted a series of concessions. Colombia's government amended its extradition laws and offered amnesty to drug dealers who would lay down their arms. The head of the Medellín cartel, Pablo Escobar, negotiated a 1991 surrender that included a specially built prison to house him, a say in the choice of his guards, and various other concessions that, many observers believe, allowed him to run the cartel from inside prison as effectively as he had outside it.

## COMBATING NARCOTERRORISM

One problem that confronts security forces when fighting narcoterrorism is its dual nature: narcoterrorism bridges fundamental divisions between the criminal and the political, the domestic and the foreign. Law enforcement agencies combating criminal violence within a country (U.S. examples would be local and state police and the FBI) do not usually share information or conduct investigations in conjunction with agencies that monitor outside threats to a country (military intelligence, the CIA, and the U.S. State Department). This lack of coordination and reluctance to share information leads to inefficiency, hampers the ability to gather and integrate intelligence, and interferes with making arrests.

The terrorist attacks on the United States of September 11, 2001, and the continuing war on terrorism may lead to the removal of bureaucratic obstacles in the fight against narcoterrorism. However, narcoterrorism is the product of a marriage of convenience between two larger social problems—the tremendous appetite of Western societies for illegal drugs and political grievances of various groups—whose solutions are very different.

**See also** AL QAEDA; LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM; REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF COLOMBIA; SHINING PATH; TALIBAN; UNITED SELF-DEFENSE FORCES OF COLOMBIA

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## NASRALLAH, SHEIKH HASSAN (1960– )

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General secretary of the Lebanese Shiite Muslim movement Hezbollah since 1992, Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah presided over Israel's 2000 withdrawal from southern Lebanon. Nasrallah is said to be Hezbollah's most diplomatic leader, and is known for guiding the organization into a more political, rather than violent, role in Lebanon.

The son of a poor vegetable vendor and a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, Nasrallah fled his home in eastern Beirut in 1975 at the start of the Lebanese civil war. He later traveled to Iraq to study theology in the holy Shiite city of Najaf. Like many Shiite leaders, Nasrallah left Iraq by decree of President Saddam Hussein. When just 21, Nasrallah helped to found the militant Lebanese Shiite movement Hezbollah, or Party of God. During the 1980s, when Hezbollah made headlines by taking a number of Western hostages, Nasrallah served as a commander in Lebanon's Bekaa region.

When the Lebanese civil war ended in the early 1990s, most of the country's militias disarmed; Hezbollah, however, continued to fight Israeli troops occupying southern Lebanon. In 1992, Israeli forces assassinated Nasrallah's predecessor, Sheikh Abbas

Musawi, along with his wife and 5-year-old son. Hezbollah members then elected Nasrallah to head the party. Under Nasrallah's leadership, Hezbollah grew into a great political force, holding seats in the Lebanese Parliament and managing schools, hospitals, and various media outlets. In 1997, Nasrallah's 18-year-old son Muhammad Hadi was killed in a fight with Israeli soldiers inside southern Lebanon. After his son's death, Nasrallah told a Beirut crowd that he thanked God for choosing his son to be a martyr.

When the Israeli forces withdrew from southern Lebanon in May 2000, Nasrallah publicly announced that his Hezbollah fighters had won the only Arab victory in the 50-year conflict with Israel.

Hezbollah's increased involvement in Lebanon's political and social life has led to a disagreement among world governments about the group's status. The U.S. State Department included Hezbollah in its 2000 list of world terrorist organizations, and froze the group's assets after the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C. A 2001 list of terrorist organizations released by the European Union, in contrast, did not include Hezbollah.

*See also* HEZBOLLAH

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**NASSER, ABDELKARIM HUSSEIN MOHAMED AL-**. *See* **AL-NASSER, ABDELKARIM HUSSEIN MOHAMED**.

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## NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY–BOLIVIA

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The National Liberation Army–Bolivia (Ejército de Liberación Nacional; ELN) was a Communist terrorist group that is now believed to be defunct.

Bolivia, bordering on Brazil, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Paraguay, occupies a central place in Latin American history. The country has experienced more than 200 coups in its 157 years as a nation. Because of its strategic location and chronic political instability, in 1966 Che Guevara chose Bolivia to attempt to repeat the successes of the Cuban revolution.

Guevara's *foquista* revolutionary theory held and his experiences in Cuba taught him that a mobile band of hardened guerrillas operating in the countryside could become the *foco*, or focal point, of peasant opposition to the government. Guevara arrived in Bolivia in March 1966 with a group of about 20 Cubans and established a camp in the southern jungle, naming his new group the National Liberation Army. (A different National Liberation Army was founded in 1964 in Colombia, where it is still operative.) Guevara hoped that a successful communist revolution in Bolivia would ignite continent-wide wars of liberation.

Guevara's group was joined by about 20 Bolivian communists, but the Bolivian Communist Party favored open political efforts over armed struggle and refused to back his group. The largely Cuban forces seem to have frightened the local peasants rather than inspiring them to rebellion. Within weeks, Guevara's camp was discovered by the Bolivian armed forces, and the revolutionaries were forced to go on the run. Guevara's health and that of his men declined rapidly in the jungle. After months of hardship during which the force was split in two and suffered many casualties, Guevara and the remnants of the ELN were captured and executed by the Bolivian armed forces in October 1967.

A few of the group's members escaped the final military ambush, and for the next several years strived to reestablish the ELN; Nestor Paz Zamora, brother of future Bolivian president Jaime Paz Zamora, was killed fighting for the ELN during this period. By the early 1970s, however, the group had been effectively crushed by the Bolivian military.

In the late 1980s, a group calling itself the Nestor Paz Zamora Commission and claiming to be a wing of the ELN carried out several attacks in Bolivia. These attacks included the 1990 kidnapping and murder of Jorge Lonsdale, president of Coca-Cola's Bolivian division, and an October 1990 attack on a U.S. Marines' residence in Bolivia's capital, in which a Bolivian police officer was killed. This reincarnation of the ELN ceased operating sometime in the 1990s; the U.S. State Department has dropped the group from

the current edition of its list of international terrorist organizations.

*See also* ERNESTO (CHE) GUEVARA; NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY–COLOMBIA

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## NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY–COLOMBIA

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Founded in 1965, the National Liberation Army–Colombia is a Marxist terrorist group that has conducted a guerrilla war of almost 40 years against the Colombian government.

The leaders of the National Liberation Army—widely known by its Spanish acronym, ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional)—were student activists inspired by the success of the 1959 Cuban revolution. Most important among them was Fabio Vasquez, founder of MOEC, a students, workers, and peasants union. Many MOEC members would become ELN members. Most of the ELN’s first leaders received military training in Cuba in the early 1960s; returning to Colombia, they attempted to apply Fidel Castro’s and Che Guevara’s *foquista* tactics to Colombia.

The ELN first attacked on January 7, 1965, when 27 ELN guerrillas held the town of Simacota for two hours. The organization remained obscure until November 1965, when Camilo Torres, a former priest well known in Colombia for his political activism, joined the organization. Despite Torres’s death in action the following February, he attracted many other recruits. In 1973, the organization suffered a major setback: a carefully planned Army operation, code named Operation Anori, succeeded in killing several hundred ELN fighters, nearly wiping out the group. After a 1978 defection resulted in the arrest of the majority of the organization’s leaders, many thought the ELN was finished.

The dedication of the organization’s grassroots workers had been underestimated, however. At first the

ELN had ignored political work in favor of military action; after the losses of the 1970s, however, low-level organizers working independently in several areas chose to continue their efforts to gain political support among the peasants and urban poor. As the Colombian regime of the time was particularly repressive and economic conditions were bad, they soon found support. By 1983, the ELN had regrouped and had enough recruits to once again begin guerrilla operations. The new leadership was organized as a national council of nine members led by another ex-priest, Manuel Perez.

Between 1984 and 1986, the ELN enjoyed a brief truce with the Colombian government, but bad faith on both sides stalled negotiations. After breaking the truce, the ELN began a new strategy—focusing its attacks on the Colombian oil industry, one of the country’s top revenue generators. Over the next several years, the group attacked the country’s oil pipelines thousands of times; the damage cost hundreds of millions of dollars and forced the government to deploy a significant percentage of its armed forces to protect the pipes. The ELN also engaged in kidnapping for ransom; early targets were oil executives, but as kidnapping has been adopted by other guerrilla groups and ordinary criminals, almost anyone is now at risk. Colombia has the world’s highest kidnapping rate.

The ELN is believed to receive millions of dollars in extortion payments from oil companies to protect their pipelines and ransom their executives. Unlike the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), Colombia’s larger guerrilla organization, the ELN’s leadership has generally not engaged in drug trafficking. This abstention coupled with the extremely strict discipline imposed by the ELN may be what has prevented it from expanding as much as FARC; nevertheless, the ELN has grown significantly—from a few hundred members in the early 1980s to more than 6,000 today.

Recently, the ELN has withstood a number of challenges to its power. In 1998, to facilitate peace negotiations, Colombia’s president Andreas Pastrana withdrew government forces from a FARC-controlled area comprising about 40 percent of the country. Pastrana hoped that successful negotiations with FARC would force the ELN to fall into line. Instead, the ELN demanded a similar autonomous area, engaging in a series of spectacular kidnappings in 1999 to demonstrate its power. In the fall of 2000, the government moved to grant such an area, but before

the government forces could withdraw, the ELN found itself faced with a new threat—the United Self-Defense Forces of Columbia (AUC), a right-wing paramilitary organization that opposed any negotiations with the guerrillas and that believed it could defeat the ELN militarily. By April 2001, a string of AUC victories left the ELN scrambling to regain control of its territory. As of this writing, peace negotiations between FARC and the government have broken down, and the government has resumed military operations against the guerrillas. In March 2002, the administration of U.S. president George W. Bush asked Congress to increase the military aid package to Colombia to help that country combat the guerrillas.

**See also** ERNESTO (CHE) GUEVARA; REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF COLOMBIA; UNITED SELF-DEFENSE FORCES OF COLOMBIA

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## NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF CORSICA

**aka** Front de Libération Nationale de la Corse,  
Frontu di Liberazione Naziunalista Corsu

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The National Liberation Front of Corsica (FLNC) is the largest and most violent of the Corsican nationalist movements. Formed in 1976 from two smaller groups seeking self-government for Corsica through force, the FLNC has engaged in more than 20 years of violence. The FLNC has been responsible for thousands of bomb attacks on property of non-Corsican settlers, police stations, government offices (in both Corsica and France), and other symbolic targets of the “colonial state” in Corsica. Successive French governments

have denied Corsica any distinctive regional autonomy, never recognized inhabitants of Corsica as a distinct nationality, and have never given official status to the Corsican language. As a result, the FLNC claims to be fighting French “internal colonialism.”

Corsica has always expressed discontent with French rule, even before its annexation in 1769. Although the Paris-based government provides funds for public services and infrastructure, a wide economic gap between the island and the mainland still remains. This, coupled with the settling of non-Corsicans on the island, has continued to fuel Corsican nationalism.

During the 1980s, the FLNC split into two groups: the Canal Historique (“Historical Faction”) and the Canal Habituel (“Usual Faction”). A series of new, smaller divisions formed and a number of other terrorist organizations followed, most of which lasted only a few years. The FLNC-canal historique and the FLNC-canal habituel thus remained the most important terrorist organizations; the latter, however, ended activities in 1997.

In the 1990s, the FLNC became more violent. Dozens of people were killed, including mayors, police officers, and other state workers. The violence culminated in the 1998 assassination of Prefect Claude Erignac, the highest representative of the French Republic on the island. The assassination was highly publicized and criticized so strongly that the FLNC publicly denied—and abjured—the attack.

In 1999, the FLNC-canal historique merged with some of the other underground organizations, taking the name “FLNC” again. With an estimated 600 members (organized horizontally into independent cells), the FLNC remains most active in Corsica, only occasionally bombing a building in mainland France. Although carrying out 200 to 800 bombings a year, FLNC has caused few deaths. The FLNC funds itself through armed robberies of banks and extortion of what it refers to as “revolutionary taxes.”

Most Corsicans wish to protect Corsican identity and stimulate peaceful economic growth; only a small minority supports the radical autonomists but the “see nothing, say nothing” attitude is generally accepted.

Despite the frequent bombings, the FLNC is considered relatively unthreatening; thus the French government has little incentive to come to the bargaining table. The French government has, however, recently granted more autonomy to Corsica; in addition, it has provided new aid for infrastructure development and for the teaching of the Corsican language in primary

schools. Both the French and the Corsicans now hope that these concessions might support the ending of the more than 20 years of violence.

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## NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY

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The National Security Council Intelligence Directive (NSCID) No. 9, signed by U.S. president Harry S. Truman on October 24, 1952, established the National Security Agency (NSA). A separate and extremely secretive agency within the Department of Defense, headquartered at Fort George G. Meade, Maryland, the NSA is a cryptologic organization, the world’s best at making and breaking codes and ciphers, as well as one of the leading centers of foreign-language analysis within the U.S. government. Neither the number of employees nor the agency’s budget can be publicly disclosed, but some analysts estimate that its yearly budget is as high as \$10 billion. The NSA does not disclose sources or methods of intelligence and never comments on media speculations about actual or possible intelligence issues.

The agency’s civilian and military employees include physicists, engineers, mathematicians, analysts, computer scientists, and linguists. They are charged with two sensitive activities within the U.S. intelligence community: foreign signals intelligence, that is, interception and analysis of foreign adversaries’ communication signals (SIGINT), and information systems security, that is, computer security of classified materials (INFOSEC). The NSA uses bomber planes, sea vessels, submarines, and satellites to gather information, operating a global network of ground stations to intercept diplomatic, military, scientific, and commercial satellite communications. It also monitors nuclear-related tests and movements.

SIGINT is used for gathering foreign intelligence as well as for counterintelligence, including the detection of espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and related hostile activities of foreign powers. The NSA supplies

SIGINT, which are raw data, to U.S. military commands and government officials for use in making decisions. The use of SIGINT and the breaking of the Japanese naval code are believed to have directly contributed to shortening World War II by at least one year. One of the most successful NSA operations was the VENONA Project—collection and decryption of Soviet KGB and GRU messages from the 1940s—that provided extraordinary insight into Soviet attempts to infiltrate the highest levels of the U.S. government. During the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, SIGINT provided the only in-depth information about the Cuban military buildup to senior policy makers and military officials. The NSA has had Osama bin Laden’s electronic communications under constant surveillance since 1995.

Revelations in the 1970s about NSA interception of the communications of political activists (operations SHAMROCK and MINARET) led to new rules for U.S. intelligence agencies. Foreign surveillance operations are regulated by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) of 1978 (Pub. L. No. 95-511) and by the Executive Order 12333 (1981) with full consideration for the privacy rights of U.S. citizens.

After the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., the intelligence community was criticized for security failures. The NSA admitted that its electronic intelligence and cryptologic tools picked up massive amounts of information; however, little human intelligence (HUMINT) had been deployed to provide insight into the social and cultural tools of the terrorists.

In the post-Cold War era, the United States has become highly dependent on networked information systems to conduct essential activities, including military operations and government business; thus INFOSEC has come to the fore. NSA is concentrating resources in areas such as network security, vulnerability analysis, data and fiber-optic communications, biometrics, and the like in an effort to protect the national communications, transportation and transportation infrastructures, and financial transactions from disruption by a physical or electronic attack.

The NSA supports strict export rules for encryption technologies to preserve the cryptologic capability of the agency and minimize potential threats to national security.

*See also* CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY; COUNTERTERRORISM; FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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After World War II, the United States emerged as the leading Western power with an expanded foreign policy agenda. The National Security Act of 1947 (Pub. L. 235- 61 Stat. 496; U.S.C. 402) established the National Security Council (NSC) as an advisory body to the president to oversee all branches of the government involved in domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to national security. The critical task of the NSC is to coordinate the policy process so that all agencies get a full and fair hearing, enabling the president to make clear foreign policy decisions in a timely manner.

Every president has used the NSC to install a system of national security policy making and coordination that reflects his personal management style as well as political pressures, congressional demands, or bureaucratic rivalry between departments. Statutory members of the NSC include the president, the vice president, the secretary of state, and the secretary of defense. The heads of other executive departments and agencies, as well as other senior officials, are invited to attend meetings of the NSC when appropriate. The NSC professional staff includes other members of military and research institutions and has vacillated between three dozen and 200 members.

The NSC does not include the national security adviser. The position of the assistant to the president for national security affairs (also known as the national security adviser) was created under President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1953 and has changed from being a clearance coordinator across departments to being the president's personal confidant and spokesperson. By definition, the NSC lies beyond the reach of congressional oversight. It was only after the Iran-Contra affair became public that a national security adviser was compelled to testify before the Congress. Most national security advisers have been either academics or military officers. Two the most prominent advisers—Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski—were foreign born. President George W. Bush's current adviser, Condoleezza Rice, is the first woman to be appointed to this post.

Until the mid-1980s, U.S. antiterrorism policy was focused on the prevention of domestic terrorist acts, and the Department of State played the "lead agency" role in responding to such incidents. With the spread of terrorist attacks on American diplomats, tourists, and airliners, and especially after the massacre of Jewish athletes at the Munich Olympic Games in 1972, the White House started to build an institutional foundation for its antiterrorism policy. Subsequently, the Working Group on Terrorism (WGT), a subcommittee of the NSC, was created to provide the United States with a more efficient governmental structure for coordinating and implementing anti- and counterterrorism policies among more than 30 federal agencies, departments, and offices.

The WGT agency members were guided by three major goals: containment of terrorism while minimizing open conflict with foreign states, avoiding the loss of American lives, and defeat of terrorism. The use of military force as the means of active defense against terrorism was promulgated in National Security Decision Directive (NSDD) 138, signed by President Ronald Reagan in 1984. NSDD 138 also redirected the focus of American foreign policy into a more systematic and stronger effort to combat international terrorism.

Since the 1980s, the strategic aim of all U.S. counterterrorism programs has been to disrupt covert terrorist groups and interdict plots and strategies. Other aims include increasing diplomatic efforts to foster international cooperation, putting economic pressure on regimes aiding terrorism, increasing legislative efforts to tighten punishment for involvement in a

terrorist act, and military retaliation against those responsible for attacks on Americans.

In the last quarter of the 20th century, the NSC antiterrorism committees became the ultimate decision makers of U.S. national security policy, superseding the Department of State. At various times, these committees have had the following names: the WGT, the Interdepartmental Group on Terrorism (IGT), the Executive Committee on Terrorism (ECT), the Special Coordination Committee (SCC), the Special Situation Group (SSG), and so forth.

In the wake of the bombings of the World Trade Center (1993) and in Oklahoma City (1995), it became apparent that the war against terrorism had spread to American soil. In May 1998, former president Bill Clinton issued Presidential Decision Directive (PDD) 62 on combating terrorism and responding to attacks involving the use of unconventional means (weapons of mass destruction or advanced computer technology). PDD-62 established the Office of the National Coordinator for Security, Infrastructure Protection and Counter-Terrorism within the NSC to oversee a broad variety of relevant policies and programs covering such topics as counterterrorism, protection of critical infrastructure, and preparedness and consequence management for weapons of mass destruction.

President George W. Bush reconstituted this office and formed various Policy Coordination Committees (NSC/PCCs) on Counter-Terrorism and National Preparedness; Proliferation, Counterproliferation, and Homeland Defense; Intelligence and Counterintelligence; and Records Access and Information Security. The national security adviser works in close cooperation with the newly established Office of Homeland Security.

**See also** ASYMMETRICAL WARFARE; CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY; COUNTERTERRORISM; FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION; FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY; HOMELAND SECURITY, OFFICE OF; TERRORISM, DEFINITION AND HISTORY OF

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## NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY

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The New People's Army (NPA) is the Maoist-inspired, armed wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines. It has been fighting a guerrilla war against the Philippine government since 1968.

Communism has been well established in the Philippines for more than 50 years; in the early 1950s the country experienced the communist-inspired Huk Rebellion. By the mid-1960s, however, Philippine communism was in decline. Following the election of Ferdinand Marcos to the presidency in 1965, a group of young communists, many of them former student radicals, broke away from the old Philippine Communist Party forming the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) in 1968. The CPP at once began to recruit and organize clandestinely; it founded the NPA the same year. Members of NPA believe in a Maoist "people's war" strategy, in which the revolution is led by rural peasantry, with "liberated zones" controlled by the guerrillas established in the countryside until major cities are encircled by besieging guerrilla forces. The guerrilla siege cuts off supplies and prompts collapse and surrender.

The CPP laid extensive groundwork for the movement, giving the NPA a strong and resilient base of support that served it well in later years. For instance, rather than recruit directly into the NPA (or the party itself) citizen militias would first be set up in sympathetic villages. The cream of the militia corps would then be selected for recruitment into the NPA, and only after a number of neighboring villages had established such militias would they be selected to field a NPA Fighting Front, which might include several dozen guerrillas, although sizes varied widely. A



local Fighting Front was, in turn, under the control of its district command, of which there were several on each island.

In 1972, partly in response to the NPA threat and partly in response to the threat of the Moro National Liberation Front, President Marcos declared martial law across the country and began to greatly increase the size of the armed forces: the Army more than doubled in numbers. The crackdown, combined with an economy that worsened throughout the decade (compounded by the massive corruption of the Marcos regime), worked to increase support for the guerrillas. By the mid-1980s, the NPA had an estimated 26,000 members active throughout the country, in particular on the island of Luzon—the country’s largest and home to the capital, Manila.

The NPA, however, was unsuccessful in establishing true “liberated zones” in its areas of operation, and the Army was still able to move freely about the country. Frustrated with its inability to achieve strategic parity with the Army, NPA began to use other strategies, one of which was the establishment of an urban terror division called the Alex Boncayao Brigade in the early 1980s. Its leadership also began to break into factions. The NPA’s internal problems in part prevented it from being a major player in the 1986 Philippines rebellion that replaced Marcos with Corazon Aquino.

Aquino began peace talks with the guerrillas, in the hope that the prospect of an amnesty would undermine their support; in December 1986 a two-month cease-fire was declared. Hardliners within the NPA used the cease-fire as an opportunity to eliminate their political rivals and consolidate their support; war resumed more fiercely than ever the following year. The injustice and corruption of the Marcos regime had been a major factor in attracting recruits to the NPA; when the guerrillas saw their party resisting the democratic Aquino with the same fervor, many of them abandoned it. Between 1986 and 1995, NPA membership dropped from about 26,000 to about 6,000, and the Philippine Army began to gain ground.

The Army has been unable to eliminate the NPA, however; NPA forces may even have slightly increased since 1995. While it seems clear that the NPA no longer poses a significant threat to Philippine democracy, Aquino and her successors (Fidel Ramos [1992–1998]; Joseph Estrada [1998–2001]; Gloria Macapagal Arroyo [2001– ]) have yet to eliminate that threat entirely.

*See also* MORO NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

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## NICHOLS, TERRY LYNN (1955– )

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In 1998, a federal jury found Terry Lynn Nichols guilty in the April 19, 1995, bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

On the date of the attack, Nichols was hundreds of miles away at his home in Herington, Kansas. On April 21, 1995, Nichols voluntarily went in for questioning at the Herington Police headquarters, claiming he had heard on the news that he was a material witness. (James Nichols, Terry’s brother, was also held as a material witness; all charges against James Nichols were later dropped.) Two hours into the questioning, a warrant was issued for Terry Nichols’s arrest, although he was questioned for seven more hours before being arrested in connection with the bombing.

On May 10, 1995, Nichols was formally charged with the bombing and, three months later, both Nichols and Timothy McVeigh were indicted by a federal grand jury. The indictments were identical, charging each man with conspiracy to use a weapon of mass destruction, the use of a weapon of mass destruction, destruction by explosive, and eight counts of first-degree murder for the deaths of federal employees in the Murrah building.

Nichols went on trial three months after McVeigh had been convicted and condemned to death. The prosecution used much of the same evidence and called many of the same witnesses, but lacked some of the key elements, such as strong antigovernment motive and significant physical evidence that had contributed to McVeigh’s conviction. The government alleged that Nichols, using the alias “Mike Havens,” purchased forty 50-pound bags of ammonium nitrate fertilizer—the main ingredient in the Oklahoma City bomb—from a farm co-op in McPherson, Kansas, on September 30, 1994.

From that date forward, the prosecution linked Nichols to several key stages in the plot, including renting storage lockers and stealing 299 sticks of Tovex explosives, 544 blasting caps, and detonating

cord from a quarry in Marion, Kansas, on October 1, 1994. Fingerprint evidence found on a receipt in Nichols's wallet confirmed that Nichols and McVeigh were together on April 13, 1995. Other circumstantial evidence connected Nichols to the robbery of a gun collector in Arkansas, which the prosecution claimed was to fund the bombing conspiracy; the prosecution also suggested that Nichols drove McVeigh from Junction City, Kansas, to Oklahoma City on April 16, 1995, to drop off the getaway car. Nichols's wife, Marife Nichols, could not testify to his whereabouts on April 18; his former wife, Lana Padilla, testified that Nichols had left a package with her, to be opened in the event of his death while away in the Philippines. In this package, she found a letter written to McVeigh in which Nichols urged McVeigh, "Go for it!"

On December 24, 1997, the federal jury found Nichols guilty on one count of conspiracy and eight counts involuntary manslaughter. Unlike McVeigh, he was spared the sentence of death by a deadlocked jury. On June 4, 1998, U.S. District judge Richard P. Matsch sentenced Nichols to life in prison without possibility of parole, as well as to 48 years for the deaths of eight federal employees.

Over the next several years, Nichols lost a series of appeals, including efforts to block an impending trial for state charges, which include 160 counts of first-degree murder for which Nichols could still receive the death penalty.

*See also* TIMOTHY McVEIGH; OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING

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

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## NOSAIR, EL SAYYID (1956– )

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El Sayyid Nosair is serving a life sentence in prison for participating in a conspiracy that involved, in part,

the February 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City; six people were killed and 1,000 more injured. Nosair has also been found guilty of the 1990 murder of militant Zionist Rabbi Meir Kahane.

Like his spiritual leader Omar Abdel Rahman, Nosair was not actually charged with the 1993 blast; he was instead convicted on racketeering charges—tried for carrying out a "holy war" against the United States. Prosecutors claimed that the 1993 bombing and the earlier assassination of Kahane were two acts in the larger conspiracy.

Born in Egypt, Nosair immigrated to the United States and found a job as a maintenance worker in Jersey City, New Jersey. He attended the Jersey City mosque of Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, spiritual leader of the Egyptian Islamic militant group Gama'a al-Islamiyya.

According to prosecutors, on November 5, 1990, Nosair attended a speech given by Kahane in the Marriott Hotel ballroom. As Kahane finished his speech, Nosair shot him and dashed from the hotel, firing all the while. He ran into the street and shot an older man and a postal police officer. The officer fired back, hitting Nosair in the neck. Soon arrested, Nosair denied involvement in the killing. According to press reports, after Nosair's arrest federal agents raided his apartment and found many incriminating items, including a Rahman sermon that urged his followers to attack "the edifices of capitalism."

At his first trial, Nosair was acquitted of state murder charges but convicted of related gun-possession and assault charges; he was sentenced to seven years in Attica Prison for the related gun offense. While in Attica, according to prosecutors, Nosair encouraged visitors to continue with the holy war against the United States, and even called on his supporters to assassinate the judge who sent him to prison.

After the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, investigators found that many of the major suspects in the case had closely watched Nosair's trial and contributed money for his defense. Prosecutors carefully constructed a huge terrorism and conspiracy case involving Rahman, Nosair, and other supporters. The indictment tied together a three-year string of terrorist incidents, including an alleged plot to blow up the George Washington Bridge, the Lincoln and Holland Tunnels, the United Nations building, and other Manhattan landmarks.

In the larger conspiracy trial, prosecutors brought up Nosair's involvement in Kahane's murder, maintaining

that it was part of Rahman's conspiracy to undermine the U.S. government. In this second trial, Nosair was convicted of Kahane's murder. Nosair's cousin, Ibrahim el-Gabrowni, was also convicted of taking part in the conspiracy.

The issue of double jeopardy was not pertinent to Nosair's second trial because he was charged with the new crime of federal racketeering—prosecutors proved that he took part in a broader conspiracy against the United States.

*See also* MEIR KAHANE; OMAR ABDEL RAHMAN; WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING (1993)

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**NOVEMBER 17. See REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION 17 NOVEMBER.**

**NPA. See NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY.**

**NSA. See NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY.**

**NSC. See NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL.**

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## NUCLEAR TERRORISM

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Employed by terrorists, a nuclear explosion and its incendiary and blast effects would cause physical

destruction on a vast scale. The detonation of even a small nuclear weapon in a densely populated area would probably kill tens of thousands of people and seriously wound even more. The radiation released immediately in a nuclear explosion and the radioactive fallout of ash and debris that would probably follow would also cause serious damage to exposed individuals. What is the likelihood that terrorists could obtain and use nuclear weapons? What are some of the ways that terrorists might choose to attack nuclear targets in a highly developed country that made extensive use of nuclear power plants? These are some of the more important questions that any analysis of terrorism needs to address.

### NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Nuclear weapons are devices that release energy stored in the atomic nucleus, the central, positively charged core of all atoms. The first nuclear weapons used uranium, a dense metal mined from the earth in many parts of the world, and plutonium, a human-made metal produced by irradiating uranium in nuclear reactors. The nuclei of these atoms can be made to fission, or divide, liberating vast quantities of energy in the process. Each fission also releases a few neutrons. If there is a sufficiently large mass of uranium or plutonium present, called a "critical mass," those extra neutrons stimulate more nuclei to fission in an explosive chain reaction in which energy released by from vast numbers of fissioning nuclei is transformed into heat, radiation, and shock waves. We observe this vast release of energy as a nuclear explosion.

Fortunately, it is not easy to make a nuclear weapon despite the fact that numerous books, articles, and Web sites purport to give information about how it can be done. The most difficult part of making a nuclear weapon involves obtaining the necessary fissionable material, an isotope (or variety) of uranium known as U-235 because the total number of protons and neutrons in its nucleus is 235. It is very difficult to separate the lighter variety, U-235 needed to make bombs, from the heavier variety, U-238. Bomb builders who have obtained U-235 then can make a bomb from it directly or can use it to build a nuclear reactor that uses neutrons to irradiate U-238 and make plutonium-239 (Pu-239), another bomb material that fissions readily. The bomb dropped on Hiroshima in August 1945 used U-235, and the one employed at Nagasaki several days later used Pu-239.

The project to build the first U.S. nuclear weapons in World War II was a massive undertaking requiring the full resources of a powerful nation. Could terrorists do it? What is the probability that they have both the skills and technology needed to take the next step? Could they make a fission bomb or perhaps even a thermonuclear weapon? We can consider several possible scenarios.

### A TERRORIST THREAT ASSESSMENT

We can say with complete confidence that it would be nearly impossible for a terrorist organization that did not have the support of a government to produce the fissionable uranium or plutonium for a fission bomb from raw materials. Nor is it possible that such a group of non-state actors could take irradiated nuclear fuel from a reactor and extract plutonium from it. The technologies involved are too complex, dangerous, and expensive for a small group to master.

Suppose, however, that terrorists could somehow obtain the fissionable uranium or plutonium in either metallic or powder form through theft, purchase, or bribery. In that case, a group that had access to scientific and engineering expertise including nuclear physicists, electrical engineers, skilled machinists, and explosives experts could probably make a nuclear device with an explosive yield approaching that of the weapons used against Japan. Such a device would probably not be small enough to be dropped from any aircraft that terrorists could commandeer or be launched as a missile warhead, but it would be deliverable by truck, railcar, or container transported by ship.

The threat posed by the existence of many tons of uranium and plutonium in the stockpiles of nuclear weapon states is one of the most dangerous ones faced by governments attempting to block terrorist acquisition of nuclear weapons. Such stockpiles are heavily guarded, but in tests carried out in the United States, highly trained paramilitary strike forces succeeded in about 50 percent of the trials in penetrating security barriers at national laboratories and production facilities to seize dangerous quantities of nuclear materials.

The problem of fissionable material stockpile security is particularly acute in Russia, where low salaries, poor morale among scientific workers, and deteriorating physical security systems at weapons laboratories such as Sarov and Zelenogorsk have

produced a situation where material may be at risk. There have been enough reports of thefts of small quantities of fissionable materials from Russia to indicate that the problem is a real one. The United States and other nations have responded to this threat by providing assistance to Russia to improve facility security and provide more employment support for weapons scientists. It has also arranged to purchase fissionable material from Russia and Kazakhstan that might otherwise have been diverted from legitimate custody. Those aid programs continue today. Plans to dispose of surplus plutonium have proceeded slowly because of policy arguments within and between the Russian and U.S. governments, but the administration of U.S. president George W. Bush appears to have settled on a plan to use plutonium from surplus nuclear weapons to make reactor fuel that the Russians will probably find satisfactory.

### TERRORIST THEFT OF INTACT NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Of course, if terrorists obtained a functioning nuclear weapon through force, theft, or bribery, that would pose an immediate threat of the greatest magnitude. Nuclear weapons themselves are kept under very high security conditions in all countries possessing them. They are also equipped with various safety and security features to keep them from being used by unauthorized persons. Information regarding their locations, and the security procedures associated with them, is highly classified.

There is relatively little public information available from countries other than the United States about any tests that have been conducted to penetrate security screens and seize an intact weapon. National authorities in declared nuclear weapon states assert that their weapons are under tight control. During the 2001 war in Afghanistan, however, press reports circulated suggesting that U.S. officials were poised to intervene in Pakistan in the event that fundamentalist groups aligned with terrorists succeeded in overthrowing the Pakistani military government and threatened to seize Pakistan's small nuclear weapon stockpile. The unofficial Pakistani response was that its government was in no danger and that its nuclear weapons were under tight control.

The United States and Russia once possessed stockpiles of small nuclear weapons, sometimes called "suitcase bombs," that could be carried by one or

two people. Such weapons would obviously be very attractive to terrorists and were presumably tightly guarded. Several years ago, a Russian general testified to the U.S. House of Representatives that about 40 of these weapons could not be accounted for in the Russian inventory. His claim was denied by Russian authorities, but the lack of international access to information about the Russian nuclear stockpile leaves analysts uneasy about the prospects that such weapons might have been procured by terrorists. One can only conclude that as long as nuclear weapons exist in national stockpiles, there is a small probability that terrorists could somehow obtain one as a result of a security system failure.

### ATTACKS ON NUCLEAR REACTORS

While terrorists might find it difficult to make a nuclear weapon even if they could obtain the necessary uranium or plutonium, and would face even more difficulty if they tried to obtain a complete weapon, there are other forms of attack that are well within their means. The large number of nuclear power reactors in the United States, Europe, and Asia presents terrorists with an array of attractive targets. An attack on one of these reactors that succeeded in releasing large quantities of radioactive materials would threaten the downwind populations as well as those in the immediate vicinity. The Chernobyl accident in Ukraine is a case in point. An accident there released vast quantities of radioactive nuclear materials and forced the permanent evacuation and abandonment of a large swath of land in the vicinity. Radioactive fallout from the accident was detected throughout Europe in regions where wind carried the particulate matter released in the plant explosion.

Terrorists might try to attack reactors in several ways. An armed group might try to force its way into the plant to take over the system and damage it intentionally to cause a release of materials. Since the instrumentation systems that control such plants are complex, such an effort would require considerable knowledge of nuclear engineering and plant design to succeed. The terrorists would also have to overcome intrinsic safeguards built into the system to prevent accidents. Most nuclear plants have taken steps to upgrade physical security systems to minimize the probability that attackers could penetrate them. Some legislators want federal security guards at all reactor sites and nuclear weapon laboratories

where guards are now usually provided by private security services.

In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, authorities recognize the need to pay more attention to the possibility of terrorist suicide attacks on nuclear plants using aircraft. Most nuclear reactors are shielded by containment vessels (the dome often seen at a nuclear plant). These reinforced concrete domes are several feet thick and designed to contain an internal explosion so that radioactive debris does not escape into the atmosphere. Domes have been tested against the impact of light aircraft but no tests have ever been conducted with heavy aircraft like the ones used to attack the World Trade Center in New York. Many experts doubt that the typical containment vessel would be able to withstand such an impact. There are still questions about what would happen if an aircraft did penetrate the dome. It is not known whether a penetration would result in the release of nuclear material from the reactor core, or the magnitude of the release. Such questions require extensive computer modeling using probabilistic risk assessment techniques to model the attack and make estimates of resulting damage.

Other attack scenarios at nuclear plants involve strikes against storage sites for spent nuclear fuel. Spent fuel is highly radioactive and its release would pose a serious threat to surrounding populations. Spent-fuel sites are usually not as heavily protected as reactor cores and are perceived to be more vulnerable. Experts are trying to address this problem, which may eventually be solved by creating a national storage site in a secure locations that would accept spent fuel from reactor facilities.

Nations are responding to terrorist threats against reactors by trying to model various attack scenarios and devise appropriate responses. France was reported to have placed surface-to-air antiaircraft missile batteries near some of its most sensitive nuclear facilities to guard against the possibility of suicide air attack. The United States has established "no-fly zones" over reactors, but it is not clear how effective such zones would be in the absence of round-the-clock combat air patrol or the installation of antiaircraft missile batteries.

### ATTACKS WITH IMPROVISED RADIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

A radiological weapon is an improvised device designed to spread radioactive nuclear material over a

wide area. A typical device might use an explosive charge attached to a container of radioactive material that had been obtained either legally or illegally. Such devices, referred to as “dirty bombs,” would not require a great deal of technical sophistication, and it is apparent that terrorists are able to use commercial or military explosives. They might also make improvised explosives from readily obtainable materials of the type used in the Oklahoma City attack.

The magnitude of the damage inflicted by such an attack would depend on the quantity and radioactive half-lives of the materials released, and local wind and weather conditions. Most assessments suggest that the effects of such an attack would be relatively small because the terrorists would not be able to obtain the large quantities of long-lived radioactive materials needed to contaminate more than a few city blocks or so. Nevertheless, it is easy to imagine that the explosion of a radiological weapon in a densely populated area would cause panic and flight.

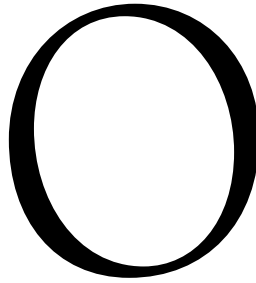
Recent terrorist attacks and the declared intentions of groups such as Al Qaeda demonstrate that nations must increase their vigilance over nuclear weapons, nuclear reactors, and related systems. They will also have to come to terms with the need to

reduce nuclear weapon stockpiles and negotiate strong treaty agreements that will make it more difficult for terrorists to obtain nuclear weapons, fissionable materials, and the technologies needed to make them.

*See also* WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

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## OCALAN, ABDULLAH (1948– )

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Leader of the left-wing guerrilla unit known as the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), Abdullah Ocalan was born in 1948 in southeastern Turkey, near the Syrian border. He is generally considered to be the strongest advocate and fighter for Kurdish sovereignty and has been labeled a hero by some Kurds, a terrorist by most international intelligence sources, and a “baby killer” by the Turkish government.

Raised by his peasant family in Omerli, Ocalan had vague political aspirations as a youngster and tried to enter the Turkish military but was refused—a decision he claimed was related to his Kurdish ancestry. Later, Ocalan was accepted into Ankara University and, in the political science department, first began to embrace Marxism and voice left-wing sentiments. He organized student movements and was jailed for distributing leftist brochures. He then dropped out of Ankara University, returned to southeastern Turkey, and began to advocate for a Kurdish state.

In 1977, Ocalan and two comrades wrote a manifesto, “The National Road to the Kurdish Revolution.” This document would become the blueprint for and beginning of the PKK. In 1980, a military coup in Turkey forced Ocalan and some of his cohorts to flee to safe haven in Syria. While in Syria, they began forming and training the ranks that would later be known as the PKK. On August 15, 1984, the PKK began its armed campaign for a Kurdish state with an attack on a progovernment village in southeastern Turkey.

Ocalan, whose surname means “avenger” in Turkish, is usually referred to as “Apo,” Kurdish for “Uncle.” His leadership between 1984 and 1999 resulted in a terribly bloody outcome for the PKK and Turkey. Ocalan is alleged to have ordered the murder of uncountable civilians, the kidnapping of Western tourists, and the murder of many comrades who challenged his beliefs. In the overall war, Turkish officials claim that nearly 40,000 people have died as a result of PKK offensives and government retaliation.

In 1999, Ocalan was apprehended in Kenya and brought back to Turkey, where he was tried and sentenced to death for treason and sedition. The day he was sentenced riots broke out, demonstrations were held in Turkey and throughout the rest of Europe, and Turkish embassies throughout Europe were invaded. These actions were orchestrated by some of the 850,000 Kurds living on the European continent. Ocalan has appealed to overturn the death penalty, with the decision still to be made by the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, France. From his prison cell, however, Ocalan has announced a cease-fire and has ordered all PKK forces to leave Turkey. In February 2000, the PKK officially foreswore its 15-year revolution and agreed to the political program proposed by its imprisoned leader. In 2002, PKK had nearly 10,000 active members and supporters throughout Europe. Many believe that Ocalan’s imprisonment and possible execution may end the PKK; however, Kurdish nationalism is almost certain to remain an issue for Turkey and surrounding countries.

*See also* KURDISTAN WORKERS PARTY

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### ODEH, MOHAMED SADEEK (1965– )

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Mohamed Sadeek Odeh was one of the first two people convicted of playing a direct role in the August 7, 1998, terrorist bombing of the U.S. embassy in Nairobi, Kenya. On May 29, 2001, a federal jury in New York found him guilty of participating in the attack and of murdering the 213 people, including 12 Americans, killed as a result of the explosion. Prosecutors had not sought the death penalty against Odeh, but the trial judge sentenced him to life in U.S. prison without the possibility of parole.

Odeh, a Jordanian and Kenyan national of Palestinian heritage, was one of four defendants who went on trial in Manhattan federal court in January 2001 for the Kenya bombing and the coordinated but less lethal bombing of the U.S. embassy in Dar es Salaam, where 11 people were killed. He and his codefendants were all found to be part of a worldwide terrorist conspiracy led by Saudi exile Osama bin Laden and carried out by his Islamic militant organization, Al Qaeda. Odeh, who underwent weapons and explosives training at Al Qaeda camps inside Afghanistan in 1992, admitted to being a “soldier” of the group who had sworn a loyalty oath, or *bayat*, to bin Laden.

Odeh was born in Saudi Arabia in 1965 and grew up in Jordan. He studied engineering and architecture at a university in Manila starting in 1986, and it was in the Philippines where he was exposed to radical Islam and gained interest in the anti-Soviet jihad in Afghanistan. In 1990, he went to join the mujahideen. With the Afghan conflict winding down, Odeh was among the militants dispatched to Somalia in 1993 to train native Somalis who, like Al Qaeda, considered the U.S. military presence there “colonization,” although the mission began as part of a U.N. peacekeeping operation. Somali fighters killed 18 U.S. Army Rangers in an October 1993 battle in the capital city of Mogadishu.

In 1994, Odeh settled near the Somalia-Kenya border in the coastal city of Mombasa, where he supported himself and Al Qaeda with a fishing boat supplied by the group. Odeh met and married a Kenyan woman and fathered two children, one of whom was born after his arrest, and he never saw.

Odeh was in custody since the day of the embassy bombings. He had fled Kenya the night before on a flight to Karachi with another conspirator who passed Pakistani immigration officials without incident. But at Karachi Airport, just hours before the explosions, officials detected Odeh's Yemeni passport was fake—the picture did not resemble Odeh—and detained him.

In his postarrest statements to the FBI, Odeh said he felt a moral responsibility for the embassy bombings, because of he was a paid member of Al Qaeda. He denied a role in the plot, but trial evidence implicated him. Clothes inside his carry-on luggage were laced with TNT residue. In the days before the attack, Odeh had stayed a mile from the target at the same downtown Nairobi hotel as other bombing conspirators and registered under the name on his fake passport. His fingerprint was found on the East Africa cell leader's hotel room door.

Prosecutors described Odeh as a “technical adviser” to the Kenya bombing. In his mud-walled, thatched-roof home in rural Witu, Kenya, investigators found two handwritten sketches of the embassy compound and roads surrounding it. They also found an Arabic ledger detailing his fishing expenses; it had one entry listing \$1,400 in weapons and artillery for “work,” a code word for jihad. Odeh told the FBI that other Al Qaeda code words were “tools” for weapons, “papers” for fake documents, “soap” for TNT, and “potatoes” for grenades.

During his interrogation, Odeh told FBI agent John Anticev that he thought the bombing was a “blunder,” because it killed so many Kenyan civilians who did not work in the embassy. “The people who drove the truck should have gotten it into the building or died trying,” Anticev recalled Odeh telling him.

Odeh also explained that Al Qaeda cells were split into planning and execution phases, with members of one group not necessarily knowing the other. For example, there was no evidence that Odeh ever met Mohamed Rashed al-'Owhali, his trial codefendant, who helped assemble the Nairobi bomb truck and rode in it to the embassy. Odeh told Anticev that the cell's planning group assessed a target's construction and vulnerabilities, probes for security weaknesses,



and determined what kind of explosives was needed. If proper on-site surveillance could not be conducted, Odeh said operatives might set up a food cart, taxi stand, or barber shop as a covert observation post. Odeh later told a former CIA analyst who interviewed him in jail that Al Qaeda sometimes recruited nonmembers to assist in low-level logistical tasks.

After his convictions, Odeh's defense attorneys said Odeh "did not join Al Qaeda to follow Mr. bin Laden or take orders from anyone blindly" but as a way to "change oppressive circumstances" for Muslims. The attorney offered a political explanation for the embassy bombings: in Odeh's view, American support for Israel and U.S. troop presence "in the holy lands of Saudi Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and the Horn of Africa constitutes provocation."

On October 18, 2001, U.S. district judge Leonard Sand imposed the life sentence on Odeh mandated by his 213 murder counts.

*See also* MOHAMED RASHED AL-'OWHALI; AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; MUJAHIDEEN

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**OHS. See HOMELAND SECURITY, OFFICE OF.**

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## OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING

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The 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, is among the worst acts of domestic terrorism committed on U.S. soil. Although the two main suspects in the bombing, Timothy McVeigh and Terry Lynn Nichols, were both tried and found guilty, questions about a larger conspiracy remain.

On April 19, 1995, at 9:02 A.M., a rented Ryder truck carrying a 4,000-pound fertilizer bomb exploded in front of the Murrah building in Oklahoma City.

The bomb destroyed over one-third of the nine-story building, including a day care center located on the second floor. In all, 168 people, including 19 children and eight federal employees, perished; more than 500 were injured.

Two days later, Timothy James McVeigh, then 26, was charged in connection with the bombing. Amid throngs of spectators yelling "baby killer!" and "murderer!" authorities led McVeigh out of the Noble County Jail in Perry, Oklahoma, where he had been held on misdemeanor charges unrelated to the bombing. That same day, Terry Lynn Nichols, then 39, turned himself in to the police in Herington, Kansas, where he was held as a material witness before being formally charged in connection with the bombing. A third possible suspect, identified only as John Doe No. 2 from a police sketch, remained at large.

Rescue workers and investigators continued to comb the rubble for nearly a month. On May 23, 1995, 150 pounds of dynamite were used to implode what remained of the Murrah building. By then, preliminary hearings had already begun. In late August 1995, a federal grand jury indicted McVeigh and Nichols on murder and conspiracy charges. Two years would pass before either would go to trial.

### THE TRIAL

Opening statements for *United States v. McVeigh* began on April 24, 1997, in a Denver, Colorado, courtroom. The government presented several points: McVeigh's antigovernment beliefs; his anger over the government-initiated sieges in Waco, Texas, and Ruby Ridge, Idaho; forensic evidence; telephone and rental records; John Doe No. 1 sightings; the facts of McVeigh's initial traffic arrest on Interstate 35; and key testimony from McVeigh's Army buddy Michael Fortier, his wife, Lori, and McVeigh's sister, Jennifer. Jennifer McVeigh testified to Timothy's ascent from antigovernment protest to "direct action," while Michael and Lori Fortier, who traded their testimony for lesser charges and immunity, respectively, told the court of McVeigh's plan, hatched, the government asserted, in September 1994, as well as their roles in aiding his efforts. The judge also allowed highly emotional testimony from survivors and victims' family members, which often brought the jury of seven men and five women to tears.

McVeigh's defense team, in the months preceding the trial, launched a large and expensive independent investigation focusing on the possibility that the

conspiracy included many more individuals, not just McVeigh and Nichols. Stephen Jones, McVeigh's chief defense counsel, made an early assertion that the two men, if guilty, did not have the resources to carry off the bombing on their own. The defense suggested possible links with Islamic militants based in the Philippines, neo-Nazis, Iraq, and Elohim City, the nearby Christian Identity compound. Jones also claimed that the government, through its various agencies, was suppressing evidence that proved it knew of the planned attack beforehand and could have prevented it. These claims, which were suppressed in court but made known through public records and in Jones's book, *Others Unknown* (1998), have been the basis for the persistent conspiracy theories surrounding the Oklahoma City bombing.

The most alarming connections alleged by the defense's investigation, especially in light of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States involved Nichols's repeated trips to the Philippines. Nichols first traveled to the Philippines in 1990 to meet his mail-order bride, Marife Torres. Nichols returned several times, ostensibly researching "business opportunities." Before his final trip, in November 1994, Nichols gave his former wife, Lana Padilla, a package to be opened in the event of his death. Padilla opened the package soon after Nichols departed, finding therein a significant amount of cash, stolen valuables, wigs, a life insurance policy, and a letter from Nichols to McVeigh. That letter urged McVeigh, "Go for it!"

## TERRORIST CONNECTION?

Further investigation into Nichols's Philippine trips revealed a meeting, in the early 1990s, between an American, known only as "the Farmer," and several now-imprisoned terrorists—including Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, Wali Khan Amin Shah, and Abdul Hakim Murad—in which bomb making and other terrorist activities were discussed. An incarcerated informant and former member of the terrorist group Abu Sayyaf identified "the Farmer" as Terry Nichols. Jones's investigation also placed Osama bin Laden in the Philippines in the early 1990s—Nichols was in the Philippines at that time. One of Jones's hypotheses was that McVeigh and Nichols took the fall for a larger conspiracy, much as the Arab men who rented the Ryder truck used in the 1993 World

Trade Center bombing were convicted while Ramzi Yousef escaped.

The defense also made significant links between McVeigh and neo-Nazi elements in the United States, most of whom were connected to Elohim City, a white supremacist compound near the Oklahoma-Arkansas border. In the early 1980s, members of the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA), including a man named Richard Wayne Snell, plotted to blow up the Murrah building in retaliation for the death of Gordon Kahl. (Kahl was a member of the white supremacist group Posse Comitatus who was killed by federal agents.) This plot, however, was never implemented. Snell was later sentenced to death and executed for two separate, unrelated murders. His execution fell on April 19, 1995, the day of the Oklahoma City bombing, as well as the second anniversary of the raid on Waco, Patriot's Day, and the anniversary of the Battle of Lexington and Concord, where citizen militia groups attacked the English government in 1775.

The defense also made much of McVeigh's phone call to Andreas Carl Strassmeir, a German neo-Nazi living in Elohim City. Although McVeigh maintained, after his conviction, that he had met Strassmeir at a gun show and was calling to inquire about places to hide after the bombing, the defense claimed that the connections were much deeper. Strassmeir had roomed with a man named Michael Brescia, a member of the Aryan Republican Army, and was strongly suspected by the authorities of being John Doe No. 2. Strassmeir was also allegedly connected to Dennis Mahon, a Klansman who ran paramilitary training at Elohim City. Mahon was fervently antigovernment, had allegedly received money from the Iraqi government for several years following the Gulf War, and was identified by Interpol as an international terrorist.

Elohim City also produced a possible defense witness named Carol Howe, a paid informant for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) who knew both Mahon and Strassmeir. Howe provided the ATF information suggesting that both men had contemplated and/or threatened direct action against the government, including blowing up federal buildings in Oklahoma City and Tulsa. The prosecution, led by Beth Wilkinson, repeatedly asserted that neither Strassmeir nor Mahon was considered to be a suspect. Jones hoped to reveal FBI and/or government negligence for not pursuing these leads.

## EVIDENCE INADMISSIBLE

Judge Richard P. Matsch eventually ruled that the evidence relating to Mahon, Strassmeir, Elohim City, and Howe was “not sufficiently relevant to be admissible,” thus eliminating the basis of Jones’s wider conspiracy argument. (Jones had abandoned the Philippines-based conspiracy argument when his main informant changed details of his story.) The defense team then focused on discrediting the Fortiers’ testimony and revealing the holes in the FBI investigation, including an unidentified and unaccounted-for severed leg found in the rubble, which Jones asserted was that of the “real” bomber, as well as suggestions that the FBI’s forensic methods were insufficiently rigorous.

On June 13, 1997, McVeigh was sentenced to death by lethal injection. After McVeigh’s well-publicized complaints about Jones’s competency, in August, Jones stepped down as the lawyer for the appeals process. McVeigh would eventually decline to move forward with his appeals, and he was sent to a prison in Terre Haute, Indiana, to await execution.

## NICHOLS ON TRIAL

Terry Lynn Nichols went on trial in November 1997. Nichols faced the same charges as McVeigh, and much of the same evidence and testimony was used in his trial. However, because Nichols was at home in Kansas when the bombing occurred, and because he lacked the motive that the prosecution had established for McVeigh, Nichols was found guilty on only one charge of conspiracy and on eight charges of involuntary manslaughter. In April 1998, Nichols rejected an offer of leniency in exchange for more information about the bombing because he could still be prosecuted by the state of Oklahoma for murder.

On December 31, 1998, after a year and a half of investigation, a grand jury discounted all theories presented by McVeigh’s original defense team, including the existence of John Doe No. 2, wider foreign involvement, and speculation that the federal government had prior warning about the bombing and chose not to act. Following McVeigh’s execution on June 11, 2001, the only hope for more answers about the Oklahoma City bombing lies in a possible state trial of Terry Lynn Nichols.

Today, a reflecting pool surrounded by 168 chairs, 149 for each of the adult victims and 19 smaller chairs

for the children, is the memorial to those killed in the Oklahoma City bombing. The Survivor Tree, an American elm that somehow withstood the explosion, overlooks the scene.

*See also* APRIL 19; COVENANT, THE SWORD, AND THE ARM OF THE LORD; TIMOTHY MCVEIGH; TERRY LYNN NICHOLS; RICHARD WAYNE SNELL; WACO; WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING (1993); RAMZI AHMED YOUSEF

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## OMAGH BOMBING

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One of the deadliest single bombings during the 30 years of conflict in Northern Ireland, the 1998 bombing in the village of Omagh, County Tyrone, Northern Ireland, killed 29 people and seriously threatened the peace process.

Since the late 1960s, Northern Ireland has been involved in a civil conflict between members of its majority—Protestant community, who wish Northern Ireland to remain a part of Great Britain, and its minority—Roman Catholic community, who wish the province to become a part of the Republic of Ireland. Late in 1997, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and various Protestant paramilitary groups declared a cease-fire. On April 10, 1998, delegates representing the major parties to the conflict signed the Good Friday Accords, a document laying out the necessary steps to peace and the order in which they should be taken.

A number of IRA members had disagreed with the decision to declare a cease-fire, and they were disgusted at the Good Friday Accords, which required the IRA to seek a political solution to the conflict through its representative political party, Sinn Féin. These members split with the group and formed a competing organization, the Real IRA.

On August 15, 1998, members of the Real IRA are believed to have driven from the Republic of Ireland across the border to Omagh, County Tyrone, Northern Ireland. Omagh, a small town with a largely Catholic population, has long housed a British Army garrison. Sometime early that morning, a 500-pound car bomb was parked in the town's market square, an area sure to be crowded with shoppers, as that Saturday was the final day of an annual town festival.

Around 2:30 P.M. a call was placed to Omagh's police force warning them of a bomb; police believed it was near the town's courthouse, a building at the opposite end of the main street from the market square. Police rushed to clear the area, tragically directing people toward the market. Shortly after 3:00 P.M., the car bomb exploded, utterly destroying two buildings nearby. More than 200 people were injured, and 29 were killed, one victim dying several months later of his injuries. The dead included nine children and three generations of one family.

The attack was the most deadly single bombing in Northern Ireland and immediately put the peace accords into jeopardy. Although suspicion quickly fell on the Real IRA, many Unionist politicians declared that the IRA's failure to disarm—its reluctance to do so had been a major obstacle throughout the peace process—had allowed the atrocity. Providing some reassurance about the IRA's commitment to the peace process, Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Féin, made an unprecedented declaration condemning the bombings. Previously, the IRA's position was that civilian deaths were regrettable but justified. In the days following the bombing, the British Parliament passed harsh new antiterror laws that allowed suspects to be convicted on the word of a senior police officer, and the Real IRA issued an apology for the bombing, insisting that civilians had not been the target.

In December 2001, the ombudsman for Northern Ireland's new security force, Nuala O'Loan, issued a report severely criticizing the conduct of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), in particular the officers of its Special Branch, in the days before the bombing. The report maintains that a highly regarded police

informant warned his Special Branch handlers that a bombing was being planned somewhere in Northern Ireland for August 15. It further alleges that a warning was received by the RUC that a mortar attack on police headquarters in Omagh was also planned for that date. The report implies that if these two pieces of information had been given to local police, the tragedy might have been averted. The victims' families have expressed outrage at these conclusions and calls have come from many quarters for reorganizing the Special Branch. One man, Republic of Ireland citizen Colm Murphy, has been convicted in connection with the Omagh bombing.

*See also* CONTINUITY IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; REAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY

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## OMEGA 7

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Omega 7 was an anticommunist Cuban terrorist group that engaged in more than 30 attacks against Cuban-linked targets in the 1970s and 1980s.

The 1959 overthrow of Cuba's Batista government by Fidel Castro and his Communist guerrillas initiated a massive exodus of refugees with links to the old regime. These exiles were welcomed in the United States, where they have established large Cuban enclaves in several cities, most visibly in Miami. The U.S. government strongly opposed the Castro regime, and in the early 1960s began training a guerrilla force with the intent of overthrowing the Communist government. The 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion was a fiasco, however, and the United States declined to involve itself in further military operations. By the early 1970s, some members of the Cuban American community had grown dissatisfied with only politically opposing Castro. With the support of the larger Cuban political organizations, a Cuban refugee named Eduardo

Arocena began to recruit a small elite force, many of them veterans of the 1961 invasion, that would assassinate and bomb people and institutions deemed to be pro-Castro.

Founded on September 11, 1974, Arocena's group became known as Omega 7, after the original number of members (drawn from the Movimiento Insurreccional Martiano [MIM] and the Cuban Nationalist Movement [CNM]). Omega 7 appears to have never had more than 20 members. Most of its financial support came from these groups and wealthy Cuban businessmen. However, in 1981 Arocena and a few other Omega 7 members were paid by a Cuban marijuana trafficker to conduct surveillance and other activities (but Omega 7 did not sell or transport any drugs). As it operated with the tacit approval of many within the Cuban exile community, the FBI found the group extremely difficult to infiltrate—indeed, for several years, the FBI thought “Omega 7” was a cover name for the larger CNM, an impression that the CNM actively fostered.

The organization made its first attack in 1975, bombing the Venezuelan consulate in New York City on February 1. Over the next seven years, its targets included Soviet businesses and ships, Latin American embassies, and pro-Castro Cuban exiles and businesses in New York, New Jersey, Washington, D.C., and Florida. In the more than 30 attacks attributed to Omega 7, two people were killed and a few injured; property damage was extensive, however. Its most devastating attacks were against the Cuban Mission to the United Nations. On March 25, 1980, the group attached a radio-controlled bomb to the car of Dr. Raul Roa Kouri, the Cuban ambassador to the United Nations. In parking the car, the bomb was loosened from the undercarriage; Arocena decided not to detonate it. An Omega 7 gunman killed a Cuban attaché, Felix Garcia Rodriguez, on September 11, 1980.

Law enforcement agencies were beginning to close in following the group's bombing of the Cuban consulate in Montreal in December 1980. By 1981, dissention began to fracture the Omega 7 group. Chafing under Arocena's leadership, several members allied themselves with the more moderate Cuba Independiente y Democratica (CID). In September 1982, FBI agents investigating the bombing in Montreal approached Arocena, asking him to give information about the group's activities. Apparently convinced that his comrades were informing on him in an attempt to oust him from the leadership, Arocena

agreed to be interviewed by the FBI. He admitted to being “Omar,” his nom de guerre as Omega 7's leader, and implicated himself and several colleagues in the murder of Rodriguez and the attempted murder of Dr. Kouri. After five days, Arocena fled New York for Miami, where he resumed his anti-Castro activities. Found and arrested on July 22, 1983, he is currently serving a life term in federal prison. Information Arocena provided led to the capture and arrest of several other group members, and the dissolution of the group.

*See also* EDUARDO AROCENA

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## OPERATION EAGLE CLAW

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In 1980, after nearly six months of failed diplomatic negotiations for American hostages held at the U.S. embassy in Tehran, Iran, U.S. president Jimmy Carter approved a military rescue. This mission, known as Operation Eagle Claw, failed in its first stages but profoundly influenced the military structure of Special Operations Forces.

On November 4, 1979, a crowd of about 500 militant students stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran, taking 66 Americans hostage. The siege came two weeks after Carter had allowed the former Shah of Iran, who was deposed during the Iranian revolution in 1978, into the United States for cancer treatment. Iran's new fundamentalist leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, called for the United States to return the Shah, as well as for the end of Western influences in Iran.

By mid-November, 13 women and African Americans had been freed; however, the remaining 53 hostages waited out months of failed negotiations. At the time, U.S. military forces, though trained for a possible conventional war with the Soviet Union, were

ill prepared for a terrorist siege. Carter, inexperienced in foreign affairs, relied on Zbigniew Brzezinski, his national security adviser, who favored force, and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, who favored diplomacy, to shape his foreign policy. When diplomacy failed on April 16, 1980, Carter approved a military rescue operation.

Three branches of the service—Army, Air Force, and Marines—were to be involved in the rescue. The two-day plan called for helicopters and C-130 Air Force planes to land 250 miles from Tehran on a salt flat in the Dasht-e-Kavir desert (code named Desert One), where the helicopters would refuel from the C-130s and pick up combat troops. The helicopters would then transport troops to the mountain location from which the actual rescue mission would launch the following night. Starting on April 19, forces were deployed throughout Oman and the Arabian Sea; on April 24, Operation Eagle Claw began.

Eight Navy helicopters left the U.S.S. *Nimitz* just after 7 P.M. En route, two helicopters experienced mechanical failure and could not continue; the entire group was hindered by a low-level dust storm (*haboob*) that reduced visibility to one mile. Six helicopters landed at Desert One just after 1 A.M., more than 90 minutes late. There, another helicopter was deemed unfit for service and the mission, which could not be accomplished with only five helicopters, was aborted. As the forces were leaving, a helicopter collided with a C-130 and exploded, destroying both and killing five members of the Air Force, three of the Marines. Remaining personnel were quickly evacuated by plane, leaving several helicopters, equipment, weapons, maps, and the dead behind. Iranian intelligence discovered this material, which led to the near-capture of other Special Operations Forces on the ground in Tehran.

Operation Eagle Claw led to a transformation of U.S. military internal operating procedures. After investigations concluded that the weaknesses of Operation Eagle Claw arose from lack of coordination between the military services, evidenced, in part, by compartmentalized training and inadequate equipment maintenance, the military embraced the “joint doctrine” under which it currently operates. Operation Eagle Claw also inspired a rebirth of the Special Operations Forces, including the development of elite counterterrorism forces such as SEAL Team Six.

*See also* COUNTERTERRORISM; IRANIAN HOSTAGE CRISIS;  
SEAL TEAM SIX

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## ORANGE VOLUNTEERS

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Relatively little is known about the Orange Volunteers, a Northern Irish terrorist organization that has claimed responsibility for a number of attacks on Roman Catholics beginning in 1998.

Since the late 1960s, Northern Ireland, a province of Great Britain, has experienced steady and violent conflict between Catholics, who wish Northern Ireland to become part of the Republic of Ireland, and Protestants, who wish it to remain a part of the United Kingdom. Both communities fostered armed paramilitary groups that were prepared to use violence to achieve their ends. In the early 1970s, a Protestant paramilitary group known as the Orange Volunteers, led by former British soldier Bob Marno, was formed. Members claimed responsibility for some murders of Catholics between 1974 and 1977, but the Orange Volunteers were principally known for its association with the 1974 Ulster Worker’s Council (UWC) strike. This strike had caused the failure of the Sunningdale Agreement, the first serious peace attempt between Northern Ireland and Great Britain.

Before the strike, the UWC was a largely unknown organization with little political power. The UWC engaged paramilitaries from the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), the Ulster Defense Association (UDA), and the Orange Volunteers to compel workers to stay home during the strike’s early days. (Once the strike seemed to be having an effect, most workers stayed home voluntarily.) After the strike, the Orange

Volunteers faded from public view, and many believed the organization to be defunct by the 1980s.

In late 1997, peace negotiations had again begun in Northern Ireland, with all parties—the governments of Britain and Ireland, the major political parties, and paramilitaries—involved. The negotiations covered a provision that persons imprisoned for terrorist activities on behalf of the paramilitary groups would be released gradually. On April 10, 1998, preliminary negotiations were concluded and the Good Friday Accords were signed. The accords laid out a plan to achieve political stability in Northern Ireland; this plan included the provision for the release of prisoners.

Hard-line factions in both Loyalist organizations (representing Protestants; also called Unionists) and the Republican organizations (representing Catholics; also called Nationalists) split over the Good Friday peace plan and formed their own groups. Members of the re-formed Orange Volunteers (at first believed to be a separate splinter group of one of the larger Loyalist organizations) gave a televised interview to journalist Ivan Little in November 1998, stating that they were taking up arms for the express purpose of killing newly released Republican prisoners. Comments by the group during the interview and references made to the biblical Book of Revelations may indicate that the group has some connection to fundamentalist Protestants. The Orange Volunteers have been linked to about a dozen sectarian attacks on Catholic homes, mostly with mortar and pipe bombs, and to violent Loyalist protests at Drumcree centered around a route for a Protestant march in 1999 and 2000. In February 2001, the group issued a “Back to War” statement—once again declaring its intention to murder released Republican prisoners. They have also threatened to bomb Dublin, the capital of the Republic of Ireland. They have also been linked to the murder of Northern Irish journalist Owen Martin O’Hagan.

The group was declared illegal in Great Britain and Ireland in 1999 and was placed on the U.S. State Department’s list of banned terrorist organizations in January 2002.

Many observers now believe that the Orange Volunteers are not a separate organization but merely a cover name employed by members of one of the larger Loyalist groups—possibly the UDA or the Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF), both of which have observed a cease-fire since 1994 and 1998, respectively. If the UDA or LVF could have been shown to be responsible for the attacks, their political goals would have been

jeopardized and the release of the prisoners provided for in the Good Friday Accords would have ceased. (These releases began in 1998 and have been largely completed.)

*See also* IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; ULSTER DEFENSE ASSOCIATION; ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTERS; ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE

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## THE ORDER

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Best known for the assassination of Alan Berg, a Jewish radio talk show host, the Order planned to start a revolution against the U.S. government. Although its founder, Robert Jay Mathews, preferred the name Bruders Schweigen, meaning Silent Brotherhood, the group’s organization and activities were so closely modeled on the fictional group called the Order in William Pierce’s *The Turner Diaries* (1978) that several of its members as well as authorities adopted this name.

In the 1970s, Mathews became involved with the tax protest movement that sees taxation as a design of the federal government to take money from white Christian Americans and put it in the hands of Jews. He became somewhat disenchanted with the movement when he was arrested in 1973 for falsifying tax forms and, during the period between his arrest and trial, received no support from his associates in the movement.

However, Mathews stayed involved with white supremacists through meetings of the Aryan Nations and the National Alliance. In October 1983, at his family compound in Metaline Falls, Washington, he and eight other men—some neo-Nazi militants and others participants in the racist Christian Identity movement—took an oath to work toward a white supremacist society, and the Order was born.

To finance their group, members of the Order turned to crime; initially they targeted pimps, drug dealers, and anybody else they judged had no morals, convincing themselves they were doing God's work. Their first heist was a pornographic video store, where the total take was \$369.10. After that disappointing start, they escalated to counterfeiting and bank robbery. In December 1983, several members began "the revolution" by passing phony money in stores near Spokane, Washington, when one member, Bruce Pierce (no relation to William Pierce), was discovered passing bad currency and arrested. Released on bail, he became a fugitive, continuing to work with the Order until his capture in 1985.

From shortly after Pierce's arrest in December 1983 through the summer of the following year, the group engaged in a very profitable crime spree. They pulled off two bank robberies that netted them \$24,952 and \$3,600, respectively. Finding those funds insufficient to bankroll a full-scale revolution, they invested in a more sophisticated counterfeiting scheme. For this, they recruited Robert Merki, a counterfeiter who had been arrested and fled while released on bail. They chose also to engage in a more daring and elaborately schemed source of income—armored car robbery. Their first attempt took place in March and earned them \$43,000. For the second armored car robbery, in April, they first set off a bomb in a pornographic movie house in Seattle in order to create a diversion for police. The take was \$230,379 in U.S. currency, plus checks and some Canadian currency.

In July, a third armored car robbery, in Ukiah, California, netted them \$3.8 million. The money was divided among the members for salary and various enterprises. One member, Randall Rader—a survivalist trainer formerly of the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA)—was given enough money to build and outfit a militia training camp in Priest River, Idaho. Richard Scutari, the group's security expert, was given money to invest in security equipment. Allotments were also dispersed to various heads of right-winged extremist groups, such as William Pierce

of the National Alliance and Frazier Glenn Miller of the White Patriot Party.

In April 1984, shortly after the Seattle armored car robbery, Pierce and another Order member, Jack Kemp, decided to go out on their own and commit a crime without first telling their associates. They drove to Boise, Idaho and planted a homemade bomb in an empty synagogue. The resulting blast did little damage and ultimately angered the other members. Mathews was especially angry as he saw the action as an unnecessary risk considering little damage had been done and nobody was hurt or killed.

Then in May, the Order committed its first murder: Walter West, an Aryan Nations member, had become a security threat. It was believed he was drinking and talking about the Order's activities in local bars. West was killed and buried in a wooded area by four members—Kemp, Randy Duey, David Tate, and James Dye.

The following month, Mathews enlisted his lover's mother, Jean Craig, to track Denver radio show host Alan Berg and prepare a detailed dossier of the popular radio personality's habits and movements. Berg was targeted because he was Jewish and a vocal opponent of right-wing extremism. Informants later confirmed that David Lane drove Mathews, Pierce, and Scutari to Berg's home, where Pierce shot Berg several times with a machine gun. The Order had an assassination list that included Morris Dees, who operated the Southern Poverty Law Center, and Norman Lear, a producer of television programs that often showed blacks in a positive light. None of these other assassinations were carried out.

While seemingly a huge success, in the long term the Ukiah robbery proved a failure in one respect. Mathews made a crucial error, dropping the gun he was using in the back of the armored car. The gun, found at the scene by police, was traced to another member of the Order, Andrew V. Barnhill. That put the FBI on a trail that led to several members, forcing the group underground.

Their ultimate downfall began when Thomas Martinez was arrested in Philadelphia for passing counterfeit money that Lane had brought to him shortly after the Berg assassination. When it came time for his trial, Martinez cooperated with authorities, and in November 1984, tricked Mathews into meeting with him in Portland. Gary Yarbrough was also at the meeting. Wanted by the FBI for shooting at several agents, a search of Yarbrough's home turned up the gun that



was used in the Berg assassination. At the Portland meeting, the FBI captured Yarbrough as he tried to climb out the back window of his motel room. Mathews managed to escape.

Several members of the Order fled with Mathews to Whitbey Island in Puget Sound, where they composed a declaration of war on the United States government. The FBI eventually tracked them to the island but not before most of them managed to escape. Duey, Merki, and his wife Sharon, however, remained there with Mathews and eventually surrendered to the FBI. Mathews died after a two-day standoff when the house he was in went up in flames from a flare.

Over the next several months, authorities captured all but one member. Most were taken without incident, including Pierce and Lane who were captured in March and April of 1985. Tate, however, killed a state trooper during a traffic stop. Authorities believed Tate was headed to the CSA compound in Arkansas, so they laid siege to the compound. As it turned out Tate was not there, but he eventually surrendered at a park not far away. Four other Order members, however, surrendered with the CSA after a four-day standoff. Almost a year later, in March 1986, Richard Scutari, the last Order member brought to justice, was captured.

Eventually, 11 members negotiated plea bargains and 10 were convicted of racketeering and conspiracy in a trial that set legal precedent as it was the first time the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) was used in a political case. Until then, it had been used mostly to prosecute organized crime figures. Sentences ranged from 30 to 150 years. One member, Bill Soderquist, was granted complete immunity for his cooperation. Martinez was sentenced to probation and was eventually paid \$25,000 for his role in the investigation.

In the fall of 1987, Lane, Scutari, Pierce, and Craig were prosecuted for civil rights violations for their roles in the Berg slaying. Lane and Pierce were convicted while Scutari and Craig were found not guilty. Then in 1988, fourteen people involved in the white supremacist movement—including five members of the Order—faced federal sedition charges in the federal government's Operation Clean Sweep. All were acquitted in that trial.

*See also* COVENANT, THE SWORD, AND THE ARM OF THE LORD; ROBERT JAY MATHEWS; RICHARD SCUTARI: *THE TURNER DIARIES*; WHITE SUPREMACY

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## ORDINE NUOVO

### aka Armed Revolutionary Nuclei (ARN)

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On December 12, 1969, a bomb exploded in the Banca Nazionale dell'Agricoltura in Milan's Piazza Fontana, killing 16 and wounding 90. Authorities later determined that Ordine Nuovo, an Italian right-wing neo-fascist group, was responsible for the attack. The bombing marked the beginning of Ordine Nuovo's "strategy of tension"—a series of public bombings intended to destabilize Italy and diminish support for the Communist Party. The group's terror-bombing campaign would continue for more than a decade.

The origins of Ordine Nuovo are still in dispute. Among of the fiercest advocates for fascism in Italy, Ordine Nuovo was organized around 1960 by a journalist named Pino Rauti; it was long mired in controversy over an alleged connection to the CIA. Informants have testified that Rauti and many other Italian fascists were actually "rehabilitated" Nazi collaborators tapped by the CIA for a North Atlantic Treaty Organization "stay behind" anticommunist terror network, known as "Gladio."

Ordine Nuovo's terror campaign began with the 1969 Piazza Fontana bombing and continued with a number of similar attacks throughout Italy in the 1970s and early 1980s. In July 1970, Ordine Nuovo bombed a Rome-Messina train, leaving six people dead and nearly 100 wounded. Four years later, members of the group threw grenades into an antifascist march in Brescia, killing eight activists. Its most infamous and horrific attack occurred on August 1, 1980, when an offshoot of Ordine Nuovo, the Armed Revolutionary Nuclei (ARN), bombed the Bologna train station. More than 80 civilians died.

On June 30, 2001, three members of Ordine Nuovo received life sentences for planting the Banca dell'Agricoltura bomb in 1969. Some prosecutors

and families of the victims maintain that this was a political sentencing; one of the original suspects, Giuseppe Pinelli, died after falling out of a police-house window during questioning. Another suspect, Pietro Valpreda, spent only three years in prison before being set free. Rauti is now the head of another neo-fascist group, Tricolor Flame (Fiammi Tricolore), popular with both skinheads and neo-Nazis.

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**'OWHALI, MOHAMED RASHED, AL-  
See AL-'OWHALI, MOHAMED RASHED.**

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**PAGAD.** See **PEOPLE AGAINST GANGSTERISM AND DRUGS.**

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## **PALESTINE LIBERATION FRONT—ABU ABBAS FACTION**

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The Abu Abbas-led faction of the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF), which has had headquarters in Lebanon, Tunisia, and Iraq, first became known for using hang gliders and hot air balloons in bizarre terror attacks against Israel. The group later came to world attention during the 1985 hijacking of the cruise ship *Achille Lauro*, in which a disabled, elderly New Yorker was killed and his body dumped overboard.

During the mid-1970s, the PLF was formed by men who broke from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command (itself a breakaway faction of George Habash’s original Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine). The PLF, which began as a secular, Marxist group, later split into three factions: pro-Yasir Arafat and his Palestine Liberation Organization, pro-Syrian, and pro-Libyan. Each faction kept the original “Palestine Liberation Front” name, and claimed to be the main organization. The pro-PLO faction, which has the most members and eventually absorbed one of the other splintered groups, is led by Muhammad “Abu” Abbas. Because Abbas’s faction was critical of both Syria and Libya, Iraq also backed the group, but it was most identified with

Arafat and the PLO. Abbas, who had been deputy general secretary of the PLF before it split into three groups, remained loyal to Arafat during the 1980s when many others began to defect. Abbas became a member of the PLO Executive Committee in 1984.

## **UNIQUE INVASION METHODS**

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, Abbas became famous for planning numerous unorthodox attacks on Israel, many of which were foiled. In 1979, a four-member PLF crew, carrying machine guns and shoulder-launched grenades, paddled a rubber dinghy from Lebanon to invade Israel via the Mediterranean Sea. According to press reports, the squad landed in the Israeli town of Nahariya and held a family hostage inside their home. They killed the father, his daughter, and a police officer and injured four others.

Two years later, two PLF members left Lebanon in hang gliders, attempting to fly over the electronic fence at the border into the Haifa area of Israel. The PLF operatives were apparently planning to continue gliding for as far as possible and, once over the border, throw bombs and grenades from the air. Israeli forces captured the gliders at the border. In just over a month, Abbas’s men attacked again by air, this time aboard a hot air balloon. As the floating balloon neared the Israeli border, the Army shot it down. The two PLF operatives fell to their death.

As provocative and unconventional as these attacks were, international attention was gained only when PLF members hijacked a cruise ship. On October 7, 1985, off Port Said, Egypt, PLF members from the Abbas faction took control of the *Achille Lauro* cruise

ship as it sailed toward Israel. They held hundreds of passengers hostage for two grueling days, during which the hijackers demanded the release of 50 Palestinians held in Israel and threatened to blow up the ship. As the ship sailed along the Syrian coast, the hijackers shot and killed a U.S. citizen, Leon Klinghoffer. The men then threw his body overboard.

During the hijacking, the PLF accepted responsibility for the attack. This caused confusion in the press and illustrated just how splintered the Palestinian national movement had become, as reporters attempted to pin down which faction of the PLF—pro-Syrian, pro-Libyan, or pro-PLO—was responsible. Some speculated that the attack had been a Syrian attempt to sabotage Arafat's progress toward diplomatic agreements. After the ship docked in Cairo, Egyptian officials granted Abbas and his men safe passage to Tunisia in return for the hostages' release. However, U.S. Air Force fighter jets forced the EgyptAir plane carrying the PLF members to land in Sicily, where Italian authorities arrested three of the hijackers. These same officials refused to turn Abbas and two colleagues over to the Marines; instead, they helped the men flee to the former Yugoslavia.

Although an Italian court later tried him in absentia and sentenced him to life in prison, Abbas was never imprisoned. The press teemed with stories of his narrow escapes from the law. After the Italian conviction, the U.S. Department of Justice dropped its international warrant for Abbas's arrest, saying that the prosecutors did not have enough evidence to try him in a U.S. court. In many interviews, Abbas has maintained that the hijacking was a mistake and that he had instead plotted for his men to travel incognito aboard the *Achille Lauro* and then invade Israel when the ship docked at the Israeli town of Ashdod. He did, however, later admit that his operatives had killed Klinghoffer.

The PLF moved its base of operations to Iraq following the *Achille Lauro* hijacking. Like Arafat, Abbas supported Iraq's Saddam Hussein during the Gulf War (1990–1991), declaring “my enemy's enemy is my friend.” (Hussein has threatened to attack Israel many times, famously stating that Iraq could “burn half of Israel.”)

## NEGOTIATIONS THWARTED

In May 1990, in the midst of diplomatic negotiations between the PLO and the United States, a 17-member PLF squad once again attempted to invade Israel by

sea. In five speedboats, PLF operatives traveled to beaches near Tel Aviv and Ashdod. Israeli defense forces stopped the attack before it began, killing four PLF members and arresting 12 others. Although Arafat quickly asserted that he had played no part in the raid, Washington terminated its 18-month discussion with the PLO.

Under pressure from the United States, Libya later expelled more than 100 PLF members and closed down several of the group's training camps. Abbas claimed that the aborted raid was in retaliation for the killing of Palestinian workers in Tel Aviv by an Israeli gunman. Israeli officials countered that the raid had been planned for a long time and could not be a response to the workers' deaths. An Israeli military court later tried the captured PLF members and sentenced them to 30 years in prison for attempted murder, membership in a terrorist group, and possession of firearms.

Abbas left the PLO a year after the failed raid. However, he moved the PLF toward the mainstream in 1993 when he supported the Oslo Accords and publicly embraced the peace process in 1996. Two years later, Israeli officials allowed him to enter the country and travel to the Gaza Strip, where, in a Palestinian National Council meeting, he voted to revoke the parts of the PLO's charter that call for Israel's destruction. He then returned triumphantly from exile to establish himself and the PLF in Gaza City, commuting between Gaza and his old base in Baghdad.

Although Abbas has said that the new path of the PLF is a political one, in November 2001 Israeli security forces arrested at least 15 PLF members suspected of plotting further attacks. According to Israeli officials, the men were planning to plant bombs at Ben-Gurion Airport and in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. The U.S. Department of State considers the PLF to be a terrorist group.

*See also* ABU ABBAS; *ACHILLE LAURO* HIJACKING; PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE—GENERAL COMMAND

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## PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

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The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is basically an umbrella organization that coordinates various Palestinian terrorist groups, professional unions and syndicates, and civilian groups. During the past half-century, the PLO has built a network of embassies across the world and claims to be the sole representative of the Palestinian people. When PLO chairman Yasir Arafat signed the Oslo Peace Accords in 1993, the organization returned from exile in Tunisia to the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Throughout PLO history, cohesion has been fragile, and many of its various terrorist groups have quarreled with and split from the organization, some later returning and some remaining outside.

### EARLY YEARS

When the PLO was formed under the chairmanship of Ahmad Shuqairi at an Arab summit meeting in Cairo in 1964, it was said to be largely a token organization

controlled by Egypt. The dynamics of the organization changed after the resounding Arab defeat in 1967 Six-Day War. Shuqairi came under attack for opposing the commando raids that groups such as Arafat's Fatah were carrying out against Israel. Shuqairi was forced to resign in December 1967, amid the growing popularity and power of these guerrilla factions. Yahya Hamuda replaced him as the PLO's acting chairman until the July 1968 Palestine National Council session brought large political gains to Al Fatah and the group Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Arafat was elected to replace Hamuda less than a year later, during the fifth meeting of the Palestine National Congress, the group's parliamentary body.

The PLO made Jordan its base during its early years, setting up outposts in the Palestinian refugee camps and crossing the border to raid Israeli settlements. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, many of the Palestinian groups also engaged in terrorist attacks in other countries to gain international attention for the cause. The PFLP, led by George Habash, became notorious for airline hijackings. These attacks caused problems between King Hussein of Jordan and the PLO—the king felt the groups were undermining his authority. In September 1970, the PFLP hijacked four planes in a single day, forcing them to land outside of Amman, the capital of Jordan. After all the hostages were released, the king ordered his army to attack Palestinian guerrillas and camps in Jordan. After 10 days of fighting, the Palestinians were defeated. This setback, which came to be known as Black September, left Lebanon as the sole base from which the PLO could launch raids and attacks on Israel.

Infamously, Black September, an extremist splinter group of Al Fatah named after this event, killed 11 Israeli team members during the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich, Germany.

### GAINING GROUND

Even after being expelled from Jordan, the PLO continued to grow, establishing social and charity networks and creating the Palestinian Red Crescent Society, a health program. Many Arab states supplied the PLO with funds and diplomatic backing, and at an Arab League summit in Rabat, Morocco, in October 1974, the 20 Arab League heads of state unanimously recognized the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

A month later, the PLO and its chairman made history: Yasir Arafat addressed the United Nations General Assembly in New York City on November 13, 1974, saying, "Today I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand." The General Assembly later voted, 105-to-4, with 20 abstentions, to grant the PLO observer status at the United Nations. The four "no" votes were cast by Israel, the United States, Bolivia, and the Dominican Republic. In 1976, the Arab League made the PLO the 21st full member of the league. Despite greater international recognition, the PLO was not invited to the 1979 Camp David negotiations between Egypt and Israel mediated by U.S. president Jimmy Carter. The resulting Camp David Accords called for talks on Palestinian self-rule in the occupied territories. The United States had maintained its policy of refusing to negotiate with the PLO until the organization recognized Israel's right to exist and accepted the U.N. Security Council Resolutions that renounced terrorism.

## LEBANON

The PLO's presence in Lebanon was straining a country already on edge—conflict between Maronite Christian militias, government troops, and PLO-supporting Muslim groups was becoming more pronounced. In an attempt to defuse the violence in the region, a 1969 Cairo Agreement recognized Lebanese military control over the country but also allowed the PLO to maintain a political and military presence in specified areas of southern Lebanon, including the refugee camps. Conditions in Lebanon remained unstable, however, and in April 1975, civil war broke out. The PLO did not immediately join in the fighting, but entered several months later on the side of the Lebanese National Movement, a group of leftist and Arab nationalist organizations. As the power of the PLO-LNM allied forces began to grow, Lebanon's president Sulayman Franjyyah, a right-wing Maronite, called upon Syria to intervene. This intervention was supposed to restore the balance and prevent the left-wing forces from taking over the government.

When Syria entered Lebanon, PLO forces returned to the south of the country. The PLO continued to carry out raids on Israel, however. Israel, in turn, began arming Lebanese Christian militias, aiding the Free

Lebanon Militia and the Maronite Lebanese Forces militia. Israeli forces invaded Lebanon in March 1978, only to retreat three months later. Fighting between Israel, Syria, Lebanese militias, and the PLO continued, halted by a PLO-Israeli cease-fire on July 24, 1981.

Nearly a year later, on June 6, 1982, Israel thundered into Lebanon, driving PLO forces back into Beirut. Israel besieged that city eight days later. The siege continued until the end of the summer, when the PLO evacuated Beirut in an internationally brokered agreement. Just two weeks after the PLO forces left Beirut, a Maronite militia allied with Israel killed hundreds of Palestinian refugees in the city's Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. Many Palestinians held Arafat and other PLO leaders responsible for leaving Palestinians in the camps unprotected.

Throughout the PLO's history, many leaders of Arab nations have attempted to take control. In 1983, a PLO-Syria feud grew heated, with Syria's president Assad supporting a mutiny against Arafat's leadership of Al Fatah and the PLO. The "coup" was unsuccessful, however, and Arafat regrouped in Tunis, Tunisia. After leaving Lebanon, the organization was under a great deal of pressure to officially acknowledge Israel and accept the existing U.N. resolutions on the Arab-Israeli conflict in exchange for Palestinian self-rule.

Many of the different groups within the PLO were more radical about these issues than Arafat's Fatah movement, causing groups within the PLO to quarrel among themselves. In 1982, Palestinian terrorist groups affiliated with the PLO included Al Fatah, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), al Sa'iq, Arab Liberation Front (ALF), Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command (PFLP—GC), Palestine Liberation Front (PLF), and the Palestine Popular Struggle Front (PPSF). In the years following, these groups split into various factions and alliances; in 1985 many more split from the PLO.

In September 1985, members of Arafat's personal security squad, Force 17, killed three Israelis on a hijacked yacht in Lanarca, Cyprus. The PLO claimed that the men were agents for Mossad, the Israeli intelligence agency. Israel responded by bombing PLO headquarters in Tunis, killing 65.

## PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

Arafat and the PLO began to negotiate more successfully for peace as the 1980s drew to a close. The first

Palestinian *intifada*, or organized uprising in the territories, also broke out during this time. As the intifada continued, Arafat convened a meeting of the Palestinian National Council in Algiers. On November 15, 1988, the PLO proclaimed its support in principle of the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and announced the recognition of U.N. Resolution 242, effectively recognizing Israel's right to coexist with Palestine. At the meeting, the group also accepted a declaration rejecting terrorism. One month later, Arafat officially accepted U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338. Arafat also spoke before a special session of the U.N. General Assembly in Geneva, calling on Israel to join peace talks. The following day, U.S. president Ronald Reagan responded by making the first diplomatic contact between the United States and the PLO.

As diplomatic talks began, violent acts called Arafat's authority and desire for peace into question. Forces working for Abu Abbas, leader of a faction of the PLF and a member of the PLO's executive council, were unsuccessful in their attempt to raid a Tel Aviv beach in May 1990. The United States broke off talks with the PLO after the Tel Aviv attack, saying that Abbas, who had also masterminded the 1985 *Achille Lauro* cruise ship hijacking, in which an elderly New Yorker was shot and dumped from his wheelchair into the sea, needed to be disciplined for the acts. During the Persian Gulf War, Arafat and the PLO vocally supported Saddam Hussein, president of Iraq, causing further distance between the PLO and the United States.

The United States did not restore contacts with the PLO until President Bill Clinton reopened the dialogue in 1993. In the early 1990s, 11 meetings of bilateral peace negotiators took place between Israel and its bordering Arab states. When these talks reached a stalemate in 1993, PLO officials took part in secret, direct meetings with Israeli diplomats in Oslo, Norway; these meetings ultimately led to the signing of the 1993 PLO-Israel Declaration of Principles. Arafat and Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin signed the declaration in Washington, D.C., on September 13, shaking hands on the White House lawn.

In 1994, in accordance with the Oslo Accords, the PLO leadership returned from nearly 30 years in exile to the West Bank and Gaza Strip. They were mandated to establish the Palestinian Authority (PA), the first Palestinian government in modern history. Two years later, the Palestinian people held their first national elections and Arafat was elected president of the PA.

In 1998, during negotiations at the Wye River Plantation in Maryland, Arafat and Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu signed an agreement guaranteeing Palestinian control of an additional 13 percent of land in the West Bank. However, in July 2000 Clinton was unable to broker a final peace settlement at Camp David. Violence has since escalated in the region. A second intifada broke out in the fall of 2000, and well over a year and a half later Palestinian suicide bombings by the PLO-associated Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades continue to wrack the Holy Land.

*See also* AL AQSA MARTYRS BRIGADES; AL FATAH; YASIR ARAFAT; DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE; PALESTINE LIBERATION FRONT; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE—GENERAL COMMAND

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## PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD

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A tiny but fiercely militant Islamic group, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) is made up of a handful of loosely affiliated factions, the largest of which was led by Dr. Fatih Shaqaqi until his assassination in 1995. Although the PIJ has become well known for its violent tactics and its opposition to a negotiated peace with Israel, the group, headquartered in Syria, is relatively small and mysterious; it is said to receive financial assistance from Iran.

The PIJ was founded in Egypt in the late 1970s by three Palestinian students. Shaqaqi, Abdul Aziz Odeh,

and Bashir Moussa, all Sunni Muslims who are said to have been inspired by the Shiite groups that came to power during Iran's Islamist revolution in 1978–1979.

The PIJ has focused primarily on terror attacks against Israel. Shaqaqi had publicly stated that the PIJ shares a name and ideology with many other Islamic jihad groups (e.g., in Egypt, Lebanon, and Turkey); however, the groups have little contact with one another. Many of the groups, such as the PIJ, have material and ideological ties to Iran.

After the assassination of Egypt's president Anwar Sadat in 1981, the Egyptian government cracked down on Islamic terrorists. Shaqaqi, Odeh, and Moussa were expelled from the county and they returned to Palestine. During the 1980s, the group began organizing in territories occupied by Israel. The PIJ carried out its first successful military operation in 1987, assassinating an Israeli military police captain. Shaqaqi and Odeh were later deported to Lebanon, finding refuge in Damascus, Syria, where they plotted multiple bombing attacks on Israeli military and civilian targets.

The PIJ strongly opposed the Arab-Israeli peace process and continued to attack Israel as negotiations intensified. In 1995, the PIJ blew up a military bus stop near Netanya, killing 19 in an attack that press reports said seemed timed to cause the maximum number of casualties. Just months later, the group took responsibility for a suicide nail bomb in Tel Aviv that killed 13.

In October 1995, on the evening before U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher's trip to Damascus, assassins thought to be working for Israel's intelligence service Mossad gunned down Shaqaqi on the Mediterranean island of Malta.

After Shaqaqi's death, an academic working in the United States, Ramadan Abdullah al-Shallah, became the PIJ's new leader. Al-Shallah left his post at the University of South Florida to take command of the group. His departure caused much controversy, and federal agents arrested one of al-Shallah's Palestinian academic colleagues several years later. Among protests and lawsuits brought by civil liberties groups, al-Shallah's colleague continues to be held without being charged with a crime.

According to the U.S. State Department, the PIJ has never specifically attacked U.S. interests, despite a July 2000 public threat to carry out attacks if the U.S. embassy is moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. In late 2000, the PIJ continued to work to stall the peace process, initiating several attacks against Israel,

including one on October 26 to commemorate the anniversary of Shaqaqi's death.

*See also* HAMAS; HEZBOLLAH

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## PAN AM FLIGHT 73 HIJACKING

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The takeover of a Pan American World Airways jumbo jet in the predawn hours of September 5, 1986 developed into a tragic 16-hour ordeal. Hijackers linked to the Abu Nidal Organization killed 22 hostages during the standoff at the Karachi International Airport in Pakistan.

As the last busload of passengers was boarding a flight to Frankfurt, Germany, en route to New York, four men dressed as security personnel took over the plane. According to a 1991 U.S. indictment, they had passed through the Karachi airport security in a van outfitted to look like a security vehicle. The hijackers stopped the van at the bottom of the plane's stairs, ran up firing shots, and commandeered the aircraft.

Flight attendants on board alerted the crew, who escaped through an emergency exit in the cockpit. The 379 passengers aboard were held hostage as the hijackers demanded a new crew to fly them to Cyprus, in order to free "friends" in prison there. To enforce the demand, the men selected and executed American citizen Rajesh Kumar. They also threatened to blow up the aircraft with all passengers on board.

Many of the deadlines set by the hijackers went unheeded as they pursued discussions with Pakistani police about whether the hijackers would release



all passengers before flying on, or just women and children.

Then, at about 8 P.M., the plane's auxiliary power stopped working and the lights dimmed. The hijackers rounded up passengers in a huddle in the center of the plane, and when the plane turned completely dark, they fired on the passengers with machine guns and grenades. Twenty-one passengers were killed and many others were injured in this assault.

Some passengers were able to force the left and right escape doors and flee the aircraft as Pakistani commandos stormed the plane and fired on the hijackers. They killed one of the gunmen and captured the other three.

The United States indicted six men linked to the Abu Nidal Organization in 1991 on murder charges; two U.S. citizens, Kumar and Surendra Patel, were among those killed in the attack. In late September 2001, Pakistan released Zayd Hassan Safarini, who had spent the past 14 years in a Pakistani jail for murder in the Pan Am 73 hijacking, into U.S. custody to stand trial in the United States. If convicted of all charges, Safarini faces a maximum penalty of death or life in prison.

*See also* ABU NIDAL ORGANIZATION; SABRI AL-BANNA; HIJACKING

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## PAN AM FLIGHT 103 BOMBING

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On December 21, 1988, Pan American World Airways Flight 103 from London to New York exploded 31,000 ft. above the small town of Lockerbie, Scotland, killing 270 people. The crash provoked one of the longest criminal investigations in Scottish history, and led to an eight-year diplomatic game of cat and mouse in which the United Nations imposed sanctions on Libya.

Just after 7 P.M. that December night, the Boeing 747 crash-landed onto the little Scottish town, destroying 21 houses in Lockerbie. The youngest person

killed in the explosion was just two months old, while the oldest was 82 years. All 259 passengers, hailing from 21 nations, and 11 people on the ground were killed; 189 of those killed were American citizens.

The bombing took place four months after an Iranian Airbus was shot down by the American military cruiser U.S.S. *Vincennes*. Iranian government officials and Middle East terrorist groups had issued threats of revenge in wake of the July 1988 Airbus disaster, in which 290 people were killed. U.S. officials originally suspected that Iran had paid the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command to carry out the bombing. The organization denied any involvement in the crime.

The Scottish investigation, which lasted three years, would later point to different culprits. Investigators sifted through 4 million pieces of wreckage, scattered throughout 845 square miles of countryside, and cataloged more than 15,000 items of personal effects. A one-pound Semtex bomb placed inside a Toshiba radio-cassette recorder was found to have caused the disaster. The bomb was inside a brown Samsonite suitcase in the plane's cargo hold. Investigators traced the owner of every piece of luggage on board the flight except for the brown suitcase.

Computer records at the Frankfurt airport in West Germany, where the flight originated, showed that the brown Samsonite suitcase traveled aboard Pan Am Flight 103 without an accompanying passenger. Investigators determined that the luggage had been transferred from an Air Malta flight that had recently arrived in Frankfurt from Malta's Luqa Airport.

Abdel Basset al-Megrahi and Al-Amin Khalifah Fhimah both worked for the state-owned Libyan Arab Airlines at the time of the disaster. Al-Megrahi worked as an operations manager, while Fhimah held the position of security manager. The Libyan Arab Airlines and Air Malta desks were located side by side, and shared luggage loading belts. Inside the brown suitcase that housed the Semtex bomb, investigators also found articles of clothing that were traced to a Malta shop. In a piece of much-contested evidence, the shop owner told investigators that he remembered selling the clothes to a man who resembled al-Megrahi.

The U.S. and Scotland issued an indictment in 1991 charging Libyan nationals al-Megrahi and Fhimah with the bombing of Pan Am 103. French officials also announced that the two men were



A police officer walks by the cockpit of the Pan Am Boeing 747 that exploded over Lockerbie on December 21, 1988, killing all 259 on board and 11 on the ground.

Source: © Corbis.

suspects in the 1989 bombing of a French jet over Niger that killed 171 people. Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi and Libyan officials refused to hand over al-Megrahi and Fhimah to stand trial, arguing that the men would not be treated fairly in a trial in either Scotland or America. This refusal led the United Nations in April 1992 to adopt resolutions calling for sanctions prohibiting military sales to Libya and banning airline traffic from taking off or landing in Libya. The United Nations increased the severity of the sanctions in November 1993, freezing Libya's overseas assets and forbidding the sale of oil equipment.

Libyan officials first indicated that they might consent to a trial in a third country in 1994. However, it was not until August of 1998 that Libya finally agreed to hand over al-Megrahi and Fhimah for a trial in the Netherlands under Scottish law. Libyan officials haggled over the deal for months afterward. South African president Nelson Mandela helped broker the final agreement, and the two suspects were handed over to U.N. representatives on April 5, 1999. The United Nations then immediately lifted the sanctions on Libya.

The trial itself, held in the former airbase Camp Zeist in the Netherlands, lasted nine months. Al-Megrahi was convicted of the mass murder of 270 people, and jailed for life. Fhimah was acquitted.

In their 82-page written decision, the judges in the Lockerbie case admitted that the prosecution's case had "uncertainties and qualifications," but voted unanimously for al-Megrahi's conviction. They concluded that the prosecution had not proved Fhimah's guilt in the bombing beyond a reasonable doubt.

The results of the trial are still debated, and some say that it has raised as many questions as it has answered. Al-Megrahi and his defense team appealed the decision, and later claimed they have fresh evidence in the case. The evidence is reported to be the

statements of a Heathrow Airport security guard, who told police that Pan Am's baggage area was broken into just 17 hours before Flight 103 exploded. This information may cast doubt on the prosecutors' case showing the Malta airport as the place where the Lockerbie bomb began its journey. Al-Megrahi lost his appeal in March 2002.

**See also** BOMBINGS AND BOMB SCARES; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE—GENERAL COMMAND; UNITED NATIONS

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## PATRIOT ACT

### aka U.S.A. Patriot Act of 2001

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The U.S.A. Patriot Act of 2001 was enacted by Congress in response to the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States and signed into law by President George W. Bush on October 26, 2001. Also referred to as the Patriot Act, it was passed in the Senate by a vote of 98-1 and in the House of Representatives by 357-66. U.S.A. Patriot is an acronym for “Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism.”

In his remarks on signing the Patriot Act, President Bush called the act “an essential step in defeating terrorism, while protecting the constitutional rights of American citizens,” and said the act gives “intelligence and law enforcement officials important new tools to fight a present danger.” Generally speaking, the act is a complex statute covering a wide range of laws. It creates new crimes, new penalties, and contains many provisions enabling U.S. government and law enforcement agencies to better coordinate their information exchange and working procedures. The Patriot Act is divided into 10 sections called “titles” and contains hundreds of individual changes in U.S. law. The titles indicate the scope of the act:

1. Enhancing Domestic Security Against Terrorism
2. Enhanced Surveillance Procedures
3. International Money Laundering Abatement and Anti-Terrorist Financing Act of 2001
4. Protecting the Border
5. Removing Obstacles to Investigating Terrorism
6. Providing for Victims of Terrorism, Public Safety Officers, and Their Families
7. Increased Information Sharing for Critical Infrastructure Protection
8. Strengthening the Criminal Laws Against Terrorism
9. Improved Intelligence
10. Miscellaneous

The act contains several key provisions that enhance governmental counterterrorism efforts. For example, the act authorizes the president to freeze assets under U.S. jurisdiction of any person, organization, or country, when U.S. national security

is threatened. The act authorizes federal officers who acquire foreign intelligence information to consult with other federal law enforcement officers and encourages federal intelligence officials to “establish and maintain intelligence relationships” with anyone “for the purpose of engaging in lawful intelligence activities.” Similarly, the Patriot Act requires heads of federal law enforcement agencies to disclose foreign intelligence information obtained in the course of a criminal investigation to the director of central intelligence. The Patriot Act has also had significant impact in the area of criminal law and procedure, anti-money laundering measures, and immigration policy. In the area of criminal law, the act prohibits terrorist attacks against mass transportation systems and harboring terrorists; gives the United States jurisdiction over crime committed at U.S. facilities abroad; considers terrorism “racketeering activity” so it can be prosecuted under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) statute. Additionally, it creates penalties for terrorist conspiracies such as attempting to provide material support for terrorism and punishes knowing possession of a biological agent that is not for research of other peaceful purpose with fines and/or imprisonment.

With regard to criminal procedures, the Patriot Act allows the sharing of grand jury information regarding foreign intelligence with federal government and law enforcement officials. It also allows for roving wiretaps under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, the seizure of voice mail messages pursuant to a search warrant (instead of under wiretapping procedures), for law enforcement to subpoena additional subscriber records from service providers (contact and payment information) and for law enforcement to delay notice that may be required to given of a search warrant if a “court finds reasonable cause to believe” that providing that notice may adversely affect the search.

The act also expands U.S. money laws. Securities brokers and dealers now have to file Suspicious Activities Reports with the Treasury Department; prior to the act this was required only of bankers. U.S. anti-money laundering laws are now applicable to credit unions as well as individuals or “any network of people” who facilitate the transfer of money “outside the conventional financial institutions systems.” The act prohibits establishing a “correspondent account” in the



*President George W. Bush and First Lady Laura Bush wave the flag and sing “God Bless America” during a memorial service at the Pentagon on October 11, 2001, in honor of those killed in the terrorist attack on the building.*

Source: U.S. Department of Defense photograph by R. D. Ward.

United States for a foreign “shell bank,” a bank without a physical presence and “currency smuggling,” the transport of more than \$10,000 into or out of the United States. The Patriot Act also requires financial institutions to obtain more detailed background information on their clients and to compare names of potential clients with the names on terrorist or suspected terrorist lists provided by the U.S. government.

In the area of immigration and border protection, the Patriot Act allows the State Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service access to criminal history and other records held by the FBI. The act denies admissibility to the United States to an alien who is a member or representative of terrorist organization or to an alien who through his or her “position of prominence” in a foreign country endorsed or persuaded others to endorse terrorism that undermines U.S. counterterrorism efforts, and it mandates the attorney general to maintain custody of an alien involved in terrorism until the alien is removed from the United States.

The Patriot Act contains many miscellaneous provisions, such as authorizing payments to individuals who furnish information leading to the prevention of terrorism or the identity of someone “who holds a key leadership position in a terrorism organization” and

prohibiting a state from issuing a license to operate a motor vehicle transporting hazardous material unless the secretary of transportation determines that the individual does not pose a security risk warranting the denial of the license.

Since it was enacted soon after the September 11 attacks, critics argue that insufficient thought was given to the constitutionality and effect of some of the act’s provisions. Because it gives the government unprecedented power to monitor individuals’ activities, some say it is an infringement of the Bill of Rights, that it particularly violates the rights of non-citizens, and aims to silence

political dissent. In addition, critics believe that the act’s “Sunset Provision,” a clause stating that certain provisions are in force only through 2005, acknowledges, through its transience, concerns that the act is dubiously constitutional.

Supporters of the Patriot Act argue the its new measures had been considered at length by the government and should have been enacted long before September 11, 2001. Some are even concerned that the new provisions designated in the act are not extensive enough to prevent terrorist threats. Still, the propriety or constitutionality of certain provisions may very well be reviewed by Congress or tested in the courts.

**See also** COUNTERTERRORISM; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS; WAR ON TERRORISM

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## PATRIOT MOVEMENT

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The “patriot movement” refers to a loose collection of extreme right-wing movements, groups, and individuals in the United States that broadly share a number of antigovernment and conspiratorial views. Arising in the 1970s, the movement reached a peak of activity in the 1990s following the controversial standoffs at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and Waco, Texas, generating a number of criminal and terrorist acts, including the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995. The patriot movement is still quite active in the United States and criminal activity remains common.

### ORIGINS

Right-wing extremists in the United States have had a long history of domestic terrorism, as well as other ideologically based criminal activity. Much of this activity originated from white supremacist convictions, ranging from Ku Klux Klan violence during the civil rights era to neo-Nazi and skinhead violence in later decades. The rise of the patriot movement in the United States is significant in that, though the movement cannot be divorced from white supremacy, its ideology is primarily antigovernment rather than racist in nature. Its adherents believe that the U.S. government (federal, state, and local) is illegitimate. Adherents rationalize taking action, including violent action.

The patriot movement began in the 1950s and 1960s, stemming from right-wing opposition to the federal income tax. Tax protesters did not merely want income tax laws reformed or repealed, but believed the government was taxing individuals selectively and unfairly and that they could rightfully avoid paying taxes. Tax protesters generated a number of justifications for their claims of immunity, believing that the judicial system was also corrupt for not upholding their arguments in court.

The first group to popularize the notion of the government illegitimacy due to its income tax policy, and which was in large part responsible for the birth of the patriot movement, was the Posse Comitatus. The Posse was created in 1969 by Henry “Mike” Beach in Oregon and William Potter Gale in California (each claimed to have originated the idea) and spread across the country during the following decade. Initially, it was most popular in the Pacific Northwest and in

Wisconsin, but by the early 1980s much Posse activity occurred in the Great Plains.

The Posse Comitatus (Latin for “Power of the County”) claimed that the county level of government—because it was closest to the people—was pre-eminent and that counties could essentially ignore federal and state laws, taxes, regulations, and court orders with which they did not agree. The county sheriff was the key authority within the county, but the sheriff’s role was not so much to enforce the law as to obstruct it, ensuring that “unconstitutional” state and federal laws were not enforced in the county. Any sheriff who enforced those laws could be hanged by the Posse.

### THE FARM CRISIS AND THE 1980s

Throughout the 1970s, the Posse exhibited low levels of activity, just an occasional standoff (to oppose a repossession, for instance) or assault on a public official. In the 1980s, however, the Posse swelled in popularity because of the serious farm crisis that gripped the country. Right-wing extremists targeted desperate farmers for recruitment at the same time that the government was largely indifferent to their plight. The Posse received national attention in 1983, when Posse activist Gordon Kahl killed two U.S. marshals attempting to arrest him. A nationwide manhunt ensued, which ended several months later in Arkansas with another gun battle that killed Kahl and a local sheriff. The Kahl shootouts, however, were only two of a number of violent incidents that occurred around the country, especially in the farm belt.

In addition to violence, Posse adherents also adopted what has come to be called “paper terrorism.” Paper terrorism is the use of bogus legal filings, documents, or financial instruments or the misuse of such legitimate items in order to harass or intimidate public officials, law enforcement officers, or private citizens and businesses. Common paper terrorism tactics included bogus liens, false IRS 1099 forms, and fictitious financial instruments billed as sight drafts or “public office money certificates.”

The Posse was the most active antigovernment group in the 1980s, but it spawned a host of offshoots and imitators, including “schools of common law” as well as fictitious “townships.” These groups, which shared the Posse’s view of an illegitimate government established by conspiracy, became the backbone of what would eventually be called the patriot movement.

Joining them were tax protesters, or “tax patriots,” as well as others who frequently identified themselves as “Christian Patriots.” The latter often included white supremacists; especially prominent was the religious sect Christian Identity, whose adherents believe that whites of European descent are descendants of the ancient Israelites of the bible, while Jews are descended from a physical relationship between Eve and Satan and nonwhites are “mud peoples,” the product of a creation prior to that which created Adam and Eve.

Posse founder William Potter Gale was a leading Identity adherent, as was John Harrell, an Illinois millionaire, who held gatherings and “freedom festivals” of his Christian Patriots Defense League (CPDL) in Illinois and Missouri. On the Missouri-Arkansas border another group of Identity advocates established a compound called the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA; eventually shut down by the federal government in 1985).

The movement lost steam in the late 1980s as the farm crisis eased somewhat, and some patriot leaders died, were imprisoned, or simply dropped out of the movement. However, within a few years, the movement experienced a resurgence in numbers and activity, thanks to new energy and recruits.

## RESURGENCE IN THE 1990s

The end of the Cold War prompted many on the far right to look for enemies other than the Soviet Union; they found those foes in their own government. However, a distinct series of events catalyzed the patriot movement and gave it new life and a new sense of urgency. The election of Bill Clinton and the Rodney King riots in 1992 were causal factors, as was the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Even more important were two gun control measures, the Brady Law and the Assault Weapons Ban.

Overshadowing all of these, however, were the deadly standoffs involving federal agents at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, in 1992, and Waco, Texas, in 1993, which convinced many on the extreme right that the federal government would stop at nothing to stamp out dissent or nonconformity, especially if it involved race or firearms. Many groups saw a resurgence in numbers, which also resulted in growth of extremist-related criminal activity. For example, the Aryan Republican Army, a small group of white supremacists, stole several hundred thousand dollars from more than 20 banks in the Midwest in the mid-1990s

to finance racist causes. While Christian Identity still played an important role, the patriot movement in the 1990s attracted many people who were nonracist and even some who claimed to be antiracist, particularly in the militia movement; the focus became overwhelmingly antigovernment in nature. Although very loosely organized, three main submovements dominated the patriot movement: the militia movement, the sovereign citizen movement, and the tax protest movement.

## THE MILITIA MOVEMENT

The militia movement is the youngest major right-wing movement; solidifying in the wake of the Branch Davidian standoff at Waco, Texas, in 1993. Pioneers of the movement, such as Linda Thompson of Indiana and John Trochmann of Montana, argued that the people needed to arm and organize themselves to prevent future incidents such as the Waco standoff. They practiced and justified paramilitary activity, claiming to be the statutory militia established in federal and state law. Trochmann’s Militia of Montana was the first such group, but it was quickly followed by others as the movement spread across the country. By the summer of 1994, militia groups had formed in at least 25 states, particularly active in Michigan, Texas, Ohio, Montana, and Florida.

The militia movement focuses primarily on two issues. The first is opposition to gun control; militia adherents believed that there is a deliberate plan to disarm all Americans. The second is the “New World Order” conspiracy theory, according to which the U.S. government, in collaboration with organizations such as the United Nations, is aiming to establish concentration camps and a foreign military presence in the United States in preparation for the inevitable takeover of the country. Throughout the 1990s, militia members trained and amassed stocks of weapons, including illegal weapons or explosives, in order to fight back. In 1995, an Oklahoma militia leader, Ray Lampley, and several followers were arrested for conspiring to blow up government buildings and other targets.

The following year militia members of the Georgia Republic Militia, the Arizona Viper Militia, the Washington State Militia, and the West Virginia Mountaineer Militia were arrested on weapons, explosives, or conspiracy charges. Moreover, members of militia groups continued to be arrested in every succeeding year up to the present for incidents

ranging from murder and attempted murder to planned acts of domestic terrorism to a variety of illegal weapons and explosives charges. Militia groups frequently engaged in confrontations with law enforcement, in which adherents would identify “victims” of government and show up in numbers to “protect” those persons. These acts justified public concerns about the movement.

The militia movement reached a peak of popularity after the Oklahoma City bombing. Although the event was initially linked to militia groups, the men convicted of the bombing were not affiliated—Timothy McVeigh, though part of the patriot movement, didn’t belong to any particular group, and Terry Lynn Nichols was essentially a sovereign citizen. However, the multiple arrests in 1996 caused the more timid to drop out of the movement, while at the same time the lack of militia response to standoffs in Montana and Texas in 1996 and 1997 caused many radical members to leave because they felt the movement was not aggressive enough, and the decline in numbers continued after 2000. In some parts of the country, such as Florida, the movement collapsed, while in other areas, such as the Midwest, it remained relatively healthy. Overall, levels of militia activity are much lower in 2002 than in 1996, but arrests and incidents continue.

## THE SOVEREIGN CITIZEN MOVEMENT

Sovereign citizens (also called constitutionalists and freemen) are the direct descendants of the Posse Comitatus, imbibing its antigovernment ideology as well as its employment of paper terrorism tactics. Sovereign citizens also believe in a twisted interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment that claims it created a new class of citizenship that people could voluntarily join, but only at the expense of all their rights. The government therefore “tricked” people into becoming Fourteenth Amendment citizens by having them sign “contracts” (such as Social Security cards, driver’s licenses, and birth certificates) to receive privileges that would put them under the jurisdiction of the government. They also believe that because these contracts were made without one’s knowledge, one can tear them up and no longer be subject to the “illegitimate” federal or state governments and thus any laws.

Throughout the 1990s, a common sovereign citizen activity was the creation of fictitious financial

instruments—check-like documents labeled as money orders, sight drafts, or comptrollers’ warrants. These were used to pay off debts, to purchase cars and boats, or were sometimes fraudulently sold to others for use as currency. Groups ranging from the Montana Freemen to Family Farm Preservation to the Republic of Texas put out several billion dollars (face value) of these instruments. Following the Montana Freemen standoff in 1996, in which about two dozen sovereign citizens held off the FBI for 81 days before surrendering, a nationwide crackdown on the bogus money orders temporarily put an end to the activity. However, within a few years another scheme, “Redemption,” which involved the creation of bogus sight drafts, swept the sovereign citizen movement and as of 2002 is active in much of the country.

Although paper terrorism tactics are the weapon of choice of sovereign citizens, violence is also common, as indicated by the 1997 Republic of Texas standoff in which members of the group took neighbors hostage in retaliation for the arrest of a fellow member. There have also been a number of violent incidents stemming from traffic stops, where sovereign citizens have shot or assaulted police officers who pulled them over.

## THE TAX PROTEST MOVEMENT

The tax protest movement is one of the most active right-wing movements and is often a source of recruitment for the extreme right with its lure of income tax avoidance. Some of the largest patriot groups in the past 20 years have been tax protest groups, including Your Heritage Protection Association (YHPA), the Pilot Connection Society, and the Save-A-Patriot Fellowship. The YHPA grew to nearly 19,000 members in the early 1980s before its leader, Armen Condo, was convicted of mail and tax fraud. A number of tax protest groups have met similar fates for marketing bogus trusts, fraudulent “untax kits,” or other tax evasion devices.

While most of the criminal activity associated with the movement consists of tax evasion-related charges, the movement also generates a number of violent extremists. In the 1990s, tax protesters attacked Internal Revenue Service (IRS) buildings and offices with mortars, shotguns, bombs, and gas; several IRS offices have been burned down. In 1995, Charles Polk was arrested (and later convicted) for plotting to blow up an IRS office in Austin, Texas.

The movement received an unexpected boost when IRS enforcement budgets were reduced following highly publicized congressional hearings in the late 1990s on alleged IRS wrongdoings. As a result, many tax protesters came to believe they could be open about their activities without risk of prosecution. Unlike many other right-wing movements, most of which are strapped for cash, prominent tax protest groups in recent years have been able to place full-page color ads in national newspapers. As of 2002, the tax protest movement continues to grow in size and activity.

**See also** TIMOTHY McVEIGH; OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING; POSSE COMITATUS

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## PEARL, DANIEL (1963–2002)

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*Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl was investigating terrorist groups in Pakistan when he was kidnapped and later murdered by Islamic extremists.

Pearl was born in Princeton, New Jersey, in 1963. He began his career as a journalist at a string of regional East Coast papers, joining the *Journal* in 1990. As a foreign correspondent for the *Journal*, Pearl filed many stories about the Middle East, writing about pearl divers in the Persian Gulf and describing how Osama bin Laden used the gem trade to finance his

military activities. Taking on the post of Asia bureau chief for the *Journal* in 2000, he moved to Bombay with his wife, Mariane.

At the time of his kidnapping, Pearl was in Karachi researching the links between bin Laden's Al Qaeda network and Richard Reid, the so-called shoe bomber. Reid, a British-born Islamic militant, was arrested in December 2001 aboard a Paris-Miami flight for allegedly trying to ignite explosive materials concealed in the heels of his sneakers. On January 23, 2002, Pearl went to meet with contacts who had promised to arrange a meeting with radical Islamic leader Sheik Mubarak Ali Shah Gilani. Pearl was never seen alive again.

A previously unknown group, the National Movement for the Restoration of Pakistani Sovereignty, had abducted Pearl. The National Movement sent e-mails to various news agencies calling for the release of Pakistani prisoners among the Taliban and Al Qaeda detainees held at the U.S. military base in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. The e-mails included attached photos of Pearl in chains and with a gun to his head. The group, reportedly linked to the outlawed Pakistani group Jaish-e-Mohammed, threatened to kill Pearl and accused him of being a spy for the United States and for the Mossad, Israel's foreign intelligence agency.

Pearl was confirmed dead by the U.S. State Department on February 22, 2002, after a Pakistan-based journalist obtained a videocassette showing Pearl being murdered (he was decapitated) and brought it to the U.S. embassy in Pakistan. Pearl was survived by his wife, who was seven months pregnant at the time of his death. In his memory, Pearl's family set up the Daniel Pearl Foundation to combat cultural and religious hatred.

Ten days before Pearl's death became known, Pakistani officials arrested British-born Islamic militant Ahmed Omar Sheikh and later accused him of masterminding the kidnapping and murder. During the spring of 2002, a special antiterrorism court in Pakistan put Sheikh, Salman Saqib, Fahad Naseem, and Shaikh Adil on trial for Pearl's murder; all four pleaded not guilty. The prosecution painted a picture of a trap—Pearl's kidnappers pretended to be arranging interviews for him but instead plotted his abduction. The press and public were banned from the trial, which was first held inside the central jail of the port city of Karachi and then moved 100 miles inland for security. During the trial, a taxi driver testified that he saw Pearl get into a car with Sheikh. A Pakistani



journalist who helped Pearl in his attempts to set up an interview with the Islamic radical Gilani also identified Sheikh and said that he was the man who (using the pseudonym Chaudry Bashir) met with the two journalists and promised to arrange the interview. According to press reports, Pakistani police detained Gilani after Pearl's disappearance but released him because they found nothing to connect him with the kidnapping.

During the murder trial, the defendants reportedly intimidated witnesses, lawyers, and officials. The chief prosecutor said that he felt his life was in danger; all of the defendants are said to have shouted insults at witnesses.

On July 15, 2002, Sheikh was convicted and sentenced to death by a court in Hyderabad, Pakistan, for the kidnapping and murder of Pearl; the three accomplices received life sentences.

*See also* JAISH-E-MOHAMMED; RICHARD REID

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## PEOPLE AGAINST GANGSTERISM AND DRUGS

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Formed in 1996 as a grassroots attempt to combat gang fighting and drugs in Cape Town, South Africa, People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD) later adopted antigovernment and anti-Western ideologies and used terror to spread its message. It declared a jihad (commonly translated as "holy war") against Cape Town's gangs and is believed to have murdered about 100 people. Although PAGAD's initial objective was to serve as a broad-based anti-crime group, it has adopted a paramilitary style and is thought to have ties with Islamic extremists in the Middle East. PAGAD now views the South African government as a threat to Islamic values and to Muslims in South Africa.

For many years, criminal gangs and drug dealers troubled the impoverished communities on the outskirts of Cape Town. A mix of citizens, populist moderate Muslim leaders, and Islamic extremists formed

what became known as PAGAD and set about to destroy the area's gangs and drug sellers. Led by Abdus Salaam Ebrahim, the group operates in small cells. PAGAD first made headlines in 1996 when the group beat and later murdered and set afire Rashaad Staggie, leader of a notorious criminal gang in South Africa.

As a consequence, people viewed PAGAD less favorably and the government was unsure how to respond to such vigilantism. Speculation arose that PAGAD had either merged with—or been infiltrated by—Qibla, a militant Shiite Muslim group that formed in South Africa in 1980. Qibla (originally called the Qibla Mass Movement) was heavily influenced by the 1979 Iranian revolution and sought to transform South Africa into a Muslim theocracy, under the slogan "One Solution, Islamic Revolution."

PAGAD has recently shifted its focus: members have attacked South African authorities, moderate Muslims, synagogues, gay nightclubs, tourist attractions, and Western-associated restaurants and are the chief suspects in the 1998 bombing of the Cape Town Planet Hollywood restaurant. After a series of pipe bomb attacks on the homes of academics, businesspeople, and police, South African authorities have taken a strong stand against PAGAD. The government links PAGAD—and Qibla—to hundreds of bombings and violent crimes in the Western Cape since the mid-1990s. Since 1997 alone, at least 60 people have been killed and 125 injured at the hand of PAGAD.

Many believe that PAGAD has only about 50 members, Qibla could have as many as five times that number; both groups are believed to receive support from Islamic extremists in the Middle East.

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## PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

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The People's Liberation Army (EPL) is a Marxist guerrilla group that has been fighting the government of Colombia since the mid-1960s.

The 1960s were a time of great upheaval in Colombia, resulting in the formation of several active resistance forces; the best known are the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and National Liberation Army (ELN). Unlike the ELN and the FARC, which although communist in ideology operated independently of any political faction, the EPL was founded in 1967 as the armed wing of an existing political party, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (ML-CP)—a breakaway faction of the Colombian Communist Party. Thus, the EPL was the instrument of its party, not an independent entity. During the EPL's early years, it adhered strictly to party dogma; such focus may have made the EPL more receptive to political solutions to Colombia's ongoing conflict.

The ML-CP advocated a strict Maoist strategy in which revolution was to originate among guerrilla fighters and peasants in the countryside who would encircle major cities with "liberated" territory, thus gradually choking off government support until besiegement caused collapse. This strategy prompted the EPL to infiltrate local unions and worker's rights groups to indoctrinate the peasantry. While the EPL infiltrated effectively, its recruitment efforts met largely with failure. By 1975, disagreements within the EPL leadership over strict adherence to Maoist strategy began a period of infighting that limited the group's ability to fight on the outside. In 1980, the EPL announced that it had abandoned Maoism, and it began to attract new members in its northeastern area of operation. By the early 1980s, the group was estimated to have about 1,500 active members.

In 1982, Colombia's president Belisario Betancur initiated peace negotiations with the guerrillas. The EPL and another guerrilla group, the M-19, were the most receptive; in August of 1984 the EPL signed a peace accord with the government. Many in the government and the Army were opposed to Betancur's peace initiative, however, and right-wing paramilitary death squads began to form. The EPL and other guerrilla groups that had tried to enter politics found their activists the targets of assassination, and neither the Army nor the larger guerrilla groups were honoring the cease-fire. After the November 1985 assassination of the EPL's leader Oscar Calvo, the group abandoned the now-collapsed peace process.

This was a heavy blow to the EPL, as it had been one of the initiative's most ardent supporters. Former sympathizers felt betrayed by the EPL's political capitulation and began to support the FARC and

the ELN, both of which were seen as rightly mistrustful of the government. The EPL attempted to reestablish itself as a guerrilla force, copying the FARC and the ELN tactic of kidnapping and attacks on the oil industry, but the EPL never truly recovered. In 1989–1990, the EPL once again entered talks with the government; an amnesty offer induced 1,800 EPL guerrillas to lay down their arms in March 1991, seemingly finishing the organization.

A hard core of dissidents, however, refused to participate in the amnesty, and with the FARC and ELN continuing their fight with the government; these hardliners were able to regroup and attract new recruits. The recent spate of kidnappings, including the 1999 abduction of a Roman Catholic archbishop, may be an attempt to bring the EPL to public notice once again. The organization is currently estimated to have about 1,000 members. While it remains one of the smallest guerrilla groups active in Colombia, the EPL's tenacity and the intransigence of its remaining leaders makes it a force that cannot be easily dismissed.

*See also* NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY—COLUMBIA; REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF COLOMBIA; UNITED SELF-DEFENSE FORCES OF COLOMBIA

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## PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

aka **Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo**

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The People's Revolutionary Army (Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo; ERP) was a leftist guerrilla organization active in El Salvador's 12-year civil war (1980–1992); it also played a leading role in the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation.

El Salvador had, since 1929, been ruled by a military dictatorship. The army, which served the interests of the 14-family oligarchy that controlled the Salvadoran economy, ran the country. Elections were

held, but true changes in leadership came only through internal coups. In the late 1960s, resistance to the regime began to coalesce; by 1972 the middle-class, centrist Christian Democratic Party appeared certain to win that year's presidential election. The army responded with widespread election fraud and exiled Jose Duarte, the Christian Democrat's leader. Many political dissidents, having lost faith in the electoral process, began to look for other methods of opposing the dictatorship.

The ERP was founded in late 1972 by leftist dissidents, many of them former students at the National University of El Salvador, a Marxist stronghold. Although the ERP was aligned with Communists, unlike other leftist groups, it emphasized action over dogma. ERP leaders were far more concerned with overthrowing the dictatorship while the time was ripe than with the political character of the government that would replace it; they also were not opposed to working with El Salvador's moderate middle class. In 1975, the ERP came to widespread attention when its leadership assassinated Roque Dalton, a Salvadoran poet who had advocated a more strictly Marxist-Leninist, long-term political approach.

By the late 1970s, the ERP had established a base of operations in the eastern province of Morazán. It was also involved in terrorist activities in the capital, San Salvador, kidnapping businessmen and political leaders, orchestrating bombings, and attacking security forces. At the peak of civil unrest in 1979, leftist guerrillas formed an alliance to better pool their resources, calling the new group the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation (FMLN). Of the five guerrilla groups involved, the ERP was the second largest and believed by many to have the best-trained guerrillas. The ERP's leader, Joaquin Villalobos, became one of the most prominent spokesmen for the FMLN.

In 1981, ERP guerrillas were an essential component of the FMLN's "Final Offensive," an assault on the capital and security forces planned in accordance with the ERP's direct, action-oriented revolutionary vision. When the Final Offensive failed to inspire a mass uprising of the populace, the guerrillas withdrew to the countryside. A stalemate ensued until 1989, when another large-scale FMLN offensive pushed the government into negotiations; a peace agreement was signed in January 1992. After the war, the ERP and particularly its flashy commander, Villa Lobos, emerged as a moderate, center-left political force,

while the FMLN has become a potent force in El Salvador's governing republic.

*See also* FARABUNDO MARTI FRONT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

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## PERSIAN GULF WAR

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The 1991 Persian Gulf War, in which a U.S.-led international coalition expelled an invading Iraqi Army from Kuwait, is a watershed in post-Cold War international relations and the development of modern terrorism.

### HISTORY OF THE CONFLICT

Iraq and Kuwait have a long-standing border dispute that has caused tension between the two countries for decades; Iraq has accused Kuwait of drawing oil from fields on the Iraqi side of the border. Following the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988; also called the First Persian Gulf War), Iraq was heavily in debt and desperate to increase its oil revenue. At this time, the price of oil declined, and Iraq accused Kuwait of deliberately manipulating world oil markets to Iraq's disadvantage. Experts now believe that President Saddam Hussein of Iraq acted against Kuwait in the hope of annexing the country and its oil fields, thereby making up Iraq's shortfall in oil revenues. Anti-Kuwaiti rhetoric became more and more evident and shrill in the Iraqi press and in official statements in months leading up to Iraq's August 2, 1990, invasion of Kuwait.

Foreign policy experts in the U.S. government were preoccupied in the late 1980s and early 1990s with the

fall of communism in Europe and the geo-political implications of the end of the Cold War; in comparison, the Iraq-Kuwait border dispute seemed minor. Following the hardships of the Iran-Iraq War, most analysts expected Iraq to begin to rebuild its economy and society. That the U.S. government would not countenance an Iraqi invasion in the volatile Gulf region was considered self-evident, and the anti-Kuwaiti rhetoric was perceived as blustering.

Taken by surprise, the U.S. government now questioned assumptions it had made about the Iraqi regime. If Hussein had been so foolish as to invade Kuwait, he might also attempt to invade Iraq's other neighbors—in particular, oil-rich Saudi Arabia. Such instability in the region could drive up world oil prices and be a serious risk to the U.S. economy. The United States began to assemble a coalition to prevent further invasion and put pressure on Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.

The United States was not alone; the United Nations passed a resolution condemning the invasion and calling for an immediate withdrawal, and within a week it had passed a resolution calling for an economic embargo against Iraq. Both resolutions passed almost unanimously. At the same time, the United States-led coalition—including several Arab nations—began sending troops to Saudi Arabia. Eventually, more than 300,000 troops would participate in Operation Desert Shield, with the United States supplying most of the military personnel and other coalition members the funds. Over the next few months, as diplomatic efforts and an embargo failed to compel an Iraqi withdrawal, former U.S. president George Bush successfully lobbied the United Nations to approve the use of force against Iraq. The United Nations passed a resolution on November 29, 1990, demanding that Iraq withdraw before January 15, 1991, or face the prospect of war. The coalition forces in the Gulf doubled their troops in the region.

Iraq did not respond to the U.N. ultimatum, believing the threat of war to be a bluff. On January 16, 1991, Operation Desert Shield became Operation Desert Storm; led by the U.S. Air Force, the coalition forces began a campaign of air bombardment that decimated Iraqi defenses over the next several weeks. On February 23, after additional U.S. demands for unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait had been refused by Iraq, the coalition forces began a ground campaign. After just four days of fighting, the majority of the Iraqi Army had either surrendered or fled, and Kuwait was in the hands of Allied forces.

## EFFECTS OF THE PERSIAN GULF WAR ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND TERRORISM

The period between the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the final dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991 was a time of great uncertainty for governments around the world, as Cold War political alignments, which had first been formed in 1945, began to disintegrate. How the dissolution of the Communist eastern bloc would affect the rest of the world was a matter of great debate. Could one superpower survive without the other? For instance, without the fear of Soviets, would former allies prove more intractable when considering U.S. demands? Now that the Cold War arms race was over, could a rising economic power such as Japan or Germany become a counterweight to the United States? What would be the role of the United Nations, now that the opposing interests of the United States and the Soviet Union no longer worked to impede Security Council resolutions?

The important role that the United Nations had played showed that the international community could act in concert over issues of mutual concern. But the blueprint for international action provided by the Persian Gulf War was by no means universally applicable. In some ways, the Persian Gulf War was a simple conflict; Iraq's actions were clearly illegal, aggressive, and destabilizing to the region. The country had no strong allies to support its claims, while its actions posed a threat to the vital interests of several other nations. Achieving an international consensus to support action against Iraq, while a daunting task, was considerably simpler than achieving such a consensus in future conflicts, the Balkan wars of the mid-1990s being an example.

In addition, the vigorous diplomacy of the Bush administration had been instrumental in securing the unanimity necessary to pass the U.N. resolutions. The Persian Gulf War revealed the extent of U.S. power, both politically, in its ability to rally the world behind the anti-Iraqi operation, and militarily, in the devastating firepower that it was able to supply so readily and that had concluded the conflict so rapidly and decisively.

This revelation had its dark side, however, as those individuals and groups that opposed U.S. hegemony and the values that it represented—democracy, capitalism, and individual liberty—made the United States the target of their attacks. As the war against

Iraq showed, a nation-state could not risk an open attack against the vital interests of the United States without fear of military reprisal. Independent terrorist organizations, however, were not so constrained.

An upsurge in anti-U.S. demonstrations, and in terrorism directed at U.S. targets, became immediately evident at the beginning of the military buildup in the Gulf known as Operation Desert Shield. The period of military action, from mid-January 1991 to the end of February, saw hundreds of terrorist incidents against U.S. and coalition targets across the globe. Despite exhortations from Hussein to fellow Arabs to rise up in support of him, the terrorism was not more pronounced in the Middle East than elsewhere. The anticipated surge in activity of Palestinian terrorist groups that had the support of Iraq did not come to pass, perhaps because Yasir Arafat's vocal support of Hussein led to a drop in funding from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

Meanwhile, analysts were surprised to discover instead an upswing in the activity of European leftist terrorist groups that many had thought defunct. Most of these incidents involved small bombs intended to inflict property damage; the wave of terrorist activity subsided almost immediately after the war ended, with the number of incidents during the rest of 1991 fewer than during the same period in 1990. Several incidents could be attributed to Iraqi agents, however, and the Persian Gulf War only increased Iraq's support of international terrorism.

Since the Gulf War, the vast majority of significant incidents of international terrorism have been directed against U.S. targets, the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon most prominent among them. Some of the terrorists involved, particularly those who participated in the 1993 and 2001 World Trade Center attacks, are alleged to have links to Iraqi intelligence services.

### LASTING PROBLEMS

The antipathy between Iraq and the United States may be one of the most lasting effects of the Persian Gulf War. Although Hussein remains in power, the United States has continued to attempt to restrain him. The surrender agreement between Iraq and the United Nations, signed at the end of the Persian Gulf War, requires Iraq to allow international inspectors to evaluate its weapons programs and determine whether it is attempting to manufacture or maintain weapons of mass destruction. Iraq's noncompliance has been a

regular diplomatic, economic, and military irritant; the fear is that Iraq may have such weapons and intend to use them against the United States.

The United States has also maintained "no-fly zones" over parts of northern and southern Iraq that the Iraqi Army is forbidden to enter. These zones are intended to protect the Kurds and Shiite Muslims who live there. To maintain these no-fly zones, the United States has maintained military bases in Saudi Arabia that were established during the Gulf War. The Saudi government supports these bases, for Iraqi invasion remains a threat; many within Saudi Arabia, however, feel that the use of non-Muslim forces to defend a country with the holiest of Islam's sites is an insult. The removal of U.S. military presence within Saudi Arabia has been a primary goal of Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda organization since its formation in 1989.

*See also* AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; SADDAM HUSSEIN; UNITED NATIONS

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**PFLP. See POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE.**

**PFLP-GC. See POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE-GENERAL COMMAND.**

**PIERCE, WILLIAM L. See THE TURNER DIARIES.**

**PIJ. See PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD.**

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**PKK. See KURDISTAN WORKERS PARTY.**

**PLF. See PALESTINE LIBERATION FRONT.**

**PLO. See PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION.**

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## **POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE**

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Founded in 1967 by George Habash after Israel captured the West Bank in the Six-Day War, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) embraces a blend of Marxist-Leninist ideology and Arab nationalism. The group, which became notorious during the 1970s for hijacking civilian airliners, is the second largest in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The U.S. State Department lists the PFLP as a terrorist group.

In August 1969, PFLP members Leila Ali Khaled and Salim Issawi took over a TWA Rome-to-Tel Aviv flight and directed the plane to Syria, where the passengers and crew were released unharmed. With the plane emptied, the hijackers blew up the cockpit. Khaled, then just 25, became infamous, called “girl terrorist” and “deadly beauty” by the press. She subsequently had plastic surgery to disguise her well-known face, and took part in the PFLP’s next, and most daring, round of hijackings. On September 6, 1970, PFLP members hijacked four planes in a single day, all bound for New York City. After all hostages were released safely, King Hussein of Jordan declared war on the Palestinian groups operating in Jordan. In the battles known as Black September, the Jordanian Army crushed the Palestinian fighters.

The group renounced hijacking and largely dropped from the headlines for several decades. Members became involved in a variety of social projects, including working to provide a network of Palestinian health care clinics. Although the group moved part of its headquarters from Syria to the West Bank during the mid-1990s, Habash continued to lead the group from his base in Damascus. According to the U.S. State

Department, Syria not only provides a haven for Habash and other PFLP members, but gives the group logistic support.

In 1993, the PFLP, a longtime opponent of peace negotiations, broke from the PLO to oppose the signing of the Declaration of Principles. The PFLP joined the Alliance of Palestinian Forces but split from this umbrella organization in 1996 because of ideological differences. During the same year, Habash commanded his members to refrain from taking part in the Palestinian legislative council elections. Although PFLP members sit on the PLO’s executive council, the group is not part of the Palestinian Authority.

In July 2000, an ailing Habash, who had led the PFLP for three decades, stepped down. The group’s 800-odd members elected Habash’s deputy Mustafa Zibri, widely known as Abu Ali Mustafa, as the new secretary general. In the *intifada* that began later that year, the PFLP took responsibility for roadside bombs and mortar attacks. In many interviews, Mustafa told the press that Israel was an “illegitimate entity.” Israeli minister Ephraim Sneh was, in turn, widely quoted as saying that Mustafa was taking the PFLP “back into what it was in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s—an active and deadly terrorist organization.” In August 2001, Israeli forces assassinated Mustafa, firing laser-guided missiles into his Ramallah office. Israeli officials stated that he was killed to prevent the PFLP from carrying out bombing attacks.

Two months later, the PFLP retaliated and assassinated right-wing Israeli cabinet minister Rahavam Zeevi, who had advocated the killing of Palestinian political leaders and the expulsion of all Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza. Israel accused Mustafa’s successor, Ahmed Saadat, of orchestrating the crime, and pressured the Palestinian Authority to arrest him. Yasir Arafat banned the group’s military wing and arrested Sadaat in January 2002. That very week the military arm of the PFLP, named the Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa Brigade for its late leader, threatened to kill Palestinian Authority officials if Saadat and other PFLP prisoners were not released from Authority jails. At the same time, however, PFLP political leaders were distancing themselves from the group’s military arm in public statements, although they did not go so far as to threaten the lives of fellow Palestinians. The military wing of the PFLP continues to contribute to the region’s escalating violence.

*See also* GEORGE HABASH; LEILA KHALED; PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION; TWA FLIGHT 840 HIJACKING

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## POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE—GENERAL COMMAND

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In 1968, Ahmad Jibril led a number of discontented members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) to form a separate group. Claiming to focus more on fighting and less on politics, they created the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command (PFLP—GC).

According to the U.S. State Department, PFLP—GC operatives carried out dozens of attacks in Europe and the Middle East during the 1970s and 1980s. They also engaged in various kidnappings. In May 1985, according to press reports, Israel exchanged 1,150 Arab prisoners for three Israelis held by the PFLP—GC.

Jibril, a former captain in the Syrian Army, originally based the group in Damascus. Although its headquarters remains in Syria, the PFLP—GC is now also closely tied to Iran. According to the State Department, the group receives logistic and military support from Syria, and financial support from Iran. Press reports in the mid-1990s disclosed that the PFLP—GC began to set up training camps in several areas of Iran.

After Pan Am Flight 103 exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland on December 21, 1988, killing 270 people, U.S. officials originally suspected that PFLP—GC operatives were paid by Iranian officials to carry out the crime. The Pan Am bombing happened just four months after a U.S. military cruiser accidentally shot down an Iranian Airbus, killing 290. After the Airbus disaster, Iranian government officials and affiliated militant groups had issued threats of revenge. Jibril denied any involvement in the bombing, and a lengthy criminal investigation carried out by Scottish officials later pointed to two Libyan Arab Airlines employees.

When Salman Rushdie published his novel *The Satanic Verses* in 1988, Jibril made headlines by publicly declaring that the PFLP—GC was prepared to carry out Iranian religious leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's fatwa against the author. The State Department listed the PFLP—GC as an active terrorist organization in its most recent report on global terrorism. Recently, the group has focused on guerrilla attacks in southern Lebanon and small-scale attacks in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza Strip.

*See also* AHMAD JIBRIL; PAN AM FLIGHT 103 BOMBING; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

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## POSSE COMITATUS

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The Posse Comitatus, meaning "Power of the County," was founded in 1969 by dry cleaner Henry L. Beach in Oregon and William Potter Gale in California (each claimed to have originated the idea). Members believe that the only legitimate authority is the county sheriff and any power above that is illegal. They object to and sometimes refuse to pay federal taxes. Influenced by the racist, anti-Semitic theology of Christian Identity, the Posse preaches that

the founders of the country intended a Christian Republic, and desegregation laws wrongly encourage race mixing. Group members establish churches to which they deed their properties and claim religious tax exemptions. Fearing the government's takeover by a Jewish-led, communist conspiracy, many stockpile weapons and food supplies, and train in weapons use and military tactics. Some, like Gordon Kahl, who shot two federal marshals at a roadblock, have resorted to violence.

The group first attracted the FBI's attention in 1975 when plans to assassinate "money czar" Nelson Rockefeller were unearthed. The resulting investigation uncovered chapters of the organization in 23 states and an estimated 12,000 to 50,000 members. The group accumulated its largest membership gains during the farm crisis of the 1980s. When, after years of struggling, farmers were forced to sell some or all of their farms on the auction block, the Posse convinced many of them to blame their troubles on the federal government and the banking system, both allegedly controlled by Jews.

Throughout the 1980s, Posse members engaged in a wide range of subversive activities aimed at the state and federal governments. Several state officials received letters of "asseveration" from members claiming they were no longer U.S. citizens. Many others filed pro se lawsuits against the Federal Reserve and other banks in efforts to reclaim taxes and interest they already paid and to clog up the courts with cases. Still others, like James Wickstrom, the leader of a Wisconsin branch, formed their own municipalities. Wickstrom was later imprisoned for conspiring to distribute \$100,000 in counterfeit money that he planned to use to set up a militia training camp.

Some incidents turned violent. In one case, a member shot three undercover federal agents who were buying guns from him. In Oregon, the FBI thwarted a plot to firebomb the homes of four judges who had presided over members' trials. In another case, a California branch leader, William Potter Gale—credited with bringing Christian Identity tenets into the Posse movement—and several associates, were arrested for making death threats to a judge and Internal Revenue Service agents.

The Posse gained widespread notoriety in the 1983 case involving Gordon Kahl. In North Dakota, U.S. marshals set up a roadblock to arrest Kahl for a probation violation having to do with an earlier tax evasion case. A gunfight resulted that left two marshals dead,

and another marshal and two police officers wounded. Five other people, including Kahl's wife and son, were arrested in connection with the murders but Kahl became a fugitive, eventually making his way to another member's house in Arkansas. After a four-month manhunt, he shot and killed a sheriff. Authorities responded by firing back with guns and teargas, igniting stockpiled ammunition. Kahl was killed and his charred body was later identified through dental records.

Kahl's death made him a martyr for the extreme right. It also alerted officials to the Posse's true potential, influencing law enforcement and legislation in several states. Officials believe that the Posse, like other militia groups, lost its impetus after the 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. However, the group and its rhetoric have inspired successors. In 1996, members of the Posse-inspired Family Farm Preservation group were charged with passing approximately \$80 million in counterfeit money orders in an effort to disrupt the federal monetary system. They were found guilty of conspiracy and mail fraud.

*See also* OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING; PATRIOT MOVEMENT

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## PUERTO RICAN NATIONALIST TERRORISM

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Puerto Rican nationalist terrorism was one of the four major domestic terrorist threats that faced the United States in the latter part of the 20th century, along with right-wing groups, militia groups, and single-subject special interest groups (e.g., anti-abortion militants, radical environmentalists).

Militant Puerto Rican nationalism dates to the 1930s, when Pedro Albizu Campos became president of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party (NPPR), a political group advocating that Puerto Rico become a free and independent republic. The charismatic and



Harvard-educated Campos injected the movement with a “radical nationalism,” calling for “direct action” to achieve the goal of national sovereignty. He pledged that for every nationalist killed, a continental American would die—a promise he kept. Police fired into a student protest at the University of Puerto Rico in October 1935; in February 1936, members of the NPPR assassinated Colonel Frank Riggs, Puerto Rico’s police commander.

### MOMENTUM LOST AND REGAINED

The cycle of nationalist uprisings, government repression, and nationalist retaliation continued through the 1930s. Campos was arrested in March 1936; Puerto Rico witnessed massive demonstrations after his conviction, culminating in what is known as the Ponce Massacre in February 1937, where police killed 30 civilians and wounded more than 150 others. That June, nationalists tried to kill both the judge who presided over Campos’s trial and Puerto Rico’s resident commissioner. However, without Campos’s leadership, internal strife caused the movement to lose much of its momentum.

The 1940s were marked by less militant political actions. By 1945, a good portion of the nationalist party had drifted toward the moderate “commonwealth” status, helping elect Luis Munoz Marin, leader of the Popular Democratic Party, as the first governor of Puerto Rico in 1948. Marin went to Washington, having formulated a “temporary” commonwealth status for Puerto Rico in exchange for a ratified constitution for Puerto Rico. By the end of the decade, Campos was released from jail, and extreme nationalism began to resurface.

On October 30, 1950, U.S. forces put down uprisings of more than 2,000 nationalists all over Puerto Rico. Two days later, nationalists struck, for the first time, on continental U.S. soil. Oscar Collazo and Grisilio Torresola, two NPPR members, tried to assassinate U.S. president Harry S. Truman. As the two men approached the Blair House, Truman’s temporary residence, a gunfight erupted between them and Truman’s guards, leaving Torresola and one police officer dead. Investigators found a letter from Campos on Torresola’s body, and though the letter did not refer explicitly to the assassination, it was enough to convict Campos a second time. On March 4, 1954, militant nationalists struck again, carrying Puerto Rican flags they stormed the U.S. House of Representatives armed with guns,

wounding five members of Congress before running out of ammunition. By the end of the 1950s, as in the 1930s, the Nationalist movement had again lost momentum, splitting into student organizations and “grouplets” such as Accion Patriotica Revolucionaria (APR) and Movimiento 27 de Marzo.

### THE FALN AND MORE

The antiwar and anti-imperialist movements that marked the late 1960s, coupled with the demise of consensus on Puerto Rico’s commonwealth status, led to a revival of militant Puerto Rican nationalism in the 1970s. In October 1974, Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN) announced its presence in the United States with a communiqué claiming responsibility for bombings in New York City and Newark, New Jersey. In January 1975, the FALN perpetrated one of its bloodiest attacks, the bombing of Fraunces Tavern, in which four died and more than 50 were injured. As the FALN continued to bomb, in August 1978, another militant nationalist group, the Macheteros (“machete wielders” in Spanish), sent its first communiqué, claiming responsibility for the death of a police officer in Puerto Rico. The two groups joined forces in September 1979, in solidarity for Puerto Rican independence by any means necessary. That October, the FALN and the Macheteros detonated bombs in Puerto Rico, New York, and Chicago.

While the FALN conducted bombings in the continental United States, focusing on government and public buildings in New York and Chicago, the Macheteros focused their activities on the islands of Puerto Rico, bombing U.S. military installations and draft offices and attacking military personnel. The Macheteros were joined by other, smaller militant groups. In December 1979, the Macheteros, the Volunteer Organization for the Puerto Rican Revolution, and Armed Forces of Popular Resistance jointly attacked a U.S. Navy bus: two sailors died and 10 were injured. In January 1981, yet another nationalist group, the Revolutionary Commandos of the People, bombed post offices where men registered for the draft. In the subsequent communiqué, the Revolutionary Commandos, who claimed that they did not want to hurt postal employees or destroy correspondence with their protest, tried to downplay the seriousness of its actions by citing the smallness of the bombs.

By the early 1980s, several members of the FALN and the Macheteros were already serving lengthy prison sentences. Willie Morales, the alleged leader of the FALN, had been convicted of possession of explosive devices in 1978; his “bomb factory” exploded in Queens, New York, maiming both his hands. (He later escaped prison and fled to Cuba.) In April 1980, 11 FALN members were captured in Evanston, Illinois. Three more FALN members were arrested in June 1983, in Chicago, marking the end of the FALN bombings, but not the organization.

### MACHETEROS ON THE MAINLAND

On September 12, 1983, the Macheteros struck for the first time outside of Puerto Rico, stealing more than \$7 million from a Wells Fargo depot in Hartford, Connecticut. The theft, one of largest cash robberies in U.S. history, elicited strong response from federal authorities. On August 30, 1985, more than 200 FBI agents were deployed in San Juan, Puerto Rico, to disassemble the Macheteros.

At the time of the Wells Fargo robbery, only eight groups merited full-investigation status by the FBI. Five of these were Puerto Rican—FALN, the Macheteros, FARP (Armed Forces of the Popular Resistance), MLN (Movement for National Liberation), and COR (Committee of Revolutionary

Workers). (The other three groups were the Arizona chapter of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the May 19 Organization, and the Jewish Defense League.) However, by 1987, which is often cited as the end of the threat of Puerto Rican nationalist terrorism, most key members were behind bars or living in exile.

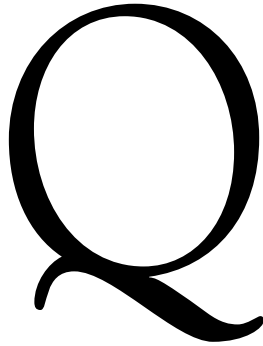
In 1999, U.S. president Bill Clinton commuted the sentences of 16 Puerto Rican nationalists amid great controversy and a Senate measure (passed 95-2) that condemned the clemencies as “deplorable.” (U.S. president Jimmy Carter faced little opposition when, in 1979, he granted clemency to the nationalists who attempted to assassinate Truman in 1950 and those who stormed the House of Representatives in 1954.) The release of these nationalists reignited the debate about whether the Puerto Rican nationalists should be considered terrorists or patriots, criminals or political prisoners.

*See also* FALN; FRAUNCES TAVERN BOMBING; MACHETEROS

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## QADDAFI, MUAMMAR EL- (1942?– )

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Muammar el-Qaddafi is the leader of Libya. Since his assumption of power in 1969, he has used his position to support insurgencies and terrorist groups throughout the world.

Qaddafi's exact birth date is unknown; a Bedouin, he was born in a tent in the Libyan desert near the town of Surt. He grew up in the traditional tribal, nomadic way of his people; throughout his life Qaddafi has extolled and romanticized tribal values and castigated the soullessness of modern industrial cities.

Qaddafi has always been fiercely proud and independent—traits for which the Bedouins are noted. Ambitious and intelligent, Qaddafi, from his earliest youth, abhorred all forms of foreign domination and “imperialism” in Libya. As a teenager, he came to admire Gamal Abdel Nasser and was inspired by Nasser's 1952 coup in Egypt. Qaddafi believed in and endorsed Nasser's pan-Arabist philosophy.

In 1961, Qaddafi enrolled in the Libyan military academy in the city of Benghazi. There he helped found the Free Officers Movement, a group of young military men who wanted to overthrow the Western-supported King Idris I. Graduating in 1965, he rose quickly within military ranks. In September 1969, Qaddafi and the Free Officers participated in a bloodless coup that exiled Idris. Some historians believe Qaddafi was the guiding spirit behind the coup, others that he merely took advantage of it to achieve power. Whatever the case, by 1970 Qaddafi had taken control of the Revolutionary Command Council and become

the leader of Libya. (Qaddafi has bestowed on himself and later discarded dozens of honorary titles; most Libyans refer to him as “the leader.”)

Almost immediately after assuming power, Qaddafi banned alcohol and expelled the Italian community (a colonial remnant), and forced the British, French, and Americans to withdraw from the military bases they had established on Libyan soil. Despite his claims of fealty to Islamic virtues, Qaddafi also cracked down on the Sanusi sect, a politically influential system of Islamic schools and monasteries. By the mid-1970s, following the socialist philosophy discussed in his *Green Book*, Qaddafi had instituted an unusual system of government in Libya. In brief, each town and village formed people's councils to decide local government policy; delegates from these local councils were sent to larger regional bodies, who in turn sent delegates to the national ruling body. Laws were enforced by the Revolutionary Command Council, of which Qaddafi was the head. This system is called the *Jamahiriya* (“state of the masses”). Critics believe the *Jamahiriya* was merely a new name for a totalitarian consolidation of power, but supporters describe it as an effective method of involving the Libyan people in the political life of the state—important a country with a tiny educated elite and with a short history of political participation having had no national political bodies until after World War II.

Qaddafi's experiences shaped his extreme view of international relations. His beliefs and statements have often appeared inexplicable to outside observers; many have characterized him as eccentric, and some have gone so far as to call him mad. Yet certain predominant themes and motivations can be discerned in even his

most seemingly bizarre actions. He has many times described the globe as being divided into “imperialists”—that is, the West, and particularly the United States—and “revolutionaries”—the struggling nations of the Third World. He believes that the latter need unite to overthrow the former, as he himself ousted the Libyan monarchy. He has supported the Palestinians in the struggle against Israel and has attempted to develop strategic alliances with other Arab states in line with the concepts of Nasser. In recent years, he has turned his attention to Africa, extolling similar unification and mutual aid plans to other North and sub-Saharan African nations in his travels around the continent.

### QADDAFI AND TERRORISM

Qaddafi sees terrorism as a legitimate means to accomplish the overthrow of the imperialists. Libya's sponsorship of international terrorism since Qaddafi's assumption of power has included dozens of groups in as many countries; a partial list includes the Irish Republican Army, the Red Brigades of Italy, the Japanese Red Army, the Sandinistas of Nicaragua, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, the Baader-Meinhof Gang of Germany, the Abu Nidal Organization, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Moro National Liberation Front of the Philippines. Libya has not only provided these groups with funds but also sent arms—in some cases tons of weaponry—and allowed them to establish training camps in the country.

Qaddafi's sponsorship of terrorism has extended beyond the patronage of foreign groups. He has ordered the assassination of Libyan dissidents in other countries. In 1984, an English policewoman was killed when shots were fired from inside Libya's embassy in London into a crowd of demonstrators. Libyan intelligence operatives are believed to have been involved in the bombing of a Berlin nightclub in 1986 and the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988. Libyan links to terrorism, particularly attacks on U.S. targets, have often made Qaddafi and his regime the target of U.S. reprisals. Since the Berlin bombing, Libya has been sanctioned by the United Nations, while the United States cut off all diplomatic relations with the country and imposed its own, more stringent sanctions. Also in 1986, the

administration of U.S. president Ronald Reagan bombed several Libyan targets in retaliation for the Berlin nightclub bombing. Qaddafi's compound was hit; while he escaped, several family members and associates were killed, including his daughter. He has had the former compound made into a national shrine. The incident heightened Qaddafi's reputation in the Middle East; he was seen as having courageously and successfully defied the most powerful nation in the world.

Libya and Qaddafi may be turning away from terrorism. U.S. and international sanctions have taken a severe toll on the Libyan oil industry, and with the fall of communism, Qaddafi's revolutionary rhetoric has lost the appeal it had in the 1970s. Moderate voices within the upper echelons of Libyan society have begun to quietly urge concessions, arguing that the removal of sanctions and reintegration of Libya into the international community will not only improve conditions within the country but also lend Libya greater influence in Middle Eastern and African affairs. In 1999, Libya expelled Palestinian terrorist Abu Nidal, and turned over to a Scots court two former intelligence officers wanted in the Lockerbie bombing. (The two were convicted and sentenced to life in prison in 2001.)

In May 2002, Libya offered \$2.7 billion in compensation to the families of the victims of the Lockerbie bombing—an unprecedented amount—predicated upon the lifting of sanctions. While U.S. government officials hailed the move as progressive, at the time of this writing it is not known whether the families will accept or whether the U.S. government will agree to rescind the sanctions and remove Libya from its list of terrorist-sponsoring states.

*See also* ABU NIDAL ORGANIZATION; PAN AM FLIGHT 103 BOMBING

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**QAEDA, AL. See AL QAEDA.**

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**RAF.** See GERMAN RED ARMY FACTION.

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**RAHMAN, OMAR ABDEL (1939–)**

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Blind cleric Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, said to be an icon of Islamic terrorists, is serving a life sentence in the United States for inciting and masterminding the terror ring that carried out the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City. Investigators in the bombing case charged that Rahman preached anti-Western sermons, calling the United States “the greatest enemy of Islam,” that incited his followers and offered guidance as the bombers chose their targets. U.S. officials have said that Rahman is continuing to plot and inspire acts of terror while behind bars.

Born in Egypt, Rahman was the spiritual leader of the Gama’a al-Islamiyya, Egypt’s largest terrorist organization. The Gama’a seeks to overthrow the Egyptian government and replace it with an Islamic theocracy. As Gama’a grew, Rahman himself became an internationally known symbol of opposition to the Egyptian secular authorities. When Egypt severely cracked down on militant groups, Rahman fled in 1990 to live in exile in Brooklyn, New York.

According to U.S. officials, Rahman’s U.S. terror cell was active since at least the early 1990s. The group allegedly planned to implement Islamic terrorism by attacking civilians, government officials, and landmarks. In 1990, a gunman shot and killed Jewish extremist Rabbi Meir Kahane in New York. El Sayyid Nosair, an Egyptian man linked to Rahman, was

arrested and tried for the murder. Nosair was convicted of gun charges related to the murder but acquitted of the actual crime. According to press reports, when federal agents raided Nosair’s New Jersey apartment after his arrest, they found many incriminating items, including a Rahman sermon that urged his followers to attack “the edifices of capitalism.”

A likely interpretation of this phrase became immediately clear after the February 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City. The blast killed six people, injured a thousand more, and caused millions of dollars in damage. At least three of the suspects in the bombing worshipped at Rahman’s mosque in Jersey City, New Jersey. In the trial following the bombing, Rahman was convicted of preparing what prosecutors called a “war of urban terrorism” in New York City. Under the rarely used Civil War-era seditious conspiracy law, prosecutors proved that the cleric had conspired “to overthrow, or put down, or destroy by force the Government of the United States.” The indictment tied together a three-year series of terrorist incidents, including a purported plan to blow up the George Washington Bridge, the Lincoln and Holland Tunnels, the United Nations building, and other Manhattan landmarks. The landmarks bombs, according to prosecutors, would have hit the targets all on one day, just minutes apart. Rahman was also linked to the Kahane murder and convicted of trying to orchestrate the assassination of Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak. He was jailed for life.

Even in prison, Rahman is said to wield a considerable influence, inspiring acts of terror, many of which have aimed to secure his release. Early during his time in prison, the *Los Angeles Times* reports, he called upon his followers to “avenge” him. In 1997, the Gama’a did

just that, making its most infamous attack. At a tourist site near the Valley of the Kings at Luxor, gunmen disguised as police officers opened fire into a crowd. Fifty-eight foreign tourists and four Egyptians were killed. When group members called to take responsibility for the attack, they said that they had only intended to take hostages in an attempt to secure Rahman's release. Witnesses, however, saw no attempt to take hostages.

After the attack, Rahman was put in solitary confinement and his lawyer Lynne Stewart was made to agree not to share his views with the media. She violated that agreement in May 2000, telling Reuters that Rahman no longer thought that the Gama'a should follow a cease-fire.

Allegedly, there are several links between Rahman and the Saudi Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. Two of Rahman's sons were said to be close to bin Laden, moving with him to Sudan in 1993 and fighting with Al Qaeda in Afghanistan. According to Associated Press reports, Rahman's son Mohammed was killed during the December 2001 U.S. bombings of the Tora Bora caves, while his son Ahmed was captured a month earlier by anti-Taliban forces and may face a military tribunal.

In April 2002, the FBI arrested Stewart, Rahman's lawyer, and charged her with helping the cleric pass on messages to his followers. Her trial is due to begin in late 2003.

*See also* GAMA'A AL-ISLAMIYYA; MEIR KAHANE; EL SAYYID NOSAIR; WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING (1993)

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## RAJNEESH, BHAGWAN SHREE (1931–1990)

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In 1984, disciples of the Indian guru Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh used salmonella bacteria to poison 750 people in rural Oregon.

Rajneesh, an Indian philosophy professor turned spiritual guru, left his commune in Poona, India, in 1981 and traveled to the United States. He established a commune on a 64,000-acre ranch in the high desert of Wasco County, Oregon. In a short time, the commune, called Rajneeshpuram, developed into a small city, complete with sewer and water systems, a paved airstrip, a 44-acre reservoir, a shopping mall, and its own "peace" force that carried assault weapons and patrolled the commune 24 hours a day.

As the commune's population swelled to more than 4,000, one hundred times that of the local community of Antelope, tensions mounted. Some of Rajneesh's followers moved into Antelope and took over the city council, changing the city's name to Rajneesh. Antelope's population had dropped to 17 when the commune began to unravel.

The major disputes between Rajneeshpuram and the surrounding communities were over Oregon's land use laws, which prohibited building a city on land that was zoned for agriculture. In 1984, Rajneesh's followers pushed for a special election, ostensibly to change the zoning laws; what they planned was to take control of Wasco County's affairs. Rajneesh's followers imported thousands of homeless to vote, in hopes of winning the election. Rajneesh's chief aide, Ma Anand Sheela, masterminded a plan that would have guaranteed their success.

In September 1984, followers of Rajneesh sprinkled the bacteria *salmonella typhimurium* on salad bars in 10 restaurants in Wasco County. Within two weeks, 751 residents became violently ill, suffering from acute stomach pains, fever, chills, headaches, bloody stools, and vomiting. Investigators quickly linked the symptoms to salmonella poisoning and traced the poisoning to local salad bars.

Initially, food handlers were thought to have contaminated the food. Suspicions that members of Rajneeshpuram had poisoned residents to skew the voting were raised, but quickly dismissed as the elections were not until November, and debilitation from salmonella poisoning would not last that long. Investigators did not consider that the attack was just a practice run; reportedly, Sheela had ultimately planned to contaminate the county's water supply.

Oregon State Health Department's chief epidemiologist, along with the FBI and the Centers for Disease Control, took a full year to determine that the salad bar had been deliberately contaminated with the salmonella bacteria. When investigators finally raided

Rajneeshpuram, they found proof in the commune's laboratory, registered as Pythagoras Clinic, where another follower, Ma Anand Puja, grew the *salmonella typhimurium* cultures.

In 1986, Sheela was convicted of masterminding the salmonella poisoning, as well as the poisoning of two Wasco County officials, the attempted poisoning of Swami Devaraj, Rajneesh's physician, setting fire to a county office, and arranging more than 400 sham marriages. Two other commune members, both British women, were later jailed for conspiracy to kill the Oregon State attorney general Charles Turner, a long-time enemy of Rajneeshpuram. Rajneesh, who had fled the commune in 1985, was later arrested on immigration fraud charges and deported; he returned to Poona, where he changed his name to Zen Osho and established another commune. He died of heart failure in January 1990.

*See also* BIOLOGICAL TERRORISM

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## REAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY

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The Real Irish Republican Army (Real IRA) is a splinter group of the Irish Republican Army (IRA); it is responsible for the 1998 Omagh bombing in County Tyrone, Northern Ireland.

Since 1969, the IRA has carried out various terrorist attacks and assassinations, attempting to compel the British Army to withdraw from Northern Ireland. The IRA also wants to reunite Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland. In the summer of 1997, after several years of secret peace talks and two previous cease-fires, the IRA's governing body, the Army Council, met to discuss whether the IRA should again declare a cease-fire to enable delegates from its political arm, the Sinn Féin Party, to join proposed public peace negotiations. The Army Council debated fiercely about the proposed cease-fire, because of British government expectations that the IRA would

decommission, that is, disarm, as a precondition of joining the peace talks. A majority of the leadership voted to call the cease-fire; a small group of dissenters, led by Micky McKevitt, walked out.

McKevitt and the others considered decommissioning to be a betrayal of the IRA's goals and believed it would lead to the defeat of its ideal of a united Ireland. (The IRA considers itself to be the lawful army of the Irish Republic as envisioned in the declaration of Easter 1916, which first proclaimed the Irish Republic. Decommissioning would suggest that its existence as a standing army of a sovereign state is not legitimate.) McKevitt and his colleagues established a political party: The 32-County Sovereignty Committee, led by Bernadette Sands-McKevitt (sister of Bobby Sands, an IRA terrorist and martyr), and an armed wing called the Real IRA, or sometimes the True IRA, reflecting their belief that their organization has not deviated from the original Republican ideal. The Real IRA is estimated to have between 30 and 50 members, almost all of whom are former IRA members with expertise and experience in the arts of war, including bomb making.

The Real IRA immediately began bombings and attacks on British soldiers and Northern Irish police officers; between the fall of 1997 and the summer of 1998, the Real IRA is believed to have been involved in eight bombings or attempted bombings. On August 15, 1998, Real IRA members left a 500-pound car bomb in the market square of Omagh, a town in Northern Ireland. A warning was phoned to the police 10 minutes before the bomb exploded. Police response to this warning was tragic—whether the warning was deliberately misleading or whether the police misunderstood it—the result was that the police cleared the area near the town's courthouse and directed people toward the market square and the bomb. The explosion killed 29 and injured more than 200—making it the deadliest single bombing in Northern Ireland's 30-year conflict. The bombing was condemned by the IRA; several days later, the Real IRA issued an apology, stating that the death of innocent civilians had not been its intent. In January 2002, Colm Murphy was convicted of conspiring to cause the explosion. McKevitt is being tried under new laws against terrorism on charges of belonging to an illegal organization and directing the activities of The Real IRA.

In September 1998, the Real IRA declared a cease-fire. Some sources believe that Real IRA members

were involved in a bombing in London in March 2001; others attribute the attack to the Continuity IRA, saying that the Real IRA has suffered defections to that group.

A few months later, three Real IRA members, Fintan Paul O'Farrell, Declan John Rafferty, and Michael Christopher McDonald, were arrested for a bombing conspiracy that involved seeking funding from Iraq; the men were convicted in May 2002 and given 30-year sentences. In summer 2002, security experts in Britain warned that the Real IRA might be planning assassination attempts on prominent politicians in a new bid to sabotage the peace process.

*See also* CONTINUITY IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; OMAGH BOMBING

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**RED ARMY FACTION. See**  
**BAADER-MEINHOF GANG OR**  
**JAPANESE RED ARMY.**

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## RED BRIGADES

**aka** *Brigate Rosse*

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The Red Brigades were a Marxist terrorist group active in Italy throughout the 1970s.

Since World War II, in which Communist-led resistance fighters contributed decisively to the Allied victory in Italy, the Italian Communist Party has been a potent force in that country's politics. By the late 1960s, the party was more interested in attaining parliamentary power than in fomenting revolution, and when student protests swept across Italy, the party did little to aid the protesters. The Red Brigades were founded in Milan in 1969 by former students and

factory workers who had abandoned the official Italian Communist Party. The brigadiers claimed to follow pure Marxist-Leninist doctrine, in which a small group of revolutionaries is supposed to inspire massive worker uprisings through attacks on the political structure.

The Red Brigades began by distributing pamphlets and releasing statements that attacked the government and Italian industrialists. In the early 1970s, they orchestrated a series of bank robberies and bombings, but they did not emerge as a significant force until members kidnapped prosecutor Mario Sossi in 1974. He was released unharmed in exchange for eight imprisoned Red Brigade members. The group then began to concentrate on kidnappings as its main tactic, snatching business leaders and government officials. If demands were met, the hostages were often released unharmed; if they were not, the victims were usually executed. Initially, the Italian government and security forces had little success in stopping the brigadiers; prominent Italian officials and businessmen hired armed bodyguards.

In 1978, the Red Brigades seized their most famous victim, Aldo Moro, the reformist leader of the scandal-plagued Christian Democrat Party that had ruled Italy since the end of World War II. On the morning of March 16, 1978, the day Moro was to announce that the Italian Communist Party would become part of a new governing coalition, he was kidnapped by the Red Brigades, who saw his attempts to bring the Communists into government as a threat to revolution. For 55 days, Moro was held in a secret location; the Red Brigades released his increasingly desperate pleas for the government to attempt to secure his release. The prime minister refused to negotiate. Thousands of police conducted the most intensive investigation in modern Italian history, but turned up nothing. On May 9, 1978, Moro's body was found in the trunk of a car in Rome. The case remains a seminal event in Italian politics, in part because of the lengthy series of criminal trials that followed, but also because of the many conspiracy theories that sprang up around his abduction and murder.

When Moro was kidnapped, the Red Brigades were at the peak of their power, with an estimated 1,500 active volunteers. The volunteers were organized into columns—areas of the country overseen by a single individual who served on the executive committee, the Red Brigades' ruling body—with each column further subdivided into four- or five-person



cells, or brigades. Moro's murder soured the public on the brigadiers, however, and a reorganized police force finally began to make progress against the group.

During the autumn of 1981–1982, after a number of arrests had hurt the group's operational capacity, the executive committee decided to strike back with a daring series of attacks codenamed "Winter of Fire." The first attack, the kidnapping of North Atlantic Treaty Organization commander Brigadier General James Dozier, was executed successfully. While Dozier was being held hostage, however, the Brigades' other operations were complete disasters, resulting in dozens of arrests. Some of those arrested became police informants, eventually providing information that led police to Dozier. After 42 days of captivity, Dozier was freed in a commando raid that helped restore the credibility of the Italian police.

Captured in the Dozier rescue was Antonio Savasta, top commander of the Red Brigades in northern Italy. In police custody, Savasta called upon his comrades to lay down their arms and provided more than 200 names to the police. His information decimated the Red Brigades. The group made one more high-profile attack, assassinating Leamon Hunt, director of a Sinai peacekeeping force, but soon split in two. In 1989, two key remaining Red Brigade leaders were arrested in Paris. The information they provided led to the arrest of scores of other terrorists, which seemed to put an end to the organization.

However, Red Brigade splinter groups calling themselves the Nucleus of Revolutionary Proletarian Initiative and New Red Brigades for the Construction of the Combative Communist have claimed responsibility for three more recent attacks: an April 2002 bombing in Rome, and the killings of Massimo D'Antona in May 1999 and Marco Biagi in March 2002. Both men were government advisers helping to reform Italy's labor laws, a project that has caused much controversy in Italy. The clear links between the two murders—the same gun was used both times—coupled with the bomb attack have raised fears that the Red Brigades may be attempting to revive their organization.

*See also* JAMES LEE DOZIER

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## RED HAND COMMANDOS. *See* ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE.

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## RED HAND DEFENDERS

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Relatively little is known about the Red Hand Defenders (RHD), a Northern Irish terrorist organization that has claimed responsibility for a number of attacks on Roman Catholics beginning in 1998.

Since the late 1960s, Northern Ireland has seen war between the province's Catholics, who want Northern Ireland to become part of the Republic of Ireland, and the province's Protestants, who want it to continue as part of the United Kingdom. Both Protestants and Catholics field armed paramilitary groups that use violence to achieve their ends. In April 1998, the governments of Britain and Ireland signed a peace agreement known as the Good Friday Accords; this agreement lays out a plan to achieve political stability in Northern Ireland and includes a provision that persons imprisoned for terrorist activities on behalf of the paramilitary groups would be released on a specific timetable.

Hard-line factions in both Loyalist organizations (representing Protestants; also called Unionists) and Republican organizations (representing Catholics; also called Nationalists) refused to recognize the Good Friday Accords and split from the larger paramilitaries, forming their own terrorist groups. When the RHD emerged in 1998 and first began to claim responsibility for bombings and sectarian killings, many observers believed it to be just such a splinter group. RHD has claimed responsibility for several sectarian murders, mortar bomb attacks on Catholic homes, and the attempted bombing of a pub that served both Catholics and Protestants.

The RHD's most prominent victim was human rights lawyer Rosemary Nelson, who defended both Protestants and Catholics and had filed hundreds of briefs charging Northern Ireland's police force, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), with brutality.

She claimed she had received death threats from RUC officers. On the early afternoon of March 15, 1999, Nelson returned to her car after dropping her daughter at school; a bomb attached to the undercarriage exploded, blowing off Nelson's lower legs and trapping her in the car. She died two hours later.

A spokesperson for the RHD called local newspapers to claim responsibility; however, the sophistication of the device and Nelson's antagonistic relationship with the RUC have led to questions about the RHD. The RUC had been known to leak intelligence to Loyalist paramilitary groups, and some observers conclude that the RHD is not actually a separate organization but merely a cover name used by members of one of the larger Loyalist groups. Suspicion has fallen on the Ulster Defense Association (UDA), which was associated with a group called the Red Hand Commandoes in the 1970s, and the Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF), the last Loyalist organization to declare a cease-fire. If the LVF or UDA could be proved to be responsible for the attacks, their political goals would be jeopardized and the release of their prisoners prevented.

In January 2002, the RHD claimed responsibility for the killing of a Catholic postman, Daniel McColgan; other sources have implicated the UDA in the attack. The RHD then issued a warning to Catholic civil servants and teachers, stating that they were now considered legitimate targets. The murder and subsequent announcement are believed to be related to a dispute between Protestant residents of the Glenbryn neighborhood and Catholic parents whose children attend nearby Holy Cross primary school. On January 16, 2002, the RHD announced it was revoking the warning, apparently in response to public condemnation by the UDA leadership. A further announcement was made that the group would disband, but this is widely disbelieved.

**See also** LOYALIST VOLUNTEER FORCE; ORANGE VOLUNTEERS; ULSTER DEFENSE ASSOCIATION

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## REID, RICHARD (1973– )

aka Abdel Rahim, Abu Ibrahim

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On December 22, 2001, Al Qaeda member Richard Colvin Reid became known as the "shoe bomber" after attempting to destroy an airplane carrying almost 200 people by setting fire to explosives hidden in his sneakers.

Reid was born in London in 1973, the only son of an English mother and Jamaican father who divorced in 1984. His father spent most of Reid's childhood in prison; Reid himself dropped out of school in 1989 and within a year was arrested for a mugging. Reid spent the next six years in and out of jail.

In 1995 Reid was released from prison and embraced Islam, changing his name to Abdel Rahim. Initially, his conversion seemed a positive step, and Reid stayed out of trouble with the law.

By late 1997, however, Reid had apparently fallen in with more radical Muslims, including Zacarias Moussaoui, who has been charged with six counts of conspiracy in connection with Al Qaeda's attack on the United States on September 11, 2001. Reid became more combative and militant in his views, eventually becoming estranged from family members who would not convert to Islam.

In 1998, Reid disappeared from London. He is believed to have traveled to Pakistan, and then to Afghanistan, where he received terrorist training at Al Qaeda camps. In the summer of 2001, he returned to England; in mid-July 2001, he again left England, traveling from London to Israel, then to Egypt, Turkey, Pakistan, and perhaps also Afghanistan. In December 2001, he returned to Europe, flying to Brussels and obtaining a new British passport in an apparent attempt to conceal his recent travels. Investigators believe Reid traveled so extensively to help Al Qaeda identify targets for attacks.

Later that month, he purchased an expensive pair of basketball shoes, using cash, then took a train to Paris, where he paid \$1,800 in cash for a round-trip ticket to Antigua that stopped at Miami, Florida. Reid was scheduled to leave on December 21, 2001, but he had paid cash for the tickets and had no luggage, thus instigating an extensive security check at the airport, and he missed the flight. That evening, he went to an Internet café and sent an e-mail to a recipient in Pakistan, asking what he should do. The correspondent replied that Reid should try again, and the next day he successfully boarded American Airlines Flight 63, Paris to Miami. Roughly 90 minutes after the plane took off, a flight attendant smelled sulfur and realized that Reid had lit a match. She made him put it out, but he lit another and attempted to set fire to the tongues of his sneakers. When she tried to make him stop, Reid attacked her, knocking her down, and then bit another attendant. Passengers quickly responded, holding Reid down, tying him up with belts and cords, dousing him with water; a doctor on board eventually injected him with sedatives.

After Reid was subdued, the flight was redirected to Boston, Massachusetts, where investigators examined his shoes and discovered that the soles were packed with enough plastic explosives to punch a hole through the side of the plane. Initially, the conjecture was that Reid acted alone, but his e-mails as well as other evidence revealed his considerable connections to Al Qaeda. On October 4, 2002, Reid pleaded guilty to charges that he attempted to blow up the plane with the explosives hidden in his shoes. Prosecutors are expected to seek a prison sentence of 60 years to life at a hearing scheduled for January 8, 2003.

*See also* AL QAEDA; ZACARIAS MOUSSAOUTI; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS.

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## RESSAM, AHMED (1967– )

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Ahmed Ressam, an Algerian terrorist, was captured at the U.S.-Canadian border, on his way to carry out a plot to blow up Los Angeles International Airport (LAX) on New Year's Eve 1999. Since his capture, Ressam, hoping to reduce his prison sentence, has provided key testimony against others in the Y2K plot, as well as Osama bin Laden's terrorist network, Al Qaeda, and his training camps.

Ressam grew up in Algeria, developing militant Islamic sentiments after a trip to France in the early 1990s. Immigrating to Canada in 1994 with a false passport, Ressam, when found out, asked for political asylum, claiming that he had been tortured in Algeria for his politics. He was allowed to settle in Canada. He stayed in Montreal until 1998, living off welfare payments and petty theft, while residing in an apartment later identified as the headquarters of a cell of the Armed Islamic Group (GIA), an Algerian terrorist organization.

During this time, Ressam, along with his friend Mohktar Haouari, also made money trafficking in false identification documents. Ressam would later become Benni Antoine Norris, complete with a Canadian passport, Montreal driver's license, an insurance card, several bankcards, and a Costco membership card.

In March 1998, Ressam traveled to Peshawar, Pakistan, where he was approved by Abu Zubaydah, a top bin Laden associate, to attend bin Laden's terrorist training camps, known colloquially as "Jihad University." Over the next several months, at Khalden Camp, Ressam was instructed in using explosives, handguns, machine guns, and small rocket launchers, all provided by the ruling Taliban. He was taught how to disrupt government infrastructure through sabotage and was schooled in ways to work unnoticed. In another camp, in Deronta, Afghanistan, he was taught how to use cyanide and other poisons, and how to construct bombs from small electronics. There, Ressam became part of a European-based Algerian terrorist cell with five other men, who all agreed to travel to Canada, where they would rob banks to fund their ultimate plot—a terrorist attack on the United States.

When Ressam left Afghanistan in February 1999, carrying hexamine tablets, a chemical booster for explosions, glycol, and \$12,000, the details of the attack were still to be determined. His flight stopped briefly in Los Angeles before arriving in Vancouver, and it was

then that he decided to target LAX. LAX, he later testified, was “sensitive politically and economically.”

After two members of his cell were stopped at immigration in Great Britain, Ressay went on alone. Beginning in August 1999, he began to carry out the plot. Over the next several months, he found others to help him and gathered the bomb-making materials that would later be found hidden in the truck of his rental car as he tried to enter the United States from Victoria, Canada.

Ressay was arrested on December 14, 1999, after trying to flee U.S. Customs agents at Port Angeles, Washington. On April 6, 2001, he was convicted on nine counts, including conspiracy to commit an international terrorist act, smuggling explosives, and lying to customs officials. According to Attorney General John Ashcroft, Ressay was the first convicted under the Terrorism Transcending National Boundaries statute.

Ressay then agreed to testify against others involved in the plot, including Haouari, who was convicted in January 2002. Ressay’s sentencing, originally scheduled for February 2002, has been postponed until at least 2003 so that he may testify against individuals apprehended in the wake of the September 11, 2001, attacks, including Zacarias Moussaoui, the accused 20th hijacker, Ibn al-Shaykh al-Libi, a high-ranking member of Al Qaeda, and Abu Doha (aka Amar Makhlulif), accused of organizing the travel for several terrorists.

*See also* AL QAEDA; ARMED ISLAMIC GROUP; OSAMA BIN LADEN; ZACARIAS MOUSSAOUI; Y2K PLOT; ABU ZUBAYDAH

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## REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF COLOMBIA

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The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia;

FARC) is a leftist Colombian guerrilla group whose troops currently control more than 40 percent of the country and present a grave threat to the Colombian government.

Between 1948 and 1958, Colombia saw its the two leading political parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives, engage in a civil war that plunged the country into near anarchy; the period is called La Violencia—the violence. During that decade and continuing into early 1960s, the Colombian Communist Party began organizing peasant militias to defend villages in the rural south. After the war was ended with the political parties agreeing to share power exclusively between them, the government began to act against the peasant groups, considering them to be a communist threat to their newly formed political hegemony. In response to the Army’s crackdown, in 1964 the peasants formed a coalition guerrilla force, the FARC.

Throughout the mid-1970s, the FARC functioned primarily as a defensive force, providing protection for the peasantry from landowners and providing services such as schools and medical facilities that the state could not. During the late 1970s, the FARC began to expand aggressively and by 1984 had won the organization some concessions from the government, one of which was allowing members of the group to run for office under the FARC banner. The FARC formed a political party in November 1985, but attacks by another guerrilla group, the M-19, during that month, resulted in a crackdown by the Army; by 1986 this first attempt at peace had been abandoned by all sides. The FARC retreated to its southern jungle strongholds and began to regroup.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, Colombia became one of the world’s centers for the growing of coca, the plant from which cocaine is derived. While the FARC did not actually traffic in the drug, it allowed coca to be grown in regions under its control and enforced a “tax” on coca growers. The FARC also began providing a variety of services to drug traffickers, including protecting the jungle airstrips used by smugglers. Over the next 20 years, the FARC would see increasing profits from the drug trade. During the 1990s, despite the dismantling of the largest drug trafficking cartels, cocaine production in Colombia skyrocketed. The country now provides more than 80 percent of the world’s supply. Currently, the FARC is thought to receive between \$300 million and \$1 billion annually from coca and heroin production.

Drugs are only one source of income for the group. The FARC is also heavily involved in kidnapping for profit, a tactic begun by the National Liberation Army–Colombia (ELN) in the mid-1970s, but one that the FARC uses extensively. Targets are often wealthy businessmen or government officials, although almost anyone is potentially at risk. Western executives from international corporations operating in Colombia often fetch the highest ransoms, sometimes millions of dollars. The FARC is also heavily involved in extortion—requiring an annual fee or “tax” from businesses operating in areas under its control.

These varied sources of income, particularly the huge drug profits, enabled the FARC to expand greatly during the 1980s and 1990s, transforming a force that in the early 1980s numbered a few thousand into one estimated at 18,000 today. (The FARC recently announced a recruitment drive, hoping to add 12,000 members.) The FARC’s wealth, abetted by the collapse of communism, has made it one of the best-armed guerrilla groups in the world; its communications and surveillance equipment is significantly more sophisticated than that of the Colombian Army, and it employs heavy artillery and anti-aircraft missiles against military helicopters. During the 1990s, the FARC vastly expanded its territory and now controls about 40 percent of the country, an area about the size of Switzerland.

## DRUG TRADE TRUMPS IDEOLOGY

As the FARC has become more deeply involved in the drug trade, the ideological fervor that attracted earlier recruits has diminished, and popular support for the organization is very small. The desperate poverty of much of Colombia continues to draw new members to the FARC, however. The FARC’s leadership appears to have abandoned the idea of a Marxist-style revolution, and its political demands now center mainly around land reform. However, within the FARC itself, rigid discipline and a degree of gender equity almost unique in Colombian society are maintained: almost 30 percent of FARC guerrillas are women, and many have moved into midlevel command positions. FARC is organized into well-defended armed camps in the remote jungle and is able to move troops quickly on FARC-maintained trails (government forces are reluctant to use the trails, fearing ambush); the group keeps liaisons in every large town and most villages in the areas

it controls, thus it is informed of government movements.

By 1997, faced with the growing strength of the FARC and the increase in kidnappings, extortions, and murder, a peace movement was growing in Colombia. In 1998, Andreas Pastrana was elected president on the promise to begin peace talks with the guerrillas. Pastrana withdrew government forces from FARC-controlled southern Colombia, in an effort to create a stable conditions for peace negotiations. This withdrawal infuriated the armed forces; the FARC took advantage of the new demilitarized zone to launch new attacks, thus placing the peace negotiations in jeopardy almost from their start. In 2001, the U.S. government authorized a \$1.3 billion military aid package to the Colombian armed forces. This aid was designated to combat drug trafficking within Colombia; the FARC saw the aid package as an attempt to move against it, and peace negotiations began to break down entirely.

In February 2002, Pastrana authorized the military to move against the rebels. In March 2002, the administration of U.S. president George W. Bush asked Congress to direct more military aid to Colombia, this time specifically to be used to combat the FARC and several other guerrilla groups in Colombia. Even with such aid, however, military analysts believe that the Colombian Army has little hope of defeating the FARC entirely; the goal is to make the FARC realize that it cannot achieve a military victory, and therefore force serious negotiations. In August 2002, the FARC attempted to bomb the presidential palace during the inauguration of President Alvaro Uribe Velez, missing the palace but killing at least 14 civilians. If the FARC continues to expand, Colombia seems certain to continue to be one of the most dangerous places on earth and a source of regional instability for decades to come.

*See also* NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY–COLOMBIA; UNITED SELF-DEFENSE FORCES OF COLOMBIA.

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## REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE ORGANIZATION. See HEZBOLLAH.

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## REVOLUTIONARY NUCLEI. See ORDINE NUOVO.

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## REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION 17 NOVEMBER

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The Revolutionary Organization 17 November (RO-17N, or 17N) is a Greek terrorist group that has carried out dozens of operations and whose members eluded capture for more than 25 years.

17N takes its name from the events of November 14-17, 1973, when a student protest against Greece's military dictatorship at the Athens Polytechnio was met with excessive police force: 34 protestors died and hundreds were injured. The military junta subsequently fell and was replaced by a civilian government in 1974.

No member of 17N had ever been arrested and interrogated until July 2002, thus information about the group's goals and leadership is gleaned largely from communiqués released by 17N after its attacks. The leadership of 17N seems to have hoped that the fall of the junta would bring about a Marxist, or a least a socialist, revolution. The election of the moderate, somewhat conservative Prime Minister Konstatinos Karamanlis appears to have disillusioned members of the group, and they set about making the group a vanguard whose violent attacks on the repressive establishment are, according to Leninist theory, supposed to spark a communist revolution.

Although 17N is Marxist, its communism has a distinctly nationalist flavor. The group advocates the closing and repatriating of U.S. military bases in Greece, opposes Greek membership in the European Union, and frowns on closer ties between Greece and Turkey. (Turkey ruled Greece for several hundred years; the continuing animosity between the two nations has led them to the brink of war many times.) The number of members of 17N is unknown, but given the extreme difficulty police have had in penetrating the organization, experts believe that it may be

extremely small, perhaps having as few as a dozen members. However many their number, 17N has demonstrated thoroughly professional organization throughout its existence; its operations have been noted for their careful planning and execution and its members for their coolness under pressure.

17N's first attack was the assassination of CIA station chief Richard Welch in Athens on December 23, 1975. Over the next five years, the group attacked noted Greek political figures. Following each attack, 17N claimed responsibility and provided details about the crimes to prove its culpability. In 1981, following the election of a socialist government in Greece, 17N seemed to have briefly suspended operations, resuming them in 1983 with the assassination of U.S. Navy captain George Tsantes, after the Greek government agreed to let the U.S. military bases remain on Greek soil. In 1985, 17N detonated its first car bomb, killing one police officer and injuring 14. Following a raid on a Greek military museum in 1990, which netted the group two rocket launchers, many of its attacks have used rockets.

Since 1983, 17N has mounted more than 100 attacks against U.S. and Greek government targets and Western businesses in Greece; these attacks have killed more than 20 people. 17N increased its activity during the Persian Gulf War and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization air strikes in Kosovo. In 1997, a Kurdish member of 17N alleged that the group was connected to leftist Greek political parties. That no member of the group has ever been arrested gives some credence to the speculation that 17N may be protected by elements within the Greek government. Over the years, the group seems to have lost some of fervor and some of its operations have failed.

The first break in the investigation came on June 29, 2002, when Greek police arrested Savvas Xeros, believed to be a 17N commander, after he had been injured while attempting to plant a bomb. The arrest of Xeros led the police to a cache of weapons and documents, including a Colt .45 pistol used in several of 17N's attacks. Hundreds of people were arrested and detained for questioning. The Greek police believe the capture of 17N's arsenal to be a crushing blow to the organization. At the time of this writing, it remains to be seen whether Xeros's arrest will be enough to kill the organization, or whether it will remain an active threat, posing a significant security challenge for the organizers of the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens.

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## REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT

aka Devrimci Sol, Dev Sol, Devrimci Halk Kurtulus Partisi-Cephesi

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The Revolutionary People's Liberation Front (DHKP/C), also known as Dev Sol (Revolutionary Left), was formed in 1978 as an offshoot of the Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front. Today, the DHKP/C is the most active of the left-wing Marxist-Leninist terrorist groups in Turkey. With intensely xenophobic roots, the group is both anti-United States and anti-North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and wants communist social order in Turkey.

According to Turkish sources, Dev Sol assassinated many Turkish officials and the country's former prime minister, Nihat Erim. After this, Dev Sol did not step up its efforts until the late 1980s, when the group attacked Turkish security and military officials. In 1990, the group focused its attention on foreigners in or around Turkey, and in the ensuing two years, Dev Sol murdered two U.S. military contractors, wounded a U.S. Air Force officer, and launched rockets at a U.S. consulate in Istanbul, all in retaliation for U.S. involvement in the Persian Gulf War.

On July 12, 1991, eleven Dev Sol terrorists were killed during a string of Turkish National Police (TNP) raids in Istanbul. As such, the date July 11 has become a hostile DHKP/C anniversary of sorts; for the next two years on that date the group attempted attacks on U.S. targets in Turkey.

After some infighting in 1994, the group changed their name to DHKP/C (Devrimci Halk Kurtulus Partisi-Cephesi). In its first major act under their new moniker, DHKP/C murdered a prominent Turkish businessman. In response to the growing terrorism problem, the Turkish government conducted raids against Dev Sol safe houses and enacted new anti-terrorist legislation. Largely because of such raids,

DHKP/C attacks have decreased significantly since 1991. In light of some failed attempts at forming an alliance with the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), another of Turkey's active terrorist groups, it is thought that support for the DHKP/C could be waning.

The group's leader, Dursun Karatas, was arrested and jailed in 1980, where he remained for nearly 10 years. He escaped from jail and fled to Europe, but in the mid-1990s was arrested by French authorities. He served a minimal jail term there, but was never extradited to Turkey; it is believed he lives in Europe.

In June 1999, Turkish officials circumvented a DHKP/C attempted assault on the U.S. consulate during a presidential visit to Istanbul. And thanks to more counterterrorist raids and arrests by the Turkish police in past years, the ranks of DHKP/C have weakened significantly. It is believed that the group has several hundred members. They conduct their attacks in Turkey, primarily in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, and Adana, and fund themselves through robberies, extortion, and with help from sympathizers in Western Europe.

*See also* KURDISTAN WORKERS PARTY

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## REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

aka Revolutionary Popular Struggle

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The Revolutionary People's Struggle (Epanastatiko Laikos Agonas; ELA) is a Greek terrorist group that has been active since 1973. The ELA is believed to have between 20 and 30 hard-core members.

The ELA was founded during a period of intense political turmoil in Greece. Student protests in November 1973 had triggered a police crackdown that killed more than 30 of the demonstrators and wounded scores. Shortly thereafter, these events heralded the fall of the Greece's ruling military junta and its replacement by a civilian government in 1974. Many leftists believed that the democratic reforms had not gone far enough and that mid-1970s Greece was

finally ripe for a communist revolution. The ELA hoped to help inspire that revolution.

For much of its history, the ELA, unlike its more nationalist and secretive compatriot, the Revolutionary Organization 17 November (RO-17N, or 17N), engaged in violence primarily as a political tool rather than an end in itself. While the ELA's ideological position held that revolution could come only through violence, the group organization believed strongly that it needed to "educate the proletariat" before revolution could take place. This ideological necessity of appealing to the working classes directed the organization's strategy and for some time confined its acts of violence to largely symbolic, propaganda-oriented targets. In keeping with this goal, the ELA periodically printed a newsletter, *Andipliforissi*, to explain its ideology and attract followers.

From 1975 through 1992, the ELA engaged in hundreds of bombings, mostly at Western and capitalist targets within Greece: large corporations, banks, American military facilities, European Union offices, and U.N. offices. After 1986, some Greek institutions were targeted as well. Although these bombings caused millions of dollars in property damage, no one was killed and few were wounded by them; the ELA seems to have deliberately planned this lack of bloodshed, evidenced by the bombs' construction, placement, and timing. In February 1992, however, the character of the organization changed drastically after it announced an alliance with a group called the 1st May Organization. On February 26, 1982, the ELA detonated a bomb under a Greek police bus, injuring 18 policemen. This was the group's first attempt to deliberately cause casualties, and it involved a remote-control device considerably more sophisticated than those used in previous attacks. Clearly, the alliance with 1st May had led the ELA in a new direction.

On November 22, 1993, the ELA offered to initiate a cease-fire in return for the release of certain prisoners. The government rejected this offer, and the ELA responded with a series of bombings over the next year, culminating in the September 20, 1994, bombing of another police bus that killed one police officer and wounded 10 others. Since 1995, the ELA has not claimed responsibility for any more bombings, and some experts believe the organization to be defunct. However, the U.S. State Department believes that a new group in Greece, the Revolutionary Nuclei, may be succeeding the ELA.

*See also* REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION 17 NOVEMBER

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## **REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT**

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The Revolutionary United Front (RUF), an infamously brutal guerrilla unit in Sierra Leone, sought to create instability in the region and overthrow the government. Formed in 1990, the group later financed itself through control of the country's diamond resources, and for 11 years carried out extremely violent attacks on civilians that are said to have claimed about 50,000 lives. The group was especially notorious for recruiting children into its ranks and its practice of raping women and girls and dismembering its victims. As of 2002, U.N. military efforts had disabled the group and restored peace in Sierra Leone.

RUF's roots date back to the early 1990s. Foday Sankoh was a former student activist who in the 1970s had spent time in exile in Libya, where he came under the philosophical influence of Muammar el-Qaddafi. While in Liberia in 1991, Sankoh aligned himself with a Liberian guerrilla unit, the National Patriotic Front for Liberia (NPFL), and their leader, Charles Taylor. Taylor, who later would become president of Liberia following an eight-year terror campaign, had tried a few months earlier to invade Sierra Leone. He and Sankoh founded the RUF to carry out attacks on towns along Sierra Leone's eastern border. At that time, the Sierra Leone government and military were quite weak, and within a month, the RUF had not only taken control of a sizable region of the east but were on track to overtake the government.

The nation's economy was in shambles by 1992, and a small military group unconnected to the RUF staged a coup. The RUF continued its campaign against this new military junta, murdering and dismembering unarmed civilians. The atrocities rippled throughout the country, and thousands fled to neighboring Guinea.

By 1994, the RUF had systematically eliminated many rural workers in the country's diamond mine



areas, and by year-end, thousands had been murdered and half of the country's nearly 5 million people displaced. The strength of the government's army was dwindling, and the RUF successfully continued to exploit many of the diamond mines.

By early 1995, the RUF had commandeered nearly all of the country's economic resources and had kidnapped, drugged, and enlisted hundreds of young men against their will. The RUF had some 4,000 members in its ranks, and moved within several miles of Freetown, the capitol. At this time, no one really understood the RUF's mission, what they stood for, or who Foday Sankoh was. The RUF announcement, "Footpaths to Democracy: Toward a New Sierra Leone," gave people their first vague idea of the groups goals.

The government enlisted the help of Executive Outcomes (EO), a South African security firm that had once assisted the Angolan government in its fight with UNITA rebels. The EO troops first arrived in May 1995 and, within days, had beaten back RUF forces from Freetown. They regained control of the diamond mines shortly thereafter.

EO troops continued their assault on the RUF, and by 1996, the RUF was weakening and called for a cease-fire. Peace talks began in Abidjan and went on for nearly a year, during which time RUF attacks continued. The RUF asked the newly elected president, Ahmed Tejan Kabbah, to expel the EO from the country in exchange for a peace agreement, and both sides accepted. But in May 1997, soldiers attacked a jail in Freetown and released some 600 criminals and former coup organizers, and Kabbah fled the country.

Some of those freed from the prison then formed the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), and this group invited the RUF to join it against the government. In the period that followed, the country fell into complete chaos—banks and other government institutions closed down, while rape, murder, and general lawlessness brought the economy to a standstill. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) sent its military arm, ECOMOG—a force comprised of thousands of soldiers from Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, and Gambia—to combat the AFRC and the RUF stronghold on Freetown. The ECOMOG offensive pushed the AFRC/RUF front out of Freetown in a bloody battle that left many civilians dead. President Kabbah came back to Freetown and again took control of the country while ECOMOG

forces pursued AFRC/RUF groups around the country.

When nearly 50 RUF terrorists were arrested and sentenced to death, as was leader Foday Sankoh, the RUF undertook its most bloody endeavor to date, Operation No Living Thing. They abducted, dismembered, and murdered thousands more in a ruthless sweep across the country. In January 1999, the AFRC/RUF attacked Freetown again, and nearly 6,000 civilians would be killed before ECOMOG could force them out. By May, a cease-fire was in place, and by July, a peace deal had been cut between the government and the RUF, in exchange for release of Foday Sankoh and promotion of some rebels into government ranks.

U.N. peacekeeping troops arrived in November and December to monitor the peace agreement, and by the following April they had come under attack in the eastern region of the country, with hundreds of them taken hostage. By May 2000, Britain sent 800 paratroopers to help evacuate its citizens and rescue U.N. workers. RUF leader Foday Sankoh was then recaptured.

By March 2001, U.N. troops were deploying to rebel-heavy areas, and the overall disarmament of RUF forces began in May. The new, British-trained Sierra Leone Army regained control of rebel territory, and by January 2002, the United Nations declared that all 45,000 fighters had been disarmed and, further, that the United Nations would set up a separate war-crimes court. In March 2002, Foday Sankoh, along with 40 of his RUF comrades, was charged with murder.

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## REWARDS FOR JUSTICE

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The Rewards for Justice Program, administered by the Bureau of Diplomatic Security in the U.S. Department of State, was created in 1984 by the U.S. Congress as part of the Act to Combat International

Terrorism. The monetary rewards are an incentive to potential informants to provide law enforcement agencies with information about any terrorist act, planned or carried out, against U.S. citizens. Acts and people that the Rewards for Justice Program has specifically targeted include the 1994 genocide in Rwanda; Serbian leaders Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic; Eric Rudolph for the 1996 Olympic bombings in Atlanta, Georgia; and the kidnapping and murder of journalist Daniel Pearl in Pakistan.

More than \$22 million has been paid to a total of 22 informants in recent years. Information about most of these cases is classified. Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, later convicted of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, was arrested on the basis of information provided in exchange for \$2 million—the largest single payment to date. In October 2001, the U.S.A. Patriot Act increased the amount that could be paid to an individual to more than \$5 million, and up to \$25 million specifically for information leading to the capture of Osama bin Laden and other Al Qaeda leaders. In the wake of the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., additional money for the program was collected by public donations to the nonprofit Rewards for Justice Fund, established by businessmen Scott Case and Joe Rutledge. The Air Transport Association of America and the Airline Pilots Association also pledged \$1 million each to be distributed as supplemental awards for cases involving aviation.

Following the nomination of a potential recipient by a U.S. investigating agency, an interagency committee evaluates the information provided, decides if a reward is appropriate, and how much is to be paid. Both the secretary of state and the attorney general must approve the committee's decision. The amount of the reward is based on the value of the information, the risk faced by the informer, and the degree of his or her cooperation.

Publicity for the program has included advertisements in local languages placed in both foreign and U.S. media, posters, matchbook covers, and an Internet site. The advertising firm Ogilvie & Mather Worldwide worked, pro bono, to create a new advertising campaign; the national campaign was launched in December 2001, with media sources within the United States running the ads free as public service announcements. Undersecretary of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Charlotte Beers oversaw the campaign.

The campaign has generated some controversy. It has been accused of creating misleading and inaccurate advertisements—notably a poster with a photograph of terrorist Mohamed Atta with unattributed text describing the activities of suspected conspirator Zacarias Moussaoui. One critic claimed that a non-citizen offering information was detained by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) rather than rewarded; meanwhile the Zionist Organization of America has complained that Palestinian killers of U.S. citizens in Israel are not named on the program's Web site.

In the four months following September 11, 2001, the program received 24,000 tips. The State Department has called the program “one of its most valuable U.S. Government assets in the fight against international terrorism.”

*See also* PATRIOT ACT; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS; RAMZI AHMED YOUSEF

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**REYNOSO, ABIMAE L GUZMÁN.** *See* GUZMÁN, ABIMAE L.

**RHD.** *See* RED HAND DEFENDERS.

**RIRA.** *See* REAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY.

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**RIYADH, SAUDI ARABIA, BOMBING**

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On November 13, 1995, bombers parked a car filled with explosives next to a building housing U.S.

military trainers in the busy commercial district of Riyadh, Saudi Arabia's capital. The car exploded, killing at least six people. The Saudi government later arrested, tried, and beheaded four Saudi men for their involvement in the case.

The American service members working in the building were in Riyadh as part of a U.S. Army-run program that trained members of the Saudi National Guard to use U.S.-made tanks and other weapons. The building, a converted apartment complex in the prosperous business and shopping district of al-Olaia, served as headquarters for the training mission. The United States had built up its forces in the region after the 1991 Persian Gulf War, and the bombing attack was apparently the work of Saudi militants who violently opposed such a large foreign and Western presence.

At about 11:30 A.M., just as the snack bar inside the complex began to fill up, a car bomb in the building's lot exploded. The blast took off the entire wall of the three-story building and shattered windows nearby. Among the dead were a U.S. Army sergeant and four American civilians; at least 60 people were injured.

Saudi officials arrested four militant Saudi Muslims; after a trial where they were found guilty, they were beheaded according to the dictates of Islamic law. Press accounts indicated that each man confessed and the confessions were televised.

A very similar bombing at the Khobar Towers high-rise military barracks in Dhahran, in eastern Saudi Arabia, followed the Riyadh attack. On June 25, 1996, nineteen U.S. service members were killed when a car bomb exploded near the towers housing the 2,000 U.S. military personnel assigned to the King Abdul Aziz Airbase in Saudi Arabia. U.S. officials indicted 14 members of the Iranian-backed Shiite Muslim group Saudi Hezbollah in the Khobar case; however, officials have not clarified Saudi Hezbollah's involvement in the Riyadh bombing.

*See also* KHOBAR TOWERS BOMBING

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**RUBY RIDGE. See APRIL 19; TERRORISM, DEFINITION AND HISTORY OF; WACO.**

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### RUDOLPH, ERIC (1966– )

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Eric Robert Rudolph remains one of the FBI's "10 most wanted" for his role in a two-state bombing spree from 1996 to 1998, including the first fatal bombing of a U.S. abortion clinic, in Alabama; a series of bombings in the Atlanta area; and the Centennial Park bombing during the 1996 Summer Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia.

Initially, the Atlanta-area bombings were believed to be part of the ever-growing antiabortion violence throughout the southern United States. In the early-morning hours of January 16, 1997, two bombs exploded at the Sandy Springs Professional Building, just north of Atlanta, injuring seven. The first bomb blasted through the operating and waiting rooms of the abortion clinic; the second, authorities believed, was deliberately timed to injure rescue workers rushing to the scene. A month later, two similarly manufactured bombs exploded in midtown Atlanta's Other Side Lounge, a gay/lesbian nightclub, injuring four.

On February 24, 1997, media outlets received a letter claiming responsibility that was signed the Army of God, a shadowy antiabortion group active since 1982. In it, the bomber railed against abortion, the "agents of the so-called federal government" and against the "sodomites" at the Other Side Lounge. The sign-off threatened, "Death to the New World Order."

Not until June 1997 did authorities link the two bombings to the 1996 Centennial Park bomb during the Summer Olympics in Atlanta, which killed one person and injured more than 100 others. A Turkish cameraman at the scene died of a heart attack. Six months later, after another deadly explosion at the New Woman All Women Health Center in Birmingham, Alabama, in which a security guard was killed and a nurse was gravely injured, investigators announced they finally had a suspect—Eric Rudolph.

Rudolph's gray 1989 Nissan pickup truck was quickly linked to the scene of the Birmingham clinic bombing. Although Rudolph was initially sought only

as a material witness, when hunters in the woods near Murphy, North Carolina, found Rudolph's abandoned pickup, the investigation intensified. Shortly thereafter, the FBI found in Rudolph's storage facility in Marble, North Carolina, a book titled *How to Build Bombs of Mass Destruction*.

On February 14, 1998, Rudolph was named as the suspect in Birmingham clinic bombing. By May, he was on the FBI's "10 most wanted" list. Five months later, Attorney General Janet Reno charged him with all three Atlanta-area bombings.

By that time, Rudolph had long been hiding in the caves and mines of the Nantahala National Forest in North Carolina, using survivalist skills learned in his 18-month stint in the U.S. Army. He was last seen in July 1998, rumored to have left \$500 in exchange for a six-month supply of food and a pickup truck (later abandoned) taken from the home of his girlfriend's father. Members of the Southeast Bomb Task Force—a collaboration between the FBI, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the Department of Justice, and local trackers—continue to search the Smokey Mountains for signs of Rudolph.

As the investigation progressed, authorities found links between Rudolph and the Christian Identity Movement—a quasi-neo-Nazi group that is both anti-gay and antiabortion. However, investigators believe Rudolph has more in common with antigovernment terrorists such as Timothy McVeigh than to the anti-abortion activists before him, such as Michael Griffin or Paul Hill.

*See also* ANTIABORTION MOVEMENT; ARMY OF GOD; CENTENNIAL PARK BOMBING; MICHAEL GRIFFIN; PAUL HILL; TIMOTHY McVEIGH

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**RUF. See REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT.**

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**SALAFI GROUP FOR CALL AND COMBAT.** See **ARMED ISLAMIC GROUP.**

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**SALAMEH, MOHAMMAD.** See **WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING (1993).**

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**SÁNCHEZ, ILICH RAMÍREZ (CARLOS THE JACKAL) (1949– )**

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Venezuelan-born Ilich Ramírez Sánchez, more widely known as Carlos the Jackal, was involved in some of the most spectacular terrorist incidents of the 1970s and 1980s. He eluded police capture for more than 20 years.

Sánchez was born on October 12, 1949, in Tachira, Venezuela. His parents present a study in contrasts: his mother, Elba Maria Sánchez, was a deeply religious woman who enjoyed high society; his father, José Altagracia Ramírez Navas, was a fervent Marxist. He named his sons Ilich, Vladimir, and Lenin, after V. I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution. From the moment they were born, José Ramírez intended his sons to be revolutionaries. Despite his Marxist beliefs, José Ramírez maintained a successful law practice; the family was well off and moved in the upper circles of Venezuelan society.

Carlos attended Fermin Toro Lycée, a secondary school famous for its leftist radicalism. He participated

in street demonstrations and riots in the streets of Caracas in the mid-1960s, and is rumored to have taken guerrilla training in Cuba in 1966. Later that year, concerned about rising violence and political unrest in Venezuela, Carlos's mother took her sons to London to continue their schooling. In 1968, José Ramírez arranged for Carlos to attend the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow.

Lumumba University was not a typical center of academics; its purpose was to train future terrorists and revolutionary leaders for the Third World. Subjects included communist doctrine and covert operations. Discipline was strict, and Carlos chafed under it, slighting his studies in favor of partying and womanizing. In early 1970, he was forced to leave Moscow.

## TERRORISM TRAINING

While at the university, Carlos had become engaged in the Palestinian cause after meeting Muhammad Boudia, a fellow student and member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). George Habash had created the PFLP after the crushing defeat of a joint Arab army by Israel in the 1967 Six-Day War. Determined to strike back at Israel, in 1968 the PFLP abandoned conventional military tactics, taking up bombings, assassinations, and civilian airline hijackings. Its techniques contributed significantly to the development of modern terrorism, and radical groups began to look to the PFLP as a model. The PFLP welcomed them, allowing terrorists from around the world to attend its training sessions. Habash hoped to use these foreigners to advance the Palestinian cause in the West.

After his expulsion from Lumumba, Carlos traveled to Lebanon and a PFLP training camp. He attended two three-month training sessions during 1970 and 1971, becoming one of Habash's most prized students. It was Habash who in 1971 gave him the alias "Carlos," under which he would become world famous.

## TERRORIST ACTIONS

In the fall of 1971, Carlos traveled to London to begin work for the PFLP. His friend Boudia was now in charge of PFLP operatives in Europe. At first, Carlos stuck to collecting intelligence, compiling a 500-person hit list for PFLP. In June 1973, Israeli agents killed Boudia, and Carlos was named PFLP co-commander in Europe, along with Muhammad Moukharbal. Carlos made his first foray into active terrorism in December 1973 with the attempted assassination of Joseph Edward Seiff, a British Jewish businessman.

Carlos and Moukharbal next arranged the August 3, 1974, bombing of four news outlets deemed to be pro-Israeli. Car bombs were placed outside the company's Paris headquarters, set to detonate at 2 A.M.; one of the bombs, placed outside the Maison de Radio, failed to go off. No one was injured.

Acting on the advice of Wadi Haddad, during 1974 and 1975 Carlos began working with other terrorist groups. In September of 1974, Carlos consulted with the Japanese Red Army (JRA) on its planned assault on the French embassy in The Hague, Netherlands. The JRA succeeded in capturing the embassy, but negotiations with the French government were stalled. To prod the French to again negotiate, Carlos is believed to have slipped into a Paris café called the Drugstore, situated in a crowded shopping area, and thrown a hand grenade from the second floor balcony into the crowd below. Thirty-three people were injured and two were killed in the attack; soon afterward, the French government acceded to the JRA's demands. The grenade used in the attack was later discovered to have been stolen by the Baader-Meinhof Gang, a group of West German terrorists, from a U.S. Army base in Germany. Carlos is also believed to have aided the Latin American terror coalition Junta de Coordinación Revolucionaria with its assassination of the Uruguayan attaché to France in December 1974.

In January 1975, Carlos made two attempts to launch rockets at El Al flights on the runway of France's Orly Airport. In the first attack, Carlos and

his accomplice got off two shots, which missed, before making their escape. Carlos returned with three Palestinian accomplices six days later; with the second attack, the terrorists managed to fire a single rocket before being confronted by security officers. During the gun battle, while his companions retreated into an airport bathroom and took hostages, Carlos managed to slip away. (The hostages were released unharmed and the Palestinians were later flown to Baghdad.)

In June 1975, Lebanese security officials detained Moukharbal, later turning him over to the Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire (DST), France's intelligence agency. Once captured, Moukharbal informed on his comrades, agreeing to lead the police to the home of one of Carlos's many girlfriends. On the night of June 27, Moukharbal and three DST officers arrived at the apartment during a party and attempted to question Carlos. After arguing briefly with the police officers, Carlos excused himself to use the bathroom. He returned with an automatic pistol, and within seconds had killed Moukharbal and two of the DST officers.

## OPEC ATTACK

Eluding a massive dragnet, Carlos first returned to PFLP headquarters in Lebanon, and then went on to East Germany, and later Hungary to plan his next operation. It was to be his most audacious: an attack on the annual Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) meeting in Vienna.

The attack began at 11:30 A.M. on December 19, 1975. Carlos and his five accomplices entered the OPEC headquarters and methodically shot their way through security. Three people were killed in the initial assault and several wounded. When police arrived, Carlos had taken hostage the more than 80 meeting attendees, including the oil ministers of 11 countries. After 36 hours of negotiations, the Austrians agreed to all of Carlos's demands, including flying the terrorists and their hostages to the country of their choice. In return, upon departure for the airport, Carlos was to release 40 of the hostages, retaining the oil ministers and their entourages. The terrorists left Austria and flew to Algiers, where the non-Arab ministers were released.

What happened next is a matter of some debate. Some sources suggest that Wadi Haddad's original plan had been to fly each of the ministers to his country's capital, where he would be released for ransom, and

that the Algerian government participated with full knowledge. Carlos and his fellow terrorists next traveled to Tripoli, Libya, where the Libyan minister was released. They then returned to Algiers, where the rest of the hostages were released on December 24.

It is unknown whether Carlos and the PFLP received any ransom, and if so, from whom and in what amount. Some sources suggest that ransom of up to \$50 million was paid for the Syrian and Saudi Arabian ministers and that a significant amount went to the PFLP; however, Carlos, Wadi Haddad, and George Habash may have retained a large portion for their personal use. After releasing the hostages, Carlos and his accomplices were offered political asylum by Algeria; once again he had escaped the grasp of the police.

The OPEC attack was the last terrorist attack that Carlos led personally. His movements after 1975 are a matter of speculation, but he is believed to have returned to Lebanon, becoming part of the PFLP leadership; he is also thought to have been involved in planning the 1976 Entebbe, Uganda, hijacking.

## TERRORIST AS ANACHRONISM

The PFLP never trusted Carlos absolutely, however, and after the death of Wadi Haddad in 1978 he drifted away from them. Intelligence sources believe, and he himself has claimed, that he became something of a "professional revolutionary," hiring out his services and expertise to the highest bidder. Between 1976 and 1985, Carlos is known to have operated out of (then communist) Hungary where he stockpiled arms. He may have operated terrorist training camps in Iran in the early 1980s, working with Imad Mughniyah.

In January 1982, Carlos's wife, German terrorist Magdalena Kopp, was arrested in Paris. Carlos bombed several French targets in an effort to force her release, but was unsuccessful. In 1984, Carlos unwisely allowed himself to be interviewed and photographed by a Lebanese journalist; he later tried and failed to prevent the article from being printed. Soon after publication, the magazine's Paris offices were bombed, injuring 64 people and killing one, and the writer of the article disappeared. This incident and a New Year's Eve 1984 bomb attack are the last terrorist acts in which Carlos is believed to have been involved.

In 1985, Carlos left Hungary for Prague and is known to have been living in Syria in the late 1980s.

Terrorist organizations in the Middle East had begun to change, becoming more Islamic and Arab-centric; they wanted to nothing to do with a Marxist Westerner. By 1991, with the Soviet Union dissolved and the Gulf War having rearranged Middle East alliances, Carlos could find no place to hide and no regime that wanted him. He had become an anachronism.

Carlos spent the early 1990s being hustled from one Arab state to another on a series of false diplomatic passports; in 1993, he ended up in Sudan, where an Islamic fundamentalist regime had come to power. In 1994, the French made a secret deal with the Sudanese, and Carlos was extradited to France, where he was tried for the 1975 murder of three policemen. He is currently serving a life sentence; he is appealing that sentence, claiming he was arrested illegally. He is believed to have killed more than 80 people and been responsible for the deaths of hundreds more during his terrorist career.

*See also* BAADER-MEINHOF GANG; JAPANESE RED ARMY; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

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## SASR. See SPECIAL AIR SERVICE REGIMENT.

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## SAUDI HEZBOLLAH. See ABDELKARIM HUSSEIN MOHAMED AL-NASSER; AHMAD IBRAHIM AL-MUGHASSIL; IBRAHIM SALIH MOHAMMED AL-YACOB; ALI SAED BIN ALI EL-HOORIE; KHOBAR TOWERS BOMBING.

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## SAYERET MATKAL

aka "The Unit," General Staff Reconnaissance Unit 269

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The Israel Defense Force's most elite commando unit, Sayeret Matkal has carried out many counter-terrorist operations.

Founded in 1957, Sayeret Matkal is known for several spectacular hostage rescues. In 1972, Sayeret Matkal freed hostages on a Sabena airliner at Tel Aviv Airport. Commandos disguised as maintenance personnel took control of the airliner from members of Black September during Operation Isotope.

In a 1976 mission, Sayeret Matkal worked with other Israeli Defense Force units to free hostages from an Air France plane that had been hijacked by Palestinian terrorists and flown to Entebbe, Uganda. The unit used a black Mercedes that was a perfect copy of Ugandan leader Idi Amin's personal car to fool local troops. Rescue force leader Lt. Col. Yonatan Netanyahu, brother of former Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu, was killed as he brought the hostages to safety.

On May 15, 1974, a Sayeret Matkal hostage rescue mission at an Israeli school went horribly wrong. Members of Nayef Hawatmeh's Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine had taken over the school in the northern town of Maalot, and held dozens of teachers and students hostage. When Sayeret Matkal stormed the school, Democratic Front members began firing at the hostages. At least 20 people, many of them children, were killed. Some were killed or wounded in the exchange of fire between Sayeret Matkal and the Democratic Front.

The unit has also engaged in many counter terror attacks and assassinations. In 1973, Sayeret Matkal commando Ehud Barak (who served as Israel's prime minister from 1999 to 2001) led a raid into Lebanon dressed as a woman. The unit assassinated three Palestinian leaders during the mission, called Operation Spring of Youth. Barak, who joined the unit at age 18, rose to the leadership of Sayeret Matkal. Benjamin Netanyahu, also later a prime minister of Israel, served under Barak in Sayeret Matkal.

The unit is credited with the 1988 assassination of Palestine Liberation Organization second-in-command Khalil Wazir, known as Abu Jihad. He was gunned down inside his Tunis home. However, Abu Jihad's assassination has also been attributed to the Mossad, Israel's secret service.

In July 1989, Sayeret Matkal reportedly kidnapped Hezbollah spiritual leader Sheik Abdul Karim Obeid from his southern Lebanon home. According to press reports, five Sayeret Matkal members were killed in 1992 at the Tse'elim base when a rehearsal of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's assassination turned deadly—a guided missile was accidentally fired on the base.

*See also* COUNTERTERRORISM; MOSSAD.

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## SCUTARI, RICHARD (1947– )

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The head of security for the white supremacist group the Order, Richard Scutari was the last to be brought to justice after an FBI investigation led to the group's downfall.

Born on April 30, 1947, he lived in Port Jefferson, New York, until 1956, when his family moved to Florida. He dropped out of high school to join the Navy, where he learned how to dive. After leaving the military, he worked as a diver until 1979 when he started a construction business with his brother. He joined the American Pistol and Rifle Association (APRA), a survivalist gun club, and while attending a national meeting in 1980, was introduced to the race-based theology Christian Identity.

Scutari started his local unit of the APRA unit, and throughout the early 1980s taught shooting and combat in Port Salerno, Florida. In 1982, he was invited to the compound of the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA), a survivalist group that practiced Christian Identity, to teach hand-to-hand combat. That same year, his construction business failed; in 1983, when Andrew Barnhill offered him a month's salary to come to Washington State and join him in the Order, he accepted.

The Order's founder, Robert Jay Mathews, used Scutari's knowledge of the voice stress analyzer to interview potential recruits and screen for informants. Mathews assigned him the code name "Mr. Black" and made him the head of internal security. Although Scutari joined the group relatively late, informants later testified that he participated in much of its criminal activity, including the June 1984 assassination of Denver radio talk show host, Alan Berg. Scutari and Mathews served as lookouts while Order member Bruce Pierce



did the actual shooting and David Lane drove the getaway car. Scutari also took part in the robbery of an armored car in Ukiah, California, that netted the group \$3.8 million.

As head of security, Scutari developed a system of rules, code names, and contact telephone numbers. With his share of the Ukiah robbery money, he purchased sophisticated equipment, including a second voice stress analyzer, surveillance equipment, and telephone scramblers. Often ridiculed by other Order members because of his swarthy complexion, he eventually became Mathews's most trusted confidant and adviser.

Scutari tried to convince Mathews to drop Thomas Martinez as a member when Martinez refused to take a voice stress test. Martinez claimed it was too dangerous to meet with Scutari and Mathews because he was under surveillance; in fact, Martinez was cooperating with federal agents and feared he would not be able to pass the test. Mathews, however, did not take Scutari's advice. Martinez later played a crucial role in the downfall of both Mathews and the Order.

In November 1984, with the FBI on their trail, Scutari, Mathews, and other members of the Order fled to Whidbey Island off the coast of Washington State. Although Mathews was killed during a standoff with authorities on the island, Scutari and other members had earlier managed to escape the FBI's net. Eventually making the FBI's "most wanted" list, Scutari was the last Order member to be taken into custody (March 1986)—all the others had been arrested by April 1985. Scutari was traced through an alias while working as a garage mechanic in San Antonio, Texas. Although Scutari had previously vowed that he would not be taken alive, he was arrested without incident.

Scutari pleaded guilty to most of the charges, but denied any involvement in the Berg assassination. He was sentenced to 60 years in prison for robbery, racketeering, and conspiracy. In 1987, he was found not guilty of violating Berg's civil rights. A federal crackdown called Operation Clean Sweep brought Scutari and 13 other defendants, some of them members of the Order, to trial in 1988 on sedition charges; they were found not guilty.

*See also* ROBERT JAY MATHEWS; THE ORDER; WHITE SUPREMACY

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## SEAL TEAM SIX

**aka Naval Special Warfare Development Group (NSWDG), Dev Group, DEVGRU, MOB Six, MARESFAC**

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SEAL Team Six is the original name of the U.S. Navy's top-level special operations commando group; it is responsible for counterterrorist operations worldwide. The group is now referred to as the Naval Special Warfare Development Group, or DEVGRU. SEAL Team Six was founded, in part, in response to the failure of Operation Eagle Claw, the April 1980 attempt to rescue hostages in Iran.

Navy SEAL Teams, named for their sea-air-land capabilities, had been involved in clandestine operations and unconventional warfare methods since the early 1960s. By the late 1970s, SEAL Teams One and Two were already engaged in counterterrorism training. SEAL Team Two, in particular, had appointed two platoons, referred to as MOB Six, that were developing more advanced techniques. In the wake of Operation Eagle Claw, the decision was made that, like the Army's Delta Force, only one official naval counterterrorism group was needed. Thus, in October 1980, SEAL Team Six was born. (Much of MOB Six was incorporated into SEAL Team Six.)

SEAL Team Six (ST6), which was named to confuse Soviet intelligence about how many SEAL Teams existed, immediately began to train with the world's top counterterrorist forces, including Germany's Grenzschutzgruppe 9 (GSG-9), Britain's esteemed Special Boat Squadrons (SBS), and France's combat divers. By spring of 1981, ST6 was deemed ready for combat.

At that time, the administration of U.S. president Ronald Reagan had begun to step up governmental support for military special operations groups. In 1983, ST6 was deployed to the U.S. embassy in Beirut to investigate vulnerability to terrorist attack. Ninety days after ST6 reportedly infiltrated and planted "bombs" in the embassy, revealing serious security problems, an actual car bomb destroyed the building. ST6 was deployed for various other actions



*U.S. sailors and Marines of the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit aboard their hovercraft returning from Afghanistan to the ships of their amphibious group, January 23, 2002*

Source: U.S. Department of Defense photograph by USN Chief Photographer's Mate Johnny Bivera [sic].

that year, including the *Achille Lauro* hijacking and the invasion of Grenada, which involved the evacuation of Governor Sir Paul Scoon. In 1989, ST6, along with Delta Force, helped locate and secure Manuel Noriega in Panama. A year later, ST6 returned to Panama in an unsuccessful attempt to apprehend Colombian drug lord Pablo Escobar. In the 1990s, the group was apparently part of an aborted plan to shoot down Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein's helicopter. ST6 reportedly recovered Jean Bertrand Aristide after the coup in Haiti. In the late 1990s, 65 members of ST6 were deployed to Bosnia to aid in the hunt for war criminals.

By the mid-1990s, ST6 was disbanded; U.S. Navy commander Richard Marcinko, founder of ST6, had been convicted of conspiracy. After Marcinko departed, ST6 became the Naval Special Warfare Development Group (DEVGRU). (For a short time, the group was called MARESFAC.)

Most information about DEVGRU is classified, though the group is thought to have roughly 200 operators, with an additional support staff of 200 to 300. The base, in Dam Neck, Virginia, includes a \$25-million armor-plated "kill house," where much of the close-quarter battle training is conducted. DEVGRU

is part of the Joint Special Operations Command and works with other counterterrorism units, such as Army's Delta Force and the 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment.

*See also* COUNTERTERRORISM; DELTA FORCE; GRENZSCHUTZGRUPPE 9; OPERATION EAGLE CLAW.

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## SENDERO LUMINOSO. See SHINING PATH.

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## SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS

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On September 11, 2001, 19 men, part of the Al Qaeda organization, hijacked four passenger airplanes in the United States. Two of the planes were deliberately crashed into New York City's World Trade Center, one was flown into the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., and one crashed into a field in western Pennsylvania.

The attacks, which killed approximately 3,000 people, targeted two potent symbols of U.S. military and economic might: the Pentagon, which houses the nation's military leadership, and the World Trade Center, which symbolized U.S. global financial power. The United States responded with a military campaign in Afghanistan to destroy the Al Qaeda network, whose leader, Osama bin Laden, had found sanctuary

in that country with the radical Islamic Taliban government.

The September 11 attacks were extraordinarily deadly—instead of killing dozens, a more typical toll for a terrorist attack, they killed thousands. They also demonstrated the perils of the nation’s relatively relaxed approach to security: the terrorists took over the airplanes using knives and box cutters that were in their carry-on baggage.

## PLOTTING AND PAYING

The attacks appear to have taken years to plan and hundreds of thousands of dollars to execute. Members of a Hamburg, Germany, Al Qaeda cell, are thought to have originally conceived the idea of using airplanes as terrorist weapons; they presented Al Qaeda’s senior leadership with the idea and were granted funding and support.

The hijackers, 15 of whom were citizens of Saudi Arabia (as is bin Laden), and other conspirators were apparently brought together by their embrace of radical Islam and their hatred of the United States. Most of the hijackers, perhaps all, spent time in Al Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan, and some may have met there.

The attacks were apparently planned in Hamburg sometime in 1998. Members of the Hamburg cell included three men who would pilot hijacked planes on September 11—Mohamed Atta, Marwan al-Shehhi, and Zia al-Jarrah—as well as Ramzi Binalshibh.

In late 1999, Atta, al-Shehhi, and al-Jarrah all reported their travel documents missing to the German police and were issued new ones; they then applied for travel visas to the United States. Investigators believe that reporting the documents stolen was a ploy to get “clean” travel documents, ones without visa stamps indicating that the men had traveled to Afghanistan.

By mid-2000, Atta, al-Shehhi, and al-Jarrah had all received the appropriate visas and had moved to the United States. Binalshibh, however, encountered difficulties. From May to October 2000, he applied four times for a visa to enter the United States; his request was denied each time. In December 2000, Binalshibh traveled to London, apparently to meet with Zacarias Moussaoui, a French-born ethnic Moroccan living in London who had reportedly trained at an Al Qaeda camp in Afghanistan in 1998. Moussaoui was able to obtain the proper visas and entered the United States in February 2001.

Atta, al-Shehhi, and al-Jarrah began meeting with Hani Hanjour, Nawaf al-Hazmi, and Khalid al-Midhar, all of whom lived in California. Al-Midhar had been photographed speaking to a suspect in the October 2000 bombing of the American naval destroyer *Cole* in Yemen. In August 2001, al-Midhar and Nawaf al-Hamzi were placed on an FBI terrorist-alert list as associates of bin Laden in Yemen. Nevertheless, the two were able to leave and reenter the United States at will before being placed on the list, and they were able to buy plane tickets in late August 2001 without triggering any security alerts.

## FUNDING

Beginning in the summer of 2000, Atta and al-Shehhi began to receive large sums of money, wired to them from Binalshibh or from a source in the United Arab Emirates. During this time, the six men lived in different parts of the United States and moved frequently. They attended flight schools in various states, purchased instruction videos on how to fly large aircraft, and made several trips out of the United States, apparently to contact Al Qaeda cells abroad. Atta also made inquiries into starting crop-dusting companies in Florida; later, Moussaoui would do the same in Oklahoma.

By mid-2001, the rest of the hijackers—Abdul Alomari, Wail al-Shehri, Waleed al-Shehri, Satam al-Suqami, Fayez Ahmed, Ahmed al-Ghamdi, Hamza al-Ghamdi, Moahld al-Shehri, Salem al-Hamzi, Majed Moqed, Ahmed al-Haznaw, Saaed al-Ghamdi, and Ahmed al-Nami—had entered the United States.

This group did not seek flight instruction; instead, they joined gyms and purchased knives. Several opened bank accounts in Florida, and one, Fayez Ahmed, also opened a bank account in United Arab Emirates. Ahmed gave power of attorney over that account to Mustafa Ahmed al-Hawsawi, who is believed to have handled much of the finances linked to the attack. Al-Hawsawi sent credit and automatic teller cards to Ahmed.

## PLAN INTO ACTION

The hijackers continued to move around, meeting together as a group at least once in Las Vegas. They lived cheaply, with one exception—periodically some of the hijackers would take a first-class plane flight, apparently as practice runs for the September 11 attacks.

On August 17, 2001, Moussaoui was arrested in Minnesota. Moussaoui, who had more than \$30,000 cash when he entered the United States the previous February, had attended the Airman Flight School in Norman, Oklahoma. He was an exceptionally poor student, and eventually left Airman. After being wired \$14,000 by Binalshibh in Germany, Moussaoui moved to Minneapolis, Minnesota, and began attending Pan Am International Flight Academy.

At Pan Am, Moussaoui quickly attracted the notice of his teachers. He was secretive about his background, and he had paid the \$6,300 fee in cash. Obviously incompetent even with small airplanes, Moussaoui nevertheless insisted that he must learn to fly a Boeing 747. His instructors contacted the FBI, and Moussaoui was arrested. His arrest, however, did not derail the plot. Federal investigators found no evidence of wrongdoing except that Moussaoui had overstayed his visa. Moussaoui was jailed on immigration charges, and the plan proceeded without him.

In late August, the hijackers bought first-class tickets aboard four flights: American Airlines Flight 11, United Airlines Flight 175, American Airlines Flight 77, and United Airlines Flight 93.

Investigators believe that the hijackers traveled first class to be closer to the cockpits. The flights were apparently chosen with great care. They were all non-stop, cross-country flights and thus had full fuel tanks. They took off at about the same time, and the planes were all either Boeing 767 or Boeing 757 models, which have similar cockpit designs. The terrorists, who had purchased instruction videos on flying such airplanes, knew enough about them to disable the transponders on two of the planes to prevent them from being tracked from the ground.

In the days preceding the attacks, the hijackers wired money to the United Arab Emirates. Investigators believe that these were excess funds that were returned to Al Qaeda. Binalshibh left Germany for Spain, then disappeared; al-Hawsawi left the United Arab Emirates for Pakistan on the day of the attack. In the United States, the hijackers split up into small groups and traveled to different cities, apparently to avoid notice.

## SEPTEMBER 11

On the morning of September 11, 2001, Flight 11 and Flight 175 both departed from Logan Airport in Boston—Flight 11 at about 8 A.M., Flight 175 about

15 minutes later. Atta, Alomari, al-Suqami, Wail al-Shehri, and Waleed al-Shehri were aboard Flight 11. On Flight 175 were al-Shehhi, Ahmed, Moahld al-Shehri, Ahmed al-Ghamdi, and Hamza al-Ghamdi. Just before Flight 11 took off, Atta used his cell phone to call al-Shehhi and the two conversed briefly.

Shortly after the two airplanes reached cruising altitude, the hijackers struck. As far as can be determined from cell phone calls made by crew members and passengers on Flights 11 and 175, the hijackers attacked crew members and passengers with knives and box cutters, wounding those who resisted. They forced open the cockpit doors and disabled or killed the pilots. Then the hijackers with flight training took over the planes, while the rest of the team kept the passengers and crew at bay.

Instead of heading to Los Angeles, the planes turned south, flying toward New York City and the World Trade Center. At 8:48 A.M., Flight 11 flew into the north tower of the 110-story World Trade Center from the north. At 9:06 A.M., Flight 175, approaching from the south, crashed into the south tower.

The towers initially withstood the impact of the crashes. But the fuel in the jets poured into the buildings and ignited. Thousands of workers in the lower floors began evacuating, but those in the upper floors were trapped by the intense heat and choking smoke. Some managed to telephone relatives before they perished. Eyewitnesses on the ground saw people jump from windows to their death to escape the flames.

Jet fuel burns at temperatures high enough to melt steel, and the buildings' steel supports collapsed. Just before 10:00 A.M., the south tower collapsed, killing all but a handful of the office workers and rescue personnel inside. Less than 30 minutes later, the north tower went down. Several nearby buildings were seriously damaged, with one collapsing completely, and the subway, train, telephone, and electricity systems in the area all suffered heavy damage. Hundreds of rescue workers and 147 passengers and crew on Flights 11 and 175 were among the nearly 3,000 people killed in the World Trade Center attack. The fire was so hot and the destruction so complete that incomplete remains of only about 1,100 people were recovered.

## PENTAGON HIT

At about the time Flights 11 and 175 were hitting the World Trade Center, Hanjour, al-Midhar, Moqed, Nawaf al-Hamzi, and Salem al-Hazmi were hijacking



*An overhead view of “Ground Zero” at the World Trade Center in New York*

Source: U.S. Customs Service, Department of the Treasury.

Flight 77 somewhere west of Indiana. The flight had departed Dulles International Airport in Virginia for Los Angeles at about 8:20 A.M. After disabling the transponder, the hijackers turned the plane east toward Washington, D.C. By 9:30 A.M., federal authorities realized that the third hijacked plane was flying toward Washington, D.C. The White House and the Capitol were evacuated, and military planes were sent to intercept the hijacked airliner.

Minutes later, however, Flight 77 crashed into the southwest side of the Pentagon in nearby Arlington, Virginia. The impact and resulting fire destroyed parts of three of the Pentagon’s five concentric rings, killing 184 people in the building and all 59 passengers and crew on board the plane.

The toll could have been far greater, however—that area of the Pentagon, which contained the offices of Army and Navy operations personnel, was under renovation with many of the offices empty. The renovations had fortified the building to withstand a bomb

attack, so the damage to the building was not as great as it might have been. None of the U.S. senior military leaders were lost.

#### **FOURTH AIRPLANE**

Flight 93 was the latest of the four flights, leaving Newark International Airport in New Jersey for San Francisco at 8:45 A.M. Unlike the other hijacked planes, Flight 93 had only four terrorists aboard: al-Jarrah, al-Haznaw, al-Ghamdi, and al-Nami. Investigators believe that first Bin al-Shibh, then Moussaoui, had been slated to be the fifth member of the hijacking team.

The flight traveled its normal route until it reached Ohio, then it turned back, presumably to strike another target in the Washington, D.C., area. Despite the smaller team, the Flight 93 hijackers were no less aggressive: at least one passenger was stabbed to death in the course of the hijacking, and the hijackers told the passengers they had a bomb on board.



*Firefighters, rescue workers, and engineers work at the Pentagon crash site on September 14, 2001.*

Source: U.S. Department of Defense photograph by Tech. Sgt. Cedric H. Rudisill.

Flight 93 was the last flight to be hijacked and that worked against the terrorists. Several passengers on the flight had cell phones that they used to call family members and authorities, who told them what had happened to the other hijacked planes. Two passengers told family members that the passengers had decided to attack the hijackers and attempt to retake the plane.

At around 10:00 A.M., Flight 93 crashed into an empty field in western Pennsylvania. All 40 passengers and crew were killed—but they did not act in vain. Unlike the other hijacked planes, Flight 93 destroyed no buildings and caused no fatalities on the ground.

All U.S. air traffic was ordered grounded; planes landed at the nearest airports and remained there. Thousands of passengers were stranded. The investigation began immediately. Officials at Boston's Logan Airport discovered that Atta's luggage did not make it onto Flight 11. The luggage contained Atta's will, flight-instruction videotapes, and a five-page

handwritten letter instructing the hijackers on how to comport themselves. Copies of the letter were found in a car registered to Nawaf al-Hamzi parked at Dulles Airport and in the wreckage of Flight 93.

## WAR ON TERRORISM

Soon after the attacks, U.S. president George W. Bush declared a “war on terrorism,” warning countries that harbored terrorists that they would face the full power of the U.S. military. The United States charged Al Qaeda with responsibility and demanded that the Taliban turn over bin Laden and the Al Qaeda leadership, and dismantle terrorist training camps in Afghanistan. The Taliban denied that bin Laden was responsible. In October, the United States launched an attack on the Taliban and terrorists within Afghanistan; its allies were Great Britain and anti-Taliban forces in Afghanistan.

The Taliban government quickly collapsed and many Al Qaeda leaders, although apparently not

bin Laden, were captured or killed. Authorities in several countries arrested alleged members of Al Qaeda, but the international network has not been eradicated. Bin Laden's role in enabling the attacks appeared to be confirmed by videotapes in which he said that the September 11 attacks had been even more destructive than he had hoped they would be.

In the weeks following September 11, a series of letters containing anthrax spores were sent through the mail in the United States, ultimately killing five people. No evidence was found to link the anthrax attacks to Al Qaeda, but the anthrax scares contributed to an atmosphere of uncertainty and even panic.

In response to the September 11 attacks, security has been considerably tightened on airplanes, in buildings, and in public areas. U.S. authorities detained hundreds of people whose actions or immigration status made them appear questionable, and Bush created special military tribunals that could try foreign nationals accused of terrorism. Such measures led to intense debates between those who considered them necessary and those who considered them an overreaction.

By December 2001, various detainees had been cleared, and only one, Moussaoui, faced charges stemming from the attacks. Moussaoui, a French citizen, faced the charges in a civilian rather than a military court. In a federal court in Virginia, Moussaoui was charged on six counts of conspiracy in the attacks; four of those counts carried the possibility of the death penalty. His trial is now scheduled to begin in June 2003.

*See also* AL QAEDA; ANTHRAX; MOHAMED ATTA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; HIJACKING; MILITANT ISLAM; ZACARIAS MOUSSAOUI; TALIBAN; *UNITED STATES V. ZACARIAS MOUSSAOUI* INDICTMENT; WAR ON TERRORISM; WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING (1993)

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## 17 NOVEMBER. See REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION OF 17 NOVEMBER.

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## SHAKUR, ASSATA. See CHESIMARD, JOANNE.

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## SHALLAH, RAMADAN ABDULLAH (1955– )

aka Ramadan Abdullah, Ramadan Abdullah al-Shallah

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Dr. Ramadan Abdullah Shallah, a former part-time professor at the University of South Florida in Tampa, made national headlines in 1995 when he left his job in the United States to lead the militant group Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ). (The PIJ was founded in Egypt in the late 1970s by Palestinian students, but is now based in Syria.)

Born in 1955 in the Gaza Strip, which was then under Egyptian administration, Shallah taught economics at the University of Gaza in the mid-1980s. He received a doctoral degree in Islamic and Middle Eastern studies from England's University of Durham in 1990, and wrote many articles on the economics of Middle Eastern countries.

Shallah arrived in Tampa, Florida, in 1991 and spent four years teaching political science at the



University of South Florida. At the university, he was a well-liked professor, known for being a soft-spoken intellectual.

Shallah also worked for a think tank called World Islamic Studies Enterprise (WISE). In several controversial articles, the *Tampa Tribune* called the think tank a terrorist front and its cofounder, fellow University of South Florida professor Sami al-Arian, the front man. The FBI opened a criminal investigation of al-Arian in 1995 to determine whether he had been funneling money to the PIJ or other terrorist groups. The long-running investigation was stepped up after the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, but no criminal charges have been brought against al-Arian. After Fox television host Bill O'Reilly in September 2001 detailed al-Arian's ties to Shallah and accused him of being a terrorist sympathizer, the University of South Florida relieved him of his teaching duties.

Shallah did not publicly claim any link to the PIJ during his academic career, and his possible covert actions are unknown. The PIJ is a loosely knit, mysterious group known for its violence and its opposition to peace negotiations with Israel.

In October 1995, gunmen said to be working for Israel shot down PIJ leader Dr. Fatih Shaqaqi in the Mediterranean island of Malta. The group then named Shallah its new leader. Shallah spoke on the Palestinian Al-Quds radio during the November ceremonies to commemorate Shaqaqi's death, saying, "For us, the head of Shaqaqi cannot be equal to anything but the head of Jerusalem." He also pledged to escalate militant operations against Israel.

In the spring after Shallah was named head of the PIJ, an unknown group called the War Purgers sent a bomb threat to the University of South Florida's campus newspaper. The letter demanded a public apology for Shallah's treatment and threatened to bomb a building and kill a professor. In response, the university moved up the date of final exams to enable students to be off campus by the date set in the letter. No attacks occurred, and a student pleaded guilty to the threats in December 1996.

During the escalating Middle East violence that began in 2000, the PIJ carried out many suicide bombings and other attacks against Israelis, and Shallah publicly endorsed the bombings. In December 2001, Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat called to stop the attacks, and Shallah told the London newspaper *El Hayat* that he would not follow Arafat's demand and

planned to direct his organization to continue to carry out suicide bombings.

*See also* PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD

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## SHIGENOBU, FUSAKO (1945– )

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A wing of the Japanese Red Army (JRA) founded by Fusako Shigenobu was responsible for a series of terrorist attacks, including a 1972 attack on Ben-Gurion Airport (Lod Airport) in Tel Aviv.

Fusako Shigenobu was an active student member of the JRA in the 1960s. A radical leftist group, it wanted to drive out the democratic government and end American involvement in the country so that Japan could become a communist state. The group split into several factions, and in 1971 Shigenobu and a handful of followers went to Lebanon to join forces with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

The early actions of Shigenobu's faction included kidnappings, murders, and hijackings, mostly on behalf of the PFLP. The deadliest attack was a machine gun and grenade attack at Ben-Gurion Airport in Tel Aviv in 1972. The JRA killed 26 people, including 16 Americans. Then, in 1974, the JRA invaded the French Embassy in The Hague, took the French ambassador and 10 others hostage, and



demanded the release of several incarcerated Red Army Members. Shigenobu was thought to be the mastermind of the plan, causing authorities to add her to the international “wanted” list.

The JRA was responsible for many terrorist attacks in the 1970s and 80s. These include but are not limited to the takeover of the U.S. embassy in Kuala Lumpur in 1975, the hijacking of a flight bound from Japan to Paris in 1977, and the seizure of the U.S. and British embassies in Rome in 1987. The activities and strength of the JRA decreased in the 1990s due to the fall of the Soviet Union, the advancements made toward peace in the Middle Eastern conflict, and the capture of many members.

By the late 1990s, police had been tipped off that Shigenobu had returned to Japan and was consorting with other members of the group to strengthen their support bases. On November 8, 2000, fifty-five-year-old Shigenobu was finally apprehended in Osaka, Japan, and brought to Tokyo for trial. In a statement made from prison, she proclaimed that she would continue to pursue the goals of the JRA but through a legitimate political party instead of a terrorist organization.

*See also* JAPANESE RED ARMY

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## SHINING PATH

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Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) is a communist guerrilla group founded in Ayacucho, Peru; in 1980, it began a terrorist campaign that almost brought down the government of Peru.

Shining Path takes its name from Peruvian Marxist leader Jose Carlos Mariatigua, who once stated, “Marxism-Leninism will open the shining path to revolution.” The group’s ideology, however, is Maoist. (Marxism and Leninism posit that society must develop a group of urban, industrialized, class-conscious workers, the proletariat, before a communist revolution can be successful. Maoism, named for Chinese communist leader Mao Tse-tung, holds that an agrarian, preindustrial society can be transformed directly into a communist one by indoctrinating the

peasantry and using them to spur revolution.) Inspired by China’s Cultural Revolution, the group sought to destroy Peru’s government and cultural institutions and create a perfect communist society that would be led by a peasant dictatorship. Like the Khmer Rouge of Cambodia, Shining Path regards civilian casualties as not only inevitable but desirable in furthering revolution, and specifically targeted doctors, relief workers, educators, and clergy in some of its campaigns.

At its peak, the group’s structure was strictly hierarchical, with local cells or bands of guerrillas reporting to a regional council, which in turn reported to a central committee of up to 19 members. The central committee’s actions were dictated by the group’s founder and leader, Abimael Guzmán Reynoso. A cult of personality existed around Guzmán, known to his followers as Comrade Gonzalo. The depth of devotion he inspired in his followers gave the group a quasi-religious character. Many Shining Path members believed they would inevitably be killed in action and considered themselves honored to die for the cause.

Shining Path’s origins can be traced to San Cristobal de Huamanga University, a local university in the remote, poverty-stricken, and mountainous province of Ayacucho, Peru. A philosophy professor at the university, Guzmán began holding informal political discussions with students and fellow teachers in the early 1960s.

Reforms of the Peruvian educational system had led to increased university enrollment, especially in the provinces. A significant portion of these new students were of native Indian heritage, and many were the first in their families to have a chance for higher education. From these early discussion groups would emerge the core of the Shining Path leadership. By the late 1960s, the group had attracted a number of followers and formed a Maoist political party, the Communist Party of Peru. Guzmán’s ideas were evolving and becoming progressively more radical; he began to advocate a bloody military uprising as the only legitimate form of revolution. In response, in the mid-1970s the group began to purchase weapons and train members in guerrilla warfare.

In May 1980, Shining Path began its attacks in the Ayacucho area, burning the ballot boxes used in the presidential election. The group began to infiltrate Indian villages, often tailoring its operations to gain local support, for example, by assassinating certain hated landowners and local criminals. The government first regarded the rebellion as insignificant and

waited more than two years to crack down on Shining Path. In December 1982, the government declared Ayacucho to be an emergency zone and sent in the military to restore control at the beginning of 1983.

The guerrillas had by then established a base of operations and developed grassroots support, while Peru's political instability and worsening economic crisis rendered the government's moves ineffective. Unable to infiltrate the small, tightly organized terrorist cells, the military's attempts at repression—thousands of people accused of sympathizing with the guerrillas disappeared from military bases during the 1980s—only strengthened the support for Shining Path. As the organization grew, it gained control of coca-producing areas. The group demanded and received millions of dollars in protection fees from drug traffickers; these funds enabled it to further expand its territory.

In 1988, Guzmán announced that Shining Path, with an estimated 10,000 active members and more than half the population living in areas under its control, would now move in a new direction and bring the revolution from the countryside into the cities, in particular the capital, Lima.

The ongoing violence of the countryside had driven an estimated 100,000 migrants from their Andes villages to Lima's ever-expanding slums on the outskirts of the capital. Home to the poorest of Lima's 7 million residents, these slums proved fertile ground for Shining Path, which plastered revolutionary slogans on walls, distributed propaganda, set up soup kitchens, and began an extensive bombing campaign in the capital. By 1992, Shining Path's campaign had brought the country to the brink of anarchy.

Responding to the almost daily terrorists attacks that had paralyzed the capital, in April 1992 President Alberto Fujimori closed Congress, suspended the constitution, and gave the military sweeping powers to arrest and detain citizens, effectively putting the country under martial law. In September of that year, Army commandos raided a Shining Path hideout and arrested 15 top commanders, including Guzmán.

Guzmán's arrest was a crushing blow to Shining Path. Disorganization and desertion followed; the Fujimori government passed a series of amnesty laws for former guerrillas, which led to the almost complete disintegration of Shining Path by the mid-1990s.

Recently, Shining Path has been staging a comeback. Attacks on an Army barracks and police outpost during the summer of 2001 have been attributed on

Shining Path members, and the group retains strong links to the cocaine and heroin trades in the Andes. The group has also been implicated in a foiled plot to bomb the U.S. embassy in Lima in November, causing the U.S. State Department to issue an advisory warning to U.S. travelers to avoid Peru. Shining Path, whose rebellion claimed an estimated 30,000 victims, may once again pose a serious threat to Peru.

*See also* ABIMAE GUZMÁN (ABIMAE GUZMÁN REYNOSO)

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## SIKH TERRORISM

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Terrorist acts by militant Sikhs, members of a religion originating in northern India in the 1500s, reached a peak in the 1980s with the assassination of Indian prime minister Indira Gandhi and the bombing of Air India Flight 182. Militants have attacked the Indian government because Sikhs want an independent homeland; many acts of Sikh terrorism were also committed as revenge for a 1984 attack by the Indian military on the Golden Temple in Amritsar, the holiest of Sikh shrines. Militant Sikhs have also targeted moderates and critics in the Sikh community and members of nontraditional or minority Sikh sects.

The vast majority of Sikhs live in India, although substantial communities can be found in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain. Most Sikhs in India live in the northwestern state of Punjab, where they constitute a narrow majority. For the first half of the 19th century, this area was an independent Sikh kingdom until conquered by the British in 1849. When India and Pakistan became independent nations

in 1947, Sikhs agitated for the creation of either an independent Sikh state or an autonomous Sikh entity within India. Although no such state was created, the borders of Punjab were eventually redrawn to create a Sikh-majority state. A Sikh political party, the Akali Dal, was created to promote greater political autonomy for Sikhs.

No single group has come to dominate militant Sikhism—by 1990 even the Panthic Committee, an umbrella organization of Sikh militants, had splintered into three factions. But radical Sikh groups generally trace their roots to a single individual, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. Bhindranwale, leader of a Sikh fundamentalist sect and a fiery orator, rose to prominence in the mid-1970s. In 1977, a party coalition including the Akali Dal came to power in Punjab, defeating India's then-dominant Congress Party, led by Indira Gandhi. In an effort to gain popularity among Sikhs, the Congress Party began to support Bhindranwale.

In 1978, followers of Bhindranwale battled with members of a small Sikh sect; at least 18 people died in the fighting. Bhindranwale and his followers gathered arms and turned their religious center into a fortress. On September 9, 1981, the chief editor of a chain of newspapers harshly critical of Bhindranwale was assassinated, and police arrested Bhindranwale at his fortress. Bhindranwale's followers embarked on a month-long campaign of violence to obtain his release, attacking Hindus, derailing trains, and even hijacking an Air India plane.

Bhindranwale was released from prison on October 14, 1981. He appeared so powerful that even the Akali Dal attempted a rapprochement. Bhindranwale was able to assume effective control of the All-India Sikh Students Federation, a large youth organization. In April 1983, a high-ranking police officer was assassinated in front of the Golden Temple in broad daylight, apparently on Bhindranwale's orders; once again he was not prosecuted.

Murders of individuals rapidly gave way to massacres. In October 1983, six Hindu bus passengers were slaughtered by Sikh militants, leading the Indian government to impose emergency rule in Punjab. To avoid arrest, Bhindranwale moved himself and his followers into the Golden Temple.

While Bhindranwale usually insisted that his goal was simply to ensure that Sikhs were treated fairly in Indian society, many of his followers listed as their goal the establishment of an independent Sikh nation, usually called Khalistan, or the land of the pure. Some

nonviolent groups also supported the establishment of Khalistan, but for the rest of 1983 and the first half of 1984 violence continued in Punjab, generally targeted against Bhindranwale's Sikh rivals and critics, as well as Hindus.

Indian government officials became convinced that Bhindranwale was directing assaults out of the Golden Temple. In early June 1984, India launched Operation Bluestar, a military assault against the temple as well as other Sikh places of worship throughout Punjab. The assault killed hundreds (possibly thousands), including Bhindranwale and the leader of the All-India Sikh Students Federation, Bhai Amrik Singh.

Operation Bluestar, intended to end Sikh terrorism, had the opposite effect. Many militants were killed or arrested in the assault, but so were many unarmed religious pilgrims who had come to the Golden Temple to worship. That the Indian government launched a military attack on a deeply sacred place profoundly offended many Sikhs.

Sikh attacks on Hindus in Punjab escalated, with Indian officials becoming targets and violence spilling over the state's borders. On October 31, 1984, Gandhi, who had ordered the attack on the Golden Temple, was gunned down by two of her Sikh bodyguards as she walked from her home to her office in New Delhi.

The assassination led to anti-Sikh riots and to a major government crackdown on Sikh militants that was widely criticized for its brutality. Events the following year raised the specter of a global network of Sikh terrorists: in June 1985 members of the militant Babbar Khalsa Society living in Canada planted bombs on two Air India jetliners, killing more than 300 people. In mid-1988, outdoor markets in New Delhi were bombed; that year an estimated 2,500 people were killed either by Sikh militants or Indian security forces, a toll that was matched or exceeded in each of the next three years.

By the early 1990s, however, many Sikh militant leaders had been captured and killed by Indian security forces, and the threat of Sikh terrorism seemed largely contained. Occasional acts of terrorism that may be attributable to Sikh militants still occur, but Sikh militant groups now rarely take credit for attacks.

*See also* AIR INDIA FLIGHT 182 BOMBING

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## SIXTEENTH STREET BAPTIST CHURCH BOMBING

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On September 15, 1963, a bomb exploded in a basement lounge of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, killing four girls and injuring more than 20 others. Although authorities had sufficient evidence to prosecute several members of the Ku Klux Klan shortly after the bombing, nearly 40 years passed before all the suspects were brought to trial.

The church bombing occurred just 18 days after civil rights leaders had led the March on Washington, D.C., where Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., gave his "I Have A Dream" speech. In the 1960s, Birmingham had been at the center of the civil rights struggle in the South. The church was a vital part of Birmingham's African American community, serving as headquarters for local civil rights efforts; it was a frequent meeting place for activists.

Between 1947 and 1965, Birmingham experienced a series of more than 50 racially motivated bombings; it was called "Bombingham" following a particularly concentrated wave of bombings in the spring of 1963. (One repeatedly bombed neighborhood became known as "Dynamite Hill.") Bomb threats at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church were an "everyday occurrence," according to Rev. John H. Cross.

At 10:22 on the morning of Sunday, September 15, 1963, a dynamite bomb exploded while church members were readying themselves for the 11 A.M. service. Four girls—11-year-old Denise McNair, 14-year-old Carole Robertson, 14-year-old Cynthia Wesley, and 14-year-old Addie Mae Collins—were preparing for Sunday School in the church basement. All were killed in the blast. Although Rev. Cross urged church members to return to their homes, many took to the streets, throwing rocks at passing cars driven by whites. By the end of the day, riots and fires had broken out throughout the city and two other black teenagers were dead.

On September 18, 1963, Rev. King gave the eulogy at the funeral of three of the girls, saying, "The deaths may well serve as the redemptive force that brings light to this dark city." The public outcry about the Sixteenth Street Church bombing was enormous. The bombing and the nation's horrified reaction made passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by Congress much easier for the senators and representatives. This legislation ended lawful segregation in the South.

### INVESTIGATIONS AND TRIALS

Initially, after local authorities tried and failed to convince the public that the bombing was the work of "unknown black perpetrators," Robert "Dynamite Bob" Chambliss, a member of the Ku Klux Klan, was charged with illegal possession of dynamite. The charge was later dropped, making clear that local authorities would not pursue the case; the FBI then became involved. By 1965, a memorandum sent to J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, identified four Klansmen—Chambliss, Bobby Frank Cherry, Herman Frank Cash, and Thomas E. Blanton, Jr.—as the key suspects. The Birmingham FBI office recommended prosecution. Hoover, however, twice blocked prosecution attempts, claiming that the chance of conviction would be "remote." In 1968, the FBI closed the case.

In 1971, Alabama attorney general Bill Baxley reopened the case and the FBI, following Hoover's death in 1972, contributed some additional evidence. In September 1977, Chambliss was indicted on four counts of first-degree murder.

During the ensuing trial, Chambliss's niece, Elizabeth Cobbs, testified about her uncle's Ku Klux Klan activities. Cobbs stated that Chambliss was a member of "Klavern 13," also known as the "Cahaba Boys," a secretive militant group of Klansmen that had terrorized the black community in Birmingham for years and was suspected of many of the area bombings. Another witness placed Chambliss in a parked car across the street from the church in the hours before the explosion. On November 18, 1977, Chambliss, then 73 years old, was convicted of murder in the death of Denise McNair and sentenced to life in prison.

Although Baxley repeatedly asserted that others involved in the bombing would face prosecution, the case languished for more than two decades. In 1980, the Justice Department concluded that Hoover had actively blocked evidence that could have been used to convict the Klansmen in 1965, but no new charges

were filed. In 1985, Chambliss died in jail, never having publicly admitted to his role in the bombing. Three years later, the case was briefly reopened when Gary Tucker, a suspect who was dying of cancer, admitted that he had helped set the bomb. Again, however, no new charges were filed. In 1994, another key suspect, Herman Frank Cash, died.

In July 1997, the FBI once again opened the investigation. A federal grand jury in Jefferson County, Alabama, began hearing evidence in October 1998. On May 4, 2000, Bobby Frank Cherry, in jail in Texas for raping his stepdaughter, turned down a deal in which he would receive probation in exchange for pleading guilty of transporting explosives across state lines. On May 17, 2000, he was extradited to Alabama, where he and Thomas Blanton, Jr., surrendered to authorities. Both were indicted on four counts of first-degree murder and four counts of “universal malice.”

A year later, Blanton was tried, convicted, and sentenced to life in prison for first-degree murder. Blanton’s conviction relied heavily on dozens of conversations between Blanton and Mitchell Burns, a former Klansman turned FBI informant. These conversations were secretly recorded with a microphone planted by the FBI in Blanton’s house in 1964. In May 2002, Cherry, at age 71, became the last Klansman to be convicted for what is considered by many the worst incident in the civil rights struggle. As many as 18 other investigations of Klan-related and/or civil rights-era murders are currently active. Authorities believe this is the last chance to prosecute for these crimes, many of which date back more than 40 years, as most of the accused were middle-aged men at the time of the crimes and are now near the end of their lives.

*See also* KU KLUX KLAN

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## SKINHEADS

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In the late 1980s, shaven-headed youths called “skinheads” espoused white supremacist and neo-Nazi

ideologies and became the media’s latest folk devil. Racist skinheads appeared as the villains in movies, police dramas, and TV talk shows, going so far as breaking one host’s nose in a 1988 brawl on the *Geraldo Rivera Show*. The characterization of skinheads as “racist terrorists” can be misleading, as skinheads come in many varieties and engage in various levels of skinhead activity. Nevertheless, since the 1980s, skinheads have routinely been linked to hate crimes, political extremism, and bias-motivated terror; by 1990, more than half of violent racial assaults were attributed to skinheads.

The lifestyle known as “skinhead” emerged from the plethora of British youth subcultures in the late 1960s. Amid well-documented groups, such as mods and rockers, skinheads appeared as, essentially, a working-class response to the more middle-class hippies. Their style and ideology were designed to be polar opposites to the hippies (long hair/shaved head, feminine/masculine, classless/class identified, etc.). Much of their tastes in clothing and music came directly from their young British economic classmates from the Caribbean. The skinheads adopted the styles and love of ska music from the black “rude boys.”

The black roots of skinhead style were tested in the 1970s when British unemployment skyrocketed. Skinhead youth saw recent Indian and Pakistani immigrants as cultural interlopers and as competitors for jobs and a place in the economic sun. Neo-fascist political movements, such as the National Front, began indoctrinating skinheads into racist ideologies that included blacks as targets. Skinhead violence moved from “hippie bashing” to “Paki bashing” and then to attacking anyone and anything that seemed to threaten white working-class masculinity. Skinhead music, often called “Oi! music,” moved toward racist themes. Popular bands, like Skrewdriver, attracted skinheads with themes of racially returning Britain to the world dominance it enjoyed as a colonizer.

By the mid-1980s, skinheads were becoming more common in North America. They were usually seen as a subgroup of the punk rock subculture. As the American economy went into decline in the late 1980s and early 1990s, skinheads were quickly recruited by racist and neo-Nazi groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, the White Aryan Resistance (WAR), and the New Order. Reports of skinhead violence against homosexuals, leftists, Jews, the homeless, and ethnic minorities made national news. Most noteworthy was the murder of an Ethiopian university student by three

skinheads in Portland, Oregon, in 1988. In 1990, a civil court determined that the skinheads had been directed to murder by WAR based in southern California. Tom and John Metzger, the leaders of WAR, were ordered to pay the victim's family \$12.5 million.

By the early 1990s, there were approximately 3,500 racist skinheads active in the United States, according to Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith estimates. The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) charted a rise in skinhead groups and skinhead crimes in the United States in the 1990s. With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, skinhead terror arose in Eastern Europe; its targets were recent immigrants and Romanies (gypsies).

Not all skinheads engage in racial terrorism. The 1990s saw the growth of the SHARP subculture in the United States. SHARPs (Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice) were similar to the original nonracist skinheads of the 1960s. They feel that the skinhead subculture has been hijacked by racists and the media and often use violence to purge the skinhead scene of Nazis and other undesirables. As their styles are similar, racist and antiracist skinheads are easily mistaken for each other.

Skinheads and racial terrorism are linked by religion, subcultural solutions, hate crimes, and intimidation. The majority of skinheads seem to be attracted by the subculture's rebellious style or political expression; however, a core element of the subculture sees itself as a movement, dedicated to a massive social revolution and the end of America as we know it. This desire for radical change is based on the idea that the American government is controlled not by the American people, but by a secret cabal of Jewish elders whose primary goal is the destruction of the white race. Often referred to as ZOG, the Zionist occupation government is believed by the skinheads to use the dominant institutions, including the media, to undermine the power of northern Europeans, referred to as "Aryans."

## SUBCULTURAL SOLUTIONS

The appeal of the skinhead subculture for many arises from its goals. The skinhead creed can influence terrorist behavior on local levels and more generally. The research of Randy Blazak has shown how skinhead "problem solving" operates on two levels. On the immediate local level, skinheads create a gang-like

protective subculture that provides emotional and ideological resources to the marginalized young. This can include the commission of hate crimes. For example, criminal acts committed against minority groups can be perceived as "solving the problem" of harassment of a white youth by minorities, or limit job competition from minorities.

On a more global level, skinheads are often portrayed as foot soldiers in a future racial "holy war." They are street warriors who are to agitate against minorities, feminists, homosexuals, and "race traitors," pushing toward a "final conflict." The solution here being a "final solution" in which skinheads use terror to ultimately purge North America and northern Europe of all enemy elements. This militaristic vision is often attractive to young men looking to assert the masculinity they feel has been lost.

Skinheads have been linked to hundreds of racist, sexist, anti-Semitic, and homophobic attacks since the mid-1980s. Although individuals are the victims, terror is the larger goal. Criminologists Jack Levin and Jack McDevitt point out that the ultimate goal of hate crimes is to terrorize entire communities. The victim himself or herself is a relatively random representative of a target group and meant to be a symbol. When two skinheads murdered a gay man in Sylacauga, Alabama, in 1999, the message was to all gay men to be on notice, just as Klan cross-burnings are meant for all African Americans. Criminologist Mark Hamm points out that the three players in a hate crime are the perpetrator, the audience the perpetrator is performing the crime for (e.g., fellow skinheads), and the group the victim belongs to (not the actual victim).

Groups, such as Nazi Low Riders in California or the Hammerskins in Texas, have been described as instituting a "reign of terror" in local communities. Skinheads use their aggressive ideology, imposing image, and history of violence to threaten those who oppose them. Their speech and music, constitutionally protected, is filled with messages about burning down synagogues, killing race traitors, and starting "Rahowa" (racial holy war). Skinheads claim to be proud of their race but often use aliases and rarely meet in public. One of the most powerful skinhead groups, the Aryan Brotherhood, primarily recruits among white prison inmates.

*See also* ARYAN NATIONS; KU KLUX KLAN; WHITE SUPREMACY

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### SLA. See SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY.

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### SNELL, RICHARD WAYNE (1931–1995)

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Richard Wayne Snell, a key figure in the far-right Christian Identity movement and one-time member of a right-wing religious paramilitary group called the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA), was executed on April 19, 1995, a significant date among white supremacist and right-wing groups (April 19, 1995, was also the date of the Oklahoma City bombing). At the time of his death, some Christian Identity adherents believed Snell was to be the second coming of Christ.

Snell was on death row for murdering two men—Louis Bryant, a black Arkansas state trooper, and William Stumpp, the owner of a Texarkana pawn shop. In 1984, Bryant stopped Snell for a traffic violation near DeQueen, Arkansas. Snell shot Bryant once as he approached the car, and again as Bryant lay on the ground. Police chased Snell to Broken Bow, Oklahoma, where a gun battle erupted in which Snell was wounded. When Snell was finally captured, police searching Snell's car found firearms, silencers, and hand grenades, as well as the gun used in the 1983 murder of Stumpp, whom Snell had shot after mistakenly identifying him as Jewish. (Stumpp was Episcopalian.) Although Snell later claimed he shot Bryant in self-defense, he was convicted on both counts and sentenced to death for Stumpp's murder.

Snell had a long history of involvement with crime and was deeply connected to right-wing and militia circles. During the 1980s, he acted as an "emissary"

who passed information from group to group. During a 1998 trial of 15 white supremacists in Fort Smith, Arkansas, James Ellison, former CSA leader turned government informant, testified about links between Snell, the CSA, and other prominent white supremacist groups, including Posse Comitatus, Aryan Nations, and the Order.

Ellison also testified that Snell and the CSA plotted to blow up the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City in October 1983, a decade before Timothy McVeigh. After a meeting of white supremacists at the Aryan Nations compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho, members of the CSA sought to retaliate against the government for the death of Gordon Kahl, a member of Posse Comitatus who was shot to death in a 1983 gun battle with federal agents in Smithville, Arkansas. The plan involved using rocket launchers to topple the Murrah building. CSA members had even scouted the building.

Though Snell and McVeigh had never met, many believe that the date of Snell's execution, April 19 (also known as "militia day"), and the Oklahoma City bombing were intimately linked. Snell's behavior in jail also suggested his knowledge of an attack. He had repeatedly predicted that an explosion or bombing would occur on the date of his execution. The morning of April 19, Snell watched the live coverage of the Oklahoma City bombing from his cell on death row, laughing and chuckling, according to prison officials. According to witnesses to the execution, as Snell was strapped to the gurney later that evening he said, "Governor Tucker, look over your shoulder. Justice is on the way." Snell was executed by lethal injection at 9 P.M.—12 hours after the attack.

Robert G. Millar, Snell's religious adviser and leader of Elohim City, a right-wing religious compound near the Oklahoma-Arkansas border, witnessed his execution and brought Snell's body back to Elohim City for burial. Millar kept Snell's casket open for three days, in the event that he would rise again as the Christian Identity Messiah.

*See also* APRIL 19; COVENANT, THE SWORD, AND THE ARM OF THE LORD; TIMOTHY MCVEIGH; OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING

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**SOW.** See **SPECIAL OPERATIONS WING.**

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## SPECIAL AIR SERVICE REGIMENT

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The original Special Air Service Regiment (SASR) was established in Great Britain during World War II. A similar elite commando group was developed by the Australian Army in 1957. Both groups are widely considered to be the best-trained counterterrorism units in the world. They share the motto, "Who dares, wins," and both wear a sand-colored beret. As with all elite special operations forces, public information about specific counterterrorism activities is kept to a minimum.

### GREAT BRITAIN

Great Britain's SASR is widely considered to be the world's best in ending hijack and hostage situations with minimum loss of innocent lives. Its prowess was made known to the world in May 1980, when the SASR rescued 19 hostages held in the Iranian embassy in London within minutes. *Time* magazine named Great Britain's SASR the world's toughest antiterrorist commando unit.

The British SASR grew out of the Long Range Desert Group, which was active in the North African desert during World War II. Lieutenant David Stirling transformed the group into the military arm of the British security forces, encompassing high-level land, air, and water operations, including communication, medical, and survivalist skills. Most other elite commando units, including the U.S. Navy SEALs, are modeled after the British SASR.

Since World War II, the unit has put down insurgencies in Malaya and Oman, has taken part in the Falklands War in the 1980s, and has engaged the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Ulster, killing more than two dozen IRA members during the 1970s and 1980s. More recently, the SASR has been deployed to Bosnia and Afghanistan.

### AUSTRALIA

The Australian SASR was formed in July 1957. Its first mission, in February 1965, was to quell insurgencies in Borneo. The Australian SASR also spent more than six years in Vietnam, where members earned the name "ma rung"—phantoms of the jungle—for their stealthy maneuvers.

After Vietnam, the SASR, which forms a significant part of Australia's armed forces, took on dual roles: "green" for standard Army responsibilities; "black" for counterterrorist actions. Each unit spends one rotation in "black," during which they are permanently on-call.

Each of the three SASR squadrons is comprised of three troops: a boat troop with expertise in submarine operations, an airborne troop with specialized parachuting capabilities, and ground specialists for jungle warfare and long-range desert reconnaissance. Australian SASR personnel are nicknamed "chicken stranglers" for their ability to live off the land in enemy territories.

SASR units often cross train with other elite counterterrorism outfits, including the British SASR, U.S. Navy SEALs, and Germany's Grenzschutzgruppe 9 (GSG-9). They have worked alongside U.S. forces during Operation Desert Storm and Operation Enduring Freedom, and have two permanent assignments at U.S. Army bases in Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and the Little Creek Naval Amphibious Base in Virginia. Since its inception, the unit has maintained a close relationship to the British SASR, on which it is modeled. The two SASR forces have engaged in various joint operations, including in Northern Ireland and Bosnia.

*See also* COUNTERTERRORISM; GRENZSCHUTZGRUPPE 9

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## SPECIAL OPERATIONS WING

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The Special Operations Wing (SOW) of the U.S. Air Force is responsible for the air power involved in the military's counterterrorism operations.

The various SOW divisions are part of the Air Force Special Operations Command (AFSOC), which was established on May 22, 1980, at Hurlburt Field, Florida. The emerging AFSOC was supported by the 1982 Defense Guidance statement of the administration of U.S. president Ronald Reagan. This document asserted that special operations must be revitalized to address a number of issues, including the Soviet challenge.

The duties of the SOW include basic air power tasks, such as carrying cargo, dropping troops via parachute, extracting ground personnel, and providing air cover for ground operations. Such operations are carried out inside enemy lines, in conjunction with the military's other elite special operations forces (e.g., the Navy SEALs). Most missions are flown in darkness, as low as 50 feet from the ground, at 150 miles per hour. Stealth is key, as its motto "Air Commandos—Quiet Professionals" attests.

The SOW participated in the 1983 invasion of Grenada and spearheaded the 1989 invasion of Panama, in which Manuel Noriega was captured. (SOW forces destroyed Noriega's headquarters.) The SOW also played a key role in the 1991 Gulf War. They were the first forces to enter enemy air space, when they successfully dismantled two radar stations before being detected, which allowed naval forces to conduct a successful air raid with no casualties. The SOW then turned to its other major role in unconventional warfare—"psyops."

Psyops, military lingo for psychological operations, refers to the information war waged using the SOW's EC-130 Commando Solo plane, a flying broadcast station handled by the 193rd SOW, an Air National Guard unit out of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The crew of a Commando Solo is able to broadcast AM and FM radio signals and on TV channels; it also drops leaflets, radios, and food rations. In addition, the Commando Solo can monitor, jam, and allegedly alter other existing transmissions.

In the Gulf War, SOW psyops, which became known as the "Voice of the Gulf," included the broadcasting of prayers from the Koran, testimonials from



*A mannequin used in demonstrations at the Dynamics of International Terrorism course hangs out the window of a bullet-riddled car at the Air Force Special Operations School. The course is a weeklong symposium that teaches the principles and psychology of terrorism and basic antiterrorism tactics to military personnel and government civilians.*

Source: Defense Visual Information Center.

well-treated Iraqi prisoners, instructions on how to surrender, and information on future bombing campaigns. About three-quarters of all Iraqi soldiers who surrendered are thought to have been influenced by these broadcasts. In Bosnia, the 193rd SOW played TV and radio programs produced by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, including news digests focused on Western leaders. In Afghanistan, where TVs, radios, and electricity are scarce and many are illiterate, the 193rd has dropped hand-crank-generated radios and food rations. The goal was to establish that

the war on terror was against Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda, not the Afghan people.

Although the 193rd has played a vital role in several recent military actions, the 16th SOW is the largest, oldest, and most seasoned special operations unit in the Air Force, with nearly 100 aircraft and 7,000 personnel. The 16th reports to the Atlantic, Southern, and Central Special Operations Command, and often supports special operations in Europe and the Pacific. It falls under the U.S. Special Operations Command (USSOC), which includes the Army's Green Berets and Rangers, and the Navy SEALs.

*See also* COUNTERTERRORISM

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Air Force Special Operations Command Web site: <http://www.afsoc.af.mil/index2.shtml>.

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## STATE-SPONSORED TERRORISM

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Although terrorism is widely condemned, nevertheless many countries have given assistance to terrorist groups in the form of money, weapons, training, or bases for operations. Every year, the U.S. State Department releases a list of countries that support terrorism, and those countries face stiff sanctions. If a country's support for terrorist groups is not extensive enough for it to be placed on the list, the United States may impose sanctions nonetheless. The United States declared a war on terrorism following the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C.

During the Cold War, a decades-long period (1945–1991) of conflict with the former Soviet Union, the United States provided extensive aid to anti-Soviet and anticommunist groups in many countries. Likewise, the former Soviet Union was extremely open about its support for leftist groups—so much so that the U.S.S.R. was criticized for claiming to extensively support groups to which it gave little practical assistance. Some linguistic finesse was necessary: neither country claimed to support “terrorism,” arguing instead that it was assisting, in the terminology preferred by the United States, “freedom fighters,” or armed liberation movements that represented the true will of a given population. Many of

these groups, however, would fit into contemporary definitions of terrorists.

The coinage of the phrase “freedom fighters” points to one reason why countries support terrorist groups: supporting terrorist movements, especially those with some popular backing, can actually enhance another nation's standing. The communist government of Cuba, for example, obtained international notice by openly promising to “export the revolution”—that is, to foster and support communist groups in other nations. Muslim governments in Iran and Afghanistan have made much the same promise to militant Muslim groups. While such proclamations can lead to international condemnation and trade sanctions, they can also establish a nation as an ideological leader, a country willing to make sacrifices to help support and export a certain political philosophy.

Exporting the revolution can also be a profitable business. Cuba routinely required leftist groups to pay for Cuban soldiers and civilians sent to help, and Bulgaria's government was once notorious for its willingness to sell weapons to terrorist groups at a hefty profit.

However, the primary reason countries support terrorist groups is neither prestige nor profits—ideological conflict that cannot be directly militarily expressed. A nation almost always supports terrorist groups that share a common enemy with the state, especially when peaceful reconciliation is impossible but war is also not an option. For example, during the Cold War the United States and the Soviet Union were implacable foes, divided by deep ideological differences. Both countries had extensive arsenals of nuclear weapons, meaning that an outright war could have very well led to global annihilation. Instead of making peace or waging war, both countries supported terrorist groups that operated in other countries and that were in ideological alignment with one or the other of the superpowers.

Obviously, adopting this kind of policy involves risks: if a country supports a group that conducts direct attacks against a second country, the second country may take military action against the first. Thus, during the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union did not support terrorist groups that conducted operations in each other's country. Instead, they would generally support insurgent groups operating in a third country. Usually one of the two—say, the Soviet Union—would support an insurgency in countries where the government was seen as friendly to the



*The Zhawar Kili Support Complex in Afghanistan bombed by U.S. forces on August 20, 1998, in retaliation for the East African embassy bombings*

Source: U.S. Department of Defense.

United States. The United States would then provide arms and assistance to the government to help put down the Soviet-backed insurgent groups. An armed conflict or “proxy war” often resulted within the third nation. Supporting terrorism sometimes leads to outright war. For example, in the 1990s Pakistan supported militant Muslim groups in the disputed state of Jammu and Kashmir, which is largely controlled by India. These groups attacked Indian targets, raising the hostility level between the two countries to the point of battle between Pakistani and Indian troops.

Terrorist groups can be very hard to control. Pakistan essentially lost control over many of the militant groups operating in Jammu and Kashmir; they became more radical and more violent and eventually viewed the government of Pakistan as yet another enemy. Likewise, while the anti-Soviet mujahideen, supported by the United States in the 1980s, successfully defended the country from a Soviet invasion, the country subsequently became a haven for groups like Al Qaeda that considered the United States to be just as much of an enemy to its radical Muslim agenda as the Soviet Union.

The methods terrorist groups use can make state sponsorship of terrorism extremely controversial even in the sponsoring state. In the early 1980s, for example, the anticommunist Nicaraguan Contras were linked to torture, rape, and assassinations. U.S. support of the Contras became so controversial that Congress essentially outlawed such aid; the decision by members of the administration of U.S. president Ronald Reagan to continue support regardless led to a major scandal.

Terrorist groups often find they have little influence with sponsor nations. Because terrorism is so controversial, state sponsorship often vanishes when it becomes public knowledge, or when a new administration comes to power. Even

states that are very open to supporting terrorism may not be willing or able to provide the amount of funding needed—especially if the state is trying to support several groups to advance its specific ideology. As a result, most well-established terrorist groups find other sources of funds, from narcotics to kidnap-and-ransom schemes to networks of private supporters.

A state’s sponsorship of a terrorist group can also create public relations problems for the group if it is seen as simply the pawn of that country. Indeed, a common tactic of governments battling terrorist groups is to emphasize any support by foreign states, implying both that the group is operating at the behest of foreign powers and that it lacks popular support in the country where it operates.

Nonetheless, state support can be crucial to a terrorist group and can transform a relatively ineffective organization into a serious threat. Nations often can provide great sums of money that groups need to buy equipment and supplies; states also have well-developed militaries that can train and provide expertise to terrorists. A state can give away or sell weaponry and explosives that ordinarily would be very hard for a

private group to obtain. Such gifts can be crucial to the success of a terrorist group; the decision of the United States to provide the mujahideen with anti-aircraft missiles or that of Libya to provide the Irish Republican Army with the plastic explosive Semtex significantly increased the military capabilities of both groups.

States can also do a great favor to terrorist groups by providing them with a haven where members of the group can plan attacks without fear of arrest, and where they can flee and regroup after attacks—a role Afghanistan came to play extensively under Taliban rule. Such havens also provide groups an opportunity to interact and form networks to share information and to carry out coordinated attacks; such networking is sometimes explicitly encouraged by supportive governments.

The issue of safe havens can be complicated, because a country can provide havens to terrorists passively or even inadvertently simply by not arresting members of terrorist groups. Countries with lax banking laws can become financial havens as well, allowing groups to hold and channel money.

## DISCOURAGING SUPPORT

Because state support can be so important to terrorist groups, international efforts to curb such support have a long history. During the Cold War, however, such efforts were hindered because the United States and the Soviet Union were supporting a variety of armed groups in many countries. International treaties in the 1970s and 1980s designed to curb terrorism thus focused on certain actions that all parties could agree were “terrorism,” not “freedom fighting”—including hijacking, the taking of hostages, and violence against diplomats, but excluding bombings and assassinations. Despite these limitations, the treaties did encourage the international community to act in coordination to condemn countries that were seen as supporting terrorism.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s largely put an end to superpower support for armed groups, and by the end of the decade states that supported terrorism risked being treated as international pariahs.

How best to deter states from supporting terrorist groups is still under debate. The United States has taken a relatively confrontational approach, occasionally launching military attacks against governments it considers especially flagrant in their support for

terrorism and readily imposing trade sanctions and other restrictions on such governments. U.S. officials argue that such actions help isolate states that contribute to the problem of terrorism and that they deter other states from considering support for terrorism.

European countries, in contrast, have generally taken a more conciliatory approach, preferring to keep diplomatic and trade relations intact with countries that support terrorism. Such engagement, they argue, is in the long run more likely to turn countries away from such policies and avoids the risk of retaliatory terrorism that often follows an attack.

But all opponents of state-sponsored terrorism have focused on the importance of international cooperation, essentially an attempt to create a global culture in which supporting terrorism is unacceptable. Following the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, efforts to end state support and even state tolerance for terrorist groups took on a new life—as did debates over how best to discourage the practice.

*See also* FINANCING TERRORISM; MUJAHIDEEN; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS; STATE TERRORISM; WAR ON TERRORISM

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## STATE TERRORISM

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Terrorism is often thought of as the province of relatively small nongovernment groups that more often than not exist despite the best efforts of governments to destroy them. Indeed, some observers define terrorism specifically to exclude violence conducted by governments, arguing that when nations engage in violence and killing as a means of reaching a particular political end, it should be called oppression, not terrorism. At the other extreme, some argue that nations are the deadliest of terrorists. The average

country, they note, has considerably greater military and financial resources than the average terrorist group, and some states regularly use violence for political ends—violence that these observers argue should be considered terrorism.

Defining state terrorism is complicated because all nations rely on violence to some degree. War, for example, is a violent and deadly way for countries to settle their differences. War can be very one-sided, as when a powerful country launches attacks on a much smaller, weaker neighbor to force it to adopt policies that benefit the attacker. All functioning governments have systems of law enforcement that rely on various forms of violence—for example, armed police, imprisonment, forced labor, and the physical mutilation or killing of certain criminals—to maintain order.

So how does state terrorism differ from other forms of state violence? One difference is the predictability of ordinary warfare and law enforcement. Wars are rarely unexpected and are generally preceded by a long period of escalating disagreements and failed negotiations. Often, a country declares war before conducting an attack, publicizing its grievances and explaining the rationale for the decision to wage war. Although they are not always honored, rules of war have been established—unarmed civilians, for example, are not supposed to be targeted by the military—and deliberate violations of these rules are considered war crimes.

Ordinary law enforcement is likewise designed to be predictable. Laws are written, and what constitutes a violation usually is apparent. If a law is violated, certain protocols must be followed regarding the capture of the suspect, the determination of guilt, and the choice of punishment. Law enforcement may involve violence; however, a functional legal system enables individuals to avoid that violence by not committing the crimes that trigger it. In an ideal law enforcement system, law-abiding individuals would never wonder whether they will be arrested, imprisoned, beaten, mutilated, or killed by state officials because they would know what constitutes a crime and that such punishments will be given only to those who commit criminal acts.

## SECRECY

State terrorism, in contrast, is marked by secrecy. Often the government denies its responsibility or even that an act of terrorism has taken place. For example,

during the 1970s and 1980s several right-wing regimes in Latin America began “disappearing” citizens. People were taken into custody and were never heard from again, with the government denying all knowledge of their whereabouts. Most of the people who were “disappeared” were later found to have been executed and their bodies hidden.

Indeed, secrecy is such a part of state terrorism that covert acts by government officials in societies that are generally open—such as the secret U.S. campaign to assassinate Cuban leader Fidel Castro in the 1960s—can generate tremendous controversy when they are uncovered. Groups that oppose state terrorism, such as the human rights group Amnesty International, have found that publicizing the details of specific acts of state terrorism can be effective in stopping such acts.

Governments that engage in terrorism operate in secrecy, but that secrecy is usually not complete. The “disappeared” people of Latin America, for example, were often openly taken into custody by easily identified state officials. Such quasi-secrecy is essential to creating an atmosphere of terror—Latin Americans knew that something bad was happening to the “disappeared” people and that their governments were responsible, but the details were left to the imagination.

The very unpredictability of state terrorism generates escalating fear. In a country where a state relies on terror to maintain control, people are unsure of what actions might result in their being detained, tortured, or killed—although they may have a broad notion of what groups are vulnerable.

This unpredictability is often deliberate. When the Nazis took over Germany in the 1930s, for example, they randomly arrested one lawyer of every 10. Some of the arrested lawyers were then executed. Arresting and murdering lawyers for no discernable reason was designed to instill fear in the remaining lawyers so they would not challenge the Nazi regime.

Terrorizing a population is also a goal of nonstate terrorism. A nonstate group, however, usually relies on terror to publicize its goals or to punish perceived enemies. State terrorism usually has one goal: strengthening of government control by the complete intimidation of a population. Thus, if people are unsure of what actions might lead to unspeakable torture and even death, they will avoid actions not specifically sanctioned by the government, thereby policing themselves more closely than could the government.

Accordingly, state terrorism is especially appealing to authoritarian regimes that wish to exercise a great

deal of control over how people act and even think. State terrorism also appeals to governments that have only tenuous control over their populations—the white-minority government that ruled South Africa until the early 1990s is one example; that government engaged in arbitrary detention, torture, and executions for decades. In some cases, such as the Soviet Union, a newly established government will rely heavily on state terrorism, then eventually rely on it less as the rulers become more established and secure.

Even well-established governments have adopted policies of state terrorism, especially if directed against unpopular minorities that are viewed with suspicion by the general populace. While state terrorism is embraced as a way to strengthen government, as South Africa demonstrated, state terrorism can backfire badly, leading not only to international and domestic condemnation but also to the establishment of nonstate terrorist groups determined to fight violence with violence.

*See also* STATE-SPONSORED TERRORISM

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## STATUE OF LIBERTY BOMBING

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On June 3, 1980, a bomb exploded in the museum at the base of the Statue of Liberty. Initially, at least five separate terrorist groups took responsibility, but, within days, the bombing was attributed to the Croatian Freedom Fighters.

The bomb, which was placed in a wooden exhibit case in the museum's Story Room, exploded at 7:25 P.M., an hour after the last ferry full of visitors left Liberty Island. Although a dozen residents and five workers were still on the island, no one was injured. The explosion damaged a large section of the room's ceiling, as well as some contents of the exhibit case, including a first publication of Emma Lazarus's poem,

which begins, "Give me your tired, your poor/Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free." Damages exceeded \$15,000.

The bombers left no note at the scene, and federal authorities had few initial leads. Within hours of the bombing, however, members of Omega 7, an anti-Castro terrorist group; the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN), a Puerto Rican independence group; the National Socialists, a Nazi group; the Jewish Defense League; and the Palestine Liberation Army had all contacted newspapers and authorities, claiming responsibility and, in some cases, threatening more violence. Investigators suspected that Omega 7 was responsible because the group had cited Lazarus's poem in its protests related to immigration policies and a recent wave of Cuban refugees.

Two days later, however, the *New York Times* and NBC received letters from the Croatian Freedom Fighters, written in Croatian, taking responsibility for the bomb. The letters made no specific demands, but urged the worldwide community to recognize the plight of the people of Croatia, who had lost their autonomy to Yugoslavia in 1971. A similar letter had been sent to the *Washington Post* a day earlier, in which the Croatian Freedom Fighters had claimed responsibility for the June 3 bombing of the home of a Yugoslavian ambassador, Vladimir Sindjelic, in Washington D.C., and had demanded for the creation of a Croatian state.

The Croatian Freedom Fighters had also been responsible for several other bombings in the New York area. In December 1979, the group bombed a Yugoslav-owned travel agency in Astoria, Queens, followed by a St. Patrick's Day bombing of a Yugoslav bank, Yugobanka, on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan. The group also claimed responsibility for bombs at the United Nations and New York's Grand Central Station in 1976. During the late 1970s, the FBI placed the Croatian Freedom Fighters among the top three most active militant foreign nationalist groups within the United States, along with the FALN and Omega 7.

The museum bombing was one of many political protests that have been staged at the Statue of Liberty. In 1980, two men scaled the statue, using climbing equipment, to protest the treatment of a convict during a criminal trial in California; in 2000 activists protesting the U.S. bombing tests on the island of Vieques draped the statue in the Puerto Rican flag.

*See also* FALN; OMEGA 7

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## STEEN, ALANN (1940– )

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Alann Steen, a professor of journalism at Beirut University College, was one of the last American hostages to be released in Lebanon.

Steen was abducted during the series of kidnappings of Western foreigners that followed Terry Waite’s final trip to Beirut. Waite, the Anglican envoy and hostage negotiator, had been sent to Lebanon to secure the release of several Western hostages. Steen’s was the tenth kidnapping in two weeks.

On January 24, 1987, a Saturday afternoon, gunmen dressed in the olive-colored uniforms of the Lebanese police carried out a mass kidnapping on the Beirut University College campus. Four gunmen drove into the campus in a Nissan patrol jeep, claiming to have been assigned to provide protection for all foreign professors. Once inside, they asked the university staff to congregate in the ground floor of the living quarters. Steen, along with three others—Jesse Turner, a professor of math and computer science, Robert Polhill, a business studies professor, and Mithileshwar Singh, an Indian business professor with an American passport—were taken at gunpoint. Female professors and university staff were not abducted.

Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine, a group associated with Hezbollah, claimed responsibility for the kidnappings. (Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine was considered separate from Islamic Jihad, the extremist group that had kidnapped other Americans to be used as bargaining chips for the release of 17 Iraqi and Lebanese prisoners in Kuwait.) Investigators later found that Imad Mughniyah and Abdel Hadi had orchestrated the mass kidnapping, bribing the police and other guards.

In the weeks following Steen’s abduction, Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine repeatedly threatened to execute Steen and the others unless 400 Palestinian prisoners held in Israel were released. Steen’s photograph often accompanied such statements, which were delivered to one of the Western news agencies in Beirut and to the Beirut paper, *an-Nahar*. He was also used to deliver a six-minute statement on videotape, released in late February. In the statement, deemed the captives’ “last message,” Steen, unshaven and weary, announced that he, Polhill, Turner, and Singh would be executed at midnight unless the Palestinian prisoners in Israel were released. Hours before the deadline, the Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine released a written statement reiterating the threat. However, at midnight, the kidnappers, citing the televised pleas of the hostages’ wives, abandoned their execution plans. Later that week, the Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine again issued threats against the prisoners’ lives, saying they would be murdered as revenge on the defenders of Salman Rushdie, author of *The Satanic Verses*. The kidnappers did not follow through on these threats.

According to fellow hostage Terry Anderson, Steen did not fare well in the hands of his kidnappers. Steen was falsely identified by his kidnappers as a “spy” and was beaten severely, including repeated kicks to the head that left him with brain injuries and periodic convulsions. The kidnappers finally called in a Hezbollah doctor to prescribe medicine to keep him alive.

Steen was released on December 3, 1991, and driven to Damascus, Syria, where previous American hostages had been released to U.S. authorities. The White House thanked the U.N. secretary general, and the governments of Iran, Syria, and Lebanon for Steen’s release, which came just one day after Joseph Cicippio, abducted in September 1986, was freed. Terry Anderson, the last American hostage, would be freed the following day, December 4, marking the end of the Lebanon hostage crisis for Americans.

*See also* TERRY ANDERSON; HEZBOLLAH; TERRY WAITE

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## STERN GANG

aka Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, Lehi,  
Lohami Heruth Israel

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In the years immediately before and after 1948, the year Israel became an independent nation, Avraham Stern's extreme Jewish nationalist group used terror tactics to fight against British control of Palestine. British detractors called the group the Stern Gang, while members called their organization Lehi, a Hebrew acronym for Freedom Fighters of Israel. The gang was the smallest and fiercest of the underground groups fighting the British.

In 1940, Stern and other members of the Jewish group Irgun Zvai Leumi broke away to form Lehi because they disagreed with the Irgun leaders' decision to stop the struggle against the British and join the war effort against the Nazis. (Irgun, led by Menachem Begin, is most notorious for bombs placed in Jerusalem's King David Hotel in 1946 that killed many British administrators.) Stern and his colleagues considered the British empire to be the enemy of the Jewish people; subscribing to the philosophy of "my enemy's enemy is my friend," they even attempted to win support from Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler for Palestine as a place of refuge for European Jews.

Beginning in 1940, Lehi waged a campaign against the British that included assassinations, bank robberies, and bombings; while the British were the gang's primary targets, Jews and Arabs also died in their attacks. Mainstream Zionists condemned the group, and British detectives hunted Stern, killing him in 1942. After Stern's death, Yitzhak Shamir took control of the gang, along with his colleagues Natan Friedman Yellin and Yisrael Sheib. Shamir, who was elected prime minister of Israel in 1983, took the nom de guerre Micail in honor of Irish Republican Army leader Michael Collins.

Shamir was a man of many disguises, including bearded Orthodox Jew, Polish soldier, and blind man. He was caught three times by the British, escaped from prison in 1942, and was deported to prison in Eritrea in 1943. He escaped from the Eritrean prison camp by digging a tunnel. While Shamir was in Eritrea, his cohorts in Palestine hunted down Sergeant T. G. Martin, the British policeman who had identified him, following him to a tennis court where they shot him to death.

According to Shamir's own account, the Stern Gang tried to assassinate Sir Harold MacMichael, the British high commissioner in Palestine, several times, failing at each attempt. The group was successful, however, with a 1944 plot to murder Lord Moyne, the British minister resident in the Middle East.

In 1948, after the Israeli War of Independence was virtually finished, the group assassinated Count Folke Bernadotte, a Swedish diplomat appointed by the United Nations to mediate the dispute between Arabs and Israelis. Just three years earlier, Bernadotte had secured the release of 21,000 prisoners bound for extermination by the Nazis. After being appointed the U.N. trouble-shooter in the Middle East, Bernadotte, the former president of the Red Cross and a nephew of the king of Sweden, raised the idea of ceding Jerusalem to the Palestinians. According to statements made by former gang members, four Stern Gang men attacked Bernadotte in his car and then shot and killed both him and his French aide-de-camp.

Israel subsequently outlawed the group, and after 1949 members of both Lehi and Irgun drifted into fringe politics and relative obscurity until Begin rose to prominence as a national politician. He became Israel's prime minister in 1977 and paved the way for Shamir, who was elected in 1983.

*See also* IRGUN ZVAI LEUMI; KING DAVID HOTEL BOMBING

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## STOCKHOLM SYNDROME

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The Stockholm syndrome is a common psychological response that occurs in hostages, as well as other captives, wherein the captive begins to identify closely with the captors and their agenda and demands.

The name of the syndrome refers to a botched bank robbery in Stockholm, Sweden. In August 1973, two men held four bank employees of Sveriges Kreditbank in an 11-by-47-foot bank vault for six days. During the



siege, one female captive initiated sexual relations with her captor. Their relationship persisted after the bank robber was tried and convicted.

Stories of this seemingly incongruous bond between captive and captor resurfaced repeatedly in subsequent hostage situations. The most infamous case is that of Patricia Hearst. In 1974, ten weeks after being taken hostage by the Symbionese Liberation Army, Hearst helped her kidnappers rob a California bank and reportedly became the lover of one kidnapper.

During the hostage crises in Iran and Lebanon, the Stockholm syndrome worked its way into public imagination. The syndrome was cited when the hostages from TWA Flight 847, upon their release, were openly sympathetic to the demands of their kidnappers. Fellow Lebanon hostages believed that Terry Anderson, Terry Waite, and Thomas Sutherland all suffered from the syndrome when, upon their release, they claimed they had been treated well by their captors, though they had often been held in solitary confinement, chained up in small, unclean cells. Similar responses were exhibited by the hostages held at the Japanese embassy in Peru in 1996, and two European women held hostage for 71 days in Costa Rica that same year.

Psychologists who studied the syndrome believe the bond is initially created when a captor threatens a captive's life, deliberates, then chooses not to kill the captive. The captive's relief at the removal of the death threat is transposed into feelings of gratitude toward the captors for giving them life. In nearly all cases, the victim is also unable to escape and is isolated from the outside world. As the Stockholm bank robbery incident proves, it takes only three to four days for this bond to cement, proving that, early on, the victim's need to survive trumps the urge to hate the person who created the situation.

The survival instinct is at the heart of the Stockholm syndrome. Victims live in enforced dependence and interpret rare and/or small acts of kindness in the midst of horrible conditions as good treatment. They often becoming hypervigilant to the needs and demands of their captors, making psychological links between the captors' happiness and their own. Indeed, the syndrome is marked not only by a positive bond between captive and captor but a negative attitude on behalf of the captive toward authorities who threaten the captor-captive relationship. The negative attitude is especially powerful when the hostage is of no use to the captors except as leverage

against a third party, as has often been the case with political hostages.

By the 1990s, psychologists expanded their understanding of the Stockholm syndrome from hostages to other groups, including battered women, concentration camp prisoners, cult members, prisoners of war, procured prostitutes, incest victims, and abused children. Over time, however, the term has lost some of its initial significance. Twenty years after the expression "Stockholm syndrome" was coined, it has been employed to describe situations as varied as Arab-Israeli relations, and, cynically, the response of movie-going audiences to a season of bad movies.

*See also* PATTY HEARST; HOSTAGE TAKING; SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

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## SUBWAY SUICIDE BOMBING PLOT

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In the early-morning hours of July 31, 1997, police, acting on a tip, raided a Brooklyn, New York, apartment, capturing two Palestinian men who were allegedly planning an attack on the Atlantic Avenue subway and Long Island Railroad stations.

At 10:45 P.M. on July 29, 1997, Abdel Rahman Rosabbah, a recent immigrant from Egypt, approached two Long Island Railroad police officers and tried to explain, in broken English, that friends of his were plotting to kill people on the subway. When officers heard the word "bomb," they brought Rosabbah to the 88th Precinct, in Fort Greene, Brooklyn.

Just over 24 hours later, at approximately 4:30 A.M. on July 31, members of New York's Emergency Services Unit stormed into a shabby two-floor apartment

building on 4th Avenue, near the Gowanus section of Park Slope. When the officers entered a bedroom, 24-year-old Gazi Ibrahim Abu Maizar tried to detonate a nearby pipe bomb. Before the bomb could be fully armed, an officer shot him twice in the leg. Another man, who allegedly reached for an officer's gun, was shot five times before being subdued. Both were taken to the hospital. The bombs in the apartment, which were fashioned from four lengths of pipe, were dismantled and taken to the police range in Rodman's Neck, in the Bronx. (Investigators suggested that any of the bombs could have killed within a 25-foot radius.) Police also found anti-Semitic materials, bomb-making instructions, immigration papers for Abu Maizar, which stated he was accused of being a terrorist in Israel and that he was seeking political asylum, as well as what was deemed an unsigned suicide note. The note called for the release of several jailed Islamic militants, including Ramzi Ahmed Yousef and Eyad Ismoil, who were about to go to trial for the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, as well as the jailed cleric Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman. Police also found detonators and harnesses, but no timing device. The bomb was designed to detonate when its four switches were flipped. All evidence indicted that a suicide bombing was planned.

Initially, investigators looked for links between the two men and other Middle Eastern terrorist organizations. The arrests came two days after a double suicide bombing in Jerusalem that was claimed by the militant Islamic organization Hamas. Hamas denied any connection with the two men, stating that its enemies were Israeli Zionists, not Americans. One man, Lafi Khalil, had the name of a known member of a terrorist organization in his address book; however, no links were ever discovered.

Maizar and Khalil were both arraigned in their hospital beds. On August 19, 1997, they were indicted on federal conspiracy and weapons charges.

A year later, during the opening remarks of the trial, Maizar's defense claimed that Maizar and his associates were actually trying to defraud the government of reward money offered by the U.S. State Department for information related to terrorist bombings, not kill innocent people. A copy of the "suicide note" that had been mailed to the State Department on July 29 was the defense's main evidence. However, Maizar later testified that he planned to kill as many Jews as possible in a suicide attack—but not on a subway. He also

claimed that Khalil knew nothing of the planned attack.

On July 23, 1998, Maizar was found guilty; in March 1999, he was sentenced to life in prison. Khalil, who was acquitted of conspiracy charges, was sentenced to three years in prison in December 1998 for immigration fraud.

*See also* HAMAS; SHEIK OMAR ABDEL RAHMAN; WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING (1993); RAMZI AHMED YOUSEF

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## SUICIDE TERRORISM

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Suicide terrorism involves the intentional sacrifice of one's life to facilitate an act of terror. Most 20th-century terrorists took advantage of technological developments that allowed them to kill from afar. However, suicide terrorism has been on the increase in the past decade for a number of reasons. A suicide attacker can effectively commit large-scale damage without the need for expensive technologies. A single suicide terrorist can easily and cheaply place himself or herself deep inside enemy territory; the person's body delivers the payload directly to the source. Most important, the dramatic and, to most people, perverse nature of suicide terrorism is so extreme that the mere thought of a suicide attack is enough to instill fear in the general populace.

Terrorists have long understood that their lives were at risk: for example, the Russian anarchists and revolutionaries of the 19th century understood that their makeshift bombs might explode in their hands, and many penned farewell notes to friends and loved ones. During World War II, Japanese pilots flew kamikaze missions against U.S. military assets in the

Pacific. Although these attacks were aimed at military targets, and as such not acts of terrorism against civilians, they did demonstrate a willingness to use suicide as a weapon.

Suicide terrorism in the sense we think of it today dates to the early 1980s, when young Hezbollah terrorists in Lebanon came under the control of Sheik Mohamed Fadlallah. His apocalyptic preaching attracted young followers who, like Fadlallah, believed that the enemies of Islam could be destroyed through martyrdom and suicide missions. In 1983, Hezbollah launched a devastating suicide bombing campaign against U.S. interests in the region. The first suicide bomber drove an explosive-laden van into the side of the U.S. embassy in Beirut, killing many people and injuring many more. Six months later, another suicide bomber attacked the U.S. embassy and U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut, Lebanon, causing massive loss of life.

Shortly thereafter, suicide terrorism was employed by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), better known as the Tamil Tigers. This terrorist group waging war against the government of Sri Lanka used suicide terrorists to kill Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 and Sri Lankan president Ranasinghe Premadasa in 1993. A Tiger suicide bomber killed 100 people in an attack on a bank in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in 1996.

In 1994, the Islamic Resistance Movement, or better known by its Arabic acronym Hamas, which means "zeal," began using suicide terrorism against Israel. At about the same time, the Al Qaeda network, under the leadership of Osama bin Laden, began planning to use suicide missions against U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, as well as the U.S.S. *Cole* in Yemen in 2000. Also in 2000, the second Palestinian uprising, or *intifada*, saw suicide attacks move to the forefront as the terrorist weapon of choice.

The most egregious act of suicide terrorism occurred on September 11, 2001, when 19 hijackers commandeered four planes, flying two into the World Trade Center in New York City and one into the Pentagon near Washington, D.C. The fourth crashed in an open field in Pennsylvania after a struggle between passengers and terrorists. These suicide missions managed to take the lives of more than 3,000 individuals.

## RELIGION AND SUICIDE TERRORISM

Religiously sanctioned suicide attacks are not unique to the modern period or confined to the Middle

Eastern region. Similar types of assaults are known to have occurred over a span of several centuries in three little-known Muslim communities of the Indian Ocean region: those of the Malabar coast of southwestern India; Atjeh in northern Sumatra; and Mindanao and Sulu in southern Philippines. Although these earlier suicide attacks in Asia were not undertaken with the same political awareness that characterizes the organizers of the incidents in Beirut and Israel, they represent essentially the same phenomena: protests against Western authority, colonial rule, or occupation by Muslims who thought they had no other means of fighting against a superior military power.

It can be argued that these suicide bombers are merely performing acts of martyrdom that first took place 13 centuries ago after the death of Muhammad. The prophet's death in 632 left Muslims without a leader to watch over the faith. Several followers met to rectify this by selecting a caliph, a temporal authority to guide the community, but religion soon gave way to politics. Within 40 years after the prophet's demise, various caliphs had managed to assassinate their way to power, and Islam had divided into two sects. The orthodox Sunnis accepted the reign of temporal leaders, whereas the Shiites believed that their imams were the divinely inspired and infallible descendants of Muhammad.

In 680, Husayn ibn 'Ali and his wife Fatima (daughter of Muhammad) marched on the Sunnis in what Husayn hoped would be a gesture of reconciliation. According to legend, Husayn dreamed that no reconciliation was possible and that he and his followers would die in a battle with the Sunnis. Husayn disregarded the premonition and he and his family marched to their deaths near the village of Karbala, which is today in Iraq. To this day, especially in Iraq and Iran, passion plays and mass processions are performed each year in commemoration of Husayn's martyrdom. These events are sometimes marked by rites of self-flagellation in which young men scrape their backs with hooks to draw blood, especially on Ashura, the 10th day of the month of Muharam, the anniversary of Husayn's death.

These rituals are clearly not suicide; indeed, Islam forbids the taking of one's own life. Rather, they symbolize the readiness to submit to the will of Allah with the understanding that rewards will come after death. Islam emphasizes that life on earth is merely a transition to a better life. A suicide bomber is making

a transition that will put him or her alongside the other heroes of Islam.

Members of such groups as the Arous Ad-Damm, the Brides of Blood, are sworn to avenge the death of Husayn through their own martyrdom, but they do not actively pursue suicide. The choice is not theirs, just as it was not Husayn's: Allah selected Husayn for martyrdom. Here is the intimate link between practice of martyrdom in Islam—expressed in the act of suicide—and the official structure of Islam as a political entity. Given no distinction between church and state in Islam, an act of religious devotion, such as suicide, can become an instrument of state policy for militant Muslims.

Viewing suicide as a form of religious devotion can help Westerners make sense of the apparently bizarre actions of these suicide bombers. Consider, for example, the affable smile worn on the face of the bomber as he made his way into the compound to blow up the U.S. embassy in Beirut in 1983. This smile, known as the "bassamat al-Farah," or smile of joy, symbolizes the joy of martyrdom. The notion of joy in the act of suicide is also evident in the videotape left behind by a 17-year-old female suicide bomber, San'ah Muheidli, who in 1983 drove her yellow Mercedes Benz laden with explosives into an Israeli military convoy in southern Lebanon, killing two soldiers and herself. On the tape, San'ah instructs her mother not to mourn her untimely death but, "Be merry, to let your joy explode as if it were my wedding day." A suicide bomber's death is described by Islamic militants as "the martyr's wedding," an occasion of joy and celebration.

Religious fervor may also explain, at least in part, the spate of more than 75 suicide bombings that rocked Israel after the start of the second intifada. Some of these suicide bombers are inspired to commit the ultimate sacrifice by the prodding of their spiritual handlers. These suicide bombers leave for their missions directly from their mosques, after completing many days of mental preparation, such as chanting aloud the relevant scriptures from the Koran. A favorite verse reads: "Think not of those who are slain in Allah's way as dead. No, they live on and find sustenance in the presence of the Lord."

So strong is their belief that bombers are able to walk among the enemy without exhibiting the slightest anxiety. In 1996, Israeli television reported that a suicide bomber dressed in an Israeli Army uniform mingled with soldiers at a bus stop and hitchhiking post in coastal Ashkelon before setting off an explosion, killing

two Israeli soldiers and himself. Witnesses to other bombings have told the authorities that they never suspected the bomber on the bus was a suicide terrorist on a mission.

It is important to understand the role religious inspiration plays in precipitating the actions of suicide terrorists. It would be naive to think of these suicide terrorists as mere religious fanatics blindly following a spiritual leader. However, it would be equally foolish to dismiss the impact of incendiary clerics on the minds of impressionable youngsters, as well as people of all ages.

### PROFILE OF A SUICIDE BOMBER

Before the attacks of September 11, the stereotype of a suicide bomber was that of an angry young Islamic male driven by visions of paradise to kill infidels. On his way to heaven, this zealot, who had few opportunities on earth, provides economic support for his family through an annuity commonly paid to the families of suicide terrorism by supporting organizations or countries. The suicide bomber's own personal reward is said to include the services of 72 virgins that await his arrival in a glorious afterlife filled with golden houses and clear-running streams.

The events of September 11 awakened the world to a new type of suicide bomber. Mohamed Atta, who is believed to have flown American Airlines Flight 11 into the north tower of the World Trade Center, was an educated young man from a well-to-do family. Atta and the other 18 suicide hijackers rendered past profiles inaccurate: some were highly educated, others had the wherewithal to achieve, and still others were married with children. Clearly, their ages, educational levels, and marital statuses were well outside the previous experience with suicide terrorists.

The typical suicide bomber has historically been male, but this stereotype was shattered by events of 2002. According to Hamas, women could not be suicide bombers because traveling outside the home without male accompaniment violated Islamic law. But Sheik Ahmed Yassin, the founder and spiritual leader of Hamas, did state: "We will start using women when we have run out of men." As the violence of the second intifada intensified, Palestinian nationalism became as strong a motivation for martyrdom as Islamic radicalism.

Supposedly driven by nationalist fervor, a Fatah spin-off, the secular Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades,

embraced suicide bombing as a method capable of inflicting pain against the Israelis. A female unit was formed. Wafa Idriss, a divorced 26-year-old ambulance worker from a Ramallah refugee camp, became the first female suicide bomber, blowing herself up in central Jerusalem in January 2002. Shortly thereafter, Dareen Abu Ish, a student at Nablus University who had been rejected by Hamas and joined the Al Aqsa brigades, detonated herself at a checkpoint near Jerusalem. Ayat al-Akhras, an 18-year-old secretary and member of the brigades blew herself up in a supermarket in Kiryat Hayovel.

Young, educated males and females, individuals of economic means, and older individuals with families are now suicide terrorists. Moreover, many suicide terrorists do not appear to be solely motivated by a distorted religious belief in the value of martyrdom; politics may play a role in inspiring their actions and they use their bodies accordingly. Experts fear that it is only a matter of time before the trend spreads to Western Europe and the United States.

*See also* AL AQSA MARTYRS BRIGADES; OSAMA BIN LADEN; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS; HAMAS; LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS; TERRORISM, DEFINITION AND HISTORY OF; U.S. EMBASSY BOMBING, BEIRUT; U.S. MARINE BARRACKS BOMBING, BEIRUT; U.S.S. *COLE* BOMBING

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## SUTHERLAND, THOMAS (1931– )

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Dr. Thomas Sutherland, a Scots-born American professor, was held hostage for nearly six and a half years during the hostage crisis in Lebanon.

Sutherland and his wife, Jean, moved to Beirut in the summer of 1983 to work at the American University, then one of the most prestigious educational institutions in the Middle East. Sutherland, who had taught animal sciences at Colorado University for 26 years, signed a three-year contract as dean of faculty for agriculture and food science; his wife was to teach English at the school. When the Sutherlands arrived to take up their posts, Western staff and professors at American University were already becoming targets of radical Shiite Muslim fundamentalists.

The first of these targets was Malcolm Kerr, president of American University; Kerr was assassinated on January 18, 1984. Professor Frank Reiger was abducted the following month. Concerned for his own safety, but not intimidated, Sutherland remained at the university. More than a year later, on May 28, 1985, radical Shiite gunmen seized David P. Jacobsen, director of the American University hospital. Two weeks later, two cars forced Sutherland's limousine to stop; he was abducted at gunpoint within minutes of his return from the United States.

Sutherland believes his kidnapping was a case of mistaken identity, that the gunmen who seized him were actually seeking American University president Calvin Plimpton, whose limousine Sutherland was using. Regardless, on June 9, 1985, Sutherland became the seventh American and the twelfth Western foreigner to disappear in Lebanon.

Sutherland spent much of his initial time as a hostage in solitary confinement. His captors interpreted a flyer for a conference on basic Islam found in his briefcase as proof that Sutherland was a "spy." They interrogated him relentlessly. Finally, by the end of the summer, Sutherland was allowed to join the other hostages: Jacobson, Terry Anderson, Rev. Benjamin Weir, and Father Lawrence Martin Jenco. Sutherland was chained to the floor, like the others. Sutherland became extremely depressed, speaking of suffocating himself with a garbage bag. In late 1986, when he was moved to a tiny, solitary, underground cell Sutherland attempted suicide three times. He spent the last portion of his 2,354 days of captivity with Anderson.

Sutherland was freed on November 18, 1991, along with Terry Waite, the Anglican envoy and hostage. Their release, the first following the Iran-Contra arms-for-hostages debacle in the United States, marked the beginning of the end of the Lebanon hostage crisis for the United States. Within a month, Anderson, the last

American hostage, would be released. (Two German aid workers remained.) Upon release, Sutherland was flown to the Wiesbaden U.S. military base in Germany to be treated for a peptic ulcer, before joining his family in California for his first Thanksgiving in six years.

In 1993, Sutherland traveled to Beirut with NBC and the BBC to shoot a film about his captivity. He was the first hostage to return. In June 2001, following Anderson's \$341 million lawsuit the year earlier, the Sutherlands—Thomas, Jean, and their three daughters—won a \$353 million judgment against Iran.

*See also* TERRY ANDERSON; WILLIAM BUCKLEY; HEZBOLLAH; IMAD FAYEZ MUGHNIYAH; HOSTAGE TAKING

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## SWEDAN, SHEIKH AHMED SALIM (1969– )

**aka Sheikh Ahmad Salem Suweidan, Sheikh Ahmed Salem Swedan, Sheikh Swedan, Sheikh Bahamadi, Ahmed Ally, Bahamad, Sheik Bahamad, Ahmed the Tall**

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Sheikh Ahmed Salim Swedan is alleged to have bought both trucks used in the 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya. For his role in the bombings, which killed 224 people, he was placed on the FBI's list of 22 "most wanted terrorists."

Swedan, born in Mombasa, Kenya, is said to be a member of the Al Qaeda network. Al Qaeda, an Arabic word meaning "The Base," is an international network that advocates and employs violence to drive the United States from Saudi Arabia and other Islamic countries. Headed by Saudi Osama bin Laden, Al Qaeda serves as an umbrella group for other militant organizations and establishes cells in areas where attacks are planned.

According to the FBI, Swedan managed a trucking business in Kenya before becoming involved in Al Qaeda's East African cells. A 1998 U.S. indictment charges that Swedan and fellow Al Qaeda members

bought a 1987 Nissan Atlas truck in Tanzania and a Toyota Dyna truck in Kenya several months before the bombings. An African poultry farmer who had lived near Swedan in Kenya testified about the Toyota in the bombings case, saying that he told Swedan in jest that he would sell him his pickup truck for \$10,000. As this was twice what he had bought it for, the farmer was surprised when Swedan agreed. The man never saw his neighbor again.

According to the indictment, Swedan then made alterations to the back of the Toyota and arranged for mechanical and welding work on the Nissan. Al Qaeda members later filled the trucks with oxygen and acetylene tanks, fertilizer, sandbags, boxes of TNT, and detonators—making them into moving bombs.

On August 2, 1998, Swedan fled Africa for Pakistan. Five days later, in synchronized attacks 400 miles apart, the truck bombs exploded at the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, one bomb detonating just minutes before the other. The blasts killed 224 people.

The U.S. government declared that bin Laden and Al Qaeda operatives were responsible. President Bill Clinton then ordered air attacks on Al Qaeda training grounds in Afghanistan and on a pharmaceutical plant in Khartoum, Sudan. Swedan allegedly fled to Afghanistan, as did many of the other 26 indicted in the embassy bombings case. Three suspects indicted in the embassy bombings case pleaded guilty and cooperated with the U.S. government as witnesses. In October 2001, four men linked to bin Laden were convicted of conspiracy in the case. All of the defendants, who pleaded not guilty, were sentenced to life in prison without parole. The U.S. State Department offers a reward of up to \$25 million for information leading directly to Swedan's apprehension or conviction.

*See also* AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS

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## SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

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The Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), a small group of militant revolutionaries based in California during the 1970s, owes nearly all its notoriety to the kidnapping and subsequent indoctrination of Patty Hearst, the newspaper heiress. Much of the short life of the group was lived in the media spotlight, making SLA one of the more infamous revolutionary groups of the era, though one of the least respected politically.

The SLA began as a collaboration between convicts and prison activists in 1973. Led by General Field Marshal Cinque (né Donald DeFreeze), an escaped convict and initially the only black member of the SLA, the seven other members—white, middle-class men and women—adopted Swahili names and took up arms for the self-styled Symbionese Federation. The group's motto, "Death to the fascist insect that preys upon the life of the people," signed off each of their communiqués.

The SLA's first significant action, on November 6, 1973, was the assassination of Marcus Foster, the first black superintendent of schools in Oakland. Foster was working to improve education in Oakland, but because his plan included mandatory ID cards, the SLA targeted him as a "fascist." By murdering a prominent black leader, the SLA alienated the Black Panther Party and other revolutionary left groups (although the SLA was later hailed by the waning Weatherman, by then called Weather Underground). In January 1974, when SLA members Russell Little and Joseph Remiro were arrested for Foster's murder, the group began to plan another violent act.

On February 4, 1974, Patty Hearst, then a sophomore at the University of California, Berkeley, was kidnapped from her apartment by three SLA members. Three days later, the SLA sent a communiqué denouncing the "establishment" and claiming Hearst as their "prisoner of war." On February 12, KPFA radio aired a tape in which Hearst demanded that her family distribute food to the poor in exchange for her release. Ten days later, the Hearsts funded a program,

People in Need, which eventually supplied food to more than 30,000 people, at the cost of \$2 million. Patty Hearst then denounced her parents as "capitalist pigs" and joined the SLA, taking on the revolutionary name "Tania," after Che Guevara's companion.

With Hearst as Tania, the SLA robbed the Hibernia Bank on April 15, 1974, where Hearst's transformation to a revolutionary was captured by the surveillance camera. The group then fled to southern California. On May 16, Hearst and Bill and Emily Harris, known then as Teko and Yolanda, attempted to rob a sporting goods store in Inglewood, California. The following day, police blasted 5,000 rounds into the SLA hideout in South Central Los Angeles, which then went up in flames. Six members—DeFreeze, Angela Atwood, Nancy Ling Perry, Willie Wolfe, Pat Soltysik, and Camilla Hall—were killed. Hearst and the Harrises watched the events on television from a motel room in Anaheim.

The remaining SLA members robbed two more banks—one in Sacramento, on February 25, 1975, and another in Carmichael, California, on April 21, 1975. Myrna Lee Opsahl was shot and killed in the latter robbery. That September, in San Francisco, Hearst, the Harrises, and two minor SLA members were captured. All were tried, convicted, and served prison sentences for their SLA-related activities; upon release all returned to relatively mainstream lives.

Kathleen Soliah, who joined the SLA after the police shoot-out in Los Angeles, remained a fugitive until she was apprehended in 1998; she was charged with planting bombs under police cars in August 1975. Two days before Soliah was sentenced for the bomb charges, she and the four remaining SLA members—Bill Harris, Emily Harris, Michael Bortin, and James Kilgore—were charged with the first-degree murder of Myrna Opsahl. Kilgore is still at large.

*See also* BLACK PANTHER PARTY; PATTY HEARST; WEATHERMAN

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## TALIBAN

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The Taliban is a religious and military movement that seized control of large portions of Afghanistan in the mid-1990s. While the Taliban was initially seen as a stabilizing force in war-torn Afghanistan, the movement's embrace of a radical form of Islam quickly made it a pariah in the international community. The Taliban's hosting of the terrorist organization Al Qaeda eventually led to its downfall in late 2001, following military strikes by the United States.

### COMING TO POWER

The Taliban emerged in the southern Afghan district of Kandahar in 1994. Two years before, the mujahideen—a loose alliance of Afghan ethnic and religious groups, plus foreigners come to defend Islam—had ousted the Soviet-backed People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) after more than a decade of war. But peace did not follow victory. Mujahideen warlords began fighting over control of Afghanistan. While some areas, such as the western city of Herat, were relatively stable, the Afghan capital of Kabul was attacked ceaselessly for two years as various factions fought for control of the city.

The district of Kandahar was also in chaos. There, the mujahideen warlords acted more like bandits than would-be governors, attacking civilians as well as each other. In the summer of 1994, a former mujahideen fighter named Mohammed Omar decided

to rid Afghanistan of the mujahideen warlords and restore unity under Islam.

At the time, Omar was living at a madrassa, or Islamic religious school, in the village of Singesar. Omar—a reclusive man who would not allow himself to be photographed—would eventually become the ultimate leader of the Taliban, given the title Commander of the Faithful. His background, and the religious philosophy of the madrassas, would strongly shape the Taliban's agenda.

Omar was a member of the Pushtun ethnic group. Roughly half the Pushtuns lived in southern Afghanistan, the other half lived in neighboring Pakistan. National lines had been muddled following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 to shore up the PDPA government. Many Afghan Pushtuns fled to Pakistan, where they lived in refugee camps and among Pakistani Pushtuns. Most Pushtuns follow the Sunni sect of Islam, which is the dominant sect in Afghanistan.

The madrassas could be found on both sides of the Afghan-Pakistani border. Students at the madrassas received an education that was primarily religious. The madrassas had been greatly influenced by the Deobandi movement, a Sunni religious movement that emphasizes strict observance of religious ritual.

The madrassas of Afghanistan and Pakistan supplied the Taliban not only with a leader but also with soldiers—most of them Afghan, but many Pakistani. Even the Taliban's name reflected its roots in the madrassas: The word *Taliban* is a Persian pluralization of the Arab word *Talib*, which means religious student.



The Taliban was largely dominated by the Pushtuns, and it was exclusively Sunni, to the detriment of Afghanistan's Shiite Muslim minority. The Deobandi influence was expressed by the Taliban's strident emphasis on the observance of religious customs, whether or not that observance was sincere or even voluntary.

Following his decision to restore order to Afghanistan, Omar gathered 30 comrades, took up arms, and attacked a mujahideen bandit. In October 1994, he and his growing group of comrades seized a village and an arms depot. A month later, the Taliban—now with almost 3,000 fighters—routed an attack on a Pakistani convoy, then swept into the provincial capital of Kandahar and seized the city.

While supporters of the Taliban tended to credit the group's remarkable success to divine favor, popular discontent with the mujahideen, and the genius of Omar, critics noted the contribution of other factors. Almost from its inception, the Taliban received aid from Pakistan and from mujahideen warlords—including ones the Taliban would later overthrow—who apparently believed that the Taliban would serve to weaken rivals.

As a result, Taliban fighters were almost always better trained than their foes and had enough money on hand to purchase support from key warlords. Success created more success; seizing Kandahar gave the Taliban access to heavy weaponry, including airplanes, helicopters, and tanks, once owned by the warlords who held the city. Nonstudents soon joined—despite the Taliban's emphasis on Islam and on destroying the mujahideen, its leadership ranks soon included former warlords and PDPA officers.

By 1995, the Taliban had tens of thousands of fighters and the increased support of Pakistan, which was apparently both responding to pressure by its Pushtun population and eager to have influence within Afghanistan. In March, the Taliban tried to take Kabul to the north but was defeated. Turning west, Taliban forces took Herat in September 1995, then returned to Kabul, finally seizing the national capital the following year.

The mujahideen withdrew to the north, eventually forming the Northern Alliance. The Taliban attacked the north repeatedly—in 1997 coming so close to success that Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates recognized it as the government of Afghanistan—but were never able to eradicate the mujahideen, a fact that would come back to haunt the Taliban.

## RUNNING AFGHANISTAN

The Taliban's successful conquest of much of Afghanistan was initially greeted with equanimity by the United States. It was hoped that the Taliban would restore stability to the country and close down the terrorist training camps that had been established in Afghanistan during the war against the Soviets. The Taliban's strict religiosity was initially seen in a positive light as well. Some observers believed that the Taliban would stamp out Afghanistan's thriving opium-poppy industry, and the Taliban leadership's hostility toward Shiite-dominated Iran dovetailed neatly with the United States' poor relations with that country.

But the poppy trade for the most part continued. The Taliban's hostility toward Iran escalated, leading to the murder of several Iranian diplomats in 1998. The Taliban routinely persecuted and periodically massacred Shiites, especially those of the Hazara ethnic group.

In urban areas where the Taliban's grip on power was especially strong, the Taliban outlawed a variety of activities considered un-Islamic, including music, television, movies, kite-flying, and chess. Men were required to wear long beards; those whose beards were of insufficient length could be jailed until their beards grew out. Such rules were enforced by the religious police, part of the Taliban's Department for the Promotion of Virtue and Suppression of Vice.

The Taliban's treatment of women attracted special condemnation. The Taliban forbade girls from attending school and forbade women from working. Women's bath houses—often used as a source of hot water in wintertime—were closed. Women were forbidden from going out in public without male relatives, and they were forced to wear a burqua, a garment that covered the entire body. Religious police publicly beat women who strayed from such rules.

Foreigners were not exempt from harassment and persecution by the Taliban. Indeed, the Taliban's willingness to target diplomats and aid workers triggered a number of international incidents. Even Pakistan soon found that it had little control over a movement it had helped build.

## THE TALIBAN AND BIN LADEN

A significant reason for this was that the Taliban had found another source of funds—the wealthy Saudi

radical Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden, who had helped recruit foreign fighters for the mujahideen during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, returned to Afghanistan in 1996 after the United States forced Sudan to expel him following attacks on U.S. military personnel in Saudi Arabia by his Al Qaeda terrorist network.

While bin Laden originally entered Afghanistan at the invitation of a mujahideen warlord, he soon made common cause with the Taliban, reportedly helping finance the final takeover of Kabul. Bin Laden's acceptance by the Taliban seriously strained Afghan relations with Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, but the wealth bin Laden commanded meant that the Taliban still had access to considerable funds, making support from other nations less crucial.

The drawbacks of such an arrangement became clear in August 1998, when terrorists linked to Al Qaeda bombed U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. In response, the United States bombed an Al Qaeda camp in Afghanistan. At the end of 1999, the United States discovered an Al Qaeda plot to attack the country on New Year's Eve; the U.S. government warned the Taliban that it would pay the price for any Al Qaeda attacks.

But the Taliban continued to support Al Qaeda and other radical Muslim groups. Military training camps in Taliban-controlled territory were used by a variety of terrorists and separatist groups, and bases in Afghanistan were even used to help launch an Islamic military movement in Tajikistan in early 2001.

The beginning of the end came for the Taliban on September 11, 2001, when 19 Al Qaeda operatives hijacked four planes in the United States, crashing two of them into the Twin Towers of New York City's World Trade Center, one into the Pentagon outside Washington, D.C., and one in rural Pennsylvania. The attacks killed approximately 3,000 people.

Demands by the United States that the Taliban turn over bin Laden and the leadership of Al Qaeda were denied, with the Taliban insisting that bin Laden was their guest and that he was not responsible for the attacks. After a period of fruitless negotiations, the United States and Great Britain began bombing Afghanistan in early October, and the United States put a bounty of \$25 million on Omar's head as well as on bin Laden's. Using Northern Alliance troops on the ground, the U.S.-led assault quickly overwhelmed Taliban forces, taking Kabul in November and Kandahar in December. On December 22, 2001, Hamad

Karzai was sworn in as chairman of a U.S.-backed interim government created to replace the Taliban.

*See also* AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS; MILITANT ISLAM; MUJAHIDEEN; RIYADH, SAUDI ARABIA, BOMBING; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS; *UNITED STATES V. USAMA BIN LADEN ET AL.* INDICTMENT; WAR ON TERRORISM

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## TERRORISM, DEFINITION AND HISTORY OF

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Terrorism, in various forms, has been practiced throughout history and across a wide variety of political ideologies. There are as many definitions for the word *terrorism* as there are methods of executing it; the term means different things to different people, and trying to define or classify terrorism to everyone's satisfaction proves impossible. However, most definitions of terrorism hinge on three factors: the method (violence), the target (civilian or government), and the purpose (to instill fear and force political or social change).

The adoption of terrorist techniques by insurgent groups, especially in the developing world, has led to a perception of terrorism as a natural outgrowth of the anticolonial struggle, merely another weapon of revolutionary guerrillas in their campaigns for independence. This understanding—or, in the eyes of many terrorism experts, misunderstanding—of the term *terrorism* is also expressed in the old cliché, "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter."

From another viewpoint, terrorism can also be something a government does to its citizens for a

variety of reasons: to maintain political power, to put down struggles of liberation, or to pacify populations after an annexation. Under this rubric, the actions of the former South African regime in defending apartheid and the Argentinean “Dirty War” of the 1970s would qualify as terrorism. Some would even argue that the United States itself conducts terrorist activities against selected targets while attacking other countries for promoting terrorist activities. This form of terrorism, usually called state terrorism, is discussed in an entry under that name. The following is a historical discussion of terrorism in the more traditional understanding of the term—violence against civilian targets with the intent of instilling fear and creating political or social change.

### HISTORICAL ROOTS OF TERRORISM

The word *terrorism* is an artifact of the French Revolution. The *régime de la terreur*, which took place from 1793 to 1794, was a systematic attempt to unearth traitors and send them to the guillotine. At first the violence, or terror, had a positive connotation since it was used to punish subversives and other dissidents whom the new regime regarded as enemies of the people. But in time the revolutionary leader Maximilien Robespierre was executed along with the 40,000 others who were guillotined during the *régime de la terreur*. Soon thereafter, the Englishman Edmund Burke, a vocal critic of the revolution, described the proponents of the revolution as terrorists.

Terrorism as a practice is thought to have begun in first-century Judea, where Jewish men would use a short dagger (*sica*) to slit the throats of occupying Romans and their collaborators in full view of the public. *Sicarii*, as these dagger-men were called, would also attack wealthy Jews and kidnap their servants for ransom. The *Sicarii* were part of a group known as Zealots, who sought to overthrow the Romans. The term *Zealot* is derived from the name of this movement. Later on in seventh-century India, members of the *thuggee* cult ritually strangled their victims in an apparent act of sacrifice to the Hindu goddess Kali. (The term *thuggee* and the modern term *thug* are derived from the Hindu *thag*, which referred to highwaymen who made their living by robbery.)

The philosophical antecedents of modern-day terrorism were also formed by the Russian revolutionary Mikhail Bakunin in the middle of the 19th century. In his *Principles of Revolution* (1869), Bakunin wrote

that no other action except terrorism by individuals or small groups could cleanse the Russian soil. Later in 19th-century Russia, the anarchist organization known as *Narodnaya Volya*, or People’s Will, launched a wave of bombings and assassinations. They targeted the czar, the royal family, and other government officials, whom they believed the embodiment of a corrupt regime.

Terrorism theory came to the United States with the arrival of German radicals such as Karl Heinzen and Johann Most, who advanced the philosophy of using weapons of mass destruction in a systematic campaign of terrorism. Both believed that science would empower the masses with the invention of new weapons that could then be used in terrorist enterprises, and they argued that bombs should be detonated where the enemy gathered, be it a church or meeting place. Heinzen and Most did not practice what their writings recommended, but others did. The most famous incident involving American anarchists occurred in Chicago in 1886 during the Haymarket riot, when a bomb killed eight policemen.

At the turn of the 19th century, terrorism in the form of political assassination became a major global phenomenon. Those assassinated included General Martinez Campos in Barcelona, Spain, in 1892; French president Sadi Carnot in 1894; Empress Elizabeth of Austria-Hungary in 1898; King Umberto of Italy in 1900; and U.S. president William McKinley in 1901. Although a few of the assassins were anarchists, they all acted on their own, without the knowledge or support of the groups to which they belonged.

World War I was ignited by the murder of the Austrian chancellor at the hands of a Serbian nationalist. Interestingly, few terrorist activities took place in the period following the war, perhaps because political assassination paled against the backdrop of the death of millions of individuals. How could the death of one man shock the millions of people suffering the ravages of war? After the war, Germany, Italy, Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and Palestine all witnessed a dearth of individual acts of terrorism while experiencing the growth of state terrorism. Individual terrorism was anathema to both fascist and communistic points of view; instead these totalitarian ideologies employed the collective terrorism of the “state.”

### POST-WORLD WAR II TERRORISM

In the post-World War II years, terrorism became a strategy of choice for nationalist groups in the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia in their struggle for

independence. In predominantly agrarian societies, this terrorism took the form of guerrilla warfare, with China and Indochina as the classic examples. In urban areas such as Palestine and Cyprus, acts of terror were committed within city limits.

A number of these national political movements, which owed much of their success to violence, adopted a strategy that would have lasting significance in the war of semantics surrounding the use of violence. These newly created Third World countries, as well as their brethren from the communist bloc states, advanced the argument that their fight against colonial oppression was not terrorism but rather the hard work of dedicated freedom fighters. Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1962) was particularly influential in this regard; Fanon urged colonized peoples to throw off their rulers in a "collective catharsis" of violence. The text helped solidify the association of violence with liberation struggles that was first raised by the anarchists of the late 19th century.

The 1960s saw terrorism spring up throughout the world. In Latin America, the Tupamaros's form of terrorism, which included kidnappings and bank robberies, ultimately toppled Uruguay's imperfect democratic government and inadvertently replaced it with a military dictatorship. In Argentina, left-wing terror organizations such as the Montoneros and the EPA waged a broad terror campaign against foreign economic interests as well as the Argentinean authorities. The writings of Brazilian Carlos Marighella had even more of an impact on terrorist events throughout the world than it did on events in Latin America or his native Brazil. Marighella's *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla* (1969), a practical guide for terrorism, was read throughout the worldwide terrorist community.

A wave of extreme left-wing terrorism also emerged in Germany, Italy, and Japan in the 1960s and 1970s. The Baader-Meinhof Gang in Germany, the Red Brigades in Italy, and the Japanese Red Army in Japan, all inspired at some level by Marighella, not only embarked on terrorist campaigns at home but ventured abroad to attack international interests. The most infamous of these organizations' attacks was the 1972 massacre at Ben-Gurion Airport (Lod Airport) in Israel by members of the Japanese Red Army.

## MODERN TERRORISM: THE UNITED STATES

The upsurge in terrorism of the 1960s was not limited to Europe and Asia. It affected the United States in a

number of ways. Frustrated with the slow pace of social change (and, in the eyes of some, simply bored with their middle-class privilege), some radical activists broke off from Students for a Democratic Society to found the violent group Weatherman. Similarly frustrated with the mainstream civil rights movement, black militants formed the Black Panther Party. Puerto Rican nationalists, Jewish extremists, and single-issue terrorist organizations such as animal rights groups also became active in this era.

While the so-called new left terrorism of groups like Weatherman had exhausted itself by the late 1970s, the next decade saw a variety of terrorist groups espousing a virulent philosophy of white supremacy and related incendiary rhetoric activate themselves throughout the United States. During this period, minorities of all stripes found themselves targeted by such hate-mongering and terrorist organizations as the Order and the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord, among others. As the 1980s came to end, however, a combination of aggressive law enforcement combined with little support by the general public for white supremacist rhetoric sounded the death knell for extremist right-wing terror organizations. There were still some leftover true believers but their ranks were rapidly slimming.

Things changed in the 1990s. The ranks of the extremist right were quickly replenished, inspired by the impacts of three events. The first event involved a bungled federal government attempt to arrest Randy Weaver, a white separatist who sold an illegal firearm to an undercover government agent, atop Ruby Ridge in the mountains of Idaho. The 1992 siege ended with the deaths of a federal marshal, Weaver's son, and his pregnant wife; it quickly came to symbolize the heavy hand of a threatening federal bureaucracy. The tragic end to the FBI's 1993 siege of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, reinforced this view, even though David Koresh and his followers had little to do with the right-wing movement. The 1994 enactment of the Brady Bill, which required a five-day waiting period for gun purchases and was named for U.S. president Ronald Reagan's press secretary who was severely disabled during a botched assassination attempt, became the third issue to rejuvenate the extreme right, as it caused many to fear federal gun control legislation.

On April 19, 1995 this tension came to a head when Timothy McVeigh bombed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 and

injuring many more. The act itself was so egregious that it caused a significant shakeout within the right-wing extremist movement that till this date has yet to recover. Meanwhile, the attacks of single-issue terrorists, such as antiabortion and environmental groups, have continued—although in a post-September 11 era, many are finding they have lost a significant amount of the public sympathy they previously had.

### **MODERN TERRORISM: EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST**

Throughout the 1960s and the 1970s, many Middle Eastern terrorist groups sent their recruits to the Soviet Union for training in low-intensity warfare, which is a benign-sounding name for terrorism. The Soviets viewed terrorism as compatible with their efforts to support wars of national liberation, even though violence against civilian populations is inconsistent with traditional Marxist-Leninist thinking on class struggle. The Soviets also hoped that their support of Palestinian terrorism against Israel would enhance their position within the Arab world.

Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow was where Palestinians would go to learn terrorist tactics. Their curriculum included liberal doses of Marxist ideology interspersed with demonstrations on how to handle Kalashnikov assault rifles and make bombs. Lumumba graduates would often return home to assume leadership roles in many of the Palestinian terrorist groups that sponsored their stay at the university, most notably, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Soon, Palestinian terrorist groups such as the PLO were running their own terror academies.

Sources close to the Palestinians reported that in the early 1980s there were more than 40 terrorist organizations taking advantage of the PLO schooling. Among the biggest customers were the Turks. Turkey itself was no stranger to the hand of the terrorist, experiencing nearly 2,500 political murders in 1978–1979 alone. Other groups trained by Palestinians include the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA).

For nearly a decade, Soviet-trained and -supported terrorism operated with impunity in the Middle East and, to a lesser extent, in Europe. As, however, events in the Middle East or Europe would threaten to affect public opinion—or more significantly, threaten to inspire U.S. intervention—Soviet leaders would rein in their client terrorists. Some actions of the more

radical Middle Eastern terrorist groups eventually caused the Soviets to become less enthusiastic about the potential destabilizing benefits of low-intensity warfare. Nearly three decades after the Soviet Union trained its first batch of Palestinian terrorists, the Soviets themselves began to sense their own vulnerability to terrorism; indeed, the Russians are now themselves faced with an ongoing threat of terrorism in Chechnya.

### **TURNING POINTS: THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION, AFGHANISTAN, AND THE PERSIAN GULF WAR**

A significant turning point in the history of terrorism was the Iranian Revolution of 1979, when Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini influenced the creation of Hezbollah (Party of God) in Lebanon in 1982. The recruits of Hezbollah, drawn from the poorest segments of society, were not only interested in carrying out the goals of the revolution but also concerned with the social conditions of their fellow Shiites throughout the Middle East. Hezbollah's outreach in Lebanon during the 1980s solidified Lebanese Shiite support and helped spawn smaller terrorist groups, the most recognizable of which was the Islamic Jihad (*jihad* is commonly translated as "holy war").

Nearly a decade after the Iranian revolution, a military coup destroyed Sudan's inept democracy. The mastermind behind Sudan's Islamic counterreformation was Sheik Hassan Abdallah al-Turabi. In 1991, the sheik took the first giant step toward realizing the goal of Islamic reconciliation by hosting a major conference of Islamic politicians and intellectuals, as well as known terrorists, in the Sudanese capital of Khartoum. The group ultimately endorsed a six-point manifesto for advancing extremist Islamic regimes throughout the Muslim world.

The 1991 Persian Gulf War saw a dramatic short-term increase in the number of international terrorist incidents. Yet it took only one year for the U.S. State Department to record one of the largest one-year *decreases* in these occurrences since the United States began keeping such records. The disintegration of the Soviet Union, also in 1991, may have played a role, depriving terrorist groups of a significant source of money, weapons, and safe havens. Aid from training camps inside other Soviet bloc countries also dried up with the collapse of the Soviet-sponsored Warsaw Pact.

Another key factor in changing the face of terrorism was Yasir Arafat's tactical mistake—siding with Iraq before and during the Persian Gulf War. Long before the war began, Arafat knew he could not run his PLO with the capricious support of Libya's Muammar el-Qaddafi or the cash-and-carry conditional backing of the former Soviet Union. He set out to create alternative sources of funding that would give the PLO the stability it needed to carry on a protracted terrorist campaign. A significant portion of his funding came from the conservative and vulnerable oil states, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Arafat's unconditional support of Saddam Hussein during the Gulf War shut down this extraordinary flow of oil money.

Instead, the money flowed into the coffers of Arafat's competitor, the Islamic Resistance Movement or Hamas. Hamas was formed by Sheik Ahmed Yassin in 1987 during the first *intifada*, or uprising, against Israeli occupation of the territories. Hamas members seek their identity in their Islamic roots. Hamas is uncompromising and maximalist, insisting on the total liberation of the sacred land of Palestine as demanded by Allah, who will repay martyrs for this cause with life everlasting.

The militancy of Hamas is a common feature of the new terrorists. When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979 to prop up an embattled communist government, thousands of young warriors of Islam, including the Saudi Osama bin Laden, from as far away as Algeria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the United States answered the call to fight a jihad, holy war, at the side of their Afghan brothers. Stirred by the preaching of incendiary clerics, 10,000 or more Muslims streamed into Peshawar, Pakistan, for weapons training and indoctrination. The CIA, eager to humble the Soviets in what turned out to be the last superpower tussle, invested billions of dollars in weaponry and training to turn these young warriors of Islam into a cadre of freedom fighters capable of driving out the Soviets. Those who survived the decade-long war helped turn Afghanistan into a veritable boot camp for terrorists.

Veterans of these Afghan classrooms have taken their jihad abroad not only to Sudanese terror camps but also to Algeria, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Bosnia, Burma, Egypt, India, Morocco, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Tunisia, Uzbekistan, Yemen, and the United States. It was Afghanistan where Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, convicted of seditious conspiracy and a variety of other charges, went to visit. It was Afghanistan where the men convicted for the 1993 bombing of the World

Trade Center learned strategy and tactics and where the "mastermind" of the bombing, Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, fought. It was Afghanistan where bin Laden began to consolidate his control over an army of jihad fighters bent on the destruction of the United States.

## THE NEW TERRORISM

The new terrorists who were trained in the terror camps of Afghanistan and Sudan were not privy to the Soviet training techniques. In fact, their militant Islamic instructors had more field experience than the Soviet trainers of the past. They learned their bomb-making and other terrorist tactics while fighting in Afghanistan.

The militant fundamentalism of this new breed of terrorists is reinforced by trainers who focus on the verses in the Koran and the *hadiths* (the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad) that form the basis of Islamic law and idealize the glory of dying for Allah. Students graduate with a religious zeal that makes them more implacable foes than their graying Soviet-trained counterparts. The new students of terrorism are easily inspired by a spiritual leader like bin Laden, with his frequent calls for war against Americans and Jews.

The new terrorists are less hierarchically organized than their secular predecessors and, consequently, more difficult to spot, track, and intercept. In the past, terrorist groups organized themselves very much like a large corporation, that is, pyramidally and linearly, with a discernible descending or ascending power structure. Knowing the structure of the terrorist group made fighting terrorism easier. Law enforcement and intelligence agencies could contain terrorist organization by infiltrating them at either the top or the bottom. It is much more difficult for today's law enforcement agencies to infiltrate militant Islamic groups, such as bin Laden's Al Qaeda, that are fluid and not structured the same way as secular groups of earlier periods.

However, the lack of obvious hierarchy does not mean that the work of this new breed is less devastating than earlier generations of terrorists—indeed, the willingness of members of terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda to participate in suicide attacks opens up heretofore unknown possibilities for devastation. On September 11, 2001, 19 hijackers took over four U.S. domestic flights, successfully crashing two of the hijacked planes into the World Trade Center towers in New York City and one into the Pentagon near



*Khobar Towers, Saudi Arabia, after the 1996 bombing of the high-rise barracks that killed 19 U.S. soldiers.*

Source: Defense Visual Information Center.

Washington, D.C. The fourth flight, now believed to be headed for the White House, crashed in rural Pennsylvania after passengers overpowered the hijackers. The September 11 hijackings are the most devastating terrorist attacks on U.S. targets to date, by any measure.

The routing of the Taliban by the U.S. military campaign of late 2001 certainly put a damper on the ability of Al Qaeda to quickly initiate a terror campaign; surviving members (including, it is believed, bin Laden himself) are presently in hiding somewhere in the world, maybe in Pakistan. Although badly routed, Al Qaeda is not finished; the U.S. government believes the group holds assets in more than 60 countries, and continues to warn of possible attacks on U.S. interests at home and abroad.

**See also** AL QAEDA; ANARCHISM; YASIR ARAFAT; MIKHAIL BAKUNIN; BASQUE FATHERLAND AND LIBERTY; OSAMA BIN LADEN; HAMAS; HEZBOLLAH; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; ISLAMIC JIHAD; PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION;

PERSIAN GULF WAR; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS; WAR ON TERRORISM

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**THREATCON LEVELS. See FPCON LEVELS.**

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## TOKYO SUBWAY SARIN ATTACK

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In 1995, members of the Aum Shinrikyō cult attacked Tokyo's Kasumigaseki subway station in an attempt to cripple the government of Japan.

The Aum Shinrikyō cult believes that Armageddon, an ultimate battle between good and evil that will annihilate the world as we know it and bring forth a new and pure spiritual one, is imminent and that it is their duty to hasten this battle and expunge the impure and sinful from the earth. In light of these views, Aum began to collect and create weapons of mass destruction in the early and mid-1990s.

The cult tested its new arsenal several times during 1993 and 1994, secretly releasing botulism toxin, anthrax, and poison gas in and around Japan; one of these tests, a June 1994 release of sarin gas in the town of Matsumoto, killed seven people. Sarin, a nerve gas developed in Germany during World War II, is colorless, odorless, and tasteless. A single drop on the skin is enough to kill an adult. The first symptoms are nosebleeds and nausea; if enough sarin is inhaled, the victim will begin to convulse and eventually collapse into a coma and die.

By early 1995, continuing allegations created mounting pressure on law enforcement to move against the cult; in mid-March the cult was tipped off that a massive police raid was planned for the 21st of the month. Cult leaders decided to launch a coup against Japan's government, using sarin. They chose the Kasumigaseki subway station, in the heart of Tokyo, because it is the city's busiest subway station and the closest station to National Police Headquarters and hundreds of other vital government offices. The cult hoped to kill thousands of ministers and police officers on their way to work, throwing the government into disarray and allowing Aum to take over.

On the morning of March 20, 1995, at approximately 7:45, five cult members boarded five different subway lines, all heading toward Kasumigaseki station. Each man carried a package of liquid sarin wrapped in newspaper, and an umbrella. At 8 A.M., as the trains approached Kasumigaseki, each man punctured his package with the sharpened tip of the umbrella and left the train. The liquid immediately began to evaporate. Sarin is very dense; if not lifted by strong air currents, it will remain close to the ground. The inefficient method of distribution chosen by the

terrorists, evaporation, probably averted a much greater tragedy. As it was, thousands of commuters collapsed on the train and the adjacent platforms, turning Kasumigaseki and other nearby stations into bedlam; 12 people were killed and thousands injured.

The attack and its violent aftermath gripped the nation. In the weeks after the incident, police raided Aum Shinrikyō compounds and arrested hundreds; the arrests provoked violent reprisals, including an assassination attempt on the chief of the National Police Force. The incident shattered Japan's peaceful view of itself as the world's safest industrialized nation, and sparked reforms in the criminal justice system. It also highlighted the immense vulnerabilities of a modern city to terrorism, even if the terrorists have access to only crude weapons and very simple means of distributing them.

*See also* AUM SHINRIKYŌ; BIOLOGICAL TERRORISM; CHEMICAL TERRORISM

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## TRANSNATIONAL TERRORISM

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The term *transnational terrorism* is often used to describe organizations, such as Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda network, that include militants of multiple nationalities and that operate in many countries at once. It is also sometimes used synonymously with international terrorism, or terrorism that involves citizens or the territory of more than one country.

The 1990s began a general trend away from terrorism perpetrated by state-sponsored, political groups toward terrorism committed by international networks of individuals that maintain contact by telephone and the Internet. Such transnational terrorism has grown through the easing of travel restrictions and the improvements in communication technology



and international banking and finance. Transnational networks such as Al Qaeda travel often, seeking safe havens in countries that have weak governments and fairly open borders. They often set up training camps in remote areas, through which all new recruits pass before being sent off to assignments around the world.

This form of terrorism is much more difficult for counterterrorist forces to combat, because often there are no clear paths for retaliation, and groups may simply migrate to new regions of the world to avoid detection. After Al Qaeda attacked the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., on September 11, 2001, the United States retaliated by bombing Afghanistan, the country providing harbor to much of the Al Qaeda network. The offensive destroyed the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, but many Al Qaeda members, including bin Laden, appear to have escaped and may be regrouping in an unknown location. When discussing the U.S. “war on terrorism,” President George W. Bush and administration officials have said that the transnational nature of the Al Qaeda threat necessitates an offensive beyond the borders of Afghanistan, to all places that harbor terrorist networks. Controversially, Bush used this framework to call for an expansion of the war into Iraq.

*See also* AL QAEDA

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## TRIPOLI AND BENGHAZI BOMBING

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Following a deadly 1986 bombing of a Berlin nightclub, U.S. president Ronald Reagan accused Libya of

planning the attack and ordered a “counterterrorist” military mission. In a controversial operation, U.S. planes bombed Libya, hitting the cities of Tripoli and Benghazi. It was the first time the United States had bombed another country to, as Reagan officials announced, preempt terrorist acts.

Relations between the United States and Libya had been strained long before the air strike. In March 1986, U.S. Navy bombers destroyed two Libyan patrol boats in the Gulf of Sidra in a brief exchange of fire. Less than a month later, a knapsack packed with nails and explosives detonated in the crowded West Berlin discotheque La Belle, a popular nightclub for American soldiers. The April 5 blast killed a U.S. soldier and a Turkish woman and injured more than 200 people—62 Americans among them.

Reagan announced in a televised news conference on April 9 that the United States suspected Libyan participation in the bombing and that the U.S. military was prepared to attack if evidence directly linking Libya to the attack was found. Reagan also called Libyan president Muammar el-Qaddafi the “mad dog of the Middle East.” On April 14, Reagan announced both that the U.S. government had irrefutable evidence that the Libyan government had been behind the La Belle attack and that he had ordered a massive bombing raid on Tripoli and Benghazi.

American planes flew from aircraft carriers and U.S. bases in Great Britain to attack their targets, hitting Qaddafi’s home and headquarters, a naval academy, and air bases in Benghazi. The planes, reportedly by accident, also hit a residential neighborhood in Tripoli and a row of houses in Benghazi. At least 15 people were killed in the raid, including Qaddafi’s infant daughter. Several Tripoli farms were also mistakenly hit, and farmers lost a great deal of livestock. One Libyan farmer told the *New York Times*, “Tell Reagan thank you very much for killing all my chickens.”

During the attack, Libyan forces shot down one U.S. F-111 bomber, killing the two crewmen on board. All Arab nations condemned the U.S. strike, as did many West European countries. The U.S. planes were forced to fly a circuitous route because France refused to allow the bombers into its airspace.

Well over a decade later, a German court convicted a former Libyan diplomat and three accomplices for their roles in the La Belle bombing. Prosecutors in the 2000 trial also revealed the evidence that had led the Reagan administration to attack Libya, presenting incriminating radio messages sent between Tripoli

and the Libyan embassy in East Berlin. A message sent on the night of the La Belle bombing read, "Expect the result tomorrow morning. It is God's will." Another, sent hours after the bombing, reported, "At 1:30 A.M., one of the acts was carried out with success, without leaving a trace."

*See also* LA BELLE DISCOTHEQUE BOMBING; MUAMMAR EL-QADDAFI

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## TUPAC AMARU REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

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Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru; MRTA) is a Peruvian Marxist guerrilla organization founded in 1983; the group took more than 600 people hostage at the Japanese embassy in Lima, Peru, in 1996.

Emerging from the factionalism of the Peruvian left, a small group of Marxist radicals founded MRTA with the aim of ridding Peru of foreign "imperialists," overthrowing the government, and establishing a Marxist regime. The group takes its name from Tupac Amaru II, a member of the Inca royal house who led a vast Indian uprising in Peru in the 1780s. Inspired by the Cuban Revolution, its leaders particularly admired the politics and tactics of Che Guevara; the group often staged attacks on the anniversaries of his birth and death. Even at its peak, MRTA was estimated to have fewer than 1,000 members and was always overshadowed by the much larger and notably more brutal Maoist guerrillas, Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso).

MRTA launched its first attack in Lima, the capital, in early 1984, spraying the U.S. embassy with machine gun fire. In its early years, the movement cultivated something of a Robin Hood image—members sometimes hijacked produce trucks and distributed the food to slum dwellers. MRTA's typical targets were banks

and government institutions, and bombings were often timed for the early morning to minimize risk of civilian casualties. MRTA also sought publicity for its attacks by painting slogans on slum dwellers' walls and leaving propaganda pamphlets at bomb sites.

In 1988, MRTA moved to expand from its base in the slums of the coastal cities into the countryside. Shining Path depended on the peasant villages of the Andes highlands for its power base. To compete with Shining Path, MRTA had to gain the support of the peasants. The character of MRTA began to change: violent clashes with rival guerrillas and the military were frequent, and it became involved in drug trafficking. MRTA was not able to seriously challenge Shining Path for control of the countryside, and its newly violent reputation diminished the organization's standing in the leftist circles of the capital.

In July 1990, MRTA conducted its most successful operation, tunneling into a newly built maximum-security prison from the outside, freeing its leader, Victor Polay, and 47 others. Polay was recaptured in June 1992, and subsequent arrests and assaults by the military greatly diminished the organization's power and effectiveness. New laws allowing amnesty for former guerrillas further reduced membership.

On December 17, 1996, fourteen members of MRTA invaded the Japanese embassy, blowing a hole through a wall during a reception and taking more than 600 guests hostage, including many prominent Peruvian government leaders and businesspeople, and more than 30 ambassadors. MRTA demanded the release of 400 of its imprisoned members in exchange for the release of the hostages. While stating his desire for a peaceful resolution, President Alberto Fujimori refused to negotiate with the terrorists. A four-month standoff ensued, during which MRTA gradually released all but 72 of the hostages. On April 22, 1997, the military stormed the embassy, rescuing all but one of the remaining hostages and killing all 14 MRTA members. These deaths, particularly the death of MRTA leader Nestor Cerpa in the raid, have all but crushed the organization, and it is no longer considered an active terrorist threat in Peru.

*See also* ERNESTO (CHE) GUEVARA; SHINING PATH

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## TUPAC KATARI GUERRILLA ARMY

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The Tupac Katari Guerrilla Army (EGTK) is an Indian terrorist group that operated in Bolivia during the early 1990s.

Sharing a border with Brazil, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Paraguay, Bolivia occupies a central place in both the South American continent and in Latin American history. Like its neighbors, the majority of its population is Indian or of Indian descent, of whom a substantial proportion live in poverty. Land reform is a major political issue. Bolivia is also one of the world's major producers of cocaine, and narco-trafficking and the corruption and lawlessness it engenders remain problems. A nation for 157 years, Bolivia's government has seen more than 200 coups in that time. Despite its chronic political instability, Bolivia has for the most part escaped the lengthy and traumatic guerrilla warfare that has plagued its neighbors—with the short and ineffective career of the National Liberation Army–Bolivia (founded by Che Guevara in 1966) being the exception.

The EGTK was founded in Bolivia in the early 1990s. Starting on July 4, 1991, it carried out more than 40 attacks around the country, with the most devastating being a series of bombings of electricity pylons and oil pipelines near La Paz, the capital; two EGTK members were killed while trying to dynamite an electricity pylon in April 1992. The group's robberies are believed to have netted it more than \$500,000.

In April 1992, more than a dozen of the group's leaders were arrested and jailed. The arrests seem to have crushed the fledgling group; intelligence reports predicted a resurgence in its activity in 1997, but no new bombings occurred.

Little is known about the group's motivations or ideology. It is named after Tupac Katari (also known as Tupac Amaru II), a member of Inca royalty who rebelled against the Spanish in the 18th century. However, the similarities between their methods of attack and that of the Peruvian terrorist group Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso), as well as the fact that the EGTK first made itself known when Shining Path activity on the Peru-Bolivia border was increasing, have led to much speculation about the existence of links between the two groups. While imprisoned, the EGTK's leader denied any such connection. Stricter border controls and the arrest of the Shining Path's leader in September of 1993 would seem to have put an end to any possibility of aid. The group appears unlikely to pose a threat to Bolivia in the future.

*See also* NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY–BOLIVIA; SHINING PATH

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## TURKISH HEZBOLLAH

**aka Hizbollah, Hizbullah, South-Eastern Hizbullah**

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Formed in southeastern Turkey in the 1980s, Turkish Hezbollah, one of Turkey's more active Islamic terror groups (unrelated to Lebanon's Hezbollah), seeks to overthrow the constitutional and secular government of that country and establish a strict Islamic theocracy. Targeting civilians, mainly Kurds, and Kurdish sympathizers in southeast Turkey, Turkish Hezbollah is responsible for hundreds of murders. The group has earned a reputation for brutality—many of its victims were tortured before they died.

Turkish Hezbollah (founded at the height of an armed separatist Kurdish rebellion in the 1980s) focused its early attacks on those who sympathized with the rebel Kurds and on the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), the country's largest pro-Kurd terrorist organization and largely opposed to the establishment

of a strict Islamic state. At the time, the Turkish government was accused of fostering—even forming—the Hezbollah to act against the PKK as a counter-guerrilla group, a claim the government unequivocally denied. Nevertheless, Hezbollah was thought to have infiltrated state institutions. Turkish security officials maintained that Hezbollah members had been trained in—and financed by—Iran to subvert Turkey’s secular government and that Hezbollah formed as early as 1979 as the Iranian Revolution began supporting terror as a means to establish Islamic states throughout the region. The group used mosques and bookstores for recruitment and maintained safe houses throughout Turkey.

Experts believe that Hezbollah’s roots go back to the Kurdish Islamic movement of the early 1980s. At that time, the PKK was a significant problem for the Turkish government, so any terror action against the PKK was basically ignored. Hezbollah was able to operate with great freedom, and often carried out brutal attacks in broad daylight. Between 1991 and 1995, the height of the conflict between Hezbollah and the PKK, some 700 people were killed.

In addition to the murders of hundreds of civilians within the past decade, Turkish officials say Hezbollah may be responsible for the murders of several leading Turkish academics and journalists who supported a secular government. Beginning in 1995, the Turkish government arrested and tried scores of Hezbollah members. Just before 2000, the group began infiltrating Istanbul and cities of western Turkey, murdering and often robbing to fund their cause. When one militant used a stolen credit card, Turkish security officials were able to trace it to Hezbollah; a massive attack on the organization was then launched. Nearly 100 Hezbollah militants were arrested in southeast Turkey and, on January 17, 2001, the organization’s leader, Huseyin Velioglu, was killed in a shootout.

That same day, two other Hezbollah leaders were arrested, leading to the discovery of the bodies of hundreds of Hezbollah victims, which had been buried in Hezbollah safe houses. The corpses showed evidence of having been tortured and buried alive; many had broken bones. Videotapes recovered by Turkish authorities revealed these torture sessions, even documented some of the executions. Grisly findings were made in various Turkish cities—Adana, Antalya, Diyarbakir, Ankara, Konya, Tarsus; these victims puzzled Turkish security officials because many were Kurds, themselves enemies of the state.

Hezbollah membership is unclear, though one Turkish security official claimed they had seized documents suggesting around 20,000 members. The anti-Hezbollah operation of 2000, though, was a severe blow to the group. Thousands of Hezbollah sympathizers were taken into custody in security raids and questions about the group’s structure, strategy, system of education, and finances were answered.

*See also* KURDISTAN WORKERS PARTY

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## THE TURNER DIARIES

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An apocalyptic tale of genocide, *The Turner Diaries* has been referred to as “the bible of the racist right,” “the handbook for white victory,” and “the blueprint for revolution.” William L. Pierce, the head of the National Alliance—a neo-Nazi group—published the book in 1978 under the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald. It had first appeared in serial form in the National Alliance’s publication, *Attack!*

A former physics professor at Oregon State University, Pierce was a follower of George Lincoln Rockwell, the founder of the American Nazi Party. Although Pierce claims to doubt the book’s impact, *The Turner Diaries* has been credited with influencing the terrorist and criminal activities of groups and individuals such as the Order, and most notably Timothy McVeigh. The publication and distribution of the book by Lyle Stuart, a large publishing house, shortly after McVeigh’s arrest in 1995, sparked a heated public debate about censorship.

### THE STORY

The novel is in the form of the diaries of one-time electrical engineer Earl Turner, supposedly unearthed near Revolutionary Headquarters in the 100th year of the New Era. In the book’s foreword, Turner is described

as one of the “men and women whose struggle and sacrifice saved our race in its time of greatest peril.” The diaries describe a society that has completely deteriorated because of the powerlessness of its white citizens, as well as Turner’s patriotic fight to take the country back from the government dominated by Jews, blacks, and other minorities. Turner begins as a rank-and-file member of a group called “the Organization” and is later invited to join a secret elite faction called “the Order,” which wages a war of political terrorism on the System. These acts of terrorism are designed to instigate a further crackdown on basic freedoms, thus creating an even more repressive environment, so that the Organization will gain sympathy and converts.

Turner’s adventures begin on September 16, 1991, about two years after the notorious gun raids, in which the government, through the enforcement of the Cohen Act, confiscates everyone’s guns. Resisters are forced underground but key members, called “legals,” remain functioning in society and gathering information. To fund its operations, the Organization commits only “socially conscious” crimes—those against Jews or other minorities. Turner’s unit is assigned a larger undertaking when the System begins issuing all citizens a passport. To thwart the System’s plans, the unit blows up FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C. The blast kills approximately 700 people and because of the damage done to the FBI’s infrastructure, causes a temporary halt in the issuing of passports.

Although he regrets the loss of innocent life, Turner laments: “There is no way we can destroy the System without hurting many thousands of innocent people—no way. It is a cancer too deeply rooted in the flesh. And if we don’t destroy the System before it destroys us—if we don’t cut this cancer out of our living flesh—our whole race will die.” Eventually, the Organization takes over much of the West Coast by force. Those who survive are then subjected to the “day of the rope,” in which blacks as well as whites characterized as race traitors are hanged. Race traitors are those whites who either supported minorities through their views and work or—particularly offensive to the Organization—are part of interracial relationships. Despite the looting and cannibalism of desperate blacks, the landscape begins to take on a utopian character when surviving whites clean up their homes and property. The farms that have been neglected because of the migrant workers’ expulsion are eventually tended by young white children, eager to do their part for the region’s recovery.

Turner’s last entry records his acceptance of a suicide mission in which he will blow up the Pentagon with a nuclear weapon. He has accepted the mission willingly as punishment for his betrayal of the Order while being tortured by an Israeli police official and his “Negro assistants.” Turner’s death, as noted in the epilogue, marks “the day of the Martyrs” in the New Era.

## VIOLENT INFLUENCE

The book is written in the style of an adventure novel with elements—even a love interest—clearly intended to appeal to a wide audience. Seemingly effective, it is believed to have inspired white supremacists’ crimes in the United States and abroad, including those of Buford Furrow, who wounded five people in 1999—three of them children—at a Los Angeles-area Jewish community center and killed a Filipino postal worker. He later remarked that his actions were “a wake-up call to America to kill Jews.” John William King, during the 1998 rampage that killed James Byrd, Jr. in one of the most vicious hate crimes in Texas history, declared “we’re going to start the *Turner Diaries* early.” In London, David Copeland, who killed three people and wounded dozens of others in the 1999 Soho pub bombings, was also believed to have been influenced by the novel.

The book was also a likely inspiration for the 1980s crime wave initiated by a group calling itself the Order. The Order replicated many of the crimes committed by its fictional counterpart, including robbery, counterfeiting, and murder. Other white supremacists refer to the day in 1984 that the real-life Order leader, Robert Jay Mathews, died in a fiery standoff with federal authorities as “Martyr’s Day.”

The novel received more widespread attention after the arrest of McVeigh for the April 19, 1995, bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. McVeigh had used an ammonium nitrate fertilizer bomb in a truck much like the one described in the book. The time of the Oklahoma bombing was 9:04 A.M., just 11 minutes earlier than the time in the fictional account. When McVeigh was arrested, pages from the book were found in the front seat of his car. At his trial, witnesses confirmed that McVeigh was fascinated by the book and recommended it to friends.

By 1995, an estimated 200,000 copies had been sold, mostly through mail order by antigovernment

groups. In 1996, a mainstream New York publisher announced that it would print 50,000 copies and release the book for distribution. Many organizations, the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Simon Wiesenthal Center among them, objected and appealed to bookstores to “make an informed decision” about stocking the book. Canadian Customs declared the book’s importation illegal under part of its Criminal Code that prohibits the importation of hate propaganda. In the United States, however, the publisher and the American Booksellers Association maintained that even objectionable material is protected by the First Amendment. The publisher, who had also published *The Anarchist’s Cookbook*, took on *The Turner Diaries* on the condition that a foreword would be added condemning the book’s racist views and one dollar from every sale would be given to a gun control organization. The author received 5 percent of the sale revenues. By 2000, approximately 350,000 copies had been sold.

**See also** ROBERT JAY MATHEWS; TIMOTHY McVEIGH; OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING; THE ORDER; WHITE SUPREMACY

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## TWA FLIGHT 355 HIJACKING

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Shortly after Trans World Airlines Flight 355 left New York’s La Guardia Airport on September 10, 1976, Croatian nationalists hijacked the aircraft by displaying what they claimed were “five gelignite bombs.” The Boeing 727’s crew and the 81 passengers

bound for Chicago followed the hijackers’ instructions, unaware that the so-called bombs were in fact made of Silly Putty.

The group of hijackers, led by Croat Zvonko Busic and his American wife, Julienne Busic, a former TWA stewardess, took the plane on a bizarre transatlantic journey. Stopping in Montreal, the hijackers sent word that they had left another bomb and two political tracts in a subway locker at Grand Central Station in Manhattan. They demanded that four U.S. newspapers and the *International Herald Tribune* publish their appeal for Croatian independence and that leaflets proclaiming their message be air-dropped over New York, Montreal, and Chicago.

Police experts did find an actual bomb in the Grand Central Station locker. After the device was taken to a police range to be disarmed, it exploded unexpectedly, killing New York City police officer Brian J. Murray. The FBI complied with the hijackers’ instructions, and sent the Croatian manifesto to the press. The *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Chicago Tribune* all published the tract.

Stopping in Newfoundland to refuel, the hijackers allowed 35 passengers to get off the plane, giving first priority to children, the ill, and those with pending business. “They were so polite it was ridiculous,” passenger James Perkins told *Newsweek* in an article published 10 days after the ordeal.

The hijackers landed the 727 at the Charles de Gaulle Airport outside Paris, where French officials slashed the jet’s tires. After Julienne Busic spoke with U.S. ambassador Kenneth Rush and confirmed the publication of the group’s manifesto, the hijackers surrendered.

The group freed all of the hostages and revealed that the bombs they carried were fake. They had been smuggled though security with the aid of Julienne Busic’s outdated TWA pass.

All five hijackers were flown to the United States and convicted in 1977 in U.S. federal court on charges of air piracy. The Busics were also convicted of homicide, and sentenced to mandatory life terms. Zvonko Busic is serving a life sentence at the federal prison in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. Julienne Busic was paroled from prison in 1989, and was later hired as an adviser at the Croatian embassy in Washington, D.C. She continues to be on federal probation under parole, reporting to a probation officer each month.

**See also** GRAND CENTRAL STATION BOMBING; HIJACKING

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## TWA FLIGHT 840 HIJACKING

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The hijacking of Trans World Airlines Flight 840 brought Palestinian guerrilla Leila Ali Khaled, who became an icon in the Arab world, to international attention.

On August 29, 1969, Khaled and Salim Issawi, hijackers for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), took over the Rome-to-Tel Aviv flight. First-time hijacker Khaled had boarded Flight 840 wearing a wide-brimmed hat, a book called *My Friend Che* (about her hero Che Guevara) in hand. Not long after takeoff, she and Issawi, armed with grenades, jumped from their first-class seats and stormed the cockpit. By Khaled's account, she pulled the safety pin from her grenade and offered it to the pilot as a souvenir; he declined. They rerouted the plane to Damascus, Syria. Khaled forced the pilot to fly low over Haifa, the town (now a part of Israel) that she and her family fled from in 1948 to become refugees in Lebanon. After landing in Damascus, Issawi and Khaled evacuated the passengers and crew and blew up the plane's cockpit. The hijackers were arrested and held in Syria for five weeks, and then released.

A photo of 25-year-old Khaled, snapped the day of the hijacking, captured the world's imagination. The 1970s press often referred to her as "girl terrorist" and "deadly beauty." The hijackers used the takeover of Flight 840 and Khaled's instant notoriety to bring attention to their Marxist-Leninist organization, the PFLP, which was founded in 1967 following Israel's capture of the West Bank in the Six-Day War.

After hijacking Flight 840, Khaled underwent many plastic surgery operations, altering her face so that she could slip through airport security undetected. In 1970, she hijacked (with Nicaraguan Patrick Arguello) an El Al jet from Amsterdam, charging the cockpit midflight, grenades in hand. Armed guards opened fire, killing Arguello and capturing Khaled. The plane landed at Heathrow Airport, and she was held in England for 28 days, until being released in exchange for Western hostages held by the PFLP.

Following the September 6, 1970, El Al hijacking, Jordan erupted in violence. On the same day as Khaled's attempt, Palestinian hijackers took three other planes. King Hussein of Jordan cited these incidents and declared war on the Palestinian groups in Jordan; the routing of the Palestinian groups led this era to become known as Black September.

*See also* HIJACKING; LEILA KHALED; POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

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## TWA FLIGHT 847

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On June 14, 1985, two gunmen used hand grenades and a pistol to overpower a commercial jet bound for Rome from Athens. The 153 passengers and crew members aboard Trans World Airlines Flight 847, many of them Americans, were caught in a 16-day showdown as the plane flew back and forth between Beirut and Algiers.

The hijackers, who were later tied to the Shiite Muslim militant group and political party Hezbollah, burst into the cockpit and ordered pilot John Testrake to fly to Algiers. The image of one of the hijackers holding a gun to Testrake's head was shown on TV screens around the world.

The Boeing 727's low fuel supply would take the aircraft only as far as Beirut. There the hijackers refueled and issued their first demands. They called for the release of 766 prisoners in Israel, many of them Shiites, and a moratorium on oil and arms deals between the United States and Arab partners. During this first stop in Beirut, the gunmen shot Petty Officer Robert Dean Stethem at close range and dumped his body onto the tarmac.

Testrake flew the plane back and forth between Beirut and Algiers for the next two and a half days. Other accomplices joined the hijackers as the ordeal progressed. A number of the hostages, many of them women and children, were released sporadically during the plane's several stops. Finally, the flight engineer faked engine failure, and the hijacking exploit was grounded. The plane landed for a final time in Beirut, and hijacking accomplices took the passengers from the plane to guarded houses in the city. The crew members were kept hostage on the grounded plane for the next two weeks, surrounded by gunmen. On June 30, after Israel agreed to release 300 prisoners, the hijackers freed the remaining hostages and flew back to Algiers, avoiding arrest.

Mohammed Ali Hamadei was arrested in 1987 in West Germany and later sentenced by a German court to life in prison for hijacking Flight 847 and murdering Stethem. Hamadei remains the only person tried in the case, although U.S. officials have released the names of other suspects. Imad Fayeze Mughniyah, at times described as Hezbollah's senior intelligence officer and at others the group's security or operations chief, was indicted in the case, as was fellow Lebanese Hasan Izz-al-Din. American officials further contend that Mughniyah was involved in the 1983

bombing of U.S. Marine Corps barracks in Beirut as well as the kidnapping, torture, and killing of the CIA station chief William Buckley in the 1980s. Both men are at large.

According to his own admission to Greek authorities, a third man was supposed to take part in the hijacking. Ali Atwa was waiting to board Flight 847 but was relegated to standby, bumped, and left behind. He was arrested in Athens, and found to be carrying forged Moroccan passports. Greek officials later freed him to join those on the hijacked plane in exchange for hostages. Atwa, Izz-al-Din, and Mughniyah all appear on the FBI's list of "most wanted terrorists," announced in October 2001.

*See also* ALI ATWA; HEZBOLLAH; HIJACKING; HASAN IZZ-AL-DIN; IMAD FAYEZ MUGHNIYAH

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**UDA.** See **ULSTER DEFENSE ASSOCIATION.**

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**UFF.** See **ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTERS OR UNITED FREEDOM FRONT**

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## **ULSTER DEFENSE ASSOCIATION**

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The Ulster Defense Association (UDA) is the largest of Northern Ireland's Loyalist paramilitary organizations. It has engaged in sectarian assassinations and bombings in Northern Ireland since 1972 and has been an important factor in politics and peace negotiations during the conflict in Northern Ireland.

For more than 30 years, Northern Ireland has seen battles between the province's Roman Catholics (also called Republicans or Nationalists), who wish Northern Ireland to become a part of the Republic of Ireland, and its Protestants (also called Loyalists or Unionists), who wish it to remain part of Great Britain. Catholic and Protestant paramilitary organizations have formed—both employing terror to achieve their ends.

As the violence escalated in the late 1960s, many people came to believe that Northern Ireland's security forces, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), and the British Army could no longer protect them. The Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA or PIRA) had patrolled Catholic neighborhoods since their reformation in 1969. Protestants, however, had no

equivalent organization, though local vigilante groups had sprung up, particularly in the working-class neighborhoods of Belfast and Derry. In May 1971, the leaders of several local vigilante groups organized a series of community meetings; the result was the formation of the Ulster Defense Association, a group committed to combating the IRA and protecting Protestants.

The group was organized on British military lines; each of Northern Ireland's six counties had a brigade, which was further subdivided into battalions and companies. The governing body was called the Inner Council; initially it was a large committee comprising several dozen local leaders, but by 1974 a supreme commander, Andy Tyrie, had been elected. He and his deputies would lead the organization for the next 15 years. Although estimates vary, some sources believe the UDA to have had about 30,000 members in the mid-1970s, when violence in Northern Ireland was at its peak. The primary method of attack by the UDA has been sectarian assassination, killing members of the Catholic community at random in reprisal for IRA attacks. Its first campaign, begun in the spring of 1972, killed more than 80 people by the end of the year.

Because they feared a Protestant backlash, the police and other security forces were loathe to acknowledge that the murders were a deliberate sectarian campaign. In turn, the UDA was reluctant to publicly accept responsibility because the organization would then have been declared illegal and many of its members arrested. Their solution was to use a cover name, the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF), to claim responsibility for any attacks. Many UFF

attacks were deliberately brutal; stabbing was preferred to shooting, and the bodies of some victims were mutilated and burned in an effort to terrorize the Catholic community and thus diminish support for the IRA.

## STRIKES

In 1974, the British government attempted to implement the December 1973 Sunningdale Agreement, a peace plan that contained many of the provisions of the current Good Friday Accords. Protestants were strongly opposed to the plan; on May 14, a heretofore unknown group, the Ulster Worker's Council, called a general strike. The UDA and other Loyalist paramilitaries threw their support behind the strike. UDA members used intimidation, threats, and street blockades to force Protestant workers to stay home during the strike's early days. Their tactics were effective, and public utilities and private businesses across the province were shut down for more than a week. Following the strike's success, the Sunningdale Agreement was abandoned. In May 1977, the UDA tried a similar tactic in an attempt to restore a separate, Protestant-controlled Parliament in Northern Ireland, but failed in this effort.

After the failure of the 1977 strike, the UDA entered a period of relative decline. While the number of sectarian assassinations decreased, the UDA's planning and tactics grew increasingly sophisticated; in 1984, a UFF gunman nearly killed Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Féin (the IRA's political arm).

## SCANDAL AND MORE MURDERS

In 1989, the UDA was embroiled in a scandal when it showed a BBC reporter intelligence reports on Republican activists that it had been given by members of Northern Ireland's security forces. The UDA had used the information to plan assassination campaigns. During the early 1990s, the UDA stepped up its sectarian campaign against Catholics: 1991 was the first year in which Loyalist forces killed as many people as Republicans. As a result of the investigation following the scandal, and its renewed activity against Catholics, the UDA was banned by the government in 1992. In 1994, the UDA and other Loyalist paramilitaries declared a cease-fire, as did the IRA, as a move toward peace. Negotiations then stalled for months. The IRA broke its cease-fire in February 1996 and resumed it in September 1997; the UDA broke its

cease-fire late in 1997 and resumed it in January 1998. The UDA's political arm, the Ulster Democratic Party (UDP), was a signatory to the April 1998 Good Friday Accords.

Since the signing of the Good Friday Accords, Unionists have grown increasingly dissatisfied with the peace process. The UDA disbanded the UDP in the fall of 2001. While the UDA has not openly declared its cease-fire at an end, sectarian attacks from 1998 onward by groups calling themselves the Orange Volunteers and Red Hand Defenders are believed by many to be linked to the UDA. On October 12, 2001, the British government declared that it considered the UDA to have broken its cease-fire. Recent attacks by the Red Hand Defenders have led some observers to believe that the UDA is once again actively recruiting and may be planning a full-scale military campaign.

*See also* IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; ORANGE VOLUNTEERS; REAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; RED HAND DEFENDERS; ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTERS; ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE

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## ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTERS

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The Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF) is a Northern Irish Loyalist paramilitary group that has claimed responsibility for dozens of assassinations believed to have been carried out by members of the Ulster Defense Association (UDA).

In Northern Ireland, since the late 1960s, bloody conflict has been regular between the province's Roman Catholics (also called Republicans or Nationalists), who wish Northern Ireland to become a part of

the Republic of Ireland, and its Protestants (also called Loyalists or Unionists), who wish it to remain part of Great Britain. Armed paramilitary groups have sprung up in both communities. One such Loyalist group, the Ulster Defense Association, began a campaign of sectarian assassinations in the spring of 1972, killing Catholics at random in reprisal for attacks by the Irish Republican Army (IRA). By the end of the year more than 80 people had been killed.

The Northern Irish police and British government were initially reluctant to acknowledge the murders as politically motivated sectarian attacks. They did not want to give the IRA a propaganda victory and feared provoking a Protestant backlash that could destroy the delicate peace negotiations then under way. For its part, the UDA could not claim responsibility for the attacks without the organization being declared illegal and many of its members arrested.

At a meeting in May 1973, UDA leaders decided that a shadow organization called the Ulster Freedom Fighters would be created within the UDA. The UDA could continue its attacks, but the UFF would claim responsibility. The UFF would also streamline the UDA's terrorist operations. The UDA was structured like the British Army; the UFF, in contrast, would be comprised of small, hard-to-penetrate cells of four or five individuals. The most reliable members of the Belfast death squads that had committed the previous murders were chosen as UFF commanders. On June 26, 1973, a man claiming to be "Captain Black," of the UFF, called a Belfast newspaper and claimed responsibility for the murder of Catholic politician Paddy Wilson and his companion, the first public use of the UFF name.

The UFF was banned as a terrorist organization in November 1973, while the UDA remained legal (until 1992). Despite the banning, the UFF claimed responsibility for or was implicated in hundreds of deaths over the next 25 years. The UFF has also been involved in the assassinations and attempted assassinations of several prominent Republican activists, including the murder of lawyer Pat Finucane in 1989, and the attempted murders of Bernadette Devlin McAliskey in 1981 and Gerry Adams, leader of Sinn Féin (the IRA's political arm) in 1984. The UFF was also implicated in a 1989 scandal that involved members of Northern Ireland's security forces who had passed on secret police intelligence about Republicans to Loyalist paramilitaries for use in planning assassinations.

In January 1998, the UFF and the UDA declared a cease-fire in compliance with the Good Friday Accords. A series of attacks beginning in 1998 by the groups calling themselves the Red Hand Defenders and Orange Volunteers is believed to have been carried out by former UDA/UFF members. On October 12, 2001, the British government declared that it no longer considered the UDA and the UFF to be honoring the cease-fire, although the group itself has not announced the cease-fire at an end.

*See also* IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; RED HAND DEFENDERS; ULSTER DEFENSE ASSOCIATION; ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE

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## ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE

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The Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) is a Loyalist paramilitary organization that has carried out numerous bombings and assassinations in an attempt to ensure continued rule by the Protestant majority in Northern Ireland.

Since the late 1960s in Northern Ireland, Roman Catholics (also called Republicans or Nationalists) and Protestants (also Loyalists or Unionists) have been battling over control of the region. Catholics wish Northern Ireland to become a part of the Republic of Ireland, and Protestants wish it to remain part of Great Britain. Paramilitary organizations have formed within each group—both employing violence to achieve their ends.

The UVF takes its name from a private army set up in 1912 by Sir Edward Carson. The modern UVF was re-founded in 1966 by Andrew Spence and several friends who feared that the paramilitary Nationalist group Irish Republican Army (IRA) was again becoming active in Northern Ireland. (The IRA is

believed to have had only a few dozen members in the mid-1960s.) Spence and his fellow UVF members vowed to kill IRA men or their sympathizers.

The UVF's first action was the attempted firebombing of a Belfast pub on May 7, 1966; Matilda Gould, a 76-year-old Protestant, was killed. Over the next weeks, the group killed two Roman Catholics, neither of whom was a member of the IRA. Following the murders, the leaders of the UVF were arrested and, in October 1966, Spence and two others were sentenced to 20 years in prison. The UVF remained active, however, embarking on a bombing campaign in 1969.

While Spence and his cohorts were imprisoned, a conflict began to take shape within Northern Ireland. A Catholic civil rights movement had sparked violent confrontations between protesters and police, and in August 1969 British troops had been called in to keep the peace. By early 1970, the IRA had been revitalized and was patrolling Catholic neighborhoods and attacking British troops. Many Protestants now viewed Spence as prophetic, and UVF membership soared.

While other Protestant paramilitary organizations concentrated on killing Catholics in Northern Ireland, the UVF concentrated on the south, the Republic of Ireland, much as the IRA had begun carrying out bombings in England. On May 17, 1974, the UVF planted three car bombs in and around Dublin; these bombs exploded almost simultaneously around 5:30 P.M., a fourth bomb in County Monaghan detonated about an hour later. Thirty-three people were killed, the highest number of casualties in a single day during the 30 years of conflict.

In the mid-1970s, the UVF organized street gangs in Belfast that murdered Catholics. The methods of the most vicious of these gangs, the Shankhill Road Butchers, have been likened to those of Jack the Ripper. By 1979, many gang members, including most of the Butchers, had been arrested and jailed. During the 1980s, the UVF suffered heavily from informants used by the security forces. Dozens of UVF members were arrested and imprisoned, though many convictions based solely on informant information were later overturned.

Spence, whose years in prison caused him to reconsider the use of violence, led the UVF toward peace in the early 1990s. On October 13, 1994, the UVF declared a cease-fire prior to opening peace negotiations with the government; in a statement the UVF leadership expressed sorrow and regret about the 28 years of violence. In 1996, the UVF's continued

commitment to peace negotiations would prompt some of its members to break with the organization, forming the Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF). In April 1998, the Progressive Unionist Party, the UVF's political arm, signed the Good Friday Accords.

Since 1998, the UVF has been involved in murderous feuds with its rival LVF and sections of the Ulster Defense Association. Many unionists are unhappy with the progress of peace in Northern Ireland, and a recent increase in violence by Loyalists has placed the UVF cease-fire in jeopardy.

*See also* IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; LOYALIST VOLUNTEER FORCE; RED HAND DEFENDERS; ULSTER DEFENSE ASSOCIATION; ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTERS

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## UNABOMBER (1942– )

aka Theodore (Ted) Kaczynski

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The Unabomber, named for his initial attacks on universities and airlines, ("un" in his FBI code name was short for university, and "a" referred to airlines), was responsible for placing or mailing 16 package bombs and letter bombs that resulted in three deaths and nearly two dozen injuries in the United States. After one of the longest and most expensive manhunts in the nation's history, the FBI seized Ted Kaczynski, a Harvard-educated mathematician turned recluse, who later pleaded guilty for the attacks.

The Unabomber addressed his first package bomb, crudely made with plumbing pipe and electrical wire from a lamp, to a professor at the University of Illinois. The package was found in a university parking lot on May 25, 1978, and sent back to the return address, at Northwestern University, where the bomb

exploded, injuring one person. Although no link was made to Kaczynski at the time, later reports suggest that professors at both universities had rejected Kaczynski's attempts to publish a treatise he wrote against technology and modernization.

The Unabomber struck three more times in the Chicago area—at Northwestern University, in the cargo compartment of American Airlines Flight 444, and at the home of the president of United Airlines—before expanding his scope to universities throughout the country, including two bombs mailed to the University of California, Berkeley. (Kaczynski had been an assistant math professor at the campus in the late 1960s.) Investigators knew that these bombings were linked because the perpetrator engraved the initials “FC” on parts of the bomb or spray-painted them nearby. Otherwise, the Unabomber never left a trace.

In 1985, the Unabomber's attacks increased and became more dangerous. He bombed a computer room at UC Berkeley that May and sent another bomb to the Boeing Co. in Auburn, Washington, the following month (the Boeing bomb was safely disarmed). In November, a package bomb exploded at a University of Michigan professor's home, injuring two. Finally, on December 11, 1985, the Unabomber's most lethal bomb to date was placed in the parking lot of a computer store in Sacramento, California, killing the owner, Hugh Scrutton. For the first time in his seven-year bombing spree, the Unabomber had claimed a life.

Two years later, a police sketch gave the country the only image of the Unabom suspect—a mustached man in a hooded sweatshirt, wearing aviator glasses. The bombings immediately stopped. For six years, the Unabomber remained inactive.

## OUT OF THE SHADOWS

In June 1993, shortly after the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, the Unabomber reemerged, sending a letter bomb to the home of a University of California geneticist, Dr. Charles Epstein, followed three days later by a bomb to David Gelernter, a computer science professor at Yale. Both men were seriously injured. Breaking his silence, the Unabomber sent a letter to the *New York Times*, claiming that the bombings were the work of an anarchist group. More than 125 investigators from three different federal agencies were immediately committed to the case.

In December 1994, a package bomb killed Thomas J. Mosser at his home in New Jersey. Mosser

was an advertising executive at Young & Rubicam, the parent company of the public relations firm Burson-Marsteller. An FBI Earth First! investigation reported that Kaczynski had attended a meeting of several hundred environmentalists at the University of Montana, Missoula. At that meeting, speakers erroneously suggested that Burson-Marsteller designed the public relations campaign for Exxon following the massive Exxon-Valdez oil spill in Prudhoe Bay. One month later, Mosser was dead.

The Unabomber's final attack came five days after Timothy McVeigh's bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. On April 24, 1995, a package bomb sent to the offices of the California Forestry Association killed Gilbert Murray, a timber lobbyist and the association's president. That same day, in a letter to the *New York Times*, the Unabomber explained that he was targeting scientists and engineers, especially those involved with computers and genetics. He called for the “destruction of the worldwide industrial system.”

Five months later, the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* copublished the Unabomber's 35,000-word manifesto, “Industrial Society and Its Future,” following his promise to stop his attacks. In that document, the Unabomber railed against technology, consumerism, advertising, “oversocialization,” the government, and corporations—all in relation to the individual's loss of freedom. “Industrial-technological society cannot be reformed in such a way as to prevent it from progressively narrowing the sphere of human freedom,” he wrote. The manifesto also presented justifications for his violence, stating, “In order to get our message before the public with some chance of making a lasting impression, we had to kill people.”

Calls poured in to the FBI, but the real break in the investigation came when David Kaczynski recognized the similarities between the Unabomber's manifesto and the writings of his older brother Ted, a brilliant mathematician who had left a tenure-track position at UC Berkeley's math department to live a solitary life in a remote mountain cabin. Although torn, David Kaczynski nevertheless contacted the FBI. By February 1996, investigators began staking out the one-room cabin near Lincoln, Montana, where Ted Kaczynski had lived in self-imposed exile for more than 25 years.

On April 3, 1996, FBI agents, disguised as local mountain men, seized Ted Kaczynski. Inside his cabin,



Confessed Unabomber Ted Kaczynski, serving a life sentence in a high-security federal prison in Colorado, is shown being taken from the Helena, Montana, federal courthouse on April 19, 1996.

Source: © Corbis.

they found a fully constructed, unaddressed package bomb, countless bomb-making materials, the two typewriters that were used to write the Unabomber letters and the manifesto, and 22,000 pages of personal notes—in English, Spanish, and mathematical code—that linked Kaczynski to 18 years of bombings. He was indicted in Sacramento for the murders of Scrutton and Murray and the attacks against Epstein and Gelernter, and in New Jersey for the murder of Mosser.

Kaczynski's trial, which began in November 1997, encountered significant delays and difficulties. The judge twice rejected Kaczynski's motions to fire his lawyers (in favor of a team who would defend the bombings based on a political argument) and later denied Kaczynski's request to represent himself. Kaczynski did not want his defense to be based on the claim of mental illness. The psychiatric evaluation performed by Dr. Sally Johnson was inconclusive—Kaczynski was found mentally competent to stand trial, but probably was also a paranoid schizophrenic.

On January 22, 1998, Kaczynski, in a plea bargain, pleaded guilty to 13 federal bombing offenses and was sentenced to life in prison without possibility of parole. He was placed at the federal Supermax prison in southern Colorado, where he shared one-hour workouts with Ramzi Ahmed Yousef (found guilty of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing) and McVeigh.

**See also** BOMBINGS AND BOMB SCARES; OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING; EARTH FIRST!; ECOTERRORISM

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## UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE. See ASYMMETRICAL WARFARE.

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## UNITED FREEDOM FRONT

aka Ohio Seven, Sam Melville/Jonathan  
Jackson Unit (SMJJU)

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In 1987, the United Freedom Front (UFF), a clandestine, militant anti-imperialist group, faced one of the longest seditious conspiracy trials in U.S. history. While all members were acquitted of the conspiracy charges, most were sent to prison on related charges, including bombing corporate buildings and military installations between 1982 and 1984 and the death of a New Jersey state trooper.

The UFF carried out more than 10 bombings in the New York metropolitan area during the early 1980s. In May 1983, explosions rocked military reserve centers in Nassau County and Queens. These bombings came a few months after the UFF attacked an IBM office in Harrison, New York; the South African embassy office in Elmont, Long Island; and a federal building on Staten Island that housed the FBI and an Army-Navy recruiting office.

By the end of 1983, the group had claimed responsibility for bombing another recruiting office in Long Island, as well as two undetonated bombs housed in attaché cases with “bomb” stenciled on the outside that were found at the Honeywell offices in Long Island City, Queens. The UFF would contact local authorities before the blasts to make sure no one was hurt, then call news organizations to claim the acts and spread various anti-imperialist messages: “U.S. Out of El Salvador,” “Death to Apartheid,” “Viva El Salvador.” The group’s actions were often compared to those of another group from the 1960s, Weatherman.

During 1984, the UFF attacked the New York City corporate offices of Motorola, IBM, GE, and Union Carbide, to protest U.S. military and corporate involvement in Central and Latin America, specifically Nicaragua and El Salvador, and to protest

apartheid in South Africa. UFF’s final act was the September 26, 1984, bombing of the South African consulate on Park Avenue in Manhattan.

Two months later, authorities in Ohio raided the homes of Thomas and Carol Ann Manning, Raymond Luc Levasseur and Patricia Gros, and Jaan Karl Lamaan and Barbara Curzi. Thomas Manning, Levasseur, and Lamaan were arrested on charges related to the death of Philip Lamonaco, a New Jersey state trooper, and a series of bank robberies in New England. Authorities also found copies of UFF communiqués, handwritten descriptions of the GE and IBM buildings bombed by the UFF, and bomb-related devices similar to those found at the Honeywell site.

On March 12, 1985, the Mannings, Levasseur, Gros, Lamaan, Curzi, and a man named Richard Williams—now known as the Ohio 7—were indicted for the UFF bombings. Evidence also linked them to a series of eight bombings in the 1970s in New England, claimed by the Sam Melville/Jonathan Jackson Unit (SMJJU).

The four-and-a-half-month federal trial was held in Brooklyn, New York. All charged, except Gros, who was tried separately, were found guilty on at least two counts. In May 1986, the U.S. attorney’s office in Boston, Massachusetts, indicted the Ohio 7, plus a man named Christopher King (aka Kazi Toure), on charges of seditious conspiracy and racketeering. This indictment encompassed the UFF bombings, as well as a number of bank robberies and the SMJJU bombings, which included the bombing of the Suffolk County courthouse in retaliation for the 1976 Soweto (South Africa) massacre. The trial, which lasted more than 10 months, had more than 200 witnesses and presented over 1,700 pieces of evidence; it was one of the longest sedition trials in U.S. history. By November 1989, all defendants had been acquitted of the sedition charges.

*See also* WEATHERMAN

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## UNITED NATIONS

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As the premier international lawmaking body, the United Nations (U.N.) plays a key role in combating international terrorism. However, even though the U.N.'s General Assembly passed one of the most comprehensive resolutions against terrorism in the wake of the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon just outside Washington, D.C., the international community continues its 30-year struggle to agree on a working definition of terrorism.

The U.N. Charter, which laid out basic principles of international relations, established the U.N. on October 24, 1945. At its founding, the U.N. had 51 member countries; it now has 190 members. Each member has a seat and a vote in the General Assembly. The U.N. has five other permanent bodies, including the 15-member Security Council, which is responsible for peacekeeping and international security and is thus intimately involved in issues of terrorism. (China, France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Russia are permanent members of the Security Council; representatives of 10 other countries are elected by the General Assembly).

International terrorism became an issue for the U.N. during the spate of hijackings in the 1960s. In response to the first hijacking (May 1961), the U.N. held the Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft—its first high-level meeting on terrorism; from this meeting came a resolution empowering an aircraft commander to act to subdue anyone trying to hijack or jeopardize the flight and requiring countries to take custody of the offenders. In 1970, another U.N. convention issued a resolution that required hijackers to be prosecuted or extradited. This piecemeal approach to the problem of terrorism—focusing on terrorist tools, such as hijacking, instead of on terrorism as a whole—would continue for decades to come.

The U.N.'s inability to define international terrorism gave rise to this kind of legislation. In 1972, the year of the attack on the Israeli athletes during the Olympics in Munich, Germany, U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim put terrorism on the General Assembly's agenda, under the heading, "Measures to prevent terrorism and other forms of violence which endanger or take innocent lives or jeopardize fundamental freedoms." Several countries, including Australia,

Canada, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan, also sponsored a proposal in the U.N.'s legal committee to establish guidelines to punish and prevent terrorism. Concurrently, a second group of predominantly African and Middle Eastern countries proposed that the U.N. focus on the causes of terrorism. When the second proposal was adopted, Waldheim's already lengthy agenda title was amended to include "and study of the underlying causes of those forms of terrorism and acts of violence which lie in misery, frustration, grievance and despair and which cause some people to sacrifice human lives, including their own, in an attempt to effect radical changes." U.S. president Richard Nixon's proposal for an international treaty against the spread of terrorism beyond areas of conflict foundered in the midst of that debate.

### ESCALATING TERRORISM

The subsequent rise in international terrorism, including the Entebbe (Uganda) hostage crisis in 1976 and the Iran hostage crisis, 1979–1981, forced the U.N. back to the table again and again, resulting in meetings such as the 1979 Convention Against Hostage Taking, held in New York City. The 1980s saw extensive terrorist activity in war-torn Lebanon, including the bombing of the U.S. embassy and military barracks in Beirut and the kidnapping of American, British, and French nationals by militant Islamic groups. In 1985 alone, four Soviet diplomats were kidnapped in Lebanon, terrorists in Colombia killed 90 during a siege of Palace of Justice in Bogotá, and bombs exploded in Paris department stores. In June 1985, Hezbollah terrorists hijacked TWA Flight 847; four months later, Palestine Liberation Front terrorist hijacked the *Achille Lauro* cruise ship; an EgyptAir flight was hijacked in November. More than 75 countries had experienced terrorist attacks by the end of that year.

In December 1985, the U.N., through its legal committee, passed the most comprehensive resolution on terrorism in its 40-year history; this resolution declared all acts of international terrorism to be criminal. While the landmark resolution reflected the U.N.'s commitment to condemn terrorism, it did not clearly define terrorism; instead it referred to "acts of international terrorism in all its forms which endanger or take innocent lives, jeopardize fundamental freedoms and seriously impair the dignity of human beings."



The vagueness of the phrase left several members expressing reservations similar to those of Cuba, which criticized the resolution's hesitation to condemn "state terrorism," such as Israeli raids on Arab territories, U.S. support of the Contras, or South African incursions into neighboring black African states. (Cuba cast a dissenting vote before agreeing to the resolution; Israel abstained.) Although the U.N. later condemned specific actions, including the U.S. raids on Libya in 1986 and Israel's attacks on civilians in southern Lebanon in the 1990s, no resolution has directly dealt with the overall issue of terrorism.

In 1987, Syria proposed a resolution that would define the difference between international terrorism and the rights of freedom fighters. Critics of this proposal, the fiercest of which was Israel, saw it as an attempt to legitimate acts of terrorism carried out by groups in the Middle East. When Syria lost the support of the Soviet Union and many of the Arab states, a compromise resolution was passed. In May 1995, Syria and several other Arab states reiterated the need to differentiate between terrorism and national liberation when the issue again arose in the General Assembly. Nearly a decade later, the distinction remains unclear.

## SANCTIONS

In the 1990s, the U.N. began to use sanctions as part of its counterterrorism strategy. (The 1990s are sometimes referred to as the "Sanctions Decade.") In 1992, the U.N. imposed sanctions on Libya to force its government to hand over two suspects in the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, which exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988. The sanctions were lifted in 1995, when the suspects were handed over for trial in the Netherlands. Similar (largely symbolic) sanctions were levied against Sudan in 1996 to force the Sudanese government to deliver suspects wanted in an



*An American flag, U.S. military desert camouflage uniform, bible, and combat boots displayed as part of a memorial service honoring the 19 U.S. soldiers who died in the terrorist bombing of Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia on June 25, 1996*

Source: Defense Visual Information Center.

assassination attempt on Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak. The U.N. imposed sanctions on the Taliban government of Afghanistan in an unsuccessful attempt to have Osama bin Laden, wanted for the August 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania, given over for trial.

In 1994, the U.N. General Assembly passed the Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, which reiterated the existing conventions on hijackings, prevention and prosecution of attacks on diplomats, hostage takings, attacks on airports and ships, and guidelines for storing nuclear materials and established a series of reports, to be produced by the secretary-general, to aid international cooperation against terrorism.

The embassy bombings, as well as the 1996 attack on the Khobar Towers in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, prompted further resolutions. In 1997, the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings declared that terrorist bombers would not receive "safe haven" from and would be brought to justice through cooperation of member states. In October 1999, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 1269, which called for all countries to refrain from harboring terrorists and to cooperate in bringing them to justice. At the same time, the Security Council urged the General Assembly to consider two additional resolutions—one,

sponsored by Russia, against nuclear terrorism, another, sponsored by France, that would make financing terrorism a crime.

To aid in the growing counterterrorism effort, in 1999 the U.N. developed the Terrorism Prevention Branch (TPB), which operates under the U.N. Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention and works with the U.N. Center for International Crime Prevention. The TPB researches terrorism and provides information and assistance, while promoting international cooperation with respect to terrorism.

### LONGSTANDING ISSUES

By September 12, 2001, the U.N. had denounced the terrorist attacks in New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C., and within weeks, the Security Council passed a U.S.-sponsored resolution that greatly increased the U.N.'s role in the U.S.-led war on terror. Resolution 1373 called for all members to cease supporting, financing, and providing sanctuary to terrorists and urged increased cooperation and information sharing between nations. Although this sweeping resolution is one of the broadest ever passed by the Security Council (unlike other resolutions, Resolution 1373 does not refer to any specific incident or country), questions linger. The Organization of the Islamic Conference, a nonvoting entity, has called for the current definition of terrorism to exclude the struggle against "foreign occupation, aggression, colonialism and hegemony aimed at liberation and self-determination." Consensus still has not been reached about "state terrorism" against Palestinians.

Many U.N. members have recently been strict in their compliance with Resolution 1373 (125 countries submitted reports on their efforts to combat terrorism to a U.N. committee headed by British ambassador Jeremy Greenstock) and others have pledged to ratify the International Convention for the Suppression of Financing Terrorism (1999). The U.N.'s many agencies, such as the International Atomic Energy Agency, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Maritime Organization, Department for Disarmament Affairs, and the International Criminal Court, also play key roles in the U.N.'s counterterrorism efforts by ensuring international air and sea safety and working toward the elimination of weapons of mass destruction. All the while, the debate over the definition of terrorism continues.

*See also* COUNTERTERRORISM; HIJACKING; HOSTAGE TAKING; TERRORISM, DEFINITION AND HISTORY OF

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## UNITED SELF-DEFENSE FORCES OF COLOMBIA

aka Group of Colombia

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Led by Carlo Castano, the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia; AUC) is a right-wing paramilitary group formed in 1984 to combat guerrilla militias in Colombia. Its use of terror to destroy the guerrillas' support base has made it a feared and powerful force in that country.

Since the mid-1960s, the Colombian government has been fighting several leftist terror groups; the two largest are the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN). The activities of these groups, combined with the cocaine industry (in which the FARC is heavily involved) have made Colombia a very dangerous country. In addition to bombing, extortion, and attacks on military bases and oil pipelines, both the ELN and the FARC have used kidnapping for ransom as a major source of revenue. Initiated in the late 1970s, kidnappings had become endemic in Colombia by the 1980s.

In the early 1980s, confronted by violence that the government seemed unable to master, right-wing businessmen, ranchers, and members of the military began to train and arm vigilante militias to combat guerrilla

forces in their areas. One of the largest such groups was called Muerte a Secuestrados (MAS), which means “death to kidnappers.” MAS was led by Carlo Castano, whose father, a rancher, had been kidnapped by guerrillas and murdered when the Castano family could not meet the full ransom demand. The groups, seen as a way for ordinary people to strike back at the guerrillas, were and continue to be popular with much of the public. Their methods, however, are brutal; for the most part, those killed in the 1980s by the MAS and other vigilantes were not armed guerrillas but unarmed peasants accused of sympathizing with the guerrilla cause. By 1983, Amnesty International accused MAS of more than 800 extrajudicial killings.

In 1984, the Colombian government initiated a short-lived truce with the guerrilla groups; many hard-line elements in the military and business communities completely opposed the truce. Support for the vigilantes increased, and they soon formed a coalition, calling themselves United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia; Castano quickly became the leader.

As the AUC grew larger, it began to move beyond the control of the right-wingers who had originally funded it, becoming more like a private army for Castano. Members attacked villages with roving columns of up to several hundred fighters; the AUC’s forces lived in jungle camps but also maintained a presence in captured towns. As the AUC took over more villages, it gained control of coca-producing areas. The AUC then took on the protection of traffickers and growers—just as the guerrillas had—and like the guerrillas, the AUC charged the drug lords handsomely for the service. That drug money enabled the AUC to equip its fighters with modern weapons and communication equipment, and to pay them a wage much better than that of the average Colombian. Perhaps more important, it also allowed them to pay hefty sums to guerrilla informers, enabling conquered villages to be purged of sympathizers.

## SUPPORT AND COLLUSION

Many in Colombia’s official armed forces are in sympathy with the AUC’s aims. Poor equipment and training, corruption, and tactical disadvantages have long stymied the Army’s efforts to combat the guerrillas; the international community has until very recently been reluctant to provide military aid to Colombia

because of the Army’s human rights record. Many within the Army seem willing to offer the AUC clandestine support, feeling that its brutal tactics are the only effective response to the guerrilla threat. Several major instances suggest intelligence sharing and tactical support between the AUC and the Army have come to light, and significant disparities are apparent in the number of guerrillas and AUC members arrested by the Army.

An example of such apparent collusion is an April 2001 AUC attack on a remote mountain village. The military declined to come to the villagers’ aid, claiming that it had been unaware of the attack until too late and, in any case, could not redirect its overstretched forces. In contrast, a recent FARC attack nearby had brought a response within hours. As many people believe the Army to be in league with the AUC, they are reluctant to report abuses to civil authorities. The government’s attempts at action against the group, however limited, have been largely ineffective. Dozens of villagers were killed by the AUC between April 11 and 13; many of them were tortured, their bodies mutilated and beheaded by chain saws. Most of the inhabitants fled the area. Human rights groups estimate that the AUC killed more than 1,000 unarmed civilians in 2001.

In 1998, President Andreas Pastrana withdrew government forces from southern Colombia, allowing the FARC to control over 40 percent of the country as a precondition to peace negotiations. For the next two years, FARC attacks continued while the negotiations went nowhere, and the Colombian people lost faith in the peace process. Those who had always been opposed to the negotiations, the AUC among them, became convinced that the time was ripe to act. When Pastrana attempted to grant the ELN a similar demilitarized zone in late 2000, AUC forces flooded the area, scoring a series of rapid victories against the ELN. By April, the ELN was scrambling to regain its territory. These victories helped further derail the peace process, by early 2002 it had completely broken down, and the military recommenced operations against the FARC.

On September 10, 2001, the AUC was added to the U.S. State Department’s list of terrorist organizations, where it remains. However, the war on terrorism seems to have changed U.S. policy toward Colombia. In March 2002, the administration of President George W. Bush submitted a request to Congress to increase military aid to Colombia. A

\$1.3 billion aid package had previously been authorized to be used to fight drug trafficking in the region (which would likely affect both the guerrillas and the AUC); the Bush request applies specifically to the guerrillas. With sentiment now seeming to favor military escalation, the AUC's position appears to have grown more secure. Given the Colombian government's difficulty in acting against it, the AUC will probably become more influential in the immediate future, boding ill for human rights in Colombia.

**See also** NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY; REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF COLOMBIA

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## U.S.A. PATRIOT ACT. **See** PATRIOT ACT.

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## U.S. EMBASSY BOMBING, BEIRUT

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The April 18, 1983, suicide bombing attack on the U.S. embassy in Beirut, Lebanon, killed 63 people in a blast so powerful it shook the U.S.S. *Guadalcanal*, anchored five miles away. The attack was followed by the bombing of U.S. Marine and French barracks in October of that year. The double horror of these disasters led to a drop in public support of the U.S. military presence in Lebanon and hastened the withdrawal of U.S. and Western European troops from the country.

The U.S. forces had initially entered war-torn Lebanon in August 1982 as part of a multinational peacekeeping force, which included French, Italian,

and British personnel. The peacekeepers intended to negotiate a cease-fire between Lebanon and Israel, which had invaded the country two months prior. On the afternoon of April 18, a Chevrolet pickup truck, packed with about 2,000 pounds of explosives, sped through the gate of the U.S. Embassy West Beirut and struck the building. The resulting blast killed 46 Lebanese and 17 Americans, including one American journalist and every CIA station chief in the Middle East; 120 others were injured. Hezbollah claimed responsibility for the act.

Six months later, the tragedy was repeated when another suicide bomb attack, this time on the Beirut U.S. Marine Base and French military headquarters, killed 241 U.S. Marines and 58 French paratroopers. This incident was also linked to Hezbollah.

Five months following the second attack, the Lebanese government authority in western Beirut collapsed. In February of 1984, U.S. officials announced the withdrawal of the U.S. troops, followed shortly thereafter by the Italian, British, and French troops.

**See also** HEZBOLLAH; U.S. MARINE BARRACKS BOMBING, BEIRUT

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## U.S. EMBASSY BOMBING, DAR ES SALAAM. **See** EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS.

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## U.S. EMBASSY BOMBING, NAIROBI. **See** EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS.

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## U.S. MARINE BARRACKS BOMBING, BEIRUT

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On October 23, 1983, 241 American and 58 French service personnel were killed and many more



*An American Marine stands guard over the remains of the U.S. embassy in Beirut. A terrorist drove the truck carrying the 2,000-lb bomb into the front of the seven-story building.*

Source: Defense Visual Information Center.

wounded in two suicide bombings that destroyed the U.S. Marine Base and French military headquarters in Beirut, Lebanon. The attack is widely thought to have

hastened the end of American military involvement in Lebanon.

American Marines landed in Beirut during the summer of 1982 as part of a multinational peacekeeping force. They, along with British, French, and Italian military personnel, were sent during U.S.-brokered negotiations between Lebanon, Syria, and Israel. When the multinational troops arrived, both Israeli and Syrian forces occupied Lebanon, fighting on opposite sides of the civil war that pitted Lebanese militia groups against the Lebanese National Movement (LNM) and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

On the Sunday morning of the attack, an explosive-laden vehicle drove into each military headquarters. The two explosions went off seconds apart, completely destroying their targets. For the U.S. military, the death toll was the largest single-day loss since the Vietnam War.

U.S. officials initially said that the bombing was planned by Iranian and Syrian intelligence services, but both countries denied the charges. Shortly thereafter, Hezbollah took responsibility for the massacre. It also claimed responsibility for the April 1983 bombing of the U.S. Embassy in West Beirut.

The 1983 Beirut bombings are said to have brought the American military presence in Lebanon to an end. After the collapse of Lebanese government authority in western Beirut in February 1984, the last U.S. troops left Lebanon, followed



*U.S. Marine sniper sights through the scope of his rifle on the perimeter of the Marine compound near Beirut International Airport. A few days after this photograph was taken, a massive truck bomb destroyed the Marines barracks, killing more than 200 American soldiers.*

Source: Defense Visual Information Center.

shortly by the remaining French, British, and Italian troops.

**See also** BOMBINGS AND BOMB SCARES; HEZBOLLAH;  
PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION; U.S. EMBASSY  
BOMBING, BEIRUT

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## **UNITED STATES v. USAMA BIN LADEN ET AL. INDICTMENT**

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The criminal case against Saudi exile Osama bin Laden began in the United States District Court in lower Manhattan, where federal prosecutors filed the first charges against the alleged terrorist mastermind. A series of superseding indictments obtained by the

United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York, *United States v. Usama bin Laden et al.* became the most complete set of American accusations against bin Laden prior to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C.

The first indictment of bin Laden handed down by a grand jury came in June 1998. It contained only one charge: conspiracy to attack national defense utilities of the United States. This indictment, initially sealed from public view, contained what would become the core of the government's case against bin Laden for several years. The indictment accused him of forming an international terrorist group called Al Qaeda, meaning "The Base," and labeled bin Laden the *emir*, or leader, to whom members swore a loyalty oath called *bayat*.

The indictment described Al Qaeda as an Islamic extremist group formed in Afghanistan around 1989, and later aligned with anti-American governments in Iran, Iraq, and Sudan, where Al Qaeda established its headquarters in the early to mid-1990s. The indictment alleged that Al Qaeda opposed non-Islamic governments including the United States, Israel, and Egypt. In particular, the indictment alleged that bin Laden was angered by U.S. military and economic support of Israel and U.S. troops being stationed in Saudi Arabia, home of the holiest Muslim shrines, in Mecca and Medina.

From the beginning, the bin Laden indictments alleged that in the early 1990s, Al Qaeda sought to attack U.S. military facilities and those troops in Saudi Arabia, sent originally to fight the Gulf War, and U.S. troops in the predominantly Muslim countries of Yemen and Somalia. The charges claimed that bin Laden's men even trained Somali tribes opposed to U.S. intervention and participated in the infamous October 1993 battle in Mogadishu that left 18 U.S. soldiers dead.

As part of the conspiracy, the indictment stated that bin Laden had established militant training camps in Afghanistan and Sudan, attempted to obtain components of nuclear weapons, attempted to produce chemical weapons, and recruited Americans especially to travel and deliver money. Al Qaeda allegedly made fake passports for its operatives and used non-governmental organizations, such as charities, to transmit funds. The group was governed by a "consultation council," *majlis al shura*, that supervised military, finance, and media committees.

Evidence of bin Laden's lethal intent were his pair of *fatwas*, or religious decrees, exhorting violence against Americans. In August 1996, bin Laden issued his declaration of jihad, or "holy war," against the United States, calling on followers to kill American soldiers. In February 1998, he issued another fatwa, along with other extremist groups, such as Egyptian Islamic Jihad, under the banner of the World Islamic Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders, which advocated the killing of Americans, even civilians, anywhere they could be found.

Two months after the sealed indictment against bin Laden, Al Qaeda's East African cell bombed the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The twin truck bombings of August 7, 1998, killed 224 people, including 12 Americans who worked in the Kenya embassy, and wounded more than 4,500 other people. Claims for the bombings sent to select media outlets were signed by the "Islamic Army for the Liberation of the Holy Places."

The ensuing investigation, the largest at that point in FBI history, led to the quick arrest of two suspected Kenya bombers, Mohamed al-'Owhali and Mohamed Odeh. In the fall of 1998, they were indicted, along with a suspected operational leader of the Kenya bombers, Fazul Abudullah Mohammad, a fugitive, and an accused facilitator of the East Africa cell, Wadiah el-Hage, a Lebanese American who lived in Texas after working for years overseas for bin Laden.

*United States v. Usama bin Laden et al.* took on a new shape on November 5, 1998, when U.S. Attorney Mary Jo White announced that bin Laden himself was indicted for the embassy bombings. In the first of what would become 10 superceding indictments over the next two years, bin Laden was now charged with the murder of those 224 people and a broader terrorism conspiracy to kill Americans worldwide and destroy U.S. property. His alleged military chief, Muhammad Atef, was also publicly charged with the same offenses, bringing the total number of men charged to six.

The superceding indictment alleged that Al Qaeda spread its web by allying with jihad groups in other countries or by establishing its own cells. Besides Kenya and Tanzania, the indictment said there were operatives in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sudan, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Azerbaijan, the Philippines, England, and the United States, where the Alkifah Refugee Center in Brooklyn had once been a gathering point for anti-Soviet mujahideen and then conspirators



A U.S. Customs agent surveys the damage inside the customhouse in New York City following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.

Source: U.S. Customs Service, Department of the Treasury.

in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. The imprisonment of those bombers, followers of the blind Egyptian cleric Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, became another stated grievance of Al Qaeda, as the charges developed.

Characterizing bin Laden's goal as to drive American troops from Muslim countries, such as Somalia and Saudi Arabia, by violent means, the indictment detailed how the group pursued its goal by providing military and intelligence training; establishing camps and "guest houses" in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, and Kenya; buying warehouses to store explosives; buying communications gear; and transporting currency. The indictment said Al Qaeda would conceal its activities by establishing front companies, creating false identity and travel documents, lying to authorities, and killing informants—methods that would come to life in testimony during the embassy bombings trial in New York in 2001.

At trial, the indictment included 302 counts—224 of them murder charges for each victim of the twin bombings—and six terrorism conspiracy counts, the top count becoming conspiracy to kill U.S. nationals. The indictment also alleged a conspiracy to use weapons of mass destruction and a conspiracy to destroy U.S. property. *United States v. Usama bin Laden et al.* had ballooned up to 150 pages, containing an encapsulated history of Al Qaeda and every accusation against each of nearly two dozen men accused in the conspiracy. Much of the final indictment was an elaborately detailed chronology of the Kenya and Tanzania attacks. Most of the counts charged multiple defendants, many who were fugitives. Defendant Wadhi el-Hage faced 19 counts of perjury alone for his two appearances before a federal grand jury investigating Al Qaeda.

On May 29, 2001, the trial jury found the only four men in court—el-Hage, Odeh, al-'Owhali, and



K. K. Mohamed—guilty of all 302 counts collectively brought against them.

**See also** MOHAMED AL-'OWHALI; AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; EAST AFRICAN EMBASSY BOMBINGS; MOHAMED ODEH; WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING (1993)

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## UNITED STATES v. ZACARIAS MOUSSAOUI INDICTMENT

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On December 11, 2001, the United States indicted Zacarias Moussaoui, the first and, so far, the only person charged in the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon just outside of Washington, D.C. Moussaoui, a French citizen of Moroccan descent, was charged with conspiring with Osama bin Laden, the Al Qaeda network, and the 19 individuals who hijacked American airplanes in the attacks. The indictment accuses him of receiving the same training, collecting the same funding, and pledging a similar commitment to attack the United States as the 19 hijackers who did so.

The 30-page indictment lists six counts against Moussaoui: to commit acts of terrorism across international boundaries, to destroy aircraft, to commit aircraft piracy, to use weapons of mass destruction, to murder U.S. employees, and to destroy U.S. property. The indictment also says that Moussaoui, like the 19 hijackers who commandeered planes and used them as bombs on September 11, trained at an Al Qaeda camp in Afghanistan and later received flight training in the United States. He studied at the Airman Flight School in Norman, Oklahoma, but ended his classes early. He later took a simulator course in flight training at the Pan Am International Flight Academy in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

The FBI and the Immigration and Naturalization Service initially detained Moussaoui on visa violations on August 15, 2001, after suspicious FBI agents in Minneapolis learned that he had paid more than

\$6,000 in cash for flying lessons at the Pan Am Academy. Because Moussaoui was in custody before September 11, many have asked why the FBI did not learn enough from his case to prevent the disastrous attack. After he was detained, the U.S. Department of Justice did not grant the FBI with the requested search warrant to examine Moussaoui's computer hard drive, saying that there was not enough evidence to suggest Moussaoui was a terrorist threat. In July 2001, FBI officials in Phoenix, Arizona, also expressed concern about possible Al Qaeda contacts studying at U.S. aviation schools. Moussaoui was one of several early warnings of the September 11 attacks that U.S. officials did not catch.

The indictment also charges that Moussaoui, like September 11 hijacker Mohamed Atta, inquired about crop dusting. Both he and Atta purchased flight training equipment from a pilot store in Ohio. It also names a group of individuals as undicted coconspirators: bin Laden and his close adviser Ayman al-Zawahiri, alleged Hamburg Al Qaeda cell member Ramzi Binalshibh, Al Qaeda financier Moustaffa Ahmed al Hawsawi, and the 19 hijackers. Allegedly, al Hawsawi and Binalshibh wired money to Moussaoui for flight training in the United States.

Moussaoui will face the death penalty if he is convicted of the first four counts. French officials have said they will not fully cooperate with the United States in the case against Moussaoui, as he is a French citizen and the death penalty is illegal in France. Although U.S. officials first raised controversy when they indicated that Moussaoui might be tried in a closed-door military tribunal, the administration of U.S. president George W. Bush announced in December 2001 that he could be tried in a normal, open courtroom without jeopardizing national security. Moussaoui, who in April 2002 persuaded the Virginia federal district court to let him represent himself, has pleaded not guilty. His trial will begin in June 2003.

**See also** AL QAEDA; MOHAMAD ATTA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; AYMAN AL-ZAWAHIRI; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS; ZACARIAS MOUSSAOUI

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## U.S.O. CLUB BOMBING

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On April 14, 1988, the U.S.O. Club in Naples, Italy, was rocked by a car bomb that killed five people and injured more than a dozen, including several Americans. Further investigations revealed that the attack was in retaliation for the April 1986 bombings of Tripoli and Benghazi, military sites in Libya.

The U.S.O. Club in Naples was located on a busy, narrow street, just a block from the docks where two American warships were moored. When the car bomb exploded, at about 8 P.M., most American officers were in the entertainment rooms in the basement of club, and escaped injury. Four Italians and one U.S. servicewoman walking in the crowded street were killed instantly. At least 15 others suffered serious injuries from the flying debris and pieces of the car in which the bomb had been hidden.

Initially, Middle Eastern groups with anti-American sentiments were suspected. Responsibility for the attack was claimed by the Brigades of the Holy War, a fundamentalist Muslim group that told a news agency in Rome, "The imperialist American should die today, two years after their barbarous attacks against the Arab-Libyan state." A similar call, also expressing anti-American-imperialist sentiments, was placed to an Italian news agency in Beirut, this time by representatives of the Organization of the Islamic Holy War for the Support of the World's Oppressed.

By the following day, however, Italian officials had linked the rental car and a nearby hotel room to a known international terrorist, Junzo Okudaira. Okudaira was part of the ultra-left-wing Japanese terrorist group known as the Japanese Red Army (JRA), which had been active in the 1970s and which had links to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the German Baader-Meinhof Gang. After nearly a decade of inactivity, the JRA had resurfaced in mid-1980s. Okudaira and the JRA were thought to have allied with fundamentalist Shiite Muslim groups in Lebanon. Now the JRA was also apparently supported by the Libyan government.

As Italian officials ordered a nationwide manhunt for Okudaira, American officials were questioning another JRA member, Yu Kikumura, who had been arrested by a New Jersey state trooper two days prior to the U.S.O. bombing. Kikumura's suspicious behavior at a rest area had drawn the trooper's attention; he had three 18-inch pipe bombs and a map of New York City in the car when he was arrested. The map showed three targets: a Navy recruiting office, Manhattan's Garment District, and the United Nations. Apparently, the bombs were to be placed two days later, set to explode at the same time as the U.S.O. bomb. Experts claimed that such tactics—striking different sites simultaneously—was typical of the JRA.

In 1989, Kikumura was sentenced to 30 years in prison for his role in the bomb plot. A week before the statute of limitations expired, on April 10, 1993, a U.S. grand jury indicted Okudaira for the bombing, though he remained at large. Okudaira had already been sentenced in absentia to a life term in Italy.

*See also* JAPANESE RED ARMY; YU KIKUMURA; MUAMMAR EL-QADDAFI; FUSAKO SHIGENOBU; TRIPOLI AND BENGHAZI BOMBING

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## U.S.S. COLE BOMBING

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On October 12, 2000, two suicide bombers piloted a rubber boat next to the U.S.S. *Cole*, in port in Aden, Yemen, and blew a 40-by-60-foot hole in the side of the 505-foot American naval destroyer. The blast killed 17 U.S. sailors and wounded 39 others on board. Most experts agree that the attack was orchestrated by Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda terror network.

The *Cole* had entered the harbor of Aden to refuel. The crew moored the ship to a buoy and began the refilling process. Within 45 minutes, a small explosive-laden rubber craft positioned itself at the *Cole*'s side. The two men on the boat waved to the men on deck, then detonated the many pounds of explosives.

Within a few hours, U.S. agents were en route to Yemen to begin what would become a very strained and lengthy search for the clues and suspects. On October 29, the *Cole* was eased out of Aden harbor by tugboat; in the deeper water the ship was loaded onto a massive Norwegian heavy transport ship for return to the United States. After an 18-month, \$250 million repair and upgrade project, the U.S.S. *Cole* was deemed seaworthy three days after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States; it returned to home port of Norfolk, Virginia, in April 2002.

### THE SEARCH

The attack on the *Cole* is widely accepted as a terrorist attack; although technically unsolved, most evidence indicated the involvement of the Al Qaeda network. A lesser-known attempt on a U.S. ship had failed in a larger radical

Islamic effort to ring in the new millennium with terror attacks. Around that time, a U.S. warship, the U.S.S. *The Sullivans*, was in Yemen, and some terrorists loaded a dinghy with explosives and sailed out to meet the ship. The dinghy sank from the weight, and the would-be martyrs swam to shore and disappeared.

Through the investigations, a portrait of the *Cole* bombers and their methods has emerged. Two men rented an expensive hilltop apartment in Aden with a sweeping rooftop view of the harbor. Apparently, they spent considerable time observing harbor activities, the comings and goings of large ships. They did not talk much with their neighbors, yet spoke to local fishermen often, asking about how far one could sail in a dinghy and other questions. Shortly before the attack, the two men told neighbors they were going on a long trip and would be back around late December, the end of Ramadan. They have never been seen or heard from again.

Unearthing hard evidence, though, has been next to impossible for investigators; the American investigation team in Yemen has been blocked at nearly every turn. When FBI officials first arrived less than a day after the attack, Yemeni officials expressed suspicion about their investigation protocols. FBI requests to



*Members of the U.S. Navy Ceremonial Guard place the body of a sailor killed during the terrorist bomb attack on the U.S.S. Cole into a hearse. The October 12, 2000, attack, believed to be the work of an Al Qaeda cell, took the lives of 17 American sailors.*

Source: Defense Visual Information Center.

interview high-level Yemeni officers were routinely denied. By summer 2001, the investigation had stalled and a wave of terror threats against the investigators caused new tensions. The FBI was forced to pull its team from Yemen; the case is still unsolved.

After the pullout of FBI agents, a video showing bin Laden praising the *Cole* bombing circulated in the Arab world. Yemeni authorities then arrested nine suspected terrorists for threatening the U.S. investigative teams; they have yet to go to trial. U.S. officials believe that some perpetrators are still at large. In February 2002, Yemeni authorities were pursuing another major suspect when he blew himself up before he could be arrested.

*See also* AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN

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**UVF. See ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE.**

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## VIGOROUS BURMESE STUDENT WARRIORS

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The Vigorous Burmese Student Warriors (VBSW) is a Burmese terrorist organization opposed to the military junta that rules Myanmar (formerly Burma); the group is best known for a 1999 attack on Myanmar's consulate in Bangkok, Thailand.

In August 1988, student protests helped bring about the downfall of the Burmese dictator Ne Win; the following year, however, a coalition of Burmese military forces calling themselves the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC; the name has since been changed to the State Peace and Development Council, or SPDC) took control of the country in a bloody coup, renaming it Myanmar. The SPDC reluctantly allowed elections in 1990. When the elections resulted in a landslide victory for the National League for Democracy (NLD), a student-backed group led by Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi, the junta ignored the results. Suu Kyi was held under house arrest until 2002.

Since 1990, many of the former student radicals have fled Myanmar for neighboring Thailand. From exile, they have continued their political opposition to the regime, but they have done so peacefully as the All Burma Students Democratic Front. In late August 1999, a small group of Burmese student activists frustrated with peaceful protest formed the VBSW; the VBSW released a manifesto that suggests a core of 18 members, including San Naing

(aka Yi Thiha), who had hijacked a Myanmar domestic flight and diverted it to Thailand in 1989. Some observers believe Naing to be the group's leader.

On the morning of October 1, 1999, five VBSW members raided the consulate of Myanmar in Bangkok, Thailand, taking 89 hostages, including 14 Westerners. The group then made a number of sweeping demands that, most observers believe, it knew had little chance of being met: the release of all Burmese political prisoners, the opening of negotiations between the NDL and the SPDC, and the convening of a Parliament based on the results of the 1990 elections. The group later admitted that its true goal had been to focus international attention on Burma. After a few hours, the hostage takers backed down from their initial demands, and the hostages were freed unharmed within two days. VBSW members were allowed to flee by helicopter to the remote jungle along the Thailand-Myanmar border. Following the crisis, some of the hostages and two Thai government officials expressed sympathy for the terrorists, though characterizing their actions as misguided. These comments severely strained Myanmar-Thai relations for the next several months.

After the VBSW members escaped, they linked up with members of God's Army, a small band of ethnic Karen guerrillas led by twin adolescent boys who had been fighting the Myanmar Army since 1997. In late 1999, the Myanmar military began a series of assaults on the groups' camp, pushing them further into Thai territory. Reluctant to become further involved in Myanmar's conflicts and angered over the death of

four of its soldiers in a land-mine incident, the Thai Army began shelling the guerrillas from the rear. The guerrillas responded by seizing a hospital in Ratchaburi, Thailand, on January 24, 2000, taking several hundred hostages. The mixed force of God's Army and VBSW members demanded that their soldiers be allowed to retreat into Thailand and receive medical care there. On January 25, Thai security forces launched a commando raid on the hospital compound, freeing all the hostages and killing all 10 terrorists. Some witnesses, including former hostages, claimed that the terrorists were executed after they had surrendered.

Following the hospital debacle, God's Army and the VBSW retreated further into the jungle. The size of their remaining forces is unknown, but they have staged no further attacks. In late 2000, a VBSW guerrilla alleged that Thai intelligence operatives had captured two VBSW leaders and turned them over to Myanmar, but these accusations have not been substantiated.

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**VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND. See REAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY.**

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# W

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## WACO

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In 1993, federal agents besieged the Branch Davidian Compound at Mount Carmel, 12 miles from Waco, Texas. More than 80 people, including women and children, perished during the lengthy standoff. For the far-right militia movement, Waco became a rallying cry, akin to the Alamo.

David Koresh had become leader of the Branch Davidians, an offshoot of the Seventh Day Adventist Church that believed in Christ's Second Coming after an apocalypse. Koresh declared himself the "father" of all the Davidian children, insisted on Spartan living conditions, armed the compound, and began daily paramilitary training as a defensive measure to prepare for the apocalypse.

The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) believed Koresh had stockpiled illegal weapons, and on February 28, 1993, agents raided Mount Carmel. Four ATF agents and six members of the cult died in the ensuing gun battle, and many others, including Koresh, were wounded. It was the beginning of a 51-day siege.

In the first week of March, 37 people left the compound, 21 of whom were under 18. A 9-year-old girl reportedly wore a note pinned to her jacket in which her mother wrote that once the children were gone, the adults would die. Federal agents continued negotiations for weeks. By mid-April, FBI agents began to clear the ground around the compound. On April 19, federal agents in armed tanks pumped teargas into the compound. The subsequent fire, either set by the Davidians themselves or caused by the teargas, burned the compound to the ground.

Many on the right saw the ensuing investigation as a sinister cover-up by the government. Indeed, Waco seemed to justify the militia movement's growing fears about government abuse of power and to give weight to conspiracy theories claiming that the government was systematically disarming its public to prepare for a U.N.-led invasion, which would result in the New World Order. These speculations sprang, in part, from the 1992 government-initiated siege at Ruby Ridge, Idaho. Federal agents had issued a warrant for illegal possession of firearms for Randy Weaver, a white separatist living in rural Idaho. Federal marshals tried to arrest Weaver for failing to appear in court on the weapons charges. In the ensuing confrontation, Weaver's teen-aged son and William Degan, a federal officer, were killed. Subsequently, an FBI sharpshooter killed Weaver's wife as she stood in the doorway of her home. Much as Ruby Ridge reinforced the militia movement in Idaho, Waco, which was televised, inflamed anti-government sentiments across the country.

On the second anniversary of Waco, the Northeast Texas militia of Texarkana erected a granite headstone as a memorial. It read, "On February 28, 1993, a church and its members known as the Branch Davidians came under attack by the A.T.F. and the F.B.I. For 51 days, the Davidians and their leader, David Koresh, stood proudly." Three hundred miles away, in Oklahoma City, the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building was still smoldering from a 9 A.M. bombing that took 168 lives. The trial of the Oklahoma City bomber, Timothy McVeigh, would later reveal that the first disaster spawned the second.

McVeigh had stopped to observe the siege at Waco while selling survivalist materials on the gun circuit. By 1993, he was already a part of an antigovernment

movement. In the following months, McVeigh watched conspiracy-laden videos about Waco, including *Waco: The Big Lie* and *Day 51*, which reinforced and deepened his antigovernment beliefs.

McVeigh was not the only one who committed violence in the name of Waco. In 1997, authorities received a letter taking responsibility for bombings at an abortion clinic and gay club in Atlanta, Georgia, which mentioned retaliation for the siege at Waco. (Although it was signed “Army of God,” authorities now believe the letter was from Eric Rudolph.) In 1999, prison officials intercepted letters from members of the Aryan Circle, a prison gang, that pledged violence in the name of Waco and Oklahoma City. Many government officials and agencies are more vigilant each April 19.

*See also* APRIL 19; OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING; TIMOTHY McVEIGH; ERIC RUDOLPH

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## WAITE, TERRY (1939– )

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While secretary for Anglican communion affairs for the archbishop of Canterbury, Terry Waite negotiated the release of several British hostages in Tehran, Iran, and Libya before being taken hostage himself during the Lebanon hostage crisis.

The archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Robert Runcie, recruited Waite to be his adviser in 1980. The Anglican Church had no history of intervening in

international political affairs, and Waite's role as a hostage negotiator in the Middle East was not part of the job description. Within a year of Waite's appointment, however, three British missionaries were taken hostage in Tehran. The archbishop appealed to the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini as a fellow religious man, and sent Waite as his envoy to negotiate the release of the hostages. Waite's success transformed him from a relatively unknown religious representative to a British personality. On Christmas 1984, Waite was received by Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi to negotiate for the release of four more British hostages held in Libya. The hostages were freed the following January.

Nearly a year later, on November 4, 1985, Waite made his first trip to Beirut on behalf of American captives, who had written an open letter to the archbishop asking for assistance. In Waite's first meeting with a representative of Hezbollah, Waite brought a Polaroid camera and a copy of the London *Times*, his signature across the front page, and asked that each of the captives be photographed holding the newspaper. The hostages posed for the photographs and interpreted the newspaper with Waite's signature as a sign that they might soon be released. When the intermediary returned with the photos less than an hour later, Waite was whisked off to the first-ever meeting between a Western emissary and representatives of Hezbollah.

On November 26, Waite met with U.S. vice president George Bush to discuss his progress with Hezbollah. The meeting was largely symbolic, as the United States already knew that the price for the American hostages was the release of 17 Muslim prisoners held in Kuwait for two embassy bombings. However, the meeting, and the following interview on the White House lawn, established Waite as the public cover for the Reagan administration's covert arms-for-hostages deal with Iran.

Over the next year, Waite continued his efforts to free the American hostages, even after news of the arms-for-hostages deal leaked into the press. He traveled to Lebanon in January 1987, though he had previously been threatened with death if he returned.

On January 27, Waite went to the apartment of Dr. Mroueh, an intermediary in the hostage negotiations. Waite believed he was being taken to see Terry Anderson and Thomas Sutherland, who were, according to their captors, depressed and ill. Waite was taken, instead, to a 7-by-10-foot tiled cell. He was



held hostage for the next 1,763 days, most of which he spent alone.

In 1990, Waite was moved to an apartment filled with cells that held many of Hezbollah's hostages. That fall, Anderson established contact with Waite by tapping out the numerical equivalent of letters of the alphabet on the wall between their two cells. A week later, Waite was allowed to meet other hostages for 15 minutes. He was subsequently moved into their quarters permanently, marking the end of four years of solitary confinement. His condition improved considerably in their company, especially after fellow hostages lobbied for an inhaler to treat Waite's asthma.

Waite was released on November 18, 1991, along with Thomas Sutherland. The remaining American hostages were freed in December 1991.

*See also* TERRY ANDERSON; HEZBOLLAH; THOMAS SUTHERLAND

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## WALL STREET BOMBING

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On September 16, 1920, at noon when clerks, receptionists, and brokers were heading for lunch, a horse-drawn cart exploded in front of the offices of J. P. Morgan & Co. at the corner of Wall and Broad Streets in downtown New York City. Thirty people were killed instantly, more than 300 were injured,



*Wreckage from the Wall Street bombing of September 16, 1920*

Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-69545.

and several later died from their injuries. The noise was heard throughout lower Manhattan and across the East River in Brooklyn. The smoke-filled streets were covered with a layer of shattered glass, debris from the damaged buildings, and bodies; the chief clerk of J. P. Morgan, William Joyce, who had been seated near the front window, was decapitated. Junius Morgan, son of J. P. Morgan, Jr., was wounded. The Stock Exchange across Broad Street was closed immediately.

The police and soldiers called in from Governors Island helped the injured, guarded the scene, and searched for evidence. But the only evidence found was two charred horse hooves and fragments of sash weights. The investigation ultimately confirmed that a bomb made with TNT—trinitrotoluene—and reinforced with sash weights caused the carnage.

Because nobody claimed responsibility for the bombing, the New York Police Department considered a number of possible motives. The assassination of J. P. Morgan, Jr., was dismissed because he was in Europe. Another possibility was an attempt to rob the adjacent Sub-Treasury building where \$900 million in gold bars was being moved that day. The bombing was ultimately decided to be an act of terrorism performed by “Reds,” anarchists and communism sympathizers, who wanted to shatter the symbols of

American capitalism. A stack of anarchist flyers found in a mailbox a block away from Wall Street supported this theory. Suspicion fell on political radicals, communists, and anarchists of foreign origin—Italians, Russians, and Jews.

Although detectives visited every sash weight manufacturer and dealer in America as well as 500 stables in every town along the Atlantic seacoast, they had no success in finding the suspect or suspects. The Secret Service and the FBI interrogated thousands of people and even arrested many radicals—but no one was charged with the crime.

Edwin P. Fisher, a lawyer, champion tennis player, and frequent inpatient in mental hospitals, was a suspect. He had predicted an explosion on Wall Street in mid-September in correspondence with his friends and in conversations with the strangers. On September 16, however, he was in Canada (his premonition was interpreted by the authorities as the work of a lunatic's mind). Another strong suspect was an Italian, Pietro Angelo, who produced an alibi but was deported to Italy nonetheless. (Angelo was connected to the Gimbel Brothers bomb plot of April 1919.)

On September 17, the New York Stock Exchange opened at its normal hour. September 17, 1920, was the 133rd anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution. A usually small "Constitution Day" celebration near the George Washington statue, across the street from the J. P. Morgan office, turned into a demonstration as thousands of people came out and sang "The Star-Spangled Banner."

The case was dropped in 1940. Morgan has never repaired the pockmarked building façade.

**See also** ANARCHISM; BOMBINGS AND BOMB SCARES; TERRORISM, DEFINITION AND HISTORY OF

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## WAR ON TERRORISM

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The "war on terrorism" is a phrase used to describe changes in American domestic and foreign policy and various military, diplomatic, and legal actions undertaken in an effort to respond to the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C. These new policies have caused sweeping alterations in America's relationship with its allies and enemies and have changed the global political climate.

### ORIGIN AND FOUNDATIONS OF THE WAR ON TERRORISM

On September 11, 2001, 19 hijackers took over four U.S. domestic flights, successfully crashing two of the planes into the World Trade Center towers and one into the Pentagon building. The fourth flight, believed to be intended for another Washington, D.C., target, crashed in rural Pennsylvania after passengers overpowered the hijackers. The September 11 hijackings are unquestionably the most devastating terrorist attacks on the United States to date.

Before these attacks, although the United States maintained a list of terrorist organizations on whom it collected intelligence and had carried out several military operations against terrorist groups and terrorist sponsoring states in the past, in the main it responded to terrorist actions after the fact, and through the court system. For example, the terrorists responsible for the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center were tried and sentenced in a New York Court in 1996, and the persons responsible for the Lockerbie bombing of 1988 were tried in Scotland in 1999. The sheer scale of the September 11 attacks prompted a different response from the U.S. government. On September 12, 2001, following a meeting with his national security team, U.S. president George W. Bush stated that he believed the attacks constituted an act of war. On September 20, 2001, in a speech before a joint session of Congress and several visiting dignitaries, the president elaborated on his earlier remarks and established several principles that would guide the actions of the United States in months to come:

- The defeat of terrorism worldwide would now become the most important goal of the United States.
- States that harbor terrorists would be subject to U.S. military action.
- Military action alone, while important, would not be the sole or even the primary means of fighting terrorism.
- The war on terrorism will be an extremely complex and lengthy battle, which may take many months or years to win, and which will not be over when those responsible for the September 11 attacks are stopped.
- The war on terrorism would bring many changes within the United States as well as outside it, especially in the areas of defense, national security, and intelligence gathering.

Perhaps the most important remark in the September 20 address was: “Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists.” This sentence has come to be referred to by many commentators as the “Bush Doctrine”; its forceful simplicity precipitated political changes around the world, as countries that had supported terrorism in some form or another attempted to avoid reprisals, while countries that desired closer relations to the United States offered various forms of aid.

In his State of the Union address on January 29, 2002, Bush reported on the progress of the war on terrorism and suggested future areas for military action, naming Iraq, Iran, and North Korea an “Axis of Evil” whose production of weapons of mass destruction, that is, chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, must be stopped.

### EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON TERRORISM ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

In addition to the remarks outlined above, in his September 20 address President Bush presented several ultimatums to the Taliban government then ruling Afghanistan, most important, the handover of the Al Qaeda terrorists (led by Osama bin Laden) responsible for the September 11 attacks and several other attacks on U.S. targets. When these demands were not met, in October the United States commenced military operations in Afghanistan. U.S. involvement relied on Northern Alliance forces (a coalition of Afghan rebels

that had been fighting the Taliban) for most of the ground fighting, deploying a small number of U.S. Army Special Forces troops to help direct air strikes and conduct raids. These tactics—the use of proxy forces backed up by air power—proved effective rapidly, and by mid-December most major Afghan cities had fallen to the Northern Alliance, and a civilian government was installed. These victories represented only a partial success for the U. S. war on terrorism, however.

The United States was able to capture several hundred Taliban and Al Qaeda troops, which it remanded to a U.S. military base in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, for interrogation. The status of these prisoners and their treatment caused some controversy, however, with many human rights groups claiming they were political prisoners under the terms of the 1946 Geneva convention, while the United States maintained that they were terrorists who should not be accorded the rights of prisoners of war. Aside from the controversy, another problem remained: The top leadership of Al Qaeda and the Taliban remained elusive; many experts believe that Osama bin Laden may have escaped by crossing the border into Pakistan soon after the military operation began.

This possibility highlights an important problem in conducting the war on terrorism. Pakistan had supported the Taliban before the September 11 attacks; in response to U.S. pressure, Pakistan’s military government commenced a crackdown on radical Islamist and terrorist supporters within its government, and is considered by the United States to be an ally. Yet anti-American sentiment is rampant within the Pakistani population, and many former terrorist supporters retain important positions and political power. It is difficult for the government of Pakistan to act against these elements within its society without risking a civil war; thus, while nominally an ally, the country in many ways remains a terrorist harbor. It is perhaps the most prominent example of the difficulties and ambiguities encountered by various countries around the world in attempting to follow the Bush Doctrine.

The United States has assembled a vast international coalition in its efforts to fight terrorism—more than 100 countries responded to its plea for assistance—but some of the countries within that coalition confront issues that in one way or another prevent it from decisively pursuing terrorist elements within their societies, and aiding the United States in



*Members of the U.S. Army's Tactical Psychological Operations Team 913 prepare to visit the village of Esmail Karaze, outside Kandahar Airport in Afghanistan on April 9, 2002, in support of Operation Enduring Freedom.*

Source: U.S. Department of Defense photograph by USAF Staff Sgt. Jeremy T. Lock.

its aims. For most of the countries in the coalition, contributing to the fight against terrorism does not require military assistance, but rather financial and legal aid. One of the largest aspects of the international campaign has been the effort to choke off terrorist funding by freezing bank accounts and otherwise seizing assets of organizations believed to be used to fund terrorism. However, there have been recent allegations that this campaign has been marred by bureaucratic infighting among various U.S. government agencies that now share many responsibilities in combating the war on terrorism.

Another issue that has strained the international antiterror coalition is the war on terrorism's next military move. Before the events of September 11, the Bush administration had expressed a strong antipathy toward Saddam Hussein and his Iraqi regime. (There have been allegations that Iraqi intelligence may have been connected to one of the September 11 hijackers, as well.) Many experts believe that the next military maneuver in the war on terrorism may be the invasion of Iraq.

While various possible plans for such a military operation have been discussed in the press, there is no Iraqi equivalent of the Northern Alliance to act as a

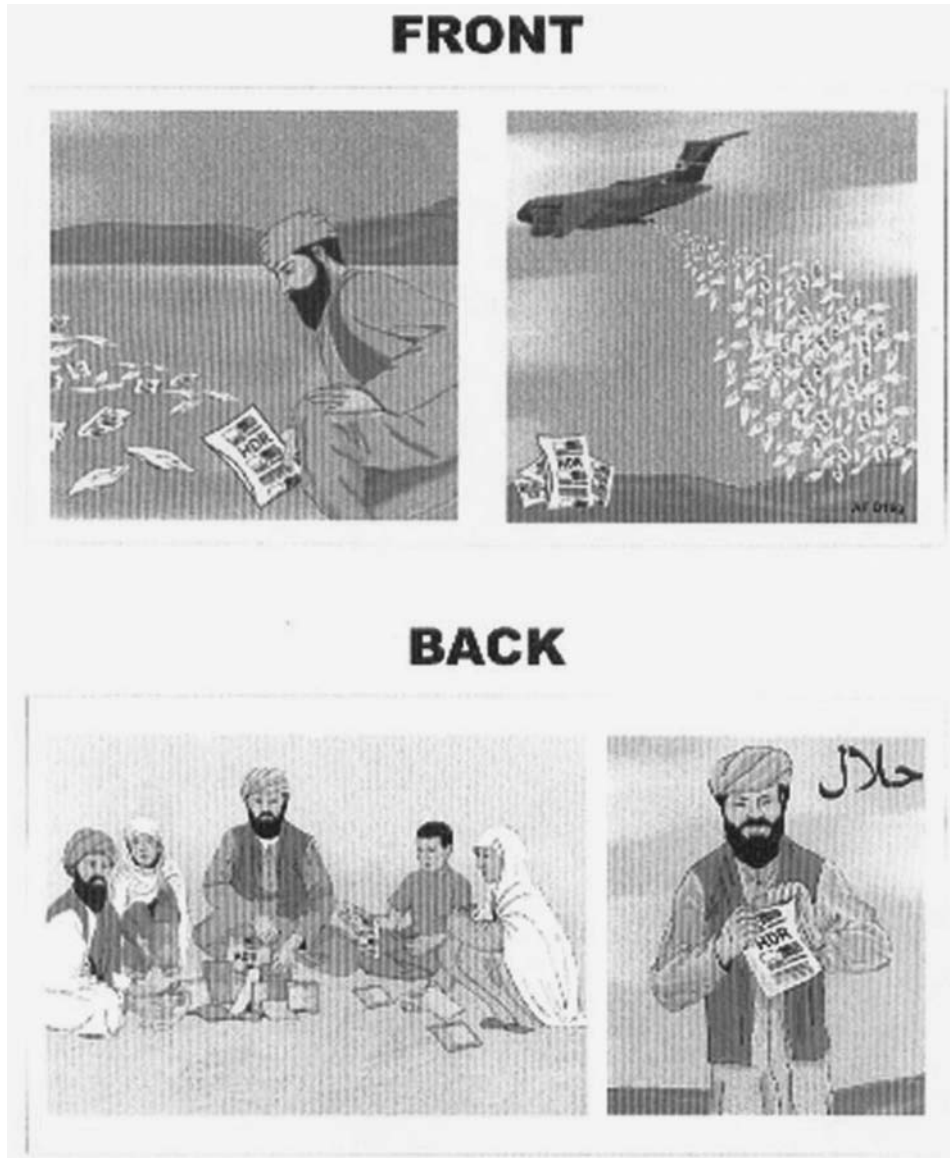
proxy force within Iraq. This means that if the United States were to attack Iraq intending to topple Saddam Hussein, it would have to invade with a large ground force. Such an operation would require the aid of neighboring countries in order to move troops into the region. Many of the countries that border Iraq suffer from the same internal strains as Pakistan, however, and in addition they stipulate that they cannot countenance an Iraqi invasion unless the ongoing conflict between Israel and the Palestinians is resolved in some fashion.

Providing such a resolution is an arduous task. In 2002, Palestinian terrorist groups made the use of suicide bombers against

Israeli civilians their trademark, and Israel responded to the bombings with military force—a response that Israel says is quite in keeping with the Bush Doctrine. Furthermore, they maintain that the Palestinian leadership, headed by Yasir Arafat, has condoned and funded terrorist activities. Given Arafat's popularity and stature within the Palestinian community, however, it seems unlikely that negotiations can commence without his involvement. This places the U.S. government in the awkward position of attempting to convince one of its staunchest allies to negotiate with those whom that ally regards as terrorists.

## **EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON TERRORISM ON U.S. DOMESTIC POLICY**

The most immediate domestic effect of the war on terrorism was an increase in security measures across the country. Moves were made almost immediately to shore up airline security to prevent another such atrocity; 14,000 reservists were called to active duty to help guard not only airports but also many other transportation conduits. In November, a bill was



*Example of leaflet dropped from U.S. aircraft over Afghanistan during Operation Enduring Freedom*

Source: U.S. Department of Defense.

passed federalizing airline security, in hopes of attracting a better-trained and more professional workforce. The new federal budget increased defense spending by \$343 billion, while across the country local police and hospitals began training their personnel in terrorist attack response tactics—training that was tested in October 2001, when a series of letters was sent around the country containing the bioterror agent anthrax.

Another effect of the war on terrorism, whose consequences may only be fully understood in the future,

has been the increase in cooperation between various federal and local government agencies. Because terrorism is both a political and a criminal act, whose effects are both domestic and international, fighting it requires the coordination of resources between bureaucratic fiefdoms whose spheres of authority have in the past been kept strictly separate—the Treasury and the Justice Departments have worked in conjunction on the terrorist funding crackdown, though the process has not been without dispute.

In September 2001, President Bush created the Office of Homeland Security, headed by former Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge, to oversee such coordination efforts. The necessity of such cooperation may eventually lead to the consolidation of certain agencies, contributing to the centralization and concentration of government power. For instance, the FBI, which normally handles federal criminal investigations within the United States and against U.S. citizens, will naturally have to

coordinate its efforts in the fight against terrorism with the CIA, which gathers information on the activities of foreign countries and groups within those countries.

Indeed, almost all U.S. intelligence agencies have been radically affected by the war on terrorism. The fact that the September 11 terrorists were able to plan and execute their attack unbeknownst to the U.S. government has been regarded by many as the worst intelligence failure in post-World War II history, and various officials and experts have suggested that the

war on terrorism will require an entirely new approach to intelligence gathering. During the October anthrax scare, for instance, New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani called on federal agencies to share their information with local and state agencies that may be affected by terrorism. Major restructuring of some government agencies, such as the FBI and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, are under discussion at the time of this writing.

There is also debate about the nature of the tactics that will be used by the CIA, FBI, and other agencies in their quest to stop terrorism. For instance, would physical and psychological torture be used as an interrogation technique, in certain dire circumstances? Should assassinations of known terrorists or terrorist sponsoring leaders be attempted? Should the CIA actively seek contact with known human rights violators and criminals in order to extract information about terrorists?

Such concerns are part of a larger debate within American society about how to balance the newly heightened security concerns with the extensive personal freedoms American citizens enjoy. It is clear that the melding of government bureaucracies will give the government unprecedented power to pursue terrorists. But fears that such power may be abused and may violate the rights of ordinary, law-abiding citizens continue to provoke serious debate, centering on such issues as whether to institute a national I.D. card for people to carry at all times, whether to erect a network of security cameras in public places, and the whether the use of face recognition technology to spot terrorists and other criminals is viable.

The treatment of noncitizens staying in the United States has also been a subject of public discussion. Many experts have called for increased monitoring of noncitizens, provoking a debate about the extent of the rights accorded to them. For instance, the Department of Justice used information provided by universities to interview several thousand foreign students in the aftermath of September 11; should universities themselves be required to monitor and report suspicious activities on the part of such students? Should the Department of Justice be able to detain noncitizens for unspecified lengths of time if it wishes to question them? Several hundred noncitizens whose visas had expired or who were otherwise in violation of the terms of their admittance were rounded up following the September 11 attacks, and many human rights groups have decried their continued imprisonment.

*See also* CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY; COUNTERTERRORISM; FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION; HOMELAND SECURITY, OFFICE OF; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS

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## WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

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Weapons of mass destruction (WMD) refer to all those weapons whose destructive capacity far exceeds those of conventional weaponry. Nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons, whether used by organized military units or by terrorist/paramilitary groups, could inflict large numbers of casualties. The suggestion that terrorists might use WMD to achieve their purposes instills great concern and fear.

There is little doubt that terrorists would use such weapons if they had them. Computer files captured from the Al Qaeda group in Afghanistan in 2001 revealed that it was seeking to obtain chemical and biological weapons. The Aum Shinrikyō cult in Japan prepared and used chemical and biological weapons in attacks on subway systems and other targets in the mid-1980s. Although relatively ineffective, the attacks in Japan demonstrated that a well-funded group could prepare and carry out such attacks. Experts are currently debating the probability that other terrorists could obtain WMD and use them effectively.

### NUCLEAR TERRORISM

Nuclear weapons pose the largest threat because of their immense power of destruction. The technical difficulty and high cost of mounting a nuclear weapons program is a substantial deterrent to a terrorist group unable to obtain, from an existing stockpile, the uranium or plutonium needed to manufacture a nuclear weapon or unable to obtain an intact weapon from a nuclear weapons state such as Russia or the United States. Stockpiles of plutonium and uranium, not to mention nuclear weapons themselves, are heavily protected by the nations in possession, but the very size

of these stockpiles and their worldwide distribution are sources of concern.

A deteriorating Russian economy in the 1990s posed a special threat. Had Russian facilities not been adequately protected, and scientists and security personnel not adequately paid, it would only have been a matter of time before a subversive group succeeded in obtaining uranium or plutonium. The international community led by the United States provided substantial assistance to Russia to strengthen its nuclear materials protective systems. The heightened sensitivity of the world's nuclear establishments following the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., have led to further improvements in materials and weapon security.

A second form of nuclear terrorism involves the use of radioactive materials combined with an explosive package to make radiological weapons or "dirty bombs." This capability is surely within the grasp of a well-organized group, but the effects of such a weapon would be far less extensive than those of a nuclear explosion. While the extent of damage caused by a dirty bomb depends on the amount of radioactive substances dispersed and the time it takes the material to decay into relatively harmless state, such a weapon would probably result in evacuation and cleanup rather than mass casualties.

An attack on a nuclear power reactor is another version of a radiological weapon. Crashing a heavy aircraft or vehicle into a reactor or its spent-fuel storage area would release harmful radioactive material. Nations possessing nuclear reactors are now attempting to enhance their security to reduce the probability of successful attacks on these complex systems.

## CHEMICAL TERRORISM

Chemical weapons are sometimes touted as the "poor man's atomic bomb." They have not been used often since World War II because military units are usually well protected with masks and special clothing. They would be effective against unprotected civilians if employed by organized military units with the ability to disperse them widely. That capability involves the development of chemical agents as well as the necessary dispersal vehicles, such as aircraft bombs, artillery shells, missiles containing small containers of the chemicals called "bomblets," or spray tanks fitted on aircraft. Such delivery capabilities are likely to be

difficult for a terrorist group to obtain. Nerve gases, the most powerful chemical agents, are not easy to manufacture. To produce them in significant quantity requires access to well-trained chemists and sophisticated equipment.

Terrorists do not need to inflict mass casualties to frighten a large population. Aum Shinrikyō dispersed the nerve gas known as sarin in the Tokyo subway system by placing plastic bags of the toxic substance on subway platforms and perforating them. Fortunately, that method was not very effective as a weapon of mass destruction; it resulted in 12 deaths and a few thousand sickened people. Nevertheless, the attacks were successful in that they caused a massive disruption of the subway system and frightened millions of riders. Other possible (and potentially more destructive) forms of chemical terrorism involves attacks on chemical plants located near large population centers, or attacks on rail cars or trucks carrying toxic materials. Such attacks would release large quantities of toxic materials and force evacuation.

## BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

Terrorists considering the use of biological weapons face many of the same difficulties of production and dispersion associated with chemical weapons. The effectiveness of a biological weapon would be similarly linked to its ability to frighten a population rather than kill or sicken large numbers of people. The letter-borne anthrax attacks in the United States in October 2001 demonstrated how a small amount of material was sufficient to paralyze parts of the mail system and shut down important government facilities.

While anthrax cannot be spread by contact with sickened individuals, more deadly viral diseases such as smallpox can spread rapidly. An uncontained outbreak of smallpox has the capability to kill tens of thousands—perhaps millions—if not stopped quickly. While it is difficult for terrorists to obtain and dangerous to handle large quantities of infectious diseases, governments recognize such a threat to vulnerable populations and are increasing the production and stockpiling of vaccines. Agricultural systems are more likely to be vulnerable than human populations to bioterrorist attacks. Infectious diseases such as foot-and-mouth disease can devastate herds of animals and disrupt whole economies. Governments are hastening to take protective measures against this type threat as well.

Governments possess the resources needed to deal with terrorist threats involving WMD. Improved physical security at sensitive facilities, strengthened public health and information systems, a prepared medical community, and a knowledgeable public are all important in the containment of and response to terrorist attacks.

*See also* AGRICULTURAL TERRORISM; AL QAEDA; AUM SHINRIKYŌ; BIOLOGICAL TERRORISM; CHEMICAL TERRORISM; NUCLEAR TERRORISM

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## WEATHERMAN

**aka Weatherman Organization, Weather Underground, Weather Underground Organization (WUO)**

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Weatherman, a militant group of young white Americans that grew out of the anti-Vietnam War movement, engaged in bombing campaigns across the United States for more than five years. Weatherman sought to advance communism through violent revolution, and the group called on America's youth to create a rearguard action against the U.S. government that would bring about its downfall.

Weatherman evolved from the Third World Marxists, a faction within Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the major national organization representing the burgeoning new left in the late 1960s. Led by Bernardine Dohrn, James Mellen, and Mark Rudd, this "action faction" of the (by this point skeletal) SDS advocated street-fighting as a method for weakening U.S. imperialism. At the SDS national convention in June 1969, the Third World Marxists presented a position paper titled "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Tell You Which Way the Wind Blows" in the SDS newspaper, *New Left Notes*. The article, the title of which was taken from a Bob Dylan song, asserted, among other things, that black liberation was key to the movement's anti-imperialist struggle

and emphasized the need for a white revolutionary movement to support liberation movements internationally. This article became the founding statement of Weatherman.

Weatherman launched an offensive that summer. In one action in the Northeast, it tried to recruit members at community colleges and high schools by marching into classrooms, tying up and gagging teachers, and presenting revolutionary speeches. At the Harvard Institute for International Affairs, Weatherman members smashed windows, tore out phones, and beat up professors.

From October 8 to 11, 1969, Weatherman worked to organize thousands of young people in what it called National Action but what newspapers called the "Days of Rage"—a direct assault on the police, or the "pigs." The protests were to begin on the second anniversary of Che Guevara's death and coincide with the trial of the Chicago 8, eight men charged with conspiracy for their actions during the Democratic Convention in Chicago one year earlier. On October 6, 1969, Weatherman members blew up a statue in Chicago's Haymarket Square that commemorated a policeman who died in a riot in 1886. That message of confrontation and violence was echoed in Weatherman's signs and slogans, which read, "Bring the war home" and "The time has come for fighting in the streets." However, Days of Rage proved minimally successful. The demonstrations had a low turnout—as low as 100 by some counts—as well as several incidents of random, pointless rioting. By the end of the weekend, 284 people, including local youths and SDS members, had been arrested; total bail amounted to more than \$1.5 million.

Frustrated with the inefficacy of traditional forms of political protest after Days of Rage and other antiwar demonstrations throughout November, Weatherman called for a national "war council" meeting of the SDS that December. Members of the group discussed the need to instruct themselves in the use of firearms and bombs in order to target and attack sites of power in the United States, as well as the need to kill police. Much of this discussion was fueled by the recent killings of Black Panthers Mark Clark and Fred Hampton by Chicago police. In that meeting, held in Flint, Michigan, Weatherman decided to become a small-scale paramilitary operation that would carry out urban guerrilla warfare and to go underground.



## ORGANIZATION UNDERGROUND

By early 1970, Weatherman had split into several underground cells throughout the country. These cells, usually three to five men and women living together in a house, were connected to the Weatherman leadership, now called the Weather Bureau, by active members who provided above-ground support. The FBI, which began investigating the group in June 1969, estimated Weatherman's total strength, at this time, at 400 members; members were located predominantly in Berkeley, California, Chicago, Detroit, and New York City.

Within months, Weatherman made its way into headlines and the public imagination. On March 6, 1970, three founding members of Weatherman, Diana Oughton, Ted Gold, and Terry Robbins, died in an explosion while making bombs in a Greenwich Village townhouse. Two other members, Kathy Boudin and Cathy Wilkerson, escaped. Investigators found 57 sticks of dynamite, 30 blasting caps, and timing devices in the rubble. The FBI stepped up its investigation. By April, federal indictments for the Days of Rage action came down against 12 Weatherman members, and Weatherman, collectively, was charged with conspiracy.

Also in 1970, Weatherman members began bombing targets across the country, using tactics from the handbook *Firearms and Self-Defense: A Handbook for Radicals, Revolutionaries and Easy Riders* and Carlos Marighella's *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla*. The more significant targets included the New York City Police Department headquarters, the Presidio Army base in San Francisco, a Long Island City courthouse, and several banks in Boston and New York. Most bombings were preceded by a warning, to prevent casualties, and followed by a communiqué, dubbed "Weather Reports." Weatherman used Weather Reports to justify attacks, citing recent police and government actions, such as Kent State or the unlawful incarceration of other revolutionaries, and often commemorating revolutionary efforts throughout the world. By year's end, several Weatherman members had made it to the FBI's "10 most wanted" list, which had been expanded to 16 to accommodate them.

The bombings continued throughout 1971. Weatherman placed two bombs at the Capitol in Washington, D.C., both of which exploded on March 1. In August, the group attacked three offices of the California prison system after the mysterious murder

of the prison revolutionary George Jackson in the San Quentin prison yard. Two weeks later, after 30 inmates were killed at in a revolt at New York's Attica Penitentiary, Weatherman bombed the state commissioner of corrections' office in Albany.

## POSTWAR ATTACKS

The Pentagon bombing, on May 19, 1972, Ho Chi Minh's birthday, marked the end of Weatherman's major actions for almost a year and a half. After the signing of the peace treaty between the United States and Vietnam in January 1973, the group grappled with its postwar identity, and soon it was virtually alone in the struggle for armed resistance, joined only by the Black Liberation Army, an offshoot of the New York Black Panthers, the George Jackson Brigade, and the Symbionese Liberation Army. By spring 1974, the FBI believed Weatherman (which was now called Weather Underground) to be one of the last radical groups of the antiwar movement that still endorsed all forms of violence.

The Weather Underground continued to bomb targets for political reasons, but its efforts, though pointed, were sporadic. In 1974, the group issued "Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism," the first statement of Weather Underground's politics since "You Don't Need a Weatherman . . ." Soon, Prairie Fire Organizing Committees sprang up throughout the country as the above-ground arm of the Weather Underground. Dissension struck in 1976, and the West Coast faction split off to form the Weather Underground Organization (WUO), which was infiltrated by the FBI in 1977.

Starting in 1978, members began to resurface and either turned themselves in to authorities or were tracked down by authorities. In 1994, one of the last Weatherman indicted for the Days of Rage actions was tried in court, ending nearly 25 years of pursuit by the government agencies and two decades of life underground. This seemed to bring to an end the Weatherman era.

*See also* BLACK PANTHER PARTY; KATHERINE BOUDIN; BERNARDINE DOHRN; MAY 19 COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION; SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

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## WHITE PATRIOT PARTY

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The prosecution of members of the White Patriot Party (WPP), a paramilitary white supremacist group, helped bring to light links between white supremacist groups and the U.S. military, most notably the 82nd Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

In 1985, Frazier Glenn Miller, a former Green Beret at Fort Bragg and leader of the Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (CKKKK), signed a consent agreement to settle a civil rights suit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center. Among other things, Miller agreed to disband the CKKKK's paramilitary army and training camps, which he had used to train Klansmen in armed combat. Miller then changed the name of the CKKKK to the White Patriot Party and continued to run training camps in rural North Carolina, in violation of both state law and the 1985 court order.

The WPP, like other Klan offshoots of the time, firmly embraced the tenets of Christian Identity, a fiercely anti-Semitic, racist, and homophobic Christian fundamentalist sect. WPP planned to take over several North Carolina counties, thus creating a southern homeland for white Christians by the early 1990s.

At its height, Miller claimed the WPP had more than 2,500 members, though organizations such as the Klanwatch Project in Montgomery, Alabama, estimated membership at 700 to 800. Many of these members were active-duty Marines from Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, and active-duty soldiers from Fort Bragg. Several of these military personnel assisted at the WPP paramilitary camps, training local civilians, many of them former Klan members, in combat and the use of weapons. The WPP also staged marches in cities throughout North Carolina: WPP members wore combat fatigues and berets, carried large Confederate flags, and displayed Nazi paraphernalia.

While several members of the WPP were convicted for conspiring to assault blacks in Florida in 1985, the most significant cases brought against the group involved the military. In 1986, Klanwatch identified 10 Marines as WPP members and demanded an investigation by the Department of Defense. Three Marines, including former WPP member Richard L. Pounder, were eventually discharged for refusing to dissociate from the group.

On January 8, 1987, Miller, his second-in-command, Stephen S. Miller (no relation to Frazier Glenn Miller), Robert Jackson, Tony Wydra, and two others were indicted on charges of conspiring to obtain weapons stolen from a military installation to equip and sustain the WPP's paramilitary force. Robert Norton Jones, a former Fort Bragg Marine who was serving a four-year sentence for attempting to purchase stolen military weapons, told the court that he was paid \$50,000 to supply the WPP with arms stolen from Fort Bragg and other military institutions. The stolen goods, which Miller supplied to the WPP and other Klan groups in the area, included 13 LAW antitank missiles, rifles, C-S antiriot gas, TNT, C-4 plastic explosives, and 10 Claymore mines. The Army eventually recovered over 20 blocks of the C-4 explosives and nearly 14,000 rounds of ammunition from the Klan.

The WPP case led to a yearlong investigation by the Senate Armed Services Committee Task Force, focusing on upgrading military inventory systems to prevent further weapons theft.

*See also* KU KLUX KLAN; FRAZIER GLENN MILLER; *THE TURNER DIARIES*; WHITE SUPREMACY

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## WHITE SUPREMACY

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White supremacy constitutes a belief system that the white race (sometimes described as "Aryan" or

“Northern European”) is somehow superior to other races. As put into practice by far-right militia and terrorist groups in the United States, the belief system of white supremacy ceases to be simply a bigoted ideology and becomes an action plan to create a religious state on earth based on the destruction of perceived infidels and evil forces.

The roots of white supremacy go as far back as the colonial slave trade. Historically, slavery was considered to be a normal outcome of war; the victor won the right to enslave the vanquished (e.g., as the Spanish enslaved the Moors). However, due to the expanding agrarian economic markets of the Americas, by the 17th century the need for slaves began to outweigh the supply. A conundrum arose for the Catholics and Protestants of Europe: how could a religious people, whose faith is rooted in the exodus of the slaves from Egypt, enslave other people?

The answer was to reclassify those other people (in this case, Africans) as not human, thus clearing the moral way for the massive enslavement of African “savages.” The white supremacist ethic of the slave trade allowed African natives to be “rescued” by God-fearing whites. They were saved from the untamed jungle, dressed in white man’s clothes and religion. The slaves were treated like children, with grown men called “boy,” as long as they accepted their subordinate role.

The link between white supremacy and terrorism begins when African slaves began rejecting their sub-human subordination. White supremacist groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, rose to power during the Reconstruction Era (1870s), in reaction to attempts to empower newly freed slaves. Similarly, 20th-century racist terrorism (e.g., the bombing of black churches in the 1960s) took place during periods of black empowerment.

After African American Jesse Owens defeated Nazi “supermen” in the 1936 Berlin Olympics, presided over by Adolf Hitler himself, white supremacist rhetoric was forced to change from talk of “physical superiority” to “intellectual superiority.” The great gains of African Americans in leadership positions in the 1970s and 1980s refuted this notion, and the language changed again, moving from “intellectual superiority” to “spiritual superiority.” Twenty-first-century white supremacists believe that God is white and his people are the beleaguered white people of earth—a much more difficult theory to disprove. Racists now use conflicting religious arguments to

make the case for white supremacy, including Christian Identity, Odinism, and Creationism.

White supremacism has manifested as a terrorist dogma throughout the decades. According to the FBI, the most common types of hate crimes are property crimes committed against racial minorities. Cross burnings or vandalism can target an entire community, making community members fearful of future attacks. This is why hate crimes are treated as a unique type of transgression; it is just not the immediate victim that is harmed, but a large group of people being terrorized.

The strongest link between white supremacy and terrorism is the desire for a racial civil war, sometimes referred to as “Rahowa” (racial “holy war”). As outlined in William Pierce’s 1978 novel *The Turner Diaries*, a racial civil war is required to rid white America of its enemies (Jews, minorities, homosexuals, etc.). Through acts of terrorism committed by small cells of committed white racists (often referring to themselves as “separatists” rather than “supremacists”), the racist movement will provoke the federal government to crack down on individual liberties. Radicalized white Americans, concerned with the loss of constitutional rights, will then flock to racist organizations to lead them. These groups will wage war on the federal government, which many racists believe is a Zionist agent, bent on destroying ethnic whites.

The desire for racial civil war has led to numerous terrorist acts in the United States. Robert Jay Mathews united a cross section of white supremacists in the early 1980s with his group, the Order. Members of Mathews’s group attacked homosexuals in the Northwest, bombed a synagogue in Boise, Idaho, and robbed two armored trucks, netting more than \$4 million. It is believed by authorities that much of that money was funneled to the radical right, including a portion to Pierce.

Timothy McVeigh, the man condemned to death for the 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, was also a follower of *The Turner Diaries*. He had spent time in the Michigan Militia and had protested the federal government’s siege of David Koresh’s compound in Waco, Texas. Before his execution, McVeigh was clear that the Oklahoma City bombing was part of a plan to create widespread racial unrest in America, as prophesied in Pierce’s book. Recently, criminologist Mark Hamm has established a strong link between McVeigh’s attack and a racist terrorist group, the Aryan Republican Army.

When coupled with religion, the racist desire for civil war becomes an even more powerful motivating force. Skinhead bands such as Rahowa and Final War sing of the glory of a righteous battle with Jews and subhumans to their skinhead audiences. Church of the Creator follower Benjamin Smith went on a four-city shooting spree in 1999, killing four, based on his belief. Also in 1999, Aryan Nations member Buford Furrow opened fire in a Granada Hills, California, Jewish school and then killed a Filipino letter carrier.

**See also** ARYAN NATIONS; ARYAN REPUBLICAN ARMY; KU KLUX KLAN; ROBERT JAY MATHEWS; TIMOTHY McVEIGH; OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING; THE ORDER; SKINHEADS; SIXTEENTH STREET CHURCH BOMBING; *THE TURNER DIARIES*

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**WMD. See WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.**

**WOMEN TERRORISTS. See BERNARDINE DOHRN; LEILA KHALED; ULRIKE MEINHOF; REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF COLOMBIA; FUSAKO SHIGENOBU; SUICIDE TERRORISM.**

**WORLD ISLAMIC FRONT FOR JIHAD AGAINST JEWS AND CRUSADERS. See AL QAEDA.**

**WORLD TAMIL ASSOCIATION. See LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM.**

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## WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING (1993)

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On February 26, 1993, during a typical Friday lunch hour, a truck bomb exploded in a basement-level parking garage under the World Trade Center in New York City, killing six and injuring more than 1,000. At the time, the bombing was considered the worst act of terrorism to have been perpetrated on U.S. soil. However, that bombing was overshadowed in 1995 by the Oklahoma City bombing, and then by the September 11, 2001, attacks.

The first World Trade Center bombing conspiracy began in the months before September 1, 1992, when two of the main conspirators, Ahmad Ajaj and Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, arrived in the United States from Pakistan. The Immigration and Naturalization Service detained Ajaj and confiscated his suitcase, which contained bombing manuals and anti-American propaganda. Yousef, traveling on an Iraqi passport bearing the name Abdel Basit Mahmoud, requested political asylum and was allowed into the country.

While Ajaj waited in jail, Yousef began to implement the bombing plot aimed at toppling the World Trade Center. On October 1, he moved into a rented room in the Little Egypt section of Jersey City, New Jersey, with another conspirator, Mohammad Salameh. Two weeks later, Salameh and another conspirator, Nidal Ayyad, opened a bank account at the National Westminster Bank.

They used money from this account to purchase the chemicals (urea and nitric acid) to make the bomb; these chemicals were stored in a locker rented by Salameh. On January 1, 1993, Salameh also rented a garage apartment in Jersey City, for use as a bomb factory. Over the next several weeks, the group assembled a 1,500-pound bomb. Salameh went on scouting missions to the World Trade Center, and Yousef called an associate in Dallas, Texas, Eyad Ismoil, who arrived in New York just days before the bombing.

On February 23, 1993, Salameh rented a van from a Ryder agency in Jersey City; he reported the van stolen two days later, in order to establish an alibi. The men purchased several tanks of hydrogen gas and loaded them onto the van to magnify the power of the explosion. In the early morning hours of February 26, Mahmud Abouhalima, another conspirator, filled the gas tanks of his car and the rented van. Yousef,

Abouhalima, Salameh, and Ismoil then drove to lower Manhattan.

The van was left on the B-2 level of the parking garage under the Vista Hotel. At 12:18 P.M., the explosives detonated, and within two seconds blasted open a crater six stories deep and 200 feet wide. Abouhalima waited and watched from the classical music section of a nearby record store. Within hours, Salameh went to the Ryder agency to claim his \$400 deposit for the “stolen” van; he was told to return later. Ismoil fled to Jordan. Yousef, the mastermind of the operation, was on an 11 P.M. plane to Karachi, Pakistan.

By the time Yousef left the country, authorities had already received more than 50 phone calls claiming responsibility for the bombing, and a handful of fake bomb threats at targets throughout New York City. With few leads, the initial suspects included the Serbian Liberation Forces, Libya’s Muammar el-Qaddafi, or Iraq’s Saddam Hussein. Hussein seemed the most likely candidate, as the bombing took place on the second anniversary of his defeat by U.S. forces in Kuwait.

Within two days of the bombing, the FBI got its first major break—a charred and mangled piece of the van’s chassis that bore a vehicle identification number (VIN) was discovered in the debris. The VIN led authorities to the Ryder agency in Jersey City. On March 4, when Salameh returned to claim the refund on his deposit, the FBI arrested him. The rental agreement in Salameh’s pocket bore traces of bomb residue as well as the address of the Jersey City apartment. At the apartment, authorities found another roommate, Abdul Rahman Yasin, who led them to the garage apartment bomb factory. Yasin left the country the next day, headed for Iraq. Abouhalima had also fled New York for Saudi Arabia. He was arrested in Egypt on March 10, the same day Ayyad was arrested in New York.

With Yasin in Iraq and Yousef still at large, a federal grand jury in Manhattan handed down an 11-count indictment against Salameh, Abouhalima, Ayyad, and a man named Bilall Alkaiji, who turned himself in to police in late March. Ajaj, Yousef’s traveling companion in 1992, was indicted in May 1993.

The trial began on September 16, 1993. The cases against Salameh and Ayyad were the strongest. Salameh was linked to each stage of the plot through phone, bank, and rental records. Ayyad was considered the spokesman for the plot. Authorities recovered a draft of a communiqué sent to the *New York Times*

from his computer; this document claimed the bombing for the 5th Battalion of the Liberation Army and demanded that the United State cease giving aid to Israel. Abouhalima was placed at the garage apartment on many occasions, and at the gas station the morning of the bombing. Ajaj, who had spent the duration of the plot in jail, was implicated as Yousef’s associate and charged with carrying the bombing manuals from Pakistan. Various defense attorneys repeated the argument that Yousef, the apparent architect of the bombing, had duped the defendants, who were unwitting participants. On March 4, 1994, after four months, 1,000 exhibits, and more than 200 witnesses, Salameh, Ayyad, Abouhalima, and Ajaj were all convicted and each sentenced to 240 years in prison.

After a two-year manhunt, in February 1995, Yousef was captured in Pakistan. He and Ismoil, who was charged in connection to the plot in August 1995, were tried and convicted in fall 1997. Yasin is the only remaining conspirator in the World Trade Center bombing case still at large. He is believed to be living in Iraq.

**See also** AL QAEDA; OMAR ABDEL RAHMAN; ABDUL RAHMAN YASIN; RAMZI AHMED YOUSEF

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## WRATH OF GOD

aka Mivtzah Elohim

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Wrath of God was a covert Israeli assassination campaign carried out to avenge the 1972 kidnapping and murder of 11 Israeli athletes by Palestinian militants at the Munich Olympics.

A secret committee chaired by Israeli prime minister Golda Meir and defense minister Moshe Dayan is said to have authorized the assassination of everyone directly or indirectly involved in the Munich killings. The Wrath of God hit squad, made up of members of the Mossad, Israel's secret foreign intelligence service, spent six years tracking down and killing the suspects.

The hit squad first killed Wael Zwaiter, a Palestine Liberation Organization organizer and cousin of Yasir Arafat, shooting him in the lobby of his Rome apartment building in October 1972. Mahmoud Hamshiri was targeted next. After a Wrath of God member, posing as an Italian journalist, scheduled a telephone interview for December 8, 1972, with Hamshiri, members of the Wrath of God broke into his home and planted a bomb in his telephone. Hamshiri was then called at the time arranged for the interview; when he identified himself, the Wrath of God activated the telephone bomb remotely. He died in the explosion.

Four other suspects, Dr. Basil al-Kubasi, Abad al-Chir, Zaid Muchassi, and Mohammed Boudia,

were all killed during the next few months. Boudia was killed by a car bomb in Paris, while al-Chir died when a bomb placed under the mattress in his Nicosia hotel room exploded. In 1973, the squad missed one of its targets and mistakenly killed an Arab waiter in Norway. The final Wrath of God killing took place in 1979, when the squad assassinated Ali Hassan Salameh with a car bomb placed along a route he frequented.

*See also* COUNTERTERRORISM; MOSSAD; MUNICH OLYMPICS MASSACRE

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## Y2K PLOT

aka Millennium Bomb Plot

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On December 14, 1999, Ahmed Ressay, an Algerian traveling on a fake Canadian passport, was arrested in Port Angeles, Washington, with nearly 200 pounds of explosives in the trunk of his rental car. The ensuing investigation revealed that Ressay, with the help of several others, was planning to blow up a terminal at Los Angeles International Airport (LAX) on New Year's Eve. This plan became known as the Y2K, or millennium, plot.

The plot was formed in 1998 at one of Osama bin Laden's terrorist training camps in Afghanistan. Ressay, together with at least four other militant Islamic Algerians, planned to travel to Canada. Once there, the plot called for them to rob banks to fund a terrorist attack on a significant site within the United States. When Ressay returned to Canada, where he had been living since 1994, he decided the target should be a terminal at LAX. The group hoped to carry out the bombing on New Year's Eve, 1999.

Ressay was the only member of the European-based cell to gain entry to Canada. When he decided to proceed with the plan, he enlisted the help of several associates. Mohktar Haouari, Ressay's associate from Montreal, knew Ressay was planning some sort of mission, gave him false identification documents and \$3,000, and promised more aid. In Vancouver, Ressay relied on Abdelmajid Dahoumane for assistance. Dahoumane housed Ressay when he first returned from Afghanistan, and was in

the rental car with Ressay on the ferry from Victoria, Canada, to Port Angeles. Dahoumane escaped unnoticed.

When Ressay was captured, authorities found the Brooklyn, New York, phone number of Abdelghani Meskini in his pocket. Unbeknownst to authorities, Meskini, traveling under the alias Eduardo Rocha, was actually in Seattle, waiting to connect with Ressay at a Best Western Inn in that city. (Ressay, using the alias Benni Antoine Norris, had booked the hotel room, as well as an escape flight from Washington to London.) On December 17, after hearing of Ressay's arrest, Meskini returned to New York, where his home was already under surveillance by federal authorities. Within days, he called Haouari in Montreal. Meskini was arrested on Christmas Eve 1999; Haouari's arrest followed soon after.

On April 6, 2000, Ressay was found guilty on nine counts. Both Ressay and Meskini, who pleaded guilty, turned government witness to shorten their sentences, and eventually testified against Haouari, who was convicted of supporting the Y2K plot and sentenced, in January 2002, to 24 years in prison. Dahoumane was apprehended by Algerian authorities in March 2001. He faces trial in Algeria for terrorist activities before he can be extradited to the United States. Another man, Samir Ait Mohamed, was later indicted for helping Ressay commit credit card fraud. (Lucy Garofalo, a woman caught at the U.S.-Canada border in Vermont shortly after Ressay's arrest, was initially charged in relation to the Y2K plot. She was ultimately found guilty of other charges, including transporting Algerian aliens across the U.S. border, for which she served a short sentence.)

Since Haouari's trial, Meskini has provided vital information about the activities of the Armed Islamic Group (GIA), an Algerian terrorist organization with active cells in New York, Boston, and Montreal. Ressay has been instrumental in the U.S. investigations against several terrorists related to bin Laden and the September 11, 2001, attacks on New York City's World Trade Center and the Pentagon, just outside Washington, D.C. Neither has yet been sentenced.

*See also* ARMED ISLAMIC GROUP; OSAMA BIN LADEN; AHMED RESSAM

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## YACOUB, IBRAHIM SALIH MOHAMMED, AL-. *See* AL-YACOUB, IBRAHIM SALIH MOHAMMED.

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## YASIN, ABDUL RAHMAN (1960– )

*aka* Abdul Rahman Said Yasin, Aboud Yasin, Abdul Rahman S. Taha, Abdul Rahman S. Taher

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U.S.-born Abdul Rahman Yasin is the only suspect in the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center who has escaped U.S. officials.

Witnesses at the bombing trial of the other defendants said that they saw Yasin meet many times with fellow conspirators. Days before the attack, convicted bomber Mohammad Salameh rented a Ryder van in Jersey City, New Jersey. The conspirators then filled the vehicle with 1,200 pounds of explosives and drove

the van to the World Trade Center, parking it in an underground garage. The bomb exploded at 12:18 P.M. on February 26, 1993, killing six people and injuring about 1,000.

Federal agents found Yasin in Salameh's apartment less than a week after the attack and questioned him. He took authorities to the garage apartment in Jersey City that had been rented by Salameh. Prosecutors in the attack trial often referred to the apartment as a makeshift bomb laboratory. Here the conspirators had mixed the chemicals for the bomb, made telephone calls, and received mail. After Yasin cooperated as an informant, U.S. authorities released him. On March 5, Yasin fled to Jordan. According to press reports, he is now in Baghdad.

In 1994, a New York court convicted four men, all followers of Egyptian Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, of various roles in the bombing. Rahman himself was later charged in a larger conspiracy and is serving a life sentence. In 1995, officials captured Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, the alleged mastermind behind the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center; he was convicted by a New York court in 1997.

*See also* OMAR ABDEL RAHMAN; WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING (1993); RAMZI AHMED YOUSEF

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## YOUNIS, FAWAZ (1959– )

*aka* Fawaz Yunis

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Lebanese hijacker Fawaz Yunis was captured in an elaborate FBI operation and brought to trial in the



United States under antiterrorism laws passed in the 1980s. During his trial, members of the gallery gave Younis the nickname “teddy bear terrorist,” because of his affable demeanor and because no hostages were harmed during the 1985 hijacking of Royal Jordanian Airlines Flight 402.

Younis was born in Baalbek, Lebanon, but his family moved to the Shiite slums of Beirut when he was very young. He was just 15 when the Lebanese civil war began in 1974. In 1979, Younis joined the Shiite militant party, Amal. During the early 1980s, he worked as a used car salesman, but when Amal took control of western Beirut in 1984 Younis became a full-time officer in the Amal militia.

On June 11, 1985, under orders from Amal, Younis and four hijackers, armed with hand grenades and other weapons, took control of Flight 402 from Beirut to Amman, Jordan. The Amal group planned to reroute the flight to Tunisia, where the Arab League was meeting, and demand that all Palestinians be expelled from Lebanon.

The hijacked plane flew to Cyprus, to Tunisia, to Italy, back to Tunisia, and finally to Beirut. Two Americans were among the 10 passengers and crew aboard the flight. On the plane, the heavily armed Younis was videotaped reading a statement calling for all Palestinians to be forced out of Lebanon. After the plane landed in Beirut and all of the passengers were allowed to leave the plane, Younis and the other hijackers blew it up.

The next day, a Palestinian hijacked a Middle East Airlines flight in protest of Amal’s demands. The two Americans on board the first hijacked airplane were also aboard the second hijacked flight.

In September 1987, a Lebanese informant working for the United States lured Younis onto a luxury yacht in international waters off Cyprus by promising him access to a big drug deal. Once aboard, Younis was caught in a trap engineered by the Pentagon, the CIA, the FBI, the Drug Enforcement Administration, and the U.S. State Department. U.S. officials arrested him and brought him to the United States for trial.

Lebanon’s justice minister and leader of the Amal Party, Nabih Berri, denounced the capture, calling it close to piracy and an attack on Lebanon’s honor. In October 1989, an U.S. court sentenced Younis to 30 years in prison. The judge said that Younis was not given a life sentence because he showed sensitivity during the hijacking, ushering those with medical conditions off the plane. During the trial, press

accounts revealed that Jamal Hamadan, the informant that U.S. officials used to lure Younis to the yacht, had been convicted of murder in Lebanon. In exchange for facilitating Younis’s capture, Hamadan, who did not testify at the trial, was brought to the United States and placed in the witness protection program.

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## YOUSEF, RAMZI AHMED (1968– )

aka Abdul Basit Mahmoud Abdul Karim

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Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, the convicted mastermind of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, was part of one of the most ambitious terrorist conspiracies discovered to date, including a thwarted plot to blow up a dozen U.S. airliners over the Pacific Ocean.

While New York City struggled to piece together what happened on February 26, 1993, when a truck bomb exploded in an underground garage in the World Trade Center, Yousef, the man who had orchestrated the plot, was bound for Pakistan. He left behind the small gang of men he had recruited for the bombing—Mohammad Salameh, Mahmud Abouhalima, Nidal Ayyad, and Ahmad Ajaj—who were quickly tried and convicted for their roles in the bombing. As the defense attorneys in the trial would later suggest, these men were less Yousef’s fellow conspirators than his dupes. Yousef, some suggest, had taken an existing small-scale bombing conspiracy and elevated it to a plan to topple the Twin Towers.

Yousef’s activities following the bombing are basically unknown, though he is believed to have stayed in a safe house in Quetta, Pakistan, for some time. By July 1993, authorities believe that militant Islamic forces had approached Yousef to coordinate and carry out an assassination plot against Benazir Bhutto, a candidate for prime minister of Pakistan, before the October 1993 elections.

Yousef used two long-time associates, Abdul Hakim Murad and Abdul Shakur, for this plot. In late July, the three men allegedly went to Bhutto's residence to plant a bomb near her driveway. While setting the bomb, part of the detonator exploded in Yousef's face, injuring one of his eyes. The bomb itself did not explode, but the men abandoned the bomb and rushed Yousef to a hospital. Allegedly, Yousef again failed to assassinate Bhutto when a gun to be used by a sniper was not delivered in time for one of her public addresses.

By spring 1994, Yousef had headed to Thailand, where he coordinated a plot to bomb the Israeli embassy in Bangkok. On March 11, 1994, a stolen van loaded with a bomb drove toward the embassy. Within blocks, however, the van was in an accident and the driver fled. Authorities discovered the bomb, still undetonated, days after the van was impounded.

Three months later, Yousef arranged the bombing of a Shiite shrine in Mashhad, Iran, in which 26 people died. Yousef then left for the Philippines where he trained members of Abu Sayyaf, a militant Islamic group, in the use of explosives. Because of his expertise, they reportedly called him "the chemist." At the time, Osama bin Laden was financing Abu Sayyaf. Through the group, it is believed that bin Laden requested that Yousef assassinate U.S. president Bill Clinton during his trip to the Philippines on November 12, 1994. The attempt was a logistical nightmare and proved too difficult for Yousef. Yousef turned his attention to a plot he had been working on since arriving in Manila, called "Project Bojinka" (Serbo-Croatian for "loud explosion").

## OKLAHOMA CITY CONNECTIONS

Project Bojinka was Yousef's most elaborate and ambitious scheme to date. He planned to blow up 11 U.S. airliners, almost simultaneously, over the Pacific Ocean, using small but strategically placed bombs made of liquid nitroglycerin, which could pass through airport detectors unnoticed and could be assembled in an airplane bathroom using little more than two batteries and a watch.

While planning Project Bojinka, Yousef also hatched a plan to assassinate Pope John Paul II. During this time, he may also have taken part in yet another ambitious conspiracy. Sources, most notably Timothy McVeigh's trial lawyer, Stephen Jones, believe Yousef

consulted with Terry Lynn Nichols, one of the men convicted in the Oklahoma City bombing. In November 1994, Nichols flew to the Philippines for an extended stay. A former member of Abu Sayyaf turned informant claimed that a man called "the farmer," who may or may not have been Nichols, met with Yousef and two of his Project Bojinka associates, Murad and Wali Khan Amid Shah, to discuss bomb making and other terrorist activities.

On December 8, 1994, Yousef rented a street-facing room along the route the pope would travel on his visit to Manila. Three days later, Yousef boarded Philippines Airlines Flight 434 in Manila; once on board, he assembled a bomb in the bathroom and placed it under his seat. Yousef disembarked in Cebu; the plane continued on to Tokyo. At approximately 11:45 A.M., the bomb exploded, killing one Japanese passenger and injuring several others. Abu Sayyaf claimed responsibility for the bombing, while Yousef continued to fine-tune his plot to assassinate the pope.

On January 6, 1995, while mixing chemicals intended for bombs, Yousef and Murad started a small fire in their room; when police arrived, both men had already fled, leaving bomb-making materials and, more important, Yousef's laptop. The laptop provided authorities with information related to the planned assassination of the pope, and a file named "Bojinka," which detailed how five men were to plant bombs on 11 American planes in the Far East. The date for bombing the first plane was January 21, 1995, just weeks away.

After fleeing, Yousef returned to Pakistan, where he tried to enlist the help of a man who later alerted authorities to his presence in Islamabad. On February 7, 1995, Pakistani authorities captured Yousef in his hotel room.

Yousef was flown back to United States quickly after his arrest to await trial for the 1993 World Trade Center bombing and the Bojinka plot. On September 5, 1996, Yousef, Murad, and Shah were all convicted for the bombing and assassination conspiracy. Yousef was also found guilty of the bombing of Flight 434 and the death of Haruki Ikegami, the passenger who died in the bombing. In November 1997, he was also found guilty of the World Trade Center bombing.

At his sentencing, in January 1998, Yousef stated, "Yes, I am a terrorist," before he was sentenced to

240 years in prison, plus a life sentence, to be served in near-solitary confinement at the Supermax high-security prison in Florence, Colorado. Some of the biggest questions about Yousef, including his true identity, however, remain unanswered; some evidence exists that Yousef may be an Iraqi agent and that Saddam Hussein supported the 1993 bombing.

**See also** ABU SAYYAF GROUP; AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; SADDAM HUSSEIN; WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING (1993)

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# Z

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**ZAWAHIRI, AYMAN AL-. See  
AL-ZAWAHIRI, AYMAN.**

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**ZUBAYDAH, ABU (1971– )**

**aka Zayn al-Abidin Mohamed Husayn**

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In March 2002, Abu Zubaydah, a top-level member of Al Qaeda, was captured in eastern Pakistan. Since being taken into custody, Zubaydah has undergone intense interrogations by U.S. officials and has revealed information about possible terrorist attacks in the future.

Zubaydah, a Saudi-born Palestinian, is believed to have been the chief of operations for Osama bin Laden's terrorist network. According to the testimony of Ahmed Ressay, the Algerian terrorist convicted in the bin Laden-supported Y2K bombing plot, Zubaydah vetted recruits for the various terrorist training camps in Afghanistan; Zubaydah worked out of the "House of Martyrs," an Al Qaeda compound in Peshawar, Pakistan. Zubaydah also briefed newly trained terrorists and coordinated travel and other activities for the vast international network of terrorist cells.

Zubaydah's relationship with bin Laden can be traced to the mid-1990s, when Al Jihad, Ayman al-Zawahiri's Egypt-based terrorist group, merged with Al Qaeda. Zubaydah, then a member of Al Jihad, rose quickly to become a top Al Qaeda lieutenant. By age 25, he was running bin Laden's camps.

Zubaydah is linked to numerous recent terrorist plots, including Ressay's Y2K plot and another millennium plot in Jordan (for which he was sentenced to death, in absentia, in Jordan). He allegedly recruited individuals to carry out bombing plots against U.S. embassies in Paris and Sarajevo. Authorities suspect Zubaydah was a "field commander" for the attack on the U.S.S. *Cole* in Yemen in October 2000. He is also believed to have briefed Richard Reid, the alleged "shoe bomber." Zubaydah is assumed to have had a significant role in coordinating the September 11, 2001, attacks on New York City's World Trade Center and the Pentagon, just outside Washington, D.C. Reports suggest that he hand-picked at least three of the hijackers.

Zubaydah apparently took over as chief of military operations for Al Qaeda after Muhammad Atef was killed in a November 2001 bombing raid in Afghanistan. With Atef dead, and bin Laden and al-Zawahiri in hiding, the responsibility for reviving the terrorist network, including activating "sleeping cells" in various countries, fell to Zubaydah.

On March 28, 2002, U.S. and Pakistani forces raided a safe house in Faisalabad, Pakistan, capturing two dozen Arabs. Zubaydah was shot in stomach, groin, and thigh. During his recovery, he was interrogated. Officials suspect that Zubaydah knows the identities and locations of sleeper cells throughout the world and may also have information regarding the whereabouts of bin Laden and other top Al Qaeda figures. Much of the information gathered in the weeks following his capture was related to possible attacks on shopping malls and a dozen banks in the northeastern United States and to the allegation

that Al Qaeda has the resources to create a “dirty bomb.”

Official opinions vary about the veracity of Zubaydah’s statements, although some have proved to be accurate. Such was the case when Zubaydah told the CIA of the role of Omar al-Faruq, one of bin Laden’s top representatives in Southeast Asia. Al-Faruq was responsible for coordinating the activities of the region’s various Islamic militant groups and using them to attack the United States and her allies in the region. On June 5, 2002, al-Faruq was captured in Indonesia. After three months of interrogation, he revealed that plans had been underway to bomb U.S. embassies in Southeast Asia on or around September 11, 2002.

**See also** AL QAEDA; OSAMA BIN LADEN; RICHARD REID; AHMED RESSAM; SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS; Y2K PLOT

### Further Reading

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# Appendix A: Maps

## Locations of Terrorist Activity

Map 1: Africa

Map 2: Asia

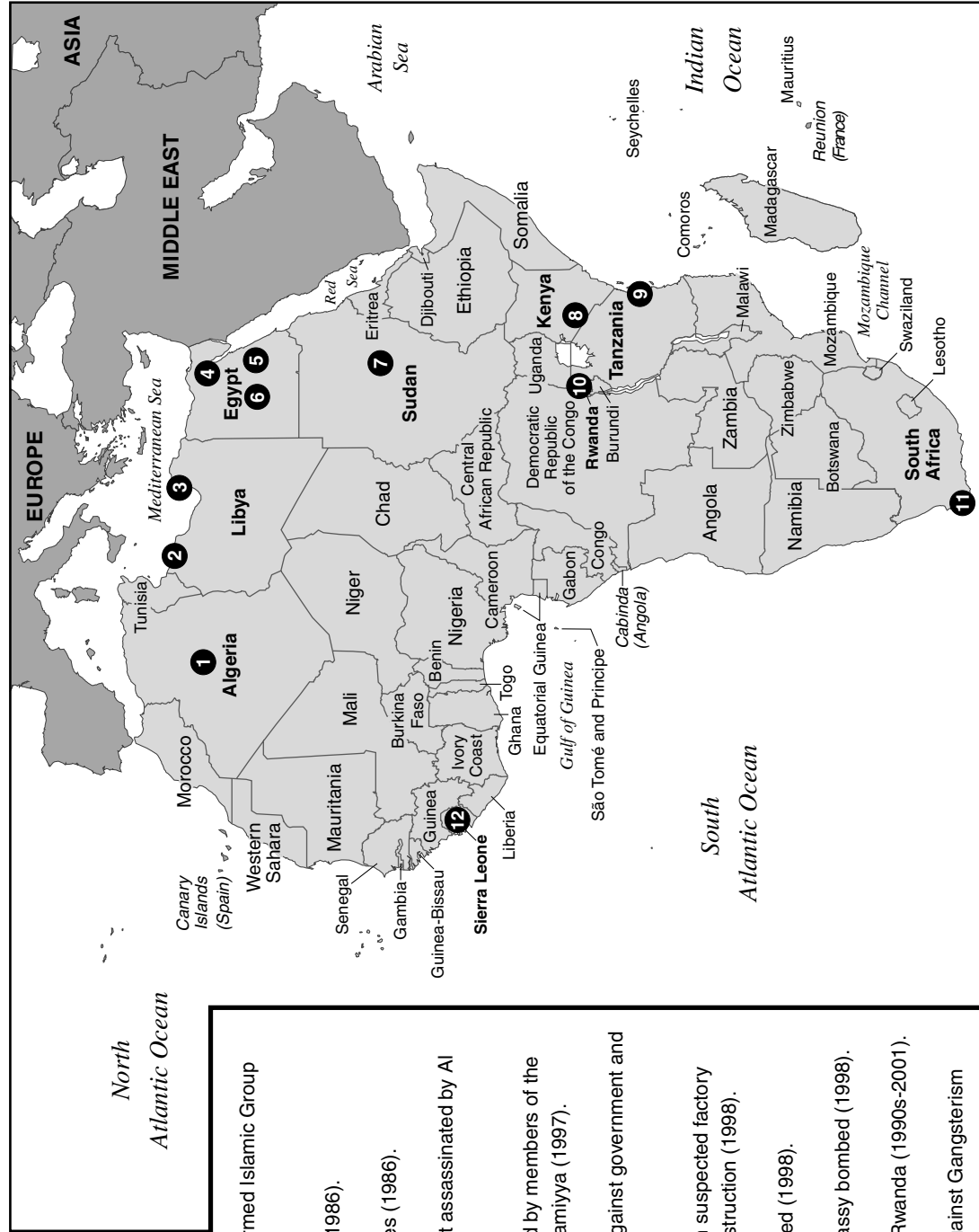
Map 3: Europe

Map 4: Middle East

Map 5: North America

Map 6: South America

## MAP 1: AFRICA



1. Algeria: Armed Islamic Force and Armed Islamic Group (1992-present).

2. Tripoli, Libya: U.S. bombing strikes (1986).

3. Benghazi, Libya: U.S. bombing strikes (1986).

4. Cairo, Egypt: President Anwar Sadat assassinated by Al Jihad members (1981).

5. Luxor, Egypt: Sixty-two tourists killed by members of the Egyptian militant group Gama'a al-Islamiyya (1997).

6. Egypt: Gama'a al-Islamiyya active against government and Western visitors (1990s).

7. Khartoum, Sudan: U.S. air strikes on suspected factory manufacturing weapons of mass destruction (1998).

8. Nairobi, Kenya: U.S. embassy bombed (1998).

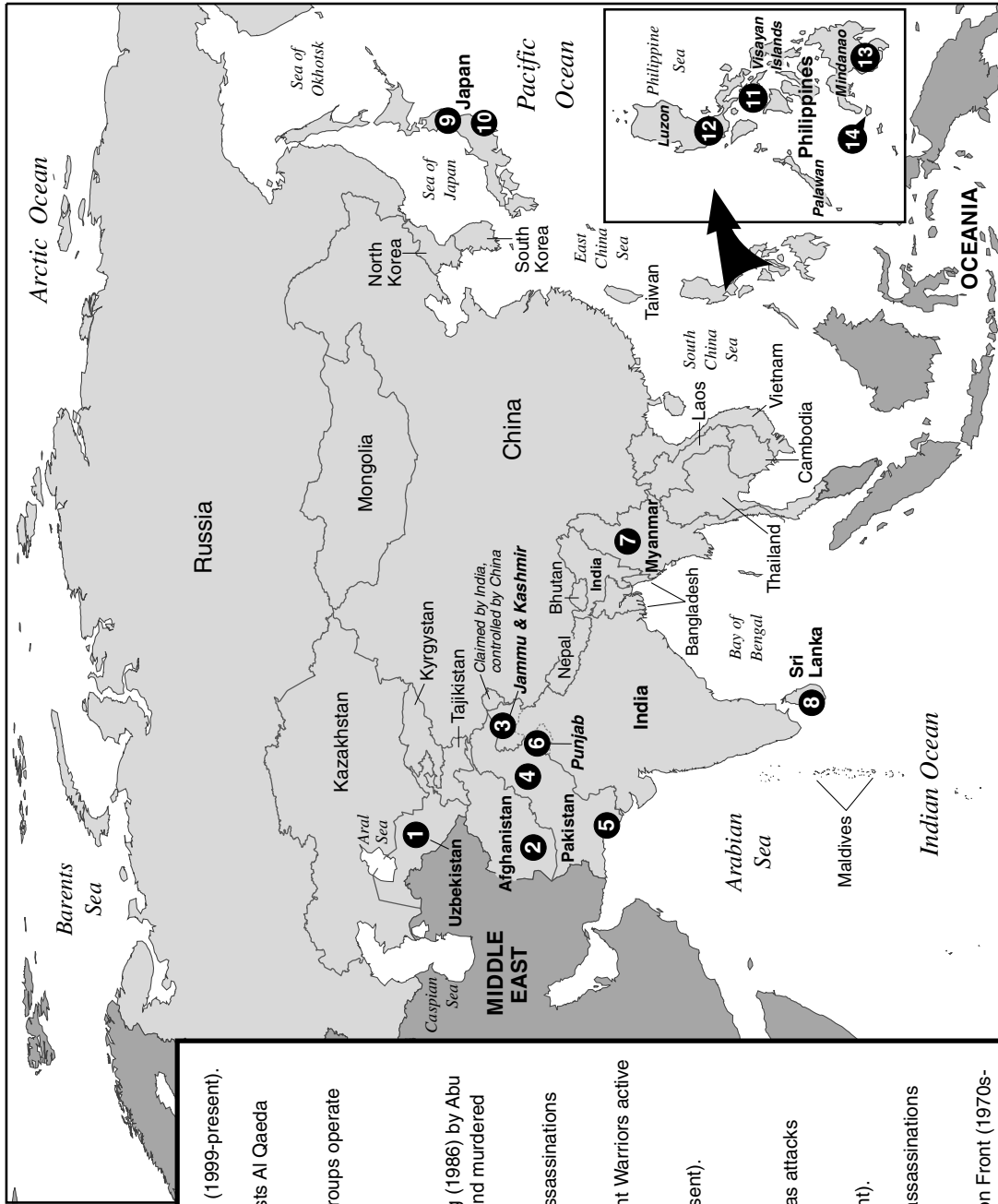
9. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: U.S. embassy bombed (1998).

10. Rwanda: Army for the Liberation of Rwanda (1990s-2001).

11. Cape Town, South Africa: People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (1990s).

12. Sierra Leone: Revolutionary United Front (1990-present).

## MAP 2: ASIA



Uzbekistan: Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (1999-present).

Afghanistan: Taliban controls country and hosts Al Qaeda training camps (1996-2001).

Jammu and Kashmir, India: Militant Islamic groups operate against India (1990s-present).

Pakistan: Jamaat ul-Fuqra (1970s-present).

Karachi, Pakistan: Pan Am Flight 73 hijacking (1986) by Abu Nidal Organization; Daniel Pearl kidnapped and murdered (2002).

Punjab, India: Militant Sikh groups conduct assassinations and bombings (1980s).

Myanmar (Burma): Vigorous Burmese Student Warriors active against government (1990s).

Colombo, Sri Lanka: Tamil Tigers (1970s-present).

Japan: Japanese Red Army (1960s-1980s).

Tokyo, Japan: Aum Shinrikyō subway sarin gas attacks (1995).

Philippines: New People's Army (1968-present).

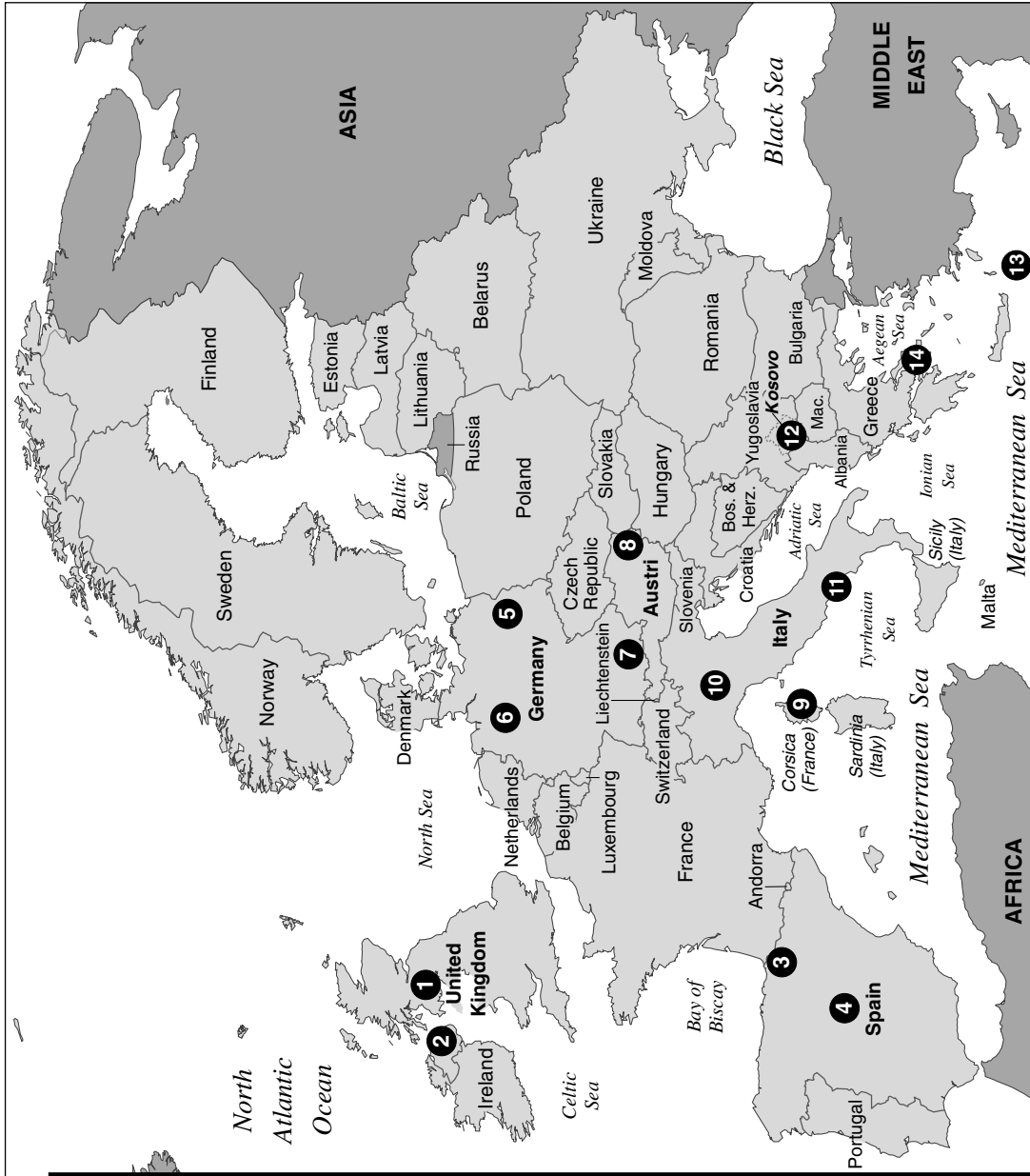
Manila, Philippines: Alex Boncayao Brigade assassinations (1980s-1990s).

Southern Philippines: Moro National Liberation Front (1970s-1990s) active.

Southern Philippines: Islamic separatist Abu Sayyaf Group, based on Basilan Island (early 1990s-present).

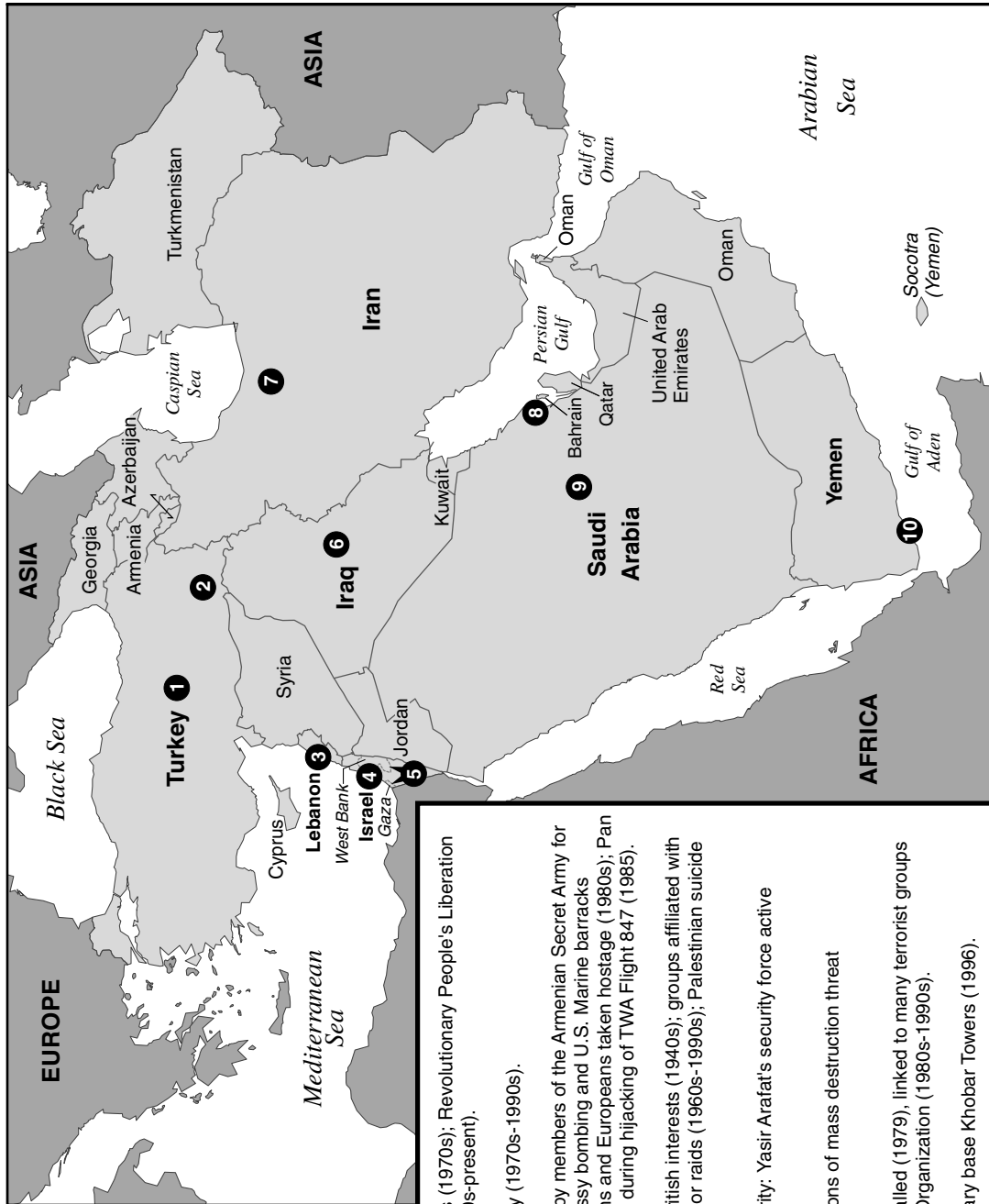


### MAP 3: EUROPE



1. Lockerbie, Scotland: Pan Am Flight 103 bombing (1988).
2. Northern Ireland, United Kingdom: Irish Republican Army and other nationalist groups wage a campaign for a united Ireland (1960s-1990s) against British interests. Militant protestant groups counter with campaigns against Catholic targets.
3. Basque region of Spain: Home of Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA) (1959-present).
4. Spain: First of October Antifascist Resistance Group active (1975-1990s).
5. Berlin, Germany: La Belle Discotheque bombing (1986).
6. Former West Germany: Baader-Meinhof Gang (1970s) and German Red Army Faction active (1970s-1980s).
7. Munich, Germany: Black September attack on Israeli Olympic team (1972).
8. Vienna, Austria: Carlos "The Jackal" (Ilich Ramirez Sánchez) kidnaps OPEC members (1975).
9. Corsica, France: National Liberation Front of Corsica (1976-present).
10. Italy: Bombing campaign by neo-fascist Ordine Nuovo and offshoots (1969-1980); leftist Red Brigades terrorism (1970s).
11. Naples, Italy: USO Club bombing (1988) linked to Japanese Red Army.
12. Kosovo, Yugoslavia: Kosovo Liberation Front (1996-1999).
13. Mediterranean Sea: *Achille Lauro* hijacking (1985).
14. Greece: Revolutionary Organization 17 November

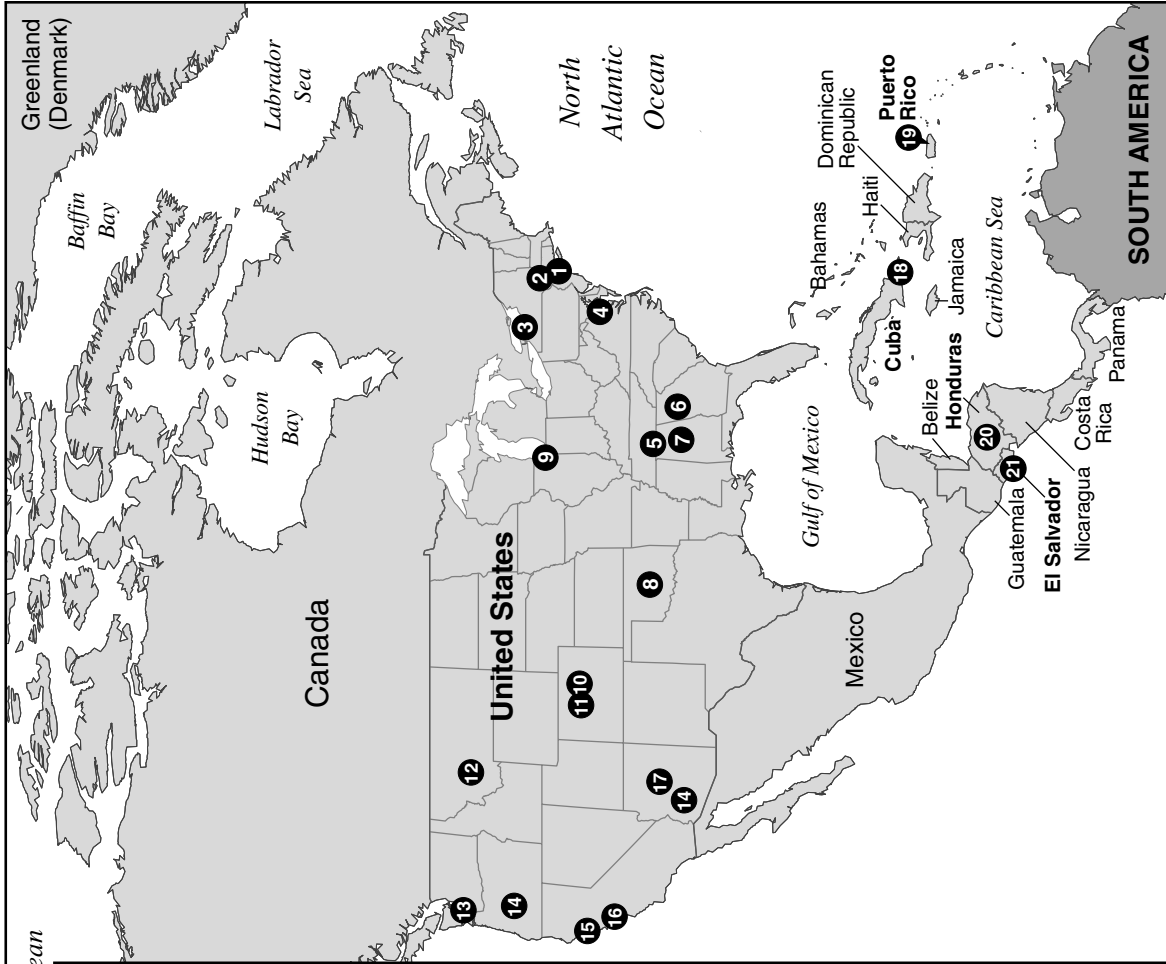
## MAP 4: MIDDLE EAST



1. Turkey: Neo-fascist Grey Wolves battle leftists (1970s); Revolutionary People's Liberation Front (1970s-1990s); Turkish Hezbollah (1980s-present).
2. Southeastern Turkey: Kurdistan Workers Party (1970s-1990s).
3. Beirut, Lebanon: Attacks on Turkish interests by members of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (1970s); U.S. embassy bombing and U.S. Marine barracks bombing linked to Hezbollah (1983); Americans and Europeans taken hostage (1980s); Pan Am pilot Robert Dean Stethem shot and killed during hijacking of TWA Flight 847 (1985).
4. Israel: Irgun and Stern Gang active against British interests (1940s); groups affiliated with Palestine Liberation Organization conduct terror raids (1960s-1990s); Palestinian suicide bombings (1999-present).
5. Gaza Strip and West Bank, Palestinian Authority: Yasir Arafat's security force active (1994-present).
6. Baghdad, Iraq: Saddam Hussein poses weapons of mass destruction threat (1979-present).
7. Iran: Fundamentalist Islamic government installed (1979), linked to many terrorist groups and opposed by terrorist Mujahedin-e-Khalq Organization (1980s-1990s).
8. Dhahran, Saudi Arabia: Bombing of U.S. military base Khobar Towers (1996).
9. Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: Bombing of Saudi military installation kills American trainers (1995).
10. Aden, Yemen: Attack on U.S.S. *Cole* (2000). Aden-Abyan Islamic Army implicated.

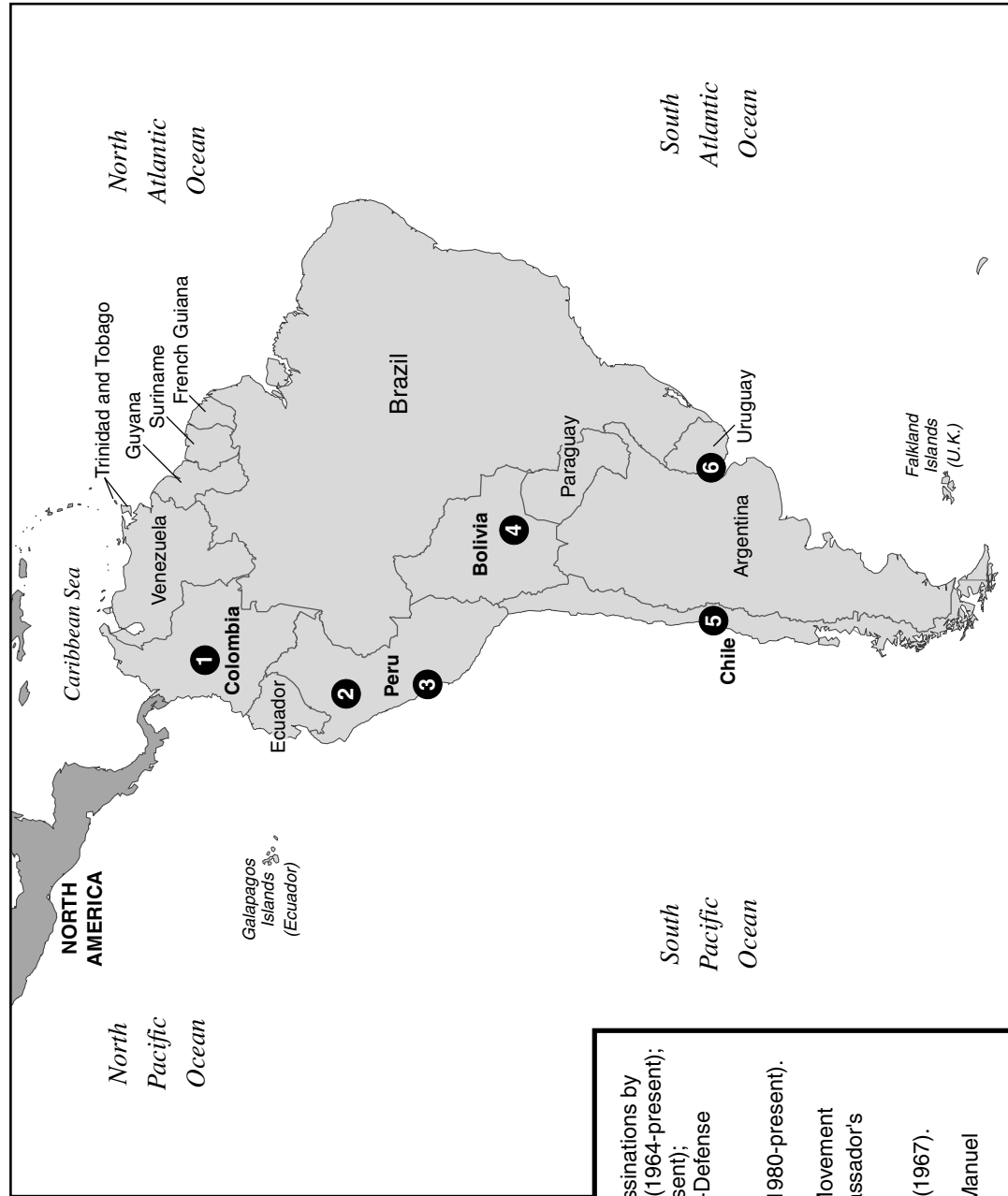
## MAP 5: NORTH AMERICA

Arctic Ocean



1. New York City: Wall Street bombing (1920); Fraunces Tavern bombing by Puerto Rican nationalists (1975); La Guardia Airport bombing (1975); Grand Central Station bombing coincides with hijacking by Fighters for Free Croatia (1976); Statue of Liberty bombing by Croatian nationalists (1980); World Trade Center attacked (1993, 2001); Empire State Building fatal shooting (1997).
2. Metropolitan New York City: United Freedom Front bomb "anti-imperialist" targets (1982-1984).
3. Nanuet, New York: Armored car robbery by May 19 Communist Organization and Black Liberation Army (1981).
4. Washington, D.C.: Pentagon attacked (2001). Mir Aimal Kasi kills two outside CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia (1993); Pentagon bombed by Weatherman (1972).
5. Pulaski, Tennessee: Ku Klux Klan founded (1866).
6. Atlanta, Georgia: Centennial Olympic Park, abortion clinic, and other bombings (1996-1998).
7. Birmingham, Alabama: Bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church linked to the Ku Klux Klan (1963).
8. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building bombed (1995).
9. Chicago, Illinois: El Rukns street gang contacts Libyan government offering to commit terrorism (1985).
10. Denver, Colorado: Murder of talk radio host Alan Berg by the Order (1984).
11. Vail, Colorado: Earth Liberation Front arson (1998).
12. Lincoln, Montana: Theodore Kaczynski, aka the Unabomber, captured (1996).
13. Port Angeles, Washington: Y2K bomb plot foiled (1999).
14. Pacific Northwest and Southwest: Earth First! active against loggers and developers (1980-1990s).
15. Ukiah, California: Armored car robbery by members of the Order (1984).
16. San Francisco Bay Area, California: Black Panthers active (1966-1970s); Symbionese Liberation Army assassinates Marcus Foster (1973) and kidnaps Patricia Hearst (1974).
17. Arizona: Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy (1980s).
18. Cuba: Antigovernment acts by Omega 7 (1970s-1980s). Guantanamo Bay, Cuba: United States detains suspects from war in Afghanistan (2002).
19. Puerto Rico: FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation) and other Puerto Rican separatist groups active (1950s-1980s).
20. Honduras: Morazanist Patriotic Front (early 1990s).
21. ~~El Salvador: Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation (1969-1992).~~

## MAP 6: SOUTH AMERICA



1. Colombia: Numerous bombings and assassinations by Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (1964-present); National Liberation Army active (1965-present); counterterrorism by right-wing United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (1984-present).
2. Peru: Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) (1980-present).
3. Lima, Peru: Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) hostage taking at Japanese ambassador's residence (1996).
4. Southeastern Bolivia: Che Guevara killed (1967).
5. Chile: Lautaro Youth Movement (1980s); Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (1980s-1990s).
6. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Bombing of Israeli embassy, 1992; bombing of AMIA Jewish Community Center, 1994.

# Appendix B: Web Sites

## Government and International Antiterrorist Agencies

### *United States*

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention  
<http://www.cdc.gov/>

Biological Terrorism Information  
<http://www.bt.cdc.gov/>

Central Intelligence Agency  
<http://www.cia.gov>

War on Terrorism  
<http://www.cia.gov/terrorism/index.html>

DCI Counterterrorist Center  
<http://www.cia.gov/terrorism/ctc.html>

Chemical and Biological Defense Information  
Analysis Center (CBIAC)  
<http://www.cbiac.apgea.army.mil/>

Department of Defense  
<http://www.defenselink.mil/>

DefendAmerica (War on Terrorism news from the  
Department of Defense)  
<http://www.defendamerica.mil/>

Department of Justice  
<http://www.usdoj.gov>

War on Terrorism  
<http://www.usdoj.gov/ag/terrorismaftermath.html>

Department of the Treasury  
<http://www.ustreas.gov>

Law Enforcement and the War on Terrorism (with  
links to Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms;  
U.S. Customs Service; Secret Service, etc.)  
[http://www.ustreas.gov/topics/law-enforcement/  
index.html](http://www.ustreas.gov/topics/law-enforcement/index.html)

Drug Enforcement Administration  
<http://www.usdoj.gov/dea>

Environmental Protection Agency  
<http://www.epa.gov>

EPA and Counter Terrorism page  
<http://www.epa.gov/swercepp/cntr-ter.html>

Federal Aviation Administration  
<http://www.faa.gov>

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
<http://www.fbi.gov>

Federal Emergency Management Agency  
<http://www.fema.gov>

Terrorism Background Information  
[http://www.fema.gov/hazards/terrorism/  
terror.shtml](http://www.fema.gov/hazards/terrorism/terror.shtml)

Immigration and Naturalization Service  
<http://www.ins.usdoj.gov/graphics/index.htm>

National Intelligence Council  
<http://www.odci.gov/nic/>

National Security Agency  
<http://www.nsa.gov/>

Office of Homeland Security  
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/homeland/>

U.S. Postal Inspection Office  
<http://www.usps.com/websites/depart/inspect/>

U.S. State Department Counterterrorism Office  
<http://www.state.gov/s/ct/>

White House Archives  
<http://www.whitehouse.gov>

### *Other Governments*

Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies  
<http://www.ciss.ca/>

New York City Emergency Response Services  
<http://www.nyc.gov/html/em/home.html>

### *International*

UN.org: UN Treaties Against International Terrorism  
<http://www.un.org/News/dh/latest/intreaterror.htm>

ODCCP.org: UN Office for Drug Control and Crime  
 Prevention: Terrorism  
<http://www.odccp.org/terrorism.html>

## **Nongovernmental Organizations**

Air Security International (provides security and intel-  
 ligence services to corporate business interests)  
<http://www.airsecurity.com/>

Anti-Defamation League  
<http://www.adl.org/>

Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies  
<http://www.biu.ac.il/Besa/>

Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN) Project:  
 Northern Ireland conflict (1968 to the present)  
<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/>

Center for Civilian Biodefense Strategies  
<http://www.hopkins-biodefense.org>

Center for Defence and International Security Studies  
<http://www.cdiss.org/hometemp.htm>

Center for Defense Information  
<http://www.cdi.org/>

Center for Democracy & Technology: Counter  
 Terrorism page  
<http://www.cdt.org/policy/terrorism/>

Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism  
<http://www.hatemonitor.org>

Council on Foreign Relations  
<http://cfrterrorism.org/home/>

Center for Strategic and International Studies  
<http://www.csis.org/index.htm>

Chemical and Biological Defense Information  
 Analysis Center  
<http://iac.dtic.mil/cbiac/>

Electronic Privacy Information Center: Counter-  
 Terrorism Proposals  
<http://www.epic.org/privacy/terrorism/>

Emergency Response and Research Institute  
<http://www.emergency.com/index.htm>

Counter Terrorism Operations Page  
<http://www.emergency.com/cntrterr.htm>

Federation of American Scientists  
<http://www.fas.org>

GlobalSecurity.org  
<http://globalsecurity.org/>

IntelCenter  
<http://www.intelcenter.com/>

International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism  
<http://www.ict.org.il/>

International Relations and Security Network (site by  
 Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research  
 at ETH Zurich)  
<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/>

Jaffe Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv  
 University  
<http://www.tau.ac.il/jcss/>

Kashmir Information Network: Terrorism Index  
<http://www.kashmir-information.com/Terrorism>

Middle East Intelligence Bulletin  
<http://www.meib.org/>

Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI)  
<http://www.memri.org/>

Military and Conflict Studies Center (University of  
New Brunswick)  
<http://www.unbf.ca/arts/CCS/>

Monterey Institute Center for Nonproliferation  
Studies  
<http://www.cns.miis.edu>

National Interagency Civil-Military Institute  
<http://www.nici.org/>

National School Safety and Security Services (has  
some links to terrorism-related safety precautions  
and concerns)  
[http://www.schoolsecurity.org/terrorist\\_response.html](http://www.schoolsecurity.org/terrorist_response.html)

Safeguarding America for Everyone (SAFE)  
Foundation  
<http://www.safefoundation.org/>

Security & Political Risk Analysis (SAPRA) India  
<http://www.subcontinent.com/sapra.html>

Simon Wiesenthal Center (international human rights  
organization dedicated to preserving the memory  
of the Holocaust and confronting contemporary  
issues such as terrorism, racism, etc.)  
<http://www.wiesenthal.com/>

South Asia Terrorism Portal  
<http://www.satp.org/>

Southern Poverty Law Center  
[www.splcenter.org](http://www.splcenter.org)

Stimson Center Chemical and Biological Weapons  
Nonproliferation Project  
<http://www.stimson.org/cwc>

Terrorism Web Site—FORNET  
<http://www.terror.gen.tr/english/index.html>

Terrorism: Q & A—Council on Foreign Relations  
[http://www.terrorismanswers.com/terrorism/  
introduction.html](http://www.terrorismanswers.com/terrorism/introduction.html)

Terrorism Research Center  
<http://www.terrorism.com/index.shtml>

Tolerance.org  
<http://www.tolerance.org>

Antiterrorism.org  
<http://www.antiterrorism.org/>

Oklahoma City National Memorial  
<http://www.oklahomacitynationalmemorial.org>

This Is Baader-Meinhof: Germany in the Post-War  
Decade of Terror, 1968–77  
<http://www.baader-meinhof.com>

University of Virginia Religious Movements Library  
<http://religiousmovements.lib.virginia.edu/>

Human Rights Watch  
<http://www.hrw.org>

FBI Dossier on the Omega 7 Group (October 29,  
1993)  
<http://cuban-exile.com/menu1!/group.html>

## Journals and Reports

*African Conflict Journal*  
<http://www.africanconflict.org>

*American Diplomacy* Vol. 4, No. 3  
<http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/>

*Canadian Foreign Policy (La Politique étrangère du  
Canada)*  
<http://temagami.carleton.ca/npsia/cfpj/cfpj.html>

*Current History*  
<http://www.currenthistory.com/>

*Journal of the Federation of American Scientists*  
<http://www.fas.org/terrorism/index.html>

*Foreign Affairs*  
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org>

*Foreign Policy*

<http://www.foreignpolicy.com/>

*Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*

<http://journal.georgetown.edu/>

*Harvard International Review*

<http://www.hir.harvard.edu/>

*Human Rights Quarterly*

[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/human\\_rights\\_quarterly/](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/human_rights_quarterly/)

*International Interactions*

<http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/03050629.html>

*Issues in Foreign Affairs*

<http://www.issuesinforeignaffairs.com/>

*Journal of Counterterrorism & Homeland Security*

*International* (at International Association for Counterterrorism and Security Professionals site)

<http://www.iacsp.com/>

*Middle East Intelligence Bulletin*

<http://www.meib.org/>

*Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*

<http://www.tandf.co.uk>

*The National Interest*

<http://www.nationalinterest.org/>

*The Nonproliferation Review (CNS)*

<http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/npr/>

*Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2001*

<http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2001/html/10235.htm>

*Terrorism and Political Violence*

<http://www.frankcass.com>

*OJPCR: The Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution*

<http://www.trinstitute.org/ojpcr/>

*World Policy Journal*

<http://www.worldpolicy.org/journal/>

*World Politics*

[http://www.wps.princeton.edu/world\\_politics/](http://www.wps.princeton.edu/world_politics/)

**Media**

## Narco News.com

[www.narconews.com](http://www.narconews.com)

## Intelligence Briefs—Gordon Thomas

<http://www.gordonthomas.ie/briefs.htm>

## Intelligence Online

<http://www.intelligenceonline.com/>

## BBC Archive on Northern Ireland Conflict

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/>

## DomesticTerrorism.com

<http://www.domesticterrorism.com/>

## EmergencyNet News

<http://www.emergency.com/ennday.htm>

*Frontline*

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/>

## Geostrategy-Direct.com

<http://www.geostrategy-direct.com/geostrategy-direct/wnd.html>

## Stateline.org

<http://www1.stateline.org/issue.do?issueId=541>

## StrategyPage.com

<http://www.strategypage.com/>

## STRATFOR.com: Strategic Forecasting

<http://stratfor.com/>

## WorldNetDaily

<http://wnd.com/>

## Crimelibrary

<http://www.crimelibrary.com/>

## CNN Issues In Depth

<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/index.html>

## MSNBC America Under Attack

[http://www.msnbc.com/news/attack\\_front.asp](http://www.msnbc.com/news/attack_front.asp)



# Chronology

## Terrorist Attacks in the United States and on U.S. Interests Abroad

In this chronology, the location of the terrorist acts and the perpetrators are shown in bold after the date (separated by a slash).

### 1865

**December 24 ► Pulaski, TN/Ku Klux Klan** Six Confederate veterans, Frank O. McCord, Richard R. Reed, John B. Kennedy, John C. Lester, James R. Crowe, and Calvin E. Jones, form the Ku Klux Klan; the name was taken from the Greek word for circle, *kuklos*.

### 1886

**May 4 ► Chicago, IL/Anarchists** Bombing in Chicago's Haymarket Square during a strike at McCormick Harvesting Machine Company; one police officer is killed and several others are injured.

### 1901

**September 6 ► Buffalo, NY/Polish anarchist** President William McKinley is shot. He dies nine days later.

### 1915

**November 25 ► Stone Mountain, GA/Ku Klux Klan** On Thanksgiving eve, the Ku Klux Klan's "second era" begins with a cross burning.

### 1920

**September 16 ► New York City, NY/Anarchists** Bombing on Wall Street kills 35 and injures nearly 300.

**1940**

**November 16 ► New York City, NY/George Metesky** The “Mad Bomber” places his first bomb outside a Con Ed office.

**1950**

**November 1 ► Washington, DC/Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola** Assassination attempt on President Harry S. Truman by two Puerto Rican nationalists.

**1954**

**March 1 ► The Capitol, Washington, DC/Puerto Rican nationalists** Shooting in the visitor’s gallery in U.S. House of Representatives Chamber wounds five House members.

**1961**

**May 1 ► Miami, Florida/Antuilo Ramirez Ortiz** A National Airlines Corvair 440 is the first-ever U.S. aircraft hijacked and forced to fly to Cuba.

**1963**

**September 15 ► Birmingham, AL/Ku Klux Klan members** Bombing at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church kills four girls and injures more than 20 others. Nearly 40 years pass before all the suspects are brought to trial.

**1968**

**April 4 ► Memphis, TN/James Earl Ray** Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., is assassinated.

**June 5 ► Los Angeles, CA/Sirhan Bishara Sirhan** Presidential candidate Robert Kennedy is murdered by Palestinian Sirhan Sirhan. Once in custody, Arab terrorist groups vigorously demand Sirhan’s release.

**August 28 ► Guatemala City, Guatemala/Rebel faction** U.S. Ambassador John Gordon Mein is murdered by gunmen.

**1969**

**August 29 ► Rome, Italy/Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)** TWA flight leaving Rome is hijacked to Damascus, Syria. All the passengers and crew are released

unharmful, but the terrorists, led by Leila Khaled, explode a bomb in the cockpit of the aircraft.

**September 4 ► Rio de Janeiro, Brazil/Left-wing terrorists** U.S. Ambassador Charles Elbrick is kidnapped; he is freed after 15 terrorists are released from jail.

**October 8 ► Chicago, IL/Weatherman** “Days of Rage” looting and riots in downtown last for four days.

## 1970

**February 23 ► Halhoul, West Bank/Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** Gunmen open fire on a bus, killing U.S. citizen Barbara Ertle and wounding two others.

**March 28-29 ► Beirut, Lebanon/Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)** Seven rockets are fired at the U.S. embassy, the Bank of America, the American Insurance Company, and the John F. Kennedy library.

**July 21 ► Montevideo, Uruguay/Tupamaros terrorists** U.S. Agency for International Development adviser Dan Mitrione is kidnapped. His body is found on August 10.

**September 14 ► Zurich, Switzerland/Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)** A TWA flight from Zurich, Switzerland, is hijacked and forced to land in Amman, Jordan. Four U.S. citizens are injured.

## 1971

**March 1 ► The Capitol, Washington, DC/Weather Underground** Bomb causes no injuries but does extensive damage to seven rooms in the original Senate wing of the Capitol.

## 1972

**May 30 ► Lod, Israel/Japanese Red Army (JRA)** Three members carry out a machine gun and grenade attack at Israel’s Ben-Gurion Airport (Lod Airport), killing 26 and wounding 78 others. Many casualties are U.S. citizens.

**September 5 ► Munich, West Germany/Black September** Eleven members of the Israeli Olympic team are taken hostage; all are killed, including weightlifter and U.S. citizen David Berger.

## 1973

**March 2 ► Khartoum, Sudan/Black September** U.S. Ambassador to Sudan Cleo A. Noel and George C. Moore, also a U.S. diplomat, are assassinated at the Saudi Arabian embassy.

**May 4 ► Guadalajara, Mexico/People’s Revolutionary Armed Forces** U.S. Consul General Terrance Leonhardy is kidnapped.

## 1974

- February 4** ► **Berkeley, CA/Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA)** Patty Hearst, heiress to the Hearst newspaper empire, is kidnapped.
- August 19** ► **Nicosia, Cyprus/Unknown perpetrator** U.S. Ambassador Roger Davies is killed by a sniper in Nicosia during a riot at the embassy; no one has been convicted for this shooting.

## 1975

- January 24** ► **New York, NY/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Bombing of Fraunces Tavern; four are killed and nearly 60 are injured.
- 29** ► **Washington, DC/Weather Underground** Bombing of the U.S. State Department.
- February 1** ► **New York, NY/Omega 7** Bombing of Venezuelan consulate.
- June 29** ► **Beirut, Lebanon/Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)** U.S. military attaché Ernest Morgan is kidnapped, then soon after released.
- September 27** ► **New York, NY/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Pipe bombing of National Westminster Bank and First National City Bank in Financial District, two Chase Manhattan Banks in midtown area, and U.S. Mission to the United Nations.
- 27** ► **Washington, DC/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Pipe bombing of U.S. State Department.
- 27** ► **Chicago, IL/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Pipe bombings of Continental Bank, Marina City, office buildings, and apartments.
- October 4** ► **Portland, ME/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Robbery of Northeast Bank of Westbrook.
- November 10** ► **Washington, DC, New York, NY, and Chicago, IL/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Bombings of buildings.
- 14** ► **Jerusalem, Israel/Al Fatah** Bomb attack kills six people and wounds 38, including U.S. citizen Lola Nunberg.
- 21** ► **Ramat Hamagshimim, Israel/Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP)** Ax-wielding members of the DFLP attack students in the Golan Heights. U.S.-Israeli citizen Michael Nadler is killed.
- December 12** ► **Augusta, ME/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Robbery of the Bank of Maine.
- 23** ► **Athens, Greece/Revolutionary Organization 17 November** U.S. embassy official Richard Welch is assassinated outside of his home.
- 29** ► **Queens, NY/Croatian National Liberation Forces (suspected)** Bombing of crowded luggage area in the main terminal of La Guardia Airport kills 11 and injures more than 75.

**1976**

- February 14** ► **San Simeon, CA/New World Liberation Front** Bombing of the former Hearst estate. Patty Hearst's kidnappers demand that her parents pay \$250,000 to Symbionese Liberation Army members Emily and William Harris within 48 hours or face more bombings.
- April 1** ► **New York, NY/Jewish Armed Resistance (JAR)** Shots fired into Soviet Mission to the United Nations.
- 15** ► **San Francisco, CA/Red Guerrilla Family** Bombing of office building.
- 22** ► **Boston, MA/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Bombing of Suffolk County Courthouse.
- June 6** ► **New York, NY/Omega 7** Bombing of Cuban delegation to the United Nations.
- 16** ► **Beirut, Lebanon** Gunmen kidnap and kill U.S. Ambassador Francis E. Meloy, Economic Officer Robert O. Waring, and their driver.
- 21** ► **Lowell, MA/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Bombing of Middlesex County Courthouse.
- July 2** ► **Boston, MA/Fred Hampton People's Force and unnamed anti-busing group** Bombings destroy airliner at Logan International Airport and two National Guard trucks at city armory.
- 2** ► **Newburyport, MA/Fred Hampton People's Force and unnamed anti-busing group** Bombing at Essex County Courthouse.
- 4** ► **Revere, MA/Fred Hampton People's Force and unnamed anti-busing group** Bombing of First National Bank of Boston.
- August 11** ► **Istanbul, Turkey/Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)** Four people, including U.S. citizen Harold Rosenthal, are killed and 20 others injured in attack on El Al Israeli Airlines terminal at the Istanbul Airport.
- September 10** ► **New York, NY/Fighters for a New Croatia** Hijacking of TWA Flight 355 by five men and one woman. The terrorists also placed a bomb in a Grand Central Station subway locker; the bomb kills one New York City Police Department officer.
- 16** ► **Port Elizabeth, NJ/Omega 7** Bombing of the Soviet ship *Ivan Shepetkov*.
- 21** ► **Washington, DC/Commandos of the United Revolutionary Organization** Car bomb kills Orlando Letelier, former foreign minister in Chilean government, and his assistant Ronni Moffit.
- December 12** ► **Needham, MA/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Bombing of Union Carbide Corporation.

**1977**

- February 19** ► **Seattle, WA/Weather Underground** Bombing of the federal building.
- March 9** ► **Washington, DC/Hanafi Muslims** 134 hostages are held in three buildings: International Headquarters of the B'nai B'rith, the Islamic Center, and the District Building.

- March 12** ► **Marlboro, MA/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Bombing of Ideal Roller and Graphics.
- August 3** ► **New York, NY/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Bombing of Mobil Oil building and U.S. Department of Defense offices; one person is killed and seven are injured.
- September 8** ► **Washington, DC/Pedro Luis Boitel Commandos and El Condor** Bombings of the Soviet embassy and the Aeroflot office as President Jimmy Carter and various Latin American leaders gather for signing the Panama Canal treaties.
- October 8** ► **North Hollywood, CA/Jewish Armed Resistance (JAR)** Bombing of the Beth Star Shalom Religious Center.
- 19** ► **Los Angeles, CA/Weather Underground** Attempted bombing of the office of California State Senator John Briggs.

## 1978

- February 11** ► **Tel Aviv, Israel/Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** The niece of Senator Abraham Ribicoff is shot to death along with 38 others on an Israeli beach.
- 15** ► **Fairbanks, AK/El Condor** Bomb blows a hole in the Alaska pipeline; thousands of barrels of oil spray onto the snow-covered tundra.
- May 25** ► **Evanston, IL/Unabomber** Mail bomb at Northwestern University injures a security guard.
- June 2** ► **Jerusalem, Israel/Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** Bus bombing kills six, including U.S. citizen Richard Fishman, and injures others, including U.S. citizen Chava Sprecher.
- July 5** ► **San Juan, Puerto Rico/Pablo Marcano Garcia and Nydia Cuevas Rivers** Chilean Consul Ramon Gonzalez Ruiz and Sergio Alejandro Nunez are held hostage for more than 17 hours. The kidnapers demand the release of those prisoners convicted of wounding five congressmen on March 1, 1954, and the prisoner convicted of attempting to assassinate President Harry S. Truman on November 1, 1950.
- 31** ► **San Juan, Puerto Rico/People's Revolutionary Commandos** A bomb, intended to kill two FBI agents, explodes under a car in the parking lot of a federal building; no one is hurt.
- August 24** ► **Puerto Rico/Puerto Rican terrorist elements** Two Puerto Rican police officers ambushed; one killed.
- October 27** ► **Wakefield, MA, Waltham, MA, and Eastchester, NY/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Bombings of Mobil Oil Corporation offices.
- December 28** ► **New York, NY/Omega 7** Bombing of Avery Fisher Hall at Lincoln Center and the Cuban Mission to the United Nations; no injuries.

## 1979

- March 25** ► **New York, NY/Omega 7** Bomb explodes in a suitcase about to be loaded onto a Los Angeles-bound TWA flight, injuring four baggage handlers.

- March 25** ▶ **Newark, NJ/Omega 7** Bombs explode at two New Jersey storefronts that have Cuban ties.
- May 4** ▶ **Tiberias, Israel/Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** Bombing injures U.S. citizens Haim and Haya Mark.
- 9** ▶ **Evanston, IL/Unabomber** Mail bombing at Northwestern University injures a student.
- August 31** ▶ **San Diego, CA/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Violence at Hare Krishna temple.
- October 17** ▶ **Puerto Rico/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation), Forces of Popular Resistance, and the Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution** Bombing of U.S. Armed Forces government installations island-wide, timed to coincide with a series of bombings in Chicago and New York.
- 17** ▶ **Chicago, IL/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation), Forces of Popular Resistance, and the Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution** Time bomb explodes at a downtown office building; other bombs are defused at the offices of the Republican Central Committee and the headquarters of a Democratic committee.
- 17** ▶ **New York, NY/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation), Forces of Popular Resistance, and the Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution** Devices rigged to look like bombs but containing no explosive material are found at a hotel in midtown Manhattan.
- 21** ▶ **Queens, NY/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Violence at Islamic-Iranian temple.
- 27** ▶ **New York, NY/Omega 7** Bombing of Cuban Mission to the United Nations; the building's windows are blown out, as are the windows in the surrounding buildings, but no injuries are reported.
- November 4** ▶ **Tehran, Iran/Islamic militants** The U.S. embassy is seized and 66 people are taken hostage.
- 15** ▶ **Chicago, IL/Omega 7** Bomb explodes on American Airlines Flight 444, 12 passengers are treated for smoke inhalation.
- 22** ▶ **Islamabad, Pakistan/Islamic militants** The U.S. embassy is attacked and burned following rumors of U.S. involvement in the violent takeover of the Grand Mosque in Mecca, Saudi Arabia.
- December 3** ▶ **Sabena Seca, Puerto Rico/Macheteros, FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation), and Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** Ambush of a bus in which 2 Navy personnel are killed and 10 others are wounded.
- 7** ▶ **New York, NY/Omega 7** Bombing of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations.
- 11** ▶ **New York, NY/Unknown anti-Soviet group** Bombing of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations, no injuries are reported.

**1980**

- March 12** ▶ **San Juan, Puerto Rico/Puerto Rican Nationalists (suspected)** Armed assault of two U.S. Army officers and an enlisted man en route to the University of Puerto Rico.

- March 17** ► **New York, NY/Croatian freedom fighters (suspected)** Bombing of a Yugoslav bank.
- 18** ► **Chicago, IL/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Takeover of the Carter-Mondale presidential campaign office.
- 18** ► **New York, NY/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Takeover of the Bush campaign office.
- 25** ► **New York, NY/Omega 7** Attempted bombing of the car of the Cuban ambassador to the United Nations, Raul Roa.
- May 2** ► **Hebron, West Bank/Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** Jewish worshippers are attacked while walking home from a synagogue; U.S.-Israeli citizen Eli Haze'ev is killed.
- June 3** ► **Washington, DC/Unknown perpetrator** Bombing of the home of Yugoslavia's Minister Counselor Vladimir Sindjelic.
- 3** ► **Liberty (Bedloe's) Island, NY/Croatian freedom fighters (suspected)** Bombing of the museum section of the Statue of Liberty.
- 10** ► **Lake Forest, IL/Unabomber** Mail bomb injures president of United Airlines, Percy Woods.
- September 11** ► **Queens, NY/Omega 7** The Cuban embassy attaché, Felix Garcia Rodriquez, is killed while driving along Queens Boulevard.

## 1981

- January 12** ► **Isla Verde, Puerto Rico/Macheteros** Bombs blow up nine military planes at the Puerto Rican National Guard at Muniz Airport.
- March 15** ► **San Juan, Puerto Rico/Armed Forces of National Resistance** Attempted bombing of the convention center where former secretary of state Henry Kissinger is to deliver a speech.
- June 25** ► **New Britain, CT/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Robbery of New Britain Bank & Trust.
- August 31** ► **Ramstein, West Germany/German Red Army Faction** Bomb explodes at the U.S. Air Force base.
- October 8** ► **Salt Lake City, UT/Unabomber** Mail bombing at the University of Utah.
- 20** ► **Nanuet, NY/May 19th Communist Organization and the Black Liberation Army** Robbery of a Brinks armored truck carrying \$1.6 million; two police officers are killed.
- November 11** ► **San Juan, Puerto Rico/Macheteros** Bombing of Puerto Rico Electric Power Authority substations cuts power to San Juan's tourist area.
- 27** ► **San Juan, Puerto Rico/Macheteros** Bombings of Puerto Rico Electric Power Authority substations black out the Condado beachfront hotel district, causing \$2 million in damages; a smaller facility less than a mile away also loses power, causing limited damage.
- December 4** ► **San Salvador, El Salvador/Right-wing death squad (suspected)** Three U.S. nuns and one missionary are found dead outside San Salvador.



**December 17 ► Milan, Italy/Red Brigade** U.S. Army general James Dozier is kidnapped by Red Brigade terrorists. The general is later rescued by Italian counterterrorist squads on January 28, 1982, in Padua. Five Red Brigades members are arrested in association with the kidnapping.

## 1982

- January 29 ► Los Angeles, CA/Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG)**  
Assassination of the Turkish Consul General Kemal Arıkan.
- February 19 ► Washington, DC/Jewish Defense League (JDL)** Two bombs explode outside the Soviet airline Aeroflot, shattering glass doors; no injuries.
- 19 ► Miami, FL/Omega 7** Attempted bombing of the Republica Publishing Company, which has supported economic trade with Cuba; no injuries are reported.
- 19 ► Miami, FL/Omega 7** Bombing in front of the Trans Cuba Inc. freight forwarding firm, which specializes in shipping packages to Cuba; no injuries are reported.
- 21 ► Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico/Antonia Martinez Student Commandos** Bombing outside a dormitory at the University of Puerto Rico; no injuries but some damage is reported.
- 28 ► New York, NY/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Bombing of Merrill Lynch headquarters; some damage but no injuries reported.
- 28 ► New York, NY/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Bombing at the New York Stock Exchange; some damage but no injuries reported.
- 28 ► New York, NY/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Bombing at the American Stock Exchange; some damage but no injuries reported.
- 28 ► New York, NY/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Bombing of Chase Manhattan Bank; some damage but no injuries reported.
- March 22 ► Cambridge, MA/Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG)** Bombing of the office of the honorary Turkish consul general.
- April 2 ► Burlington, VT/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Robbery of Chittenden Trust Company.
- 5 ► Brooklyn, NY/Jewish Defense League (JDL)** Fire in Tripoli Restaurant kills one and injures eight.
- 28 ► New York, NY/Jewish Defense League (JDL)** Twin bombings, one at the Lufthansa office and the other outside the Iraqi Mission to the United Nations; no injuries but some damage reported.
- 29 ► Bayamon, Puerto Rico/Provisional Coordination of Labor Self-Defense Group**  
Bombing of the Department of Natural Resources; no damage or injuries reported.
- 29 ► San Juan, Puerto Rico/Provisional Coordination of Labor Self-Defense Group**  
Shooting at the home of the Communications Authority; doors shattered but no injuries reported.
- 29 ► San Juan, Puerto Rico/Provisional Coordination of Labor Self-Defense Group**  
Bombing destroys a power station.

- May 4 ► Somerville, MA/Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG)** Assassination of the honorary Turkish Consul General Orham R. Gunduz.
- 5 ► Nashville, TN/Unabomber** Mail bombing at Vanderbilt University injures one person.
- 16 ► San Juan, Puerto Rico/Vieques Pro-Liberation Group and Boricua People's Army–Macheteros** Shooting of U.S. sailors; one is killed and three are injured.
- 17 ► Union City, NJ/Omega 7** Firebombing.
- 19 ► Rio Grande, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros** Police officer is shot when members storm the small village of Villa Sin Miedo; officer later dies of his wounds.
- 20 ► Santurce, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros** Attempted bombing, bombs seized by police during the storming of Villa Sin Miedo.
- 25 ► San German, Puerto Rico/Star Group** Assault.
- 30 ► San Juan, Puerto Rico/Provisional Coordinating Committee of the Self-Defense Labor Group** Power station bombed, plunging several suburbs into darkness; no injuries are reported.
- 30 ► San Juan, Puerto Rico/Provisional Coordinating Committee of the Self-Defense Labor Group** Assaults on the home of the head of the Communications Authority, front door of the Department of Justice, and the entrance of a field office of the Department of Natural Resources; no injuries are reported.
- 30 ► Los Angeles, CA/Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia** Attempted bombing of Air Canada building at Los Angeles International Airport.
- June 10 ► Carolina, Puerto Rico/Armed Forces of Popular Resistance (FARP)** Two bombings and one attempted bombing.
- 25 ► Onondaga, NY/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Robbery of Syracuse Savings Bank.
- July 2 ► Berkeley, CA/Unabomber** Bomb at University of California injures Professor Diogenes Angelakos.
- 4 ► Astoria, NY/Croatian Freedom Fighters** Bombing of Yugoslav travel agency and nearby house.
- 4 ► New York, NY/Croatian Freedom Fighters** Attempted bombing of Yugoslav Airlines office.
- 5 ► New York, NY/Jewish Defense League (JDL)** Pipe bombing of Lebanese consulate damages windows and doors at both the French and Lebanese consulates.
- 5 ► New York, NY/Jewish Defense League (JDL)** Pipe bombing of French consulate damages windows and doors.
- 8 ► Phoenix, AZ/Unknown perpetrator** Pipe bomb damages a car parked outside the home of Rauf Diab, the son of a trustee of the Islamic Cultural Center in Tempe.
- 19 ► Beirut, Lebanon/Hezbollah** David Dodge, president of the American University of Beirut, is kidnapped and released a year later.
- August 19 ► Paris, France/Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** The PLO bombs a Jewish restaurant killing two U.S. citizens, Anne Van Zanten and Grace Cutler.
- 20 ► San Juan, Puerto Rico/Boricua Armed Anti-Imperialist Commandos jointly with Guerrilla Column 29 September and FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Bombing in Old San Juan.

- September 1 ► San Juan, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros and Star Group** Attempted armed robbery of Wells Fargo truck carrying more than \$800,000.
- 1 ► Tempe, AZ/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Pipe bombing of the Islamic Cultural Center; minor damage.
- 2 ► Miami, FL/Omega 7** Attempted bombing of the Nicaraguan consulate.
- 3 ► Miami, FL/Omega 7** Bombing of the Venezuelan consulate.
- 8 ► Chicago, IL/Omega 7** Bombing.
- 20 ► New York, NY/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Bombing of Bankers Trust building on Park Avenue.
- 25 ► Miami, FL/Omega 7** Attempted bombing of the Nicaraguan consulate.
- October 15 ► Washington, DC/Disassociated members of the Muslim religion** Attempted takeover of a mosque.
- 22 ► Philadelphia, PA/Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG)** Attempted bombing of the home of the honoree consul general of Turkey.
- November 16 ► Carolina, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros** Armed robbery of a supermarket and \$300,000 from a Wells Fargo armored truck, killing an innocent bystander.
- December 8 ► Washington, DC/Antinuclear activist Norman Mayer** Attempted bombing of Washington Monument with an explosive-laden van.
- 16 ► Elmont, NY/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Bombing of South African Airways.
- 16 ► Harrison, NY/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Bombing of IBM building.
- 21 ► New York, NY/United Jewish Underground** Attempted pipe bombing of a diplomat's car at the Soviet Mission to the United Nations; no injuries are reported.
- 22 ► McLean, VA/People of Omar–Anti-Gadhafi Libyans** Takeover of McLean office building by Libyan students; peaceful surrender and no injuries.
- 31 ► New York, NY/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Bombing of police headquarters, three police officers injured.
- 31 ► New York, NY/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Bombing of a federal detention center; glass shatters but no injuries reported.
- 31 ► New York, NY/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Bombing of federal courthouse in Brooklyn; glass shatters but no injuries reported.
- 31 ► New York, NY/FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation)** Bombing of federal office building in lower Manhattan; glass shatters but no injuries.

## 1983

- January 11 ► Miami, FL/Omega 7** Bombing of Little Havana business in retaliation for U.S. Department of Justice probe of Omega 7.
- 12 ► Miami, FL/Omega 7** Attempted bombing of Little Havana business.

- January 12** ► **Miami, FL/Omega 7** Bombing of Little Havana business.
- 28** ► **Staten Island, NY/Revolutionary Fighting Group (RFG)** Bombing of FBI office.
- February 15** ► **Killeen, TX/Hussein Shey Kholifa** A Rio Airlines flight is hijacked and ordered to land in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico.
- 16** ► **Beirut, Lebanon/Hezbollah and Al-Amal** A hand grenade attack north of Beirut International Airport injures five U.S. Marines on patrol.
- 18** ► **Washington, DC/Jewish Defense League (JDL)** Bombing outside Aeroflot Airlines; windows shatter but no injuries.
- 23** ► **Utica, NY/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Robbery of Marine Midland Bank.
- March 20** ► **San Antonio, TX/Republic of Revolutionary** Bombing of a vehicle owned by Rep. Bill Archer; car is destroyed but no injuries are reported.
- April 18** ► **Beirut, Lebanon/Hezbollah** A car bomb explodes in front of the U.S. embassy in Beirut, killing 63 people, including 17 U.S. citizens. More than 100 others are wounded.
- 18** ► **Colombia/FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)** A U.S. citizen was seized by the FARC and held for ransom.
- 26** ► **Washington, DC/Armed Resistance Unit (ARU)** Bombing of National War College at Fort McNair and firebomb thrown at Environmental Crimes Unit of U.S. Department of Justice, resulting in minor damage.
- 27** ► **Miami, FL/Haitian extremists** Four attempted bombings.
- 29** ► **Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros** Attempted robbery.
- May 12** ► **Uniondale, NY/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Bombing of Roosevelt Army Reserve Center.
- 13** ► **Queens, NY/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Bombing of Naval Reserve Center.
- 25** ► **El Salvador/Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation (FMLN)** U.S. naval officer assassinated.
- 27** ► **Miami, FL/Omega 7** Bombing of Little Havana offices of Continental Bank.
- July 1** ► **Hebron, West Bank/Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** Terrorist stabs a U.S. citizen to death in a marketplace.
- 6** ► **Rotterdam, NY/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Robbery of Marine Midland Bank.
- 8** ► **Miami, FL/Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo** Kidnapping of Cecilia Sol de Quiones, the wife of the former Salvadoran ambassador; she was held for \$1.5 million ransom.
- 15** ► **Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros** One person is killed in \$600,000 robbery of Wells Fargo truck.
- 28** ► **Montgomery, AL/Members of the Ku Klux Klan** Firebombing of the Klanwatch offices of the Southern Poverty Law Center; moderate damage is reported.
- 29** ► **Portland, OR/Stephan P. Paster, Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Three pipe bombs explode in a 4th-floor room of the Hotel Rajneesh; one person is seriously injured.
- August 8** ► **Canton, MI/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Assassination of Ahmadiyya movement leader Dr. Mozaffar Ahmad.

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- August 8 ► Detroit, MI/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Firebombing of an Ahmadiyya movement official's home; no injuries reported.
- 9 ► Detroit, MI/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Firebombing destroys Ahmadiyya mosque; the suspected killer of Dr. Ahmad (murdered on August 8, 1983), William Cain, is killed while setting the fire.
- 9 ► Springfield, MS/James Ellison and Bill Thomas (Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord [CSA])** Metropolitan Community Church is burned for its support of gay rights.
- 16 ► Bloomington, IN/Bill Thomas (Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord [CSA])** Jewish community center is burned.
- 18 ► Washington, DC/Armed Resistance Unit (ARU)/FMLN** Bombing of Computer Operations Center at Washington Navy Yard.
- 21 ► Bronx, NY/United Freedom Front** Bombing of J. Muller Army Reserve Center.
- 27 ► Washington, DC/Unknown perpetrator** Firebombing of Philippine embassy after assassination of Ninoy Aquino; no injuries reported.
- September 16 ► West Hartford, CT/Macheteros** \$7.2 million in cash taken in armed robbery of Wells Fargo truck.
- October 5 ► Washington, DC/Armed Resistance Unit (ARU) and Red Guerrilla Resistance (RGR)** Bombing of the U.S. Capitol.
- 12 ► Miami, FL/Omega 7** Firebombing of El Titan market in Little Havana, moderate damage reported.
- 18 ► Dewitt, NY/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Robbery of Onondaga Savings Bank.
- 23 ► Beirut, Lebanon/Hezbollah** Bombings kill 254 U.S. Marines and 58 French paratroopers.
- 30 ► Hato Rey, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros** Bazooka attack aimed at the U.S. federal building, which housed an FBI office. The attack, in retaliation for the U.S.-led invasion of Grenada, hit the deserted offices of the U.S. Department of Agriculture one floor below.
- November 2 ► Fulton, AR/Bill Thomas, Richard Wayne Snell, and Stephen Scott (Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord [CSA])** Bombing of natural gas pipeline where it crosses the Red River; minimal damage.
- 6 ► Washington, DC/Armed Resistance Unit (ARU)** Bombing of Senate side of Capitol Building; no injuries.
- 7 ► Washington, DC/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Bombing of the U.S. Capitol building.
- 7 ► The Capitol, Washington, DC/Unidentified perpetrator** A group expressing solidarity with Lebanon and Grenada claims responsibility for a bomb explosion outside the Capitol cloakroom that caused no injuries.
- 11 ► Texarkana, AR/Richard Wayne Snell (Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord [CSA])** Killing of pawnshop proprietor William Stumpp, mistakenly identified as Jewish.

- November 15 ► Athens, Greece/Revolutionary Organization 17 November** U.S. Navy captain George Tsantes and his chauffeur are shot and killed while on the way to work.
- December 2 ► Basque region, Spain/Basque terrorists** Eight U.S. facilities are bombed to protest U.S. involvement in Central America.
- 12 ► Kuwait City, Kuwait/Hezbollah** The U.S. and French embassies are bombed by Al-Dawa party members. Similar attacks occur at a U.S. housing compound, a Kuwaiti oil facility, an airline terminal, and a Kuwaiti government office.
- 13 ► East Meadow, NY/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Bombing of Navy recruiting office.
- 14 ► Queens, NY/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Bombing of Honeywell Corporation.
- 19 ► Jerusalem, Israel/Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** Bus bombing injures U.S. citizen Serena Sussman, who later dies from her wounds.

## 1984

- January 18 ► Beirut, Lebanon/Two pro-Iranian militant Muslims** U.S. citizen and president of the American University in Beirut, Malcolm Kerr, is killed outside his office.
- 29 ► Queens, NY/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Bombing of the Motorola Corporation.
- February 11 ► Beirut, Lebanon/Pro-Iranian Shiite Muslims** Frank Reiger, engineering professor at the American University in Beirut, is kidnapped and held captive for two months until his rescue by Lebanese Amal militiamen on Palm Sunday.
- 15 ► Rome, Italy/Red Brigade** U.S. diplomat Leamon Hunt is assassinated.
- 23 ► Bronx, NY/Jewish Direct Action (JDA)** Bombing of Soviet residential compound destroys one vehicle with diplomatic plates.
- March 7 ► Western Beirut, Lebanon/Hezbollah** U.S. Bureau Chief of Cable News Network Jeremy Levin is kidnapped; 11 months later, he manages to escape and reach Syrian army barracks.
- 16 ► Seattle, WA/The Order** Robbery of an armored truck; approximately \$43,000 taken.
- 16 ► Beirut, Lebanon/Hezbollah** Political officer and embassy official William Buckley is kidnapped and later murdered.
- 19 ► Harrison, NY/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Bombing of IBM building; terrorists claim the incident was in protest for the company's business operations in South Africa.
- April 5 ► New York, NY/Red Guerrilla Resistance (RGR)** Bombing of an Israeli aircraft manufacturer; no injuries reported.
- 12 ► Torrejon, Spain/Hezbollah** Eighteen U.S. servicemen are killed and 83 injured in a bomb attack on a restaurant near a U.S. Air Force base.
- 20 ► Washington, DC/Red Guerrilla Resistance (RGR)** Bombing of Officers Club at Washington Naval Yard, no injuries reported.
- 22 ► Seattle, WA/The Order** Attempted bombing of Embassy Theater; this incident is intended to be a diversion for a robbery scheduled to take place the following day.

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- April 23** ► **Seattle, WA/The Order** Robbery of armored truck belonging to the Continental Armored Transport Service; more than \$230,000 taken.
- 26** ► **Norfolk, VA/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Robbery of First VA Bank of Tidewater.
- 30** ► **Boise, ID/The Order** Congregation Ahavath Israel Synagogue is torched.
- May 5** ► **New York, NY/Red Guerrilla Resistance (RGR)** Bombing of an Israeli aircraft manufacturer.
- 8** ► **Western Beirut, Lebanon/Hezbollah (suspected)** Rev. Benjamin Weir is kidnapped near a western Beirut police station; he is released after 16 months in captivity.
- 20** ► **Washington, DC/Red Guerrilla Resistance (RGR)** Bombing of Navy Officers Club.
- 23** ► **Seattle, WA/Red Guerrilla Resistance (RGR)** Robbery of Continental Armored Transport Company.
- June 5** ► **Norfolk, VA/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Robbery of Sovean Bank.
- 16** ► **Philadelphia, PA/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Hare Krishna temple is firebombed.
- 17** ► **Seattle, WA/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Vedanta Society temple and Integral Yoga Society are bombed.
- 18** ► **Denver, CO/Bruce Carroll Pierce, David Eden Lane, and Robert Jay Mathews (The Order)** Assassination of radio talk show host Alan Berg.
- 30** ► **DeQueen, AR/Richard Wayne Snell (Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord [CSA])** Assassination of Louis Bryant, an African American Arkansas state trooper.
- July 19** ► **Ukiah, CA/The Order** \$3.6 million robbery of Brinks Armored Car Company; the money is reputedly distributed to white supremacist groups across the country.
- August 1** ► **Seattle, WA/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** John Liczwinko, affiliated with the Seattle Vedanta Society, is attacked.
- 1** ► **Denver, CO/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Hare Krishna temple is firebombed.
- 1** ► **Overland Park, KS/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Hindu physician, Srinivasu Dasari, is kidnapped and currently presumed dead.
- 1** ► **Tacoma, WA/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Three East Indians are shot to death.
- 22** ► **Melville, NY/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Bombing of General Electric Corporation.
- September 20** ► **Aukar, Lebanon/Hezbollah** Members detonate a bomb-laden van at the U.S. embassy annex, killing more than 20 people, including two U.S. servicemen, and injuring many more, including U.S. Ambassador Reginald Bartholomew.
- 26** ► **New York, NY/Red Guerrilla Resistance (RGR)** Bombing of South African consulate.
- 26** ► **Tarrytown, NY/United Freedom Front (UFF)** Bombing of Union Carbide Corporation.
- November 9** ► **Newark, NJ/Omega 7** Eduardo Arocena, leader of Omega 7, is sentenced to life plus 35 years in prison for ordering the murder of a Cuban diplomat and masterminding a score of bombings in New York, New Jersey, and Miami.

- November 21 ► Brussels, Belgium/Communist Combatant Cells claimed responsibility** Members bomb the offices of U.S. electronics company Motorola, seriously damaging the building.
- 25 ► Lisbon, Portugal/Popular Forces of 25 April** The U.S. embassy is hit by four 60 mm mortar rounds.
- December 3 ► Beirut, Lebanon/Libyan agents** Peter Kilburn, an American University librarian, is kidnapped; 16 months later, he is shot to death and his body dumped in the mountains east of Beirut. Libyan agents carried out his assassination in response to President Ronald Reagan's bombing of Tripoli, Libya.
- 4 ► Tehran, Iran/Hezbollah** Terrorists hijack a Kuwait Airlines plane en route from Dubai, United Emirates, to Karachi, Pakistan. The plane eventually flies to Tehran, where the terrorists murder two of the passengers, U.S. citizens Charles Hegna and William Stanford, both employees of the American Agency for International Development.
- 10 ► Mayagüez, Puerto Rico/Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** Attempted bombing at National Guard complex.
- 10 ► Levittown, Puerto Rico/Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** Bombing at the University of Puerto Rico.
- 10 ► Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico/Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** Bombing of Army recruiting office; no injuries reported.
- 10 ► Ponce, Puerto Rico/Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** Bombing of Army recruiting office.
- 10 ► Cayey, Puerto Rico/Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** Attempted bombing of Army recruiting office.
- 30 ► Mannheim, West Germany/Red Army Faction (RAF)** The U.S. Army communications center is bombed.

## 1985

- January 9 ► Western Beirut, Lebanon/Eight pro-Iranian Shiite Muslims** The ailing Rev. Lawrence Martin Jenco is abducted and held hostage for 18 months before being released.
- 25 ► Old San Juan, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros/Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** Light antitank weapon is fired at the federal courthouse.
- February 1 ► Leetsdale, CO/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Arson at a power station.
- 7 ► Guadalajara, Mexico/Narcotrafficker Rafael Cero Quintero believed responsible** U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration agent Enrique Salazar and his pilot Alfredo Zavala Avelar are kidnapped, tortured, and executed.
- 23 ► New York, NY/May 19 Communist Organization** Bombing of Patrolman's Benevolent Association.
- March 16 ► Western Beirut, Lebanon/Pro-Iranian Shiite Muslims** Terry Anderson, Bureau Chief of the Associated Press, is kidnapped and held hostage for more than six years. Anderson will later win a successful lawsuit against the Iranian government.



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- April 13 ► Ridgedale, MO/Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA)** Missouri state trooper Jimmie Linegar is killed and one of his colleagues is wounded during a gun battle with David Tate at a traffic spot check.
- May 3 ► Brooklyn, NY/Sikh terrorist** Federal arrest warrant issued for Lal Singh and other Sikh terrorists for conspiracy to assassinate a foreign official.
- 15 ► Northridge, CA/Jewish terrorist element** Bombing at the home of George Ashley, who claimed Holocaust never occurred; some damage reported but no injuries.
- 15 ► Berkeley, CA/Unabomber** Mail bomb at University of California injures one person.
- June 13 ► Auburn, WA/Unabomber** Mail bomb sent to Boeing Company.
- 14 ► Greece and Lebanon/Hezbollah** TWA Flight 847 is hijacked en route from Athens to Lebanon. The hijackers shoot and kill U.S. Navy diver Robert Stethem at an airport in Beirut. It is not until June 30 in Damascus, Syria, that the remaining hostages, including 39 U.S. citizens, are released.
- 22 ► Houston, TX/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Islamic mosque is attacked.
- 24 ► Tigerton, WI/Posse Comitatus** Law enforcement authorities confiscate property housed in an illegal township and paramilitary camp called “Tigerton Dells.”
- July 5 ► Rockford, IL/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** The Vat Thothikalam, a Laotian temple, is attacked.
- August 15 ► Paterson, NJ/Jewish terrorist elements** Pipe bombing of the home of Tscherin Soobzokov, alleged member of the German World War II Waffen SS division; the victim dies.
- 15 ► Wuppertal, West Germany/Unidentified perpetrator** A branch of the U.S.-based Westinghouse Corporation is bombed.
- September 6 ► Brentwood, NY/Jewish terrorist elements** Bombing of the home of Elmars Sprogis, reported to be a member of Adolf Hitler’s SS; a passerby is seriously injured.
- October 7 ► Eastern Mediterranean Sea/Palestine Liberation Front–Abu Abbas Faction (PLF)** Four gunmen hijack the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro* en route to Haifa, Israel, while off the coast of Alexandria, Egypt. The terrorists kill a wheelchair-bound U.S. citizen and dump his body overboard.
- 11 ► Santa Ana, CA/Jewish terrorist elements** Bombing at the office of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; committee leader Alex Odeh dies from his wounds.
- November 6 ► Bayamon, Puerto Rico/Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** Shooting at Army recruiting office near Fort Buchanan.
- 15 ► Ann Arbor, MI/Unabomber** Mail bomb sent to University of Michigan injures Professor James McConnell’s research assistant.
- December 1 ► Rockford, IL/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Laotian temple is attacked.
- 11 ► Sacramento, CA/Unabomber** Bomb kills computer store owner Hugh Scrutton.
- 27 ► Rome, Italy/Abu Nidal Organization (ANO)** Four members attack Israel’s El Al offices at the Leonardo da Vinci Airport, killing 13 people, including five U.S. citizens, and wounding 74 others, including two U.S. citizens.

## 1986

- January 6 ► Cidra, Puerto Rico/National Revolutionary Front of Puerto Rico** Bombing of U.S. post office; windows and doors shatter but no injuries reported.
- 6 ► Guanica, Puerto Rico/National Revolutionary Front of Puerto Rico** Bombing of U.S. post office; windows and doors damaged but no injuries.
- 6 ► Santurce, Puerto Rico/National Revolutionary Front of Puerto Rico** Bombing of U.S. post office; no injuries or damage reported.
- 6 ► Toa Baja, Puerto Rico/National Revolutionary Front of Puerto Rico** Attempted bombing of Army recruiting office.
- 7 ► Coamo, Puerto Rico/Puerto Rican nationalists (suspected)** Attempted bombing of U.S. post office.
- February 18 ► Lisbon, Portugal/The Popular Forces of 25 April (FP-25)** A bomb explodes at the U.S. embassy.
- March 17 ► Ponce, Puerto Rico/Puerto Rican Nationalists (suspected)** Attempted bombing of Esso service station, killing four U.S. citizens.
- April 2 ► Athens, Greece/Al Fatah's Special Operations Group (suspected)** A bomb detonates as TWA Flight 840 approaches Athens Airport. Four U.S. citizens are killed and nine people, including five U.S. citizens, are injured. The aircraft is able to land safely at Athens Airport.
- 5 ► Berlin, West Germany/Libya** La Belle Discotheque, a nightclub in West Berlin frequented by U.S. service members, is bombed, killing two U.S. soldiers and one Turkish woman. Two hundred others were wounded in the bombing, including 41 U.S. soldiers.
- 14 ► Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico/Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** An explosive device detonates in a women's restroom on the University of Puerto Rico campus.
- 29 ► San Juan, Puerto Rico/Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** Former police officer Alejandro Gonzalez Malave is assassinated in a drive-by shooting in front of his mother's home.
- May 14 ► Phoenix, AZ/Unknown perpetrator** Sabotage of power lines that supply Palo Verde Nuclear Generating Station, Arizona and California electric customers.
- 28 ► Bethany, WV/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Randell Gorby, who was linked to the Hare Krishna temple in Philadelphia, is attacked and injured.
- August 6 ► Hayden Lake, ID/Order II** Bomb sent to Gary Solomon, Jewish owner of trucking company.
- 7 ► Kootenai County, ID/Order II** Pipe bombing of Fred Bower's Classic Auto Restoration.
- September 2 ► New York, NY/Jewish terrorist element** Tear gas grenade bombing of Soviet Union's Moiseyev Dance Company at the Metropolitan Opera; no injuries reported.

- September 5 ► Karachi, Pakistan/Abu Nidal Organization (ANO)** Pan Am Flight 73 is hijacked en route from Frankfurt, West Germany, to New York with 379 passengers aboard, including 89 U.S. citizens. The flight is forced to land in Larnaca, Cyprus. The terrorists kill 22 passengers, including two U.S. citizens, and wound many others.
- 9 ► Western Beirut, Lebanon/Organization of Islamic Dawn (alleged)** Frank Reed, U.S. citizen and director of the Lebanese International School, is kidnapped while on his way to play golf. Three and a half years later, a group calling itself the Organization of Islamic Dawn claims responsibility. Reed is then released by his captors.
- 12 ► Beirut, Lebanon/Revolutionary Justice Organization** Pro-Iranian Shiite Muslim gunmen kidnapped Joseph Cicippio, an American University of Beirut school official. More than five years after his kidnapping, Cicippio is released by his captors.
- 15 ► Coeur d'Alene, ID/Order II** The home of Father William Wassmuth, Roman Catholic pastor and critic of Aryan Nations, is firebombed.
- 18 ► Toa Baja, Puerto Rico/El Movimiento Revolucionario Independentista (EMRI)** Two incendiary devices are thrown through a plate glass window at an Army recruiting office.
- 27 ► Fayetteville, NC/Wendell Lane, member of the White Patriot Party (WPP)** Attempted robbery of the local Pizza Hut.
- 29 ► Coeur d'Alene, ID/Order II** Bombing of New Era Telephone Company.
- 29 ► Coeur d'Alene, ID/Order II** Bombing of Jax Restaurant.
- 29 ► Coeur d'Alene, ID/Order II** Bombing of the Beneficial Finance Company.
- 29 ► Coeur d'Alene, ID/Order II** Attempted bombing of local federal building that houses the FBI's Resident Agency.
- 29 ► Rathdrum, ID/Order II** Attempted robbery of the First National Bank of North Idaho.
- 29 ► Post Falls, ID/Order II** Attempted robbery of the Idaho First National Bank.
- 29 ► Post Falls, ID/Order II** Attempted robbery of the Idaho Army National Guard Armory.
- October 15 ► Jerusalem, Israel/AI Fatah** A grenade attack at the Western Wall kills U.S. citizen Gali Klein.
- 20 ► New York, NY/Jewish terrorist element** Firebombing at Lincoln Center Concert Hall where the Moscow State Orchestra was scheduled to perform; no injuries reported.
- 21 ► Beirut, Lebanon/Hezbollah** Members kidnapped U.S. citizen Edward A. Tracy and released him from captivity five years later.
- 24 ► Detroit, MI/Unknown perpetrator** Pipe bombing of Dimic's Restaurant and Bar that had served the Yugoslavian delegation earlier that day.
- 28 ► Fajardo, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros, Armed Forces of Popular Resistance (FARP), and Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** Pipe bombing of the Navy recruiting office, one person injured, one truck destroyed.
- 28 ► Fort Buchanan, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros, Armed Forces of Popular Resistance (FARP), and Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** Pipe bombing of Army Reserve base, one truck destroyed; two additional devices were found in the same area.

- October 28** ► **Santurce, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros, Armed Forces of Popular Resistance (FARP), and Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** Attempted bombing of Army Reserve recruiting office.
- 28** ► **Aguadilla, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros, Armed Forces of Popular Resistance (FARP), and Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** Attempted bombing of Army Reserve center.
- 28** ► **Aguadilla, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros, Armed Forces of Popular Resistance (FARP), and Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** Attempted bombing of Army recruiting office.
- 28** ► **Mayagüez, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros, Armed Forces of Popular Resistance (FARP), and Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** Attempted bombing of National Guard Armory.
- 28** ► **Bayamon, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros, Armed Forces of Popular Resistance (FARP), and Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** Attempted bombing of Army-Navy recruiting office.
- 28** ► **Cayey, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros, Armed Forces of Popular Resistance (FARP), and Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP)** Attempted bombing of Army Reserve recruiting office.
- November 4** ► **Puerta De Tierra, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros** Attempted bombing of the National Guard Armory.
- December 28** ► **Yauco, Puerto Rico/Unknown Puerto Rican group** Bombing of a Puerto Rican National Guard truck; slight damage but no injuries reported.
- 28** ► **Guayama, Puerto Rico/Unknown Puerto Rican group** Attempted bombing of a U.S. post office; no injuries reported.

## 1987

- January 24** ► **Beirut, Lebanon/Hezbollah** Alann Steen, Robert Pohill, Jesse Turner, and U.S. resident Mithileshwar Singh are taken hostage. All are eventually released by their kidnappers; Steen, the last hostage to be released, was held for nearly five years.
- February 20** ► **Salt Lake City, UT/Unabomber** Bomb found near computer store.
- March 2** ► **Laguna Niguel, CA/Unknown perpetrator** Five explosive devices are placed in the vicinity of the federal building; four detonate adjacent to the federal building, where several IRS offices are located, and the fifth device is recovered on the roof of the building.
- April 16** ► **Davis, CA/Animal Liberation Front (ALF)** Fire is set to the new Veterinary Medicine Research Building at the University of California, Davis, causing more than \$3.5 million in damages.
- 19** ► **Missoula, MT/Aryan Nations (AN)** A bomb detonates under a police vehicle at the Missoula Police Department.
- 24** ► **Fort Smith, AR/Various groups, such as the Order; the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord; and Aryan Nations** Ten white supremacists, including Louis Beam, Richard Butler, and Robert Miles, are indicted on seditious conspiracy charges.

- April 24 ► Athens, Greece/Revolutionary Organization 17 November** Sixteen U.S. servicemen aboard a Greek Air Force bus are injured in a bomb attack.
- May 1 ► Hialeah, FL/Unknown perpetrator** Pipe bomb detonates at the Almacen El Español, a business that sends medicine and other supplies to Cuba from Miami; slight structural damage occurs.
- 2 ► Miami, FL/Unknown perpetrator** Pipe bomb detonates against the front door of Cubanacan, a pharmacy supply house that ships pharmaceuticals to Cuba.
- 25 ► Miami, FL/Unknown perpetrator** Pipe bombing of *Cuba Envíos*, a business that ships medicine and packages to Cuba.
- 25 ► Mayagüez, Puerto Rico/Guerrilla Forces of Liberation (GFL)** Pipe bombing of a branch of the Western Federal Bank.
- 25 ► Caguas, Puerto Rico/Guerrilla Forces of Liberation (GFL)** Pipe bombing of a department store.
- 25 ► Ponce, Puerto Rico/Guerrilla Forces of Liberation (GFL)** Pipe bombing of U.S. Customs Service building.
- 25 ► Aibonito, Puerto Rico/Guerrilla Forces of Liberation (GFL)** Pipe bombing of U.S. Postal Service mailbox in front of post office building.
- 25 ► Mayagüez, Puerto Rico/Guerrilla Forces of Liberation (GFL)** Attempted pipe bombing of Citibank branch.
- 25 ► Carolina, Puerto Rico/Guerrilla Forces of Liberation (GFL)** Attempted pipe bombing of a Bank of Boston branch office.
- 25 ► Cidra, Puerto Rico/Guerrilla Forces of Liberation (GFL)** Attempted pipe bombing of a U.S. post office.
- June 9 ► Rome, Italy/Junzo Okudaira, Japanese Red Army member (suspected)** A car bomb explodes outside the back gate of the U.S. embassy, and rockets are fired at the compound. One passerby is injured in the attacks.
- July 30 ► Miami, FL/Unknown perpetrator** Pipe bomb explodes in front of Machi Community Services, a business that sends packages and airline tickets to Cuba.
- August 27 ► Hialeah, FL/Unknown perpetrator** Pipe bomb explodes next to Va Cuba, a business that ships packages and medicine to Cuba.
- October 24 ► Richford, VT/Syrian Social Nationalist Party** Walid Nicholas Kabbani is detained after illegally crossing the Canadian border into the United States and is later charged with illegal interstate and foreign transfer of firearms and explosives.
- 25 ► Flagstaff, AZ/Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy (EMETIC)** Members cause more than \$20,000 in damage by destroying bolts that anchor power lines on the chair lift at Fairfield Snow Bowl ski resort.
- November 9 ► Flagstaff, AZ/Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy (EMETIC)** Malicious destruction of property.
- 28 ► Livermore, CA/Nuclear Liberation Front (NLF)** A vehicle belonging to a Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory employee blows up in the laboratory's parking lot.
- December 26 ► Barcelona, Spain/Catalan separatists** A bar frequented by U.S. service members is bombed, killing one U.S. citizen.

## 1988

- January 12 ► Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico/Pedro Albizu Campos Revolutionary Forces (PACRF)**  
Firebombing.
- February 17 ► Ras-al-En Tyre, Lebanon/Hezbollah** U.S. Marine Corps Lt. Col. William Higgins is kidnapped and later murdered.
- April 12 ► New Jersey Turnpike, NJ/Japanese Red Army (JRA)** Yu Kikumura is arrested by police at a service area on the New Jersey Turnpike; his car contains three powerful pipe bombs, tools and material to make additional bombs, and a false passport.
- 14 ► Naples, Italy/Japanese Red Army (JRA)** Car bomb explodes in front of the U.S.O. Club killing five people, including a U.S. servicewoman, and wounding 15 others, including four U.S. servicemen. Junzo Okudaira, JRA member, is indicted in the United States on April 9, 1993, for the bombing.
- May 26 ► Coral Gables, FL/Organization Alliance Cuban Intransigence (OACI)**  
Bombing at the home of an executive of the Cuban Studies Institute; \$3,000 in damages is reported.
- June 28 ► Athens, Greece/Unknown perpetrator** The defense attaché of the U.S. embassy in Greece is killed when a car bomb explodes outside his home.
- September 17 ► Augusta, GA/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** A physician is shot to death in front of Humana Hospital.
- 19 ► Los Angeles, CA/Up the IRS, Inc.** Bombing of garage beneath the 6th story of the City National Bank building; no injuries reported.
- 25 ► Grand Canyon, AZ/Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy (EMETIC)** Members destroy power lines leading to uranium mines owned by Energy Fuels Nuclear.
- November 1 ► Rio Pedras, Puerto Rico/Pedro Albizu Campos Revolutionary Forces (PACRF)**  
Pipe bombing of the General Electric company office; no injuries but heavy damage reported.
- 1 ► Rio Pedras, Puerto Rico/Pedro Albizu Campos Revolutionary Forces (PACRF)**  
Attempted pipe bombing.
- 11 ► Norwalk, CT/Fran Stephanie Trutt** An animal rights activist places a pipe bomb in the bushes of U.S. Surgical Corporation near the parking spot reserved for Leon Hirsh, the company's founder. Following a tip from an informant, the Norwalk police found the bomb before it detonated.
- December 21 ► United Kingdom, United States** Pan Am Flight 103, outbound from London for New York with 259 people aboard, is destroyed by a bomb over Lockerbie, Scotland. All aboard the aircraft were killed, as were 11 persons on the ground.

## 1989

- January 27 ► Istanbul and Ankara, Turkey/Revolutionary People's Liberation Front (Dev Sol)**  
Three simultaneous bombings occur at the Turkish American Businessmen Association

and the Economic Development Foundation in Istanbul, and at the Metal Employees Union in Ankara.

- March 6 ► Cairo, Egypt/January 15 Organization, Egyptian Revolutionary Organization, and Nasserite Organization** Two explosive devices are safely removed from the grounds of the U.S. and British Cultural Centers.
- April 3 ► Tucson, AZ/Animal Liberation Front (ALF)** More than 1,000 lab animals are released from the University of Arizona, and two campus buildings, the Pharmacy Microbiology Building and the Office of the Division of Animal Resources, are set afire.
- 21 ► Manila, Philippines/New People's Army (NPA)** Colonel James Rowe of the U.S. Army is assassinated by the NPA.
- May 1 ► Frankfurt, West Germany** Mohammad Ali Hamadei is convicted of hijacking TWA Flight 847 en route from Athens to Rome on June 14, 1985, and of the murder of a passenger, U.S. Navy diver Robert Stethem. He is sentenced to life in prison.
- 30 ► Wenden, AZ/Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy (EMETIC)** Members are arrested while training for a series of attacks on nuclear facilities in Arizona, California, and Colorado.
- June 12 ► Bosphorus Straits, Turkey/Warriors of the June 16th Movement** A bomb explodes aboard an unoccupied boat used by the U.S. consular staff, causing extensive damage to the boat but injuring none.
- 18 ► Caguas, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros** Pipe bombing at a Chase Manhattan Bank branch.
- 19 ► Bayamon, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros** Pipe bombing of a Bank of Boston branch; damage is minor and no injuries are reported.
- 19 ► Bayamon, Puerto Rico/Boricua People's Army–Macheteros** Pipe bombing of the Army recruiting office; damage is minor and no injuries are reported.
- July 4 ► Lubbock, TX/Animal Liberation Front (ALF)** The Health Sciences Center at Texas Tech University is raided. Laboratory animals are released, lab equipment destroyed, records and data for lab experiments are stolen, and animal rights slogans are painted on walls.
- October 4 ► Washington, DC/Islamic Amal** Fawaz Younis is sentenced to several concurrent terms—5 years for conspiracy to commit air piracy, 30 years for taking U.S. hostages, and 25 years for aircraft piracy.
- 11 ► Izmir, Turkey/Revolutionary People's Liberation Front (Dev Sol)** An explosive charge is detonated outside the U.S. Military Post Exchange.

## 1990

- January 12 ► Santurce, Puerto Rico/Brigada Internacionalista Eugenio Maria De Hostos de las Fuerza Revolucionarias Pedro Albizu Campos (Eugenio Maria de Hostos International Brigade of the Pedro Albizu Campos Revolutionary Forces)** Pipe bombing of the Navy recruiting office; the windows shatter but there are no injuries.

- January 12** ► **Carolina, Puerto Rico/Brigada Internacionalista Eugenio Maria De Hostos de las Fuerza Revolucionarias Pedro Albizu Campos (Eugenio Maria de Hostos International Brigade of the Pedro Albizu Campos Revolutionary Forces)** Pipe bombing at the Westinghouse Electric Company; no injuries reported.
- 15** ► **Lima, Peru/Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA)** U.S. embassy is bombed.
- 31** ► **Tucson, AZ/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Rashid Khalifa, controversial Muslim leader, is stabbed to death.
- February 22** ► **Los Angeles, CA/Up the IRS, Inc.** An explosive device detonates in a vehicle parked 60 feet from the Olympic Plaza Building that houses the offices of the IRS.
- March 30** ► **Quincy, MA/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** The Islamic center is attacked.
- April 22** ► **Santa Cruz County, CA/Earth Night Action Group** Two power poles are sawed in half, disrupting electrical power for four hours.
- May 13** ► **Clark Air Force Base, Philippines/New People's Army (NPA)** Two U.S. Air Force servicemen are assassinated near Clark Air Force Base.
- 27** ► **Mayagüez, Puerto Rico/Unknown Puerto Rican group** Two Puerto Rican Army National Guard vehicles are set on fire, resulting in the destruction of one vehicle and considerable damage to the other.
- September 17** ► **Arecibo, Puerto Rico/Pedro Albizu Campos Revolutionary Forces (PACRF)** Bombing of a Citibank branch; minimal damage but no injuries reported.
- 17** ► **Vega Baja, Puerto Rico/Pedro Albizu Campos Revolutionary Forces (PACRF)** Bombing of Harvey Hubber electrical plug factory; damage is reported but there are no injuries.
- November 5** ► **New York, NY/El Sayyid Nosair** Assassination of Rabbi Meir Kahane.

## 1991

- January 2** ► **San Miguel, El Salvador/Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN)** A U.S. helicopter is shot down, killing Chief Warrant Officer Daniel Scott. The two other crewmen on board, Lt. Col. David Pickett and crew chief PFC Earnest Dawson, are executed after the helicopter crashes.
- 2** ► **Chicago, IL/Animal Liberation Front (ALF)** Break-in at Hektoen Lab, a Cook County Hospital research laboratory; perpetrators free rabbits and guinea pigs.
- 11** ► **San Diego, CA/Jamaat-ul-Fuqra** Islamic Cultural Center is attacked.
- 18** ► **Jakarta, Indonesia/Iraqi agents (suspected)** Bomb discovered outside the U.S. ambassador's residence.
- 19** ► **Manila, Philippines/Iraqi agents** Bomb explodes near the United States Information System library, prematurely killing one perpetrator and seriously injuring another.
- 31** ► **Sanaa, Yemen** Gunmen throw dynamite at the residences of two foreign ambassadors and attack the U.S. embassy.
- 31** ► **Lima, Peru/Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA)** Terrorists fire shots and an antitank weapon at the U.S. embassy.



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- February 3 ► Mayagüez, Puerto Rico/Popular Liberation Army (PLA)** Two Puerto Rican Army National Guard vehicles are set afire.
- 7 ► Adana, Turkey/Revolutionary People's Liberation Front (Dev Sol)** A U.S. civilian contractor is shot and killed at the Incirlik Air Base.
- 13 ► Bonn, Germany/Red Army Faction (RAF)** Hundreds of rounds of small-arms are fired at the U.S. embassy.
- 16 ► Santiago, Chile/Manuel Rodriquez Patriotic Front (FPMR/D)** Antitank rocket attack on a U.S. Marine security guard vehicle, injuring one U.S. Marine.
- 18 ► Sabana, Grande, Puerto Rico/Popular Liberation Army (PLA)** Two Puerto Rican Army National Guard vehicles are set afire.
- 23 ► Yokohama, Japan/Chukaku-ha** A U.S. Navy housing compound is attacked with projectiles, causing minor damages.
- 28 ► Izmir, Turkey/Revolutionary People's Liberation Front (Dev Sol)** Two gunmen shoot and wound a U.S. Air Force officer entering his residence.
- March 12 ► Athens, Greece/Revolutionary Organization 17 November** Remote-control bomb kills U.S. Air Force Sergeant Odell Stewart at the entrance of his residence.
- 17 ► Carolina, Puerto Rico/Unknown Puerto Rican group** Arson of A-7D combat jet at Air Force National Guard base.
- 22 ► Istanbul, Turkey/Revolutionary People's Liberation Front (Dev Sol)** Three members assassinate U.S. civilian contractor John Gandy in his office.
- 28 ► Jubail, Saudi Arabia/Unknown perpetrator** Three U.S. Marines escape injury when they are shot at while driving near Camp Three, Jubail.
- 31 ► Fresno, CA/Up the IRS, Inc.** Bombing of the National Treasury Employee Union; no injuries are reported.
- April 1 ► Fresno, CA/Up the IRS, Inc.** Pipe bombs explode in a parking lot and on the roof of an IRS building; no injuries are reported but several cars are damaged.
- July 6 ► Punta Borinquen, Puerto Rico/Popular Liberation Army (PLA)** Bombing of a Hercules C-130 aircraft; the front portion of the fuselage burns.
- 7 ► Joghery, Afghanistan/Afghan extremists** Two U.S. agricultural consultants are kidnapped; one is released approximately three months later and the other nearly five months later.
- September 11 ► Yauco, Puerto Rico/Unknown perpetrator** Pipe bomb explodes in front of the U.S. post office, causing moderate damage.
- October 28 ► Ankara, Turkey/Turkish Islamic Jihad** Car bomb kills U.S. soldier Victor Marwick and wounds his wife.
- 28 ► Istanbul, Turkey/Turkish Islamic Jihad** Two car bombs kill a U.S. Air Force sergeant and wound an Egyptian diplomat.
- 29 ► Beirut, Lebanon/Arab Revolutionary Brigades** A rocket hits the edge of the U.S. embassy, causing no injuries.

**1992**

- January 17 ► Manila, Philippines/Communist rebel gang** Michael Barnes, a U.S. executive, is abducted from the Makati business district. Barnes is rescued 61 days later by police when they stormed several hideouts of the kidnapping gang, killing 13 of his suspected captors.
- 21 ► Bagre, Colombia/National Liberation Army (ELN) (suspected)** U.S. citizen Edward Faught is kidnapped and released more than 10 months later.
- 21 ► Mutata, Colombia/Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) (suspected)** U.S. citizen Michael James is kidnapped and released almost two weeks later.
- February 2 ► East Lansing, MI/Animal Liberation Front (ALF)** Fire is started at the Mink Research Facility at Michigan State University.
- 11 ► Lima, Peru/Shining Path (suspected)** The U.S. ambassador's residence is bombed, causing the death of three policemen and wounding four others, as well as several passersby.
- March 27 ► Bogota, Colombia/Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)** A bomb explodes outside the U.S.-owned Diners Club, killing one employee and injuring five passersby; the façade of the building is destroyed.
- April 5 ► New York, NY/Mujahedin-e-Khalq (MEK)** Five MEK members forcibly enter and seize control of the Iranian Mission to the United Nations; no injuries result, and all five members are subsequently arrested.
- June 10 ► Panama City and Colon, Panama/Unknown perpetrator** A U.S. Army vehicle is sprayed with gunfire as it traveled between Panama City and Colon, killing the driver and injuring a passenger and a civilian bystander.
- November 19 ► Urbana, IL/Mexican Revolutionary Movement** Attempted firebombing of the Levis Faculty Center at the University of Illinois, during the "Latin America 2000" conference.
- December 10 ► Chicago, IL/Boricua Revolutionary Front** Car fire and attempted pipe bombing of Marine recruiting office.
- 29 ► Aden, Yemen/Afghan-trained militants (suspected)** Bomb explodes at the Gold Mohur Hotel, targeting the one hundred U.S. servicemen who had just left the hotel on their way to duty in Somalia. An Austrian tourist and a hotel employee are killed.

**1993**

- January 17 ► Chicago, IL/Unknown perpetrator** Three Molotov cocktails cause a fire at the Serbian National Defense Council (SNDCA); threatening telephone calls were received prior to the attack.
- 25 ► Langley, VA/Mir Aimal Kasi** Shooting outside CIA headquarters kills two and wounds three. Frank Darling, a 28-year-old covert for the CIA, and Lansing Bennett, a 66-year-old physician and intelligence analyst, are shot in their cars while waiting in morning traffic.

- January 31 ► Pucuro, Panama/Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)** Three U.S. missionaries—Mark Rich, David Mankins, and Rick Tenenoff—are kidnapped; they are killed three years later.
- February 23 ► Choco area, Colombia/Eight National Liberation Army (ELN) terrorists** U.S. citizen Lewis Manning, an employee of the Colombian gold-mining company Oresom, is kidnapped.
- 26 ► New York, NY/Ramzi Yousef, Mohamed Salameh, Nidal Ayyad, Mahmoud Abouhalima, and others** Car bombing of the World Trade Center kills six people, injures more than 1,000, and results in more than \$500 million in damage.
- 26 ► Cairo, Egypt/Unknown perpetrator** A bomb explodes inside a café, killing three people and wounding 18, including two U.S. citizens, Jill Papineau and Raymond Chico.
- March 2 ► Belgrade, former Yugoslavia/Unknown perpetrator** Terrorists explode a bomb, possibly a hand grenade, in front of the U.S. embassy, causing minor damage.
- 10 ► Pensacola, FL/Anti-abortion activist Michael Griffin** Griffin shoots Dr. David Gunn outside a women's clinic; Gunn dies hours later.
- April 14 ► Kuwait City, Kuwait/Iraqi intelligence service** Attempted assassination of former U.S. president George Bush.
- June 22 ► Tiburon, CA/Unabomber** Mail bomb injures Charles Epstein, geneticist at University of California, San Francisco.
- 24 ► New Haven, CT/Unabomber** Mail bomb injures Yale University professor David Gelernter.
- 24 ► New York, NY/Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman** Eight militant Muslim fundamentalists associated with Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman are arrested for suspicion of planning several terrorist attacks, including the bombing of U.N. buildings, the bombing of several major access tunnels in New York City, and the assassination of public officials, including a U.S. senator and the secretary-general of the United Nations. Sheik Rahman and his followers were later convicted of charges related to the arrest.
- July 5 ► Southeast Turkey/Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK)** In a series of eight separate incidents, members of the PKK kidnap 19 tourists, including U.S. citizen Colin Patrick Starger, who is released after several weeks of captivity.
- 7 ► Camp Zama, Japan/Unknown perpetrator** Terrorists launch four homemade projectiles at U.S. Air Force headquarters. Projectiles do not explode, and damage is minimal.
- 15 ► Los Angeles, CA/A variety of skinhead and neo-Nazi groups, including White Aryan Resistance (WAR)** Eight suspects are arrested in a plot to start a race war by assassinating prominent African American and Jewish leaders.
- 20 ► Tacoma, WA/American Front Skinheads (AFS)** Pipe bombing and firebombing of NAACP building.
- 22 ► Tacoma, WA/American Front Skinheads (AFS)** Bombing of the Elite Tavern gay bar.
- 27 ► Lima, Peru/Unknown perpetrator** Terrorists explode a bomb-laden van outside the U.S. embassy, injuring one person and causing extensive damage to the embassy's façade and perimeter fence.

- October 3 ► Mogadishu, Somalia/Osama bin Laden** Osama bin Laden claims he supplied weapons and fighters to Somalis involved in a fierce battle that left 18 U.S. servicemen dead.
- November 14 ► Pangutaran Island, Sulu Batu, Philippines/Abu Sayyaf Group** Members kidnap U.S. missionary Charles M. Watson and release him three weeks later.
- 20 ► Lima, Peru/Unknown perpetrator** Terrorists explode a satchel bomb outside the offices of the U.S.-Peruvian Binational Center, causing minor damage.
- 27-28 ► Chicago, IL/Animal Liberation Front (ALF)** Nine firebombs are planted in different department stores, and fires result at Saks Fifth Avenue, Marshall Field's, and Carson Pirie Scott; no injuries reported in all bombings.

## 1994

- January 5 ► New York, NY/Unknown perpetrator** Two explosive devices are found outside buildings housing Jewish American organizations that actively support the Middle East peace process.
- March 1 ► New York, NY/Middle Eastern terror group (suspected)** Rashid Baz, Lebanese immigrant, shoots at car carrying Jewish rabbinical students on the Brooklyn Bridge and injures four; Aaron Haberstam dies of his wounds.
- July 29 ► Pensacola, FL/Antiabortionist activist Paul Hill** Hill shoots Dr. John Britton, Britton's bodyguard, and the bodyguard's wife outside a women's clinic; Dr. Britton and the bodyguard are killed. Dr. Britton was the successor to Dr. David Gunn, who had been shot and killed in 1993.
- September 23 ► Cali, Colombia/Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC).** U.S. citizen Thomas Hargrove is kidnapped.
- December 10 ► North Caldwell, NJ/Unabomber** Mail bomb kills Thomas Mosser of Young and Rubicam.

## 1995

- March 8 ► Karachi, Pakistan/Unknown perpetrator** Employees of the U.S. consulate are attacked with gunfire when two unknown gunmen riddle their bus with gunfire. Jacqueline Van Landingham and Gary Durell are killed, and Mark McCloy is wounded.
- 11 ► Lakewood, CA/Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) supporter** Benjamin Ruiz Valencia makes threatening telephone calls to First Data Corporation.
- April 1 ► Spokane, WA/Phineas Priesthood** The *Spokesman-Review* newspaper headquarters is robbed, and a nearby bank is bombed and robbed.
- 9 ► Netzarim, Gaza Strip/Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)** A suicide bomber crashes an explosives-rigged van into an Israeli bus, killing U.S. citizen Alisa Flatow and seven Israelis. More than 50 other individuals, including two U.S. citizens, are injured.
- 19 ► Oklahoma City, OK/Timothy McVeigh and Terry Lynn Nichols** Bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building kills 168 and wounds hundreds.

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- April 24 ► Sacramento, CA/Unabomber** Mail bomb kills timber industry lobbyist Gilbert Murray.
- May 15 ► Chimbote, Peru/Shining Path** Five members hold up a bus and rob about 50 passengers, including three U.S. citizens.
- 31 ► Zaragoza, Colombia/National Liberation Army (ELN)** Seven militants kidnap a U.S. citizen and three Colombians. All of the captives are freed except for one Colombian, who died during the rescue.
- June 25 ► Monroe County, OH/Ohio Unorganized Militia** Michael Hill, a 50-year-old militia member, is shot and killed by a police officer after he exits his car, carrying a .45 caliber pistol in his waistband; additional weapons and ammunition are found in his truck.
- 28 ► Los Angeles, CA/Ohio Unorganized Militia** Bomb threat slows traffic at Los Angeles International Airport.
- July 4 ► Pahalgam, Kashmir/Al-Faran** A group of mountain trekkers, which includes two U.S. citizens, is taken hostage. One American will later escape, and the other is believed to have been killed by his captors.
- 12 ► Spokane, WA/Phineas Priesthood** A Planned Parenthood clinic is bombed, and a nearby bank is robbed.
- 25 ► Jamaica, NY/Hamas** Mousa Mohammed Abu Marzook is detained by the Immigration and Naturalization Service at Kennedy International Airport after his name surfaces on a terrorist watch list; he is held for possible extradition to Israel.
- August 8 ► Istanbul, Turkey/Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK)** A bombing in Taksim Square injures two U.S. citizens.
- 21 ► Jerusalem, Israel/Hamas** A bomb kills six and injures more than 100 individuals, including U.S. citizen Joan Davenny.
- September 5 ► Ramallah, West Bank/Unknown perpetrator** An Israeli settler of British origin is stabbed to death and his U.S.-born wife is wounded in an attack at the settlement of Ma'ale Mikmas.
- 13 ► Moscow, Russia/Sergei Gavryushin is charged with the crime in October 2000; motive unknown** A rocket-propelled grenade is fired through the window of the U.S. embassy.
- October 9 ► Hyder, AZ/Sons of the Gestapo** Derailment of Amtrak's *Sunset Limited* train, killing one person and injuring more than 100.
- November 9 ► Algiers, Algeria/Armed Islamic Group (GIA) (suspected)** Islamic extremists set fire to a warehouse belonging to the U.S. embassy.
- 11 ► Vernon, OK/Militiamen (suspected)** Ray Willie Lampley, Cecilia Lampley, and John Dare Baird are arrested for conspiring to build and possess a destructive device for use against civil rights offices, abortion clinics, and federal agencies.
- 13 ► Riyadh, Saudi Arabia/Al Qaeda sympathizers** A car bomb at a U.S.-run training facility for the Saudi National Guard kills five U.S. citizens and two Indian citizens, and wounds 60 others. Four Saudis later confessed on national television, saying they were inspired by Osama bin Laden.

- December 10 ► Quito, Ecuador/Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)** Treasurer for the Nazarine missions, a U.S. citizen, is kidnapped.
- 16 ► Valencia, Spain/Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA)** Several bombs detonate in a department store, killing one person and wounding eight others, including a U.S. citizen.
- 18 ► Reno, NV/Joseph Martin Bailie and Ellis Edward Hurst (suspected)** A bomb made from a 30-gallon plastic drum is found in the parking lot of an IRS building. The accused attempted to ignite the fuse the previous evening, but were unable to detonate the bomb.
- 20 ► Onia, AR/Right-wing survivalist group (suspected)** Law enforcement arrest Thomas Lewis Lavy smuggling 130 grams of ricin, a poisonous white powder distilled from castor beans, across Alaska's border with Canada.

## 1996

- January 19 ► Colombia/Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)** U.S. citizen is kidnapped and a \$1 million ransom is demanded. The hostage is later released.
- 31 ► Colombo, Sri Lanka/Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) (suspected)** An explosives-laden truck is driven into the Central Bank building, killing 90 civilians and injuring more than 1,400 others, including two U.S. citizens.
- February 9 ► London, United Kingdom/Irish Republican Army (IRA)** Bombing of a parking garage in the Docklands area of London, killing two persons and wounding more than 100 others, including two U.S. citizens.
- 15 ► Athens, Greece/Revolutionary Organization 17 November (suspected)** A rocket is fired at the U.S. embassy compound, causing minor damage.
- 16 ► La Guajira, Colombia/National Liberation Army (ELN)** U.S. citizen Marc Bossart, manager of a coal mine, is kidnapped and released after nine months of captivity.
- 25 ► Jerusalem, Israel/Hamas** A suicide bomber blows up a bus, killing 26 people, including three U.S. citizens, and injuring about 80 more.
- March 4 ► Tel Aviv, Israel/Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad** A bombing outside Tel Aviv's largest shopping mall, Dizengoff Center, kills 20 people and injures 75 others, including two U.S. citizens.
- April 6 ► Spokane, WA/Phineas Priesthood** Pipe bombing of suburban office of the *Spokesman-Review* newspaper.
- 6 ► Spokane, WA/Phineas Priesthood** Bombing and robbery of Spokane Valley Bank; the building is damaged but there are no reported injuries.
- 12 ► Sacramento, CA/Unknown perpetrator** Pipe bomb found near post office; an attached note says, "Timothy McVeigh lives on."
- May 3 ► Beit-El, West Bank/Hamas or Palestinian Islamic Jihad (suspected)** A gunman opens fire on a hitchhiking stand, killing U.S.-Israeli citizen David Boim and wounding three Israelis.
- 20 ► Laredo, TX/Unknown perpetrator** Bomb is detonated outside building where FBI offices are located.

- May 31 ► Rural northern Nicaragua/Gang of former Contra guerrillas** Cynthia Garzony, an employee of the Agency for International Development (USAID), is kidnapped and later released.
- June 9 ► Zekharya, Israel/Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)** A gunman opens fire on a car, killing a U.S.-Israeli citizen, Yaron Ungar, and his wife, Efrat.
- 25 ► Dhahran, Saudi Arabia/Saudi Hezbollah members** Terrorists explode a fuel truck outside the northern fence of the Khobar Towers complex near King Abdul Aziz Air Base, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 U.S. military service members and wounding 515, including 240 U.S. personnel.
- July 1 ► Phoenix, AZ/Viper Militia** A dozen members of a militia-type organization are arrested for allegedly plotting to blow up seven government buildings in Phoenix, including the Phoenix Police Department and National Guard Headquarters.
- 17 ► South Jordan, UT/Animal Liberation Front (ALF)** Clinton Ellerman, Kevin Dexter Clark, and several others break into the Holt Mink Ranch and free 3,000 mink. They also spray-paint the words “ALF” and “blood money” on the buildings.
- 27 ► Atlanta, GA/Eric Robert Rudolph charged with crime** A crude pipe bomb detonates nails and screws at Centennial Olympic Park during the Summer Olympic Games, killing one and wounding more than 100 people. A cameraman at the scene also dies of a heart attack.
- August 17 ► Mapourdit, Sudan/Sudanese People’s Liberation Army (SPLA)** Six missionaries, including a U.S. citizen, are kidnapped and released 11 days later.
- 23 ► Afghanistan/Osama bin Laden** Osama bin Laden issues a decree declaring jihad against Americans and Jews.
- October 11 ► Stonewall, Lewis County, Fairmont, Lavalette, WV; Maple Heights and Cleveland, OH; and Waynesburg, PA/West Virginia Mountaineer Militia** Seven members of a West Virginia militia group are arrested for allegedly planning to blow up an FBI complex in Clarksburg, West Virginia.
- December 3 ► Paris, France/Algerian extremists (suspected)** Bomb explodes aboard a Paris subway train as it arrives at the Port Royal station, killing four and wounding 86 others, including one U.S. citizen.
- 10 ► La Guajira, Colombia/Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)** Five armed men kidnap and later kill U.S. geologist Frank Pescatore.
- 17 ► Lima, Peru/Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA)** Twenty-three members of the MRTA take several hundred people hostage, including U.S. officials, at a party given at the Japanese ambassador’s residence. The terrorists will release most of the hostages later that month but will hold 81 Peruvians and Japanese citizens for several months.

**1997**

- January 2-3 ► Washington, DC/Suspected Middle East group** A series of letter bombs is found in the Washington area—four bombs are sent to the Arabic-language newspaper *Al-Hayat* at the National Press Club, and one is found at a Washington-area post office.

- January 2-3 ► Fort Leavenworth, KS/Suspected Middle East group** Letter bombs are sent to the federal prison where a key figure in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, Mohammed Salameh, is serving a life sentence.
- 13 ► New York, NY/Suspected Middle East group** Letter bomb is found at the United Nations bureau of the Arabic-language newspaper *Al-Hayat*.
- 16 ► Sandy Springs, GA/Eric Robert Rudolph** Two bombs shatter an abortion clinic at the Sandy Springs Professional Building; the second, more powerful bomb is programmed to detonate when police and other emergency personnel respond.
- February 14 ► Apure, Venezuela/Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)** Six armed members kidnap a U.S. oil engineer and his Venezuelan pilot.
- 15 ► Wilmington, OH/Patriot adherents** Chevie and Cheyne Kehoe engage in a shootout with Ohio police following a traffic stop; Chevie was wanted on federal firearm charges in connection with the June 1996 murder of an Arkansas gun dealer, as well as the dealer's wife and 8-year-old daughter.
- 22 ► Atlanta, GA/Eric Robert Rudolph** Bomb explodes at the gay/lesbian Otherside Lounge nightclub, injuring five people.
- 23 ► New York, NY/Anti-Zionist perpetrator** Ali Hassan Abu Kamal, a 69-year-old Palestinian and English teacher from the Gaza Strip, fires a gun into a crowd on the Empire State Building's 86th-floor observation deck, killing one and injuring six others.
- 24 ► Colombia/National Liberation Army (ELN)** U.S. citizen and employee of a Las Vegas gold-mining corporation is kidnapped and ransom is demanded.
- 25 ► Jacksonville, FL/Radical Jewish element** Harry Shapiro is charged with planting a bomb at a Conservative Jewish synagogue on February 13, only hours before Shimon Peres, the former prime minister of Israel, spoke to 1,500 people there.
- March 7 ► Payan, Colombia/Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)** Members kidnap geologist Frank Skee, a U.S. mining employee, and his Colombian colleague Hermes Torres and release them after ransom is paid.
- July 23 ► Fort Hood, TX/Elements of the Southern Kansas Regional Militia** Seven men and a woman are arrested in connection with a plot to use antipersonnel bombs and other weapons at the Fort Hood Army base.
- 30 ► Jerusalem, Israel/Hamas** Two bomb explosions at the Mahane Yehuda Market kill 15 people, including a U.S. citizen, and wound 168.
- 31 ► Brooklyn, NY/Hamas (suspected)** Ghazi Ibrahim Abu Maizer and Lafi Khalil are arrested for allegedly planning a suicide bombing attack of the New York subway system.
- September 4 ► Jerusalem, Israel/Hamas** Suicide bombers blow themselves up in the Ben Yehuda shopping mall, killing eight individuals, including a U.S.-Israeli citizen, and wounding nearly 200 others, of which seven were U.S. citizens.
- October 30 ► Sanaa, Yemen/Al-Sha'if tribesmen** A U.S. businessman is kidnapped and released almost one month later.



- November 12 ► Karachi, Pakistan/Islamic Revolutionary Council and Aimal Secret Committee claim responsibility** Four U.S. oil company employees and their Pakistani driver are shot to death by two unidentified gunmen.
- 25, 26 ► Yemen/Yemeni tribesmen** Five hostages are kidnapped, including a U.S. citizen, to protest the eviction of a tribe member from his home. All the hostages are released the next day.

## 1998

- January 29 ► Birmingham, AL/Eric Robert Rudolph** Head nurse of the New Women All Women Clinic, Emily Lyons, is severely injured and off-duty police officer Robert D. Sanderson is killed in what is believed to be the first fatal abortion clinic bombing in U.S. history.
- March 21 ► Sabaneta, Colombia/Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)** Members kidnap a U.S. citizen and release the hostage six months later.
- 23 ► Bogota, Colombia/Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)** Terrorists kill three, wound 14, and kidnap 27, including four U.S. citizens. One of the U.S. hostages escaped on April 2. The remaining hostages were released.
- 25 ► Cupiagua, Colombia** A terrorist bomb is detonated at a British oil field, injuring one U.S. citizen and two British workers.
- April 15 ► Mogadishu, Somalia/Somali militiamen** Nine Red Cross and Red Crescent workers, including one U.S. citizen, are abducted.
- 19 ► Maon, Israel/Al Fatah** A gunman kills U.S.-Israeli citizen Dov Driben.
- June 21 ► Beirut, Lebanon/Unknown perpetrator** Three rocket-propelled grenades explode near the U.S. embassy compound, resulting in little damage and no reported injuries.
- August 7 ► Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania/Al Qaeda** Nearly simultaneous bombings occurred at the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. In Nairobi, 291 people were killed, including 12 U.S. citizens, and more than 5,000 wounded, including 6 U.S. citizens. Eleven people were killed and 77 injured in the bombing at Dar es Salaam.
- October 5 ► Sucumbios Province, Ecuador/Extortionist criminals with no political motive** Three employees of the Santa Fe Oil Company, two U.S. citizens and one Ecuadorian, were kidnapped. One of the U.S. captives escaped the next day.
- 23 ► Amherst, NY/James Charles Kopp** Kopp shoots and kills Dr. Barnett Slepian, an abortion provider.
- November 15 ► Cundinamarca, Colombia/Leftist Revolutionary Armed Commandos for Peace in Colombia** U.S. businessman's 11-year-old son is kidnapped; he is released early the next year.
- 21 ► Tehran, Iran/Fedayeen Islam** Shouting anti-U.S. slogans and wielding sticks and carrying stones, members attack a group of U.S. citizens, inflicting minor injuries.
- December 28 ► Mawdiyah, Yemen/Members of the Islamic Army of Aden-Abyan** 2 U.S., 12 British, and 2 Australian citizens are kidnapped. One British citizen manages to escape before being taken to Mawdiyah. Four hostages are later killed, and two are wounded, including a U.S. citizen.

## 1999

- January 2 ► Huambo, Angola/National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) (suspected)** A U.N. plane carrying one U.S. citizen and others is shot down; 4 U.N. personnel and 4 crew members perished.
- February 14 ► Kampala, Uganda/Allied Democratic Forces (suspected)** Pipe bomb explodes inside a bar, killing five persons and wounding 35 others, including one U.S. citizen.
- 25 ► Colombia-Venezuela border/Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)** Three U.S. citizens kidnapped and later killed.
- May 30 ► Cali, Colombia/National Liberation Army (ELN)** Members attack a church and kidnap 160 members of the congregation, including six U.S. citizens.
- June 27 ► Port Harcourt, Nigeria/Enough Is Enough in the Niger River** U.S. citizen kidnapped.
- 27 ► Bogota, Colombia/National Liberation Army (ELN)** ELN members kidnap a 5-year-old U.S. citizen and his Colombian mother.
- August 4 ► Occra, Sierra Leone/Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) faction** 33 U.N. representatives are kidnapped, including one U.S. citizen.
- October 1 ► Bangkok, Thailand/Vigorous Burmese Student Warriors** Dissidents seize the Burmese embassy, taking 89 people hostage, including one U.S. citizen.
- November 4 ► Athens, Greece/Revolutionary Organization 17 November (suspected)** Gas bomb detonates at a car dealership in protest of President Bill Clinton's visit to Greece.
- 12 ► Islamabad, Pakistan/Unknown perpetrator** Six rockets are fired at the U.S. Information Services Cultural Center and United Nations offices, injuring six individuals; Osama bin Laden is suspected of having organized the attack.
- December 14 ► Port Angeles, WA/Ahmed Ressam** Al Qaeda operative Ressam is apprehended crossing into the United States from Canada with bomb-making materials in the trunk of his rented sedan. Authorities later uncover Ressam's involvement in a plot to bomb Los Angeles International Airport around New Year's 2000 (the Y2K plot).
- 23 ► Santander Mountain region, Colombia/Colombian People's Liberation Army (PLA)** A U.S. citizen is kidnapped and later released unharmed after the kidnappers determined that their captive had no ties to the U.S. government.

## 2000

- January 26 ► Ma'rib, Yemen/Unknown perpetrator** U.S. citizen and Halliburton oil company executive Kenneth White is kidnapped and released less than two weeks later.
- August 11 ► Antioquia, Colombia/National Liberation Army (ELN)** ELN members kidnap 27 members of a regional ecological group, including a U.S. citizen. All the hostages are released the following day.
- 12 ► Kara-Su Valley, Kyrgyzstan/Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan** Four U.S. citizens and one Kyrgyzstan soldier are taken hostage. The soldier is later murdered and the U.S. hostages released.

- October 8 ► Nablus, West Bank/Unknown perpetrator** U.S. citizen Hillel Lieberman's body is found riddled with bullets in the Jewish settlement of Elon Moreh.
- 12 ► Aden Harbor, Yemen/Al Qaeda** A boat laden with explosives rams the U.S.S. *Cole* killing 17 sailors and wounding more than 30.
- 12 ► Sucumbios, Ecuador/Former members of defunct Popular Liberation Army (EPL)** Kidnappers hijack helicopter, taking 10 employees of Spanish energy consortium REPSOL hostage, including five U.S. citizens. On January 3, 2001, American hostage Ronald Sander is murdered. All other hostages are released when \$13 million in ransom is paid by the oil companies.
- 30 ► Jerusalem, Israel/Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade** Gunmen murder U.S.-Israeli citizen Eish Kodesh Gilmore, a 25-year-old security guard at his post at the National Insurance Institute.
- December 30 ► Manila, Philippines/Moro Islamic Liberation Front (suspected)** Bomb explodes in a plaza across the street from the U.S. embassy in Manila, injuring nine people.

## 2001

- January 3 ► Sanaa, Yemen/Yemeni national** In Sanaa, Yemen, the U.S. Ambassador to Yemen and the Yemeni Ambassador to Washington were aboard a Yemeni airliner that was hijacked by a Yemeni national during an internal flight, according to press reports. The plane, which had 91 passengers on board, landed safely at Djibouti Airport. No passengers or crew members were injured.
- 29 ► Lombok, Indonesia/Unknown perpetrator** In Lombok, a bomb exploded, causing no injuries but damaging the subsidiary office of the U.S. firm Newmont Mining Corporation, according to press reports. No one claimed responsibility.
- February 2 ► Cesar, Colombia/Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) (suspected)** Explosion causes major damage to railroad tracks used to transport coal by the U.S. multinational firm Drummond. According to Drummond officials, the company was being extorted and blackmailed by FARC rebels.
- March 28 ► Kfar Sara, Israel/Hamas** A suicide bomber at a bus stop kills two individuals and wounds four others, including a U.S. citizen.
- May 2 ► Dhahran, Saudi Arabia/Unknown perpetrator** Letter bomb delivered to a U.S. physician at the Saad Medical Center explodes, severely injuring the doctor.
- 9 ► Tekoa, West Bank/Islamic Jihad and a Palestinian splinter group of Hezbollah** Stoning deaths of 14-year-old U.S.-Israeli citizens Kobi Mandell and Yossi Ish-Ran in a cave near the Jewish settlement.
- 26 ► Palawan, Philippines/Abu Sayyaf Group** Twenty people, including three U.S. citizens, are kidnapped from a beach resort and taken to Basilan Island. In June, the group beheaded one of the U.S. hostages. At year's end, two of the 20 original hostages (both U.S. citizens) and one Filipino taken later from a Lamitan hospital remained captive.
- 29 ► Gush Etzion, West Bank/Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade** Drive-by shooting kills two U.S.-Israeli citizens, Samuel Berg and his mother, Sarah Blaustein, and wounds 40 others.

- June 14 ► Abereke, Nigeria/Nigerian militants** In Abereke, militant youths kidnap two Nigerian employees of U.S. oil company who were inspecting an oil spillage, according to press reports. No one claimed responsibility.
- 16 ► Tovildara region, Tajikistan/Islamic guerrillas** 15 members of a German humanitarian group, including one U.S. citizen, are taken hostage; they are later released unharmed.
- August 9 ► Jerusalem, Israel/Hamas suicide bomber** Bombing at Sbarro's Pizzeria kills 15 people, including 31-year-old U.S. citizen Judith Shoshana Greenbaum.
- 17 ► Minneapolis, MN/Zacarias Moussaoui** Zacarias Moussaoui, who aroused suspicions at a Minnesota flight school, is detained on immigration charges. The 33-year-old Frenchman of Moroccan descent is later believed to be the 20th hijacker involved with the September 11, 2001, terror attacks.
- September 11 ► New York City, Washington, DC, rural Pennsylvania/Al Qaeda** Nineteen suicide bombers hijack four passenger airliners and crash them into New York City's World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and a field in rural Pennsylvania. Approximately 3,000 are killed.
- 27 ► Santiago, Chile/Unknown perpetrators** In Santiago, bomb squad experts safely detonated a letter bomb delivered to the U.S. embassy, according to U.S. Department of State reporting. No one claimed responsibility.
- October 6 ► Basilan, Philippines/Abu Sayyaf Group** The remains of American hostage Guillermo Sobero are found.
- 6 ► Al Khubar, Saudi Arabia/Unknown suicide bomber** Suicide bomber explodes a device in a busy shopping area, killing U.S. citizen Michael Jerrald Martin, Jr., and injuring five others.
- November 4 ► French Hill, Israel/Palestinian Islamic Jihad operative** U.S. citizen Shoshana Ben Yashai is killed in a shooting incident on a bus; 35 others injured.
- December 22 ► Paris to Miami/Richard C. Reid** Al Qaeda operative Reid tries to light explosives hidden in his sneakers while aboard American Airlines Flight 63 from Paris to Miami. Flight attendants and passengers subdue him using belts and plastic cords.

## 2002

- January 15 ► Bethlehem, West Bank/Unknown perpetrators** U.S.-Israeli citizen Avraham Boas is kidnapped at a checkpoint in Beit Jala and later murdered.
- 23 ► Karachi, Pakistan/Islamic militants** *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl is kidnapped and later executed by his abductors. Four suspects, including Ahmed Omar Sheikh, are later convicted of murder and kidnapping in a Karachi court.
- 27 ► Jerusalem, Israel/Palestinian suicide bomber** Palestinian woman blows herself up, killing one and injuring more than 150 others, including U.S. citizen Mark Sokolow, his wife, and his 16- and 12-year-old daughters.
- March 7 ► Ariel, Israel/Palestinian suicide bomber** Suicide bombing at the Eshel Hashomron Hotel; a U.S. citizen loses her right eye.
- March 15 ► Sanaa, Yemen/Samir Yahya Awadh** A grenade is thrown onto the grounds of the U.S. embassy.

- 20 ► Lima, Peru/Leftist rebels (suspected)** Car bombing outside the U.S. embassy kills nine people.
- May 8 ► Chicago, IL/Jose Padilla** Padilla, also known as Abdullah al-Mujahir, is arrested at Chicago's O'Hare International Airport returning from Pakistan; he is suspected of participating in a plot to use a radiological bomb somewhere inside the United States.
- June 7 ► Zamboanga, Philippines/Abu Sayyaf Group** Hostages Martin Burnham, an American missionary, and Deborah Yap, a Filipina nurse, are killed during a rescue attempt by a Philippine commando team.
- 14 ► Karachi, Pakistan/Al-Almi, an offshoot of the radical Harkat-ul-Mujahideen organization** An explosives-laden car plowed into a guard post near the U.S. consulate building, killing 12 Pakistanis and injuring 26, including a U.S. Marine.
- July 4 ► Los Angeles, CA/Hesham Mohamed Hadayet** Shooting at the El Al Israeli Airlines ticket counter at Los Angeles International Airport by an Egyptian gunman. The attack left two dead, a 46-year-old jewelry shop owner, Yaakov Aminov, and Victoria Yen, a 25-year-old ticket agent; Hadayet was shot dead by an El Al guard.
- 30 ► Jerusalem, Israel/Hamas** A bomb blast in the cafeteria of Hebrew University kills seven, including five U.S. citizens, and wounds 70, including two U.S. citizens.
- August 29 ► Detroit, MI/Terrorist cell** Farouk Ali-Haimoud, Ahmed Hannan, Karim Koubriti, and a fourth man, identified only as Abdella, allegedly linked to an Algerian terrorist group, the Salafi Group for Call and Combat, were charged with being part of a terrorist cell planning attacks in the United States, Jordan, and Turkey.
- 29 ► Seattle, WA/James Ujaama** James Ujaama, a 36-year-old U.S. citizen whose birth name is James Earnest Thompson, is charged with conspiring to aid Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda network since 1999. The indictment states that part of the conspiracy was to establish a terrorist training camp in Oregon.
- September 11 ► Karachi, Pakistan/Ramzi Binalshibh** Ramzi Binalshibh, a key Al Qaeda figure accused of helping to plot the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States and considered by many to be the intended 20th hijacker, is arrested.
- 14 ► Buffalo, NY/Al Qaeda-trained terrorist cell** Faysal Galub, Sahim Alwan, Yaya Goba, Shafal Moused, and Yasein Taher, all native-born citizens of the United States, are charged with providing material support to Al Qaeda.
- 16 ► Buffalo, NY/Al Qaeda-trained terrorist cell** Mukhtar al-Bakri, the sixth member of the terrorist cell arrested on September 14, 2002, in Buffalo, is charged with providing material support to Al Qaeda.
- October 2 ► Zamboanga, Philippines/Abu Sayyaf** Authorities blame the Abu Sayyaf terrorist group for a bombing attack that kills a member of the U.S. Green Berets and two Filipinos outside a restaurant frequented by troops of both countries.
- 4 ► Portland, Oregon/Al Qaeda sympathizers** Six U.S. citizens are arrested in Portland, Oregon, and charged with conspiring to aid the Taliban and Al Qaeda.
- 12 ► Kuta, Indonesia/Jemaah Islamiah** Terrorist explosion, thought to be the work of the Islamic radical group Jemaah Islamiah, and ensuing fires destroy two nightclubs and kill hundreds on the Indonesian island of Bali. At least seven U.S. citizens are thought to be among the dead, and at least three others are wounded.

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