



Aug. 31, 2005

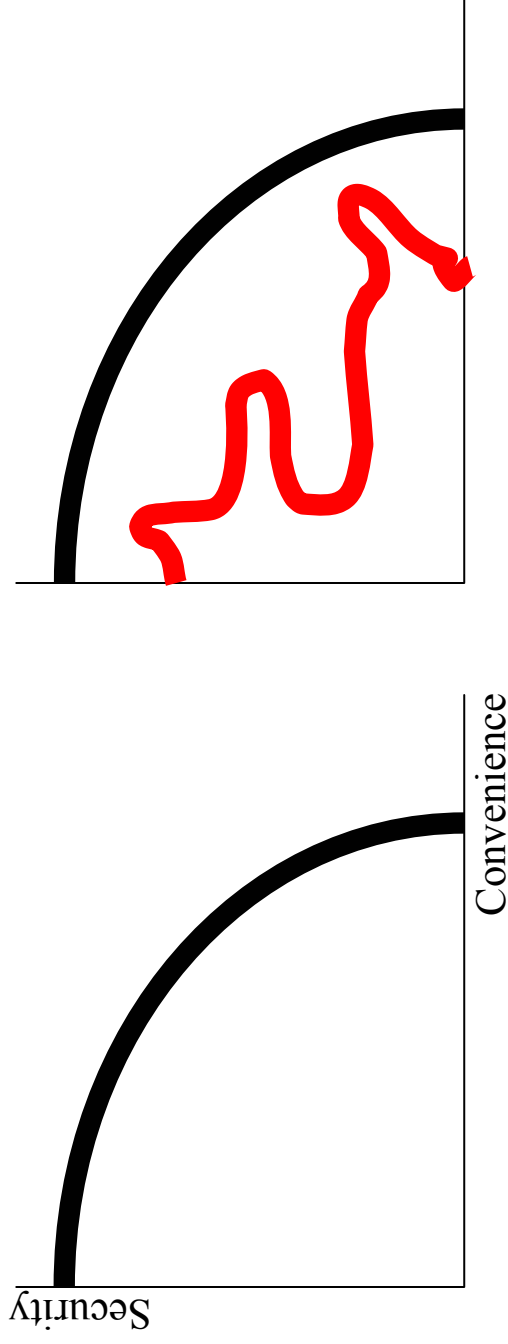
Introduction to Homeland Security

Stephen M. Maurer
Goldman School of Public Policy

Philosophy

An Inherently Interdisciplinary Problem

Technology vs. Human Factors



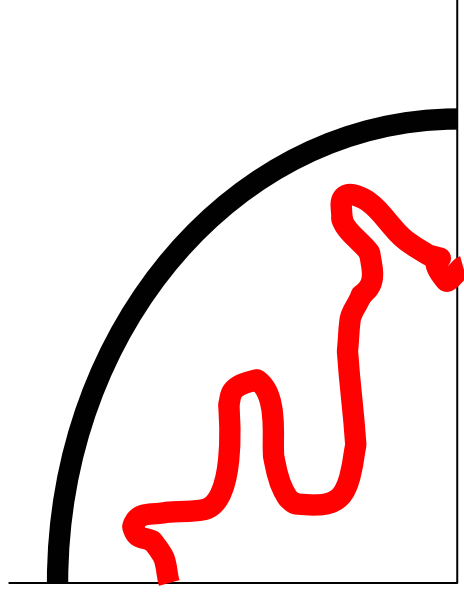
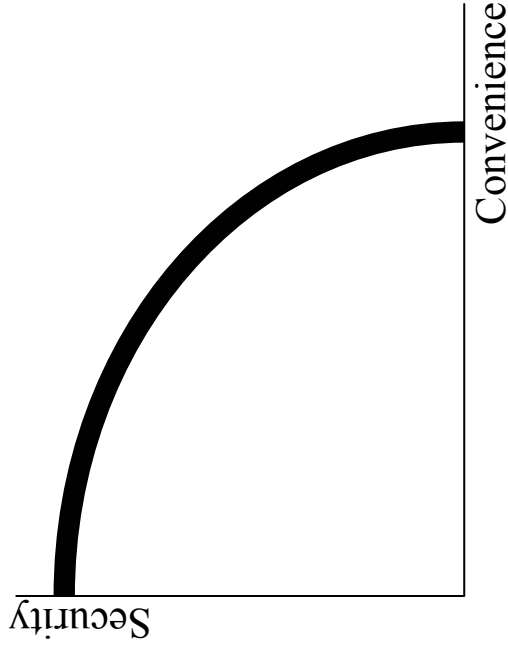
Philosophy

Examples:

The Encryption Debate

Predicting The Aircraft Threat

Richard Clarke
FAA





Philosophy

Disclaimer: Social Science & Values

Mechanics

Requirements:

White Paper/Policy Analysis
Team Exercise
Attendance & Participation

Syllabus:

Terrorism
WMD
Cybersecurity



Mechanics

Course Web Site:

<http://www.cs.washington.edu/education/courses/csep590/CurrentQtr/>

Please sign up for E-Mail and Wiki!

Special Night: Tuesday, September 13, 2005.



Introduction to Homeland Security
Aug. 31, 2005

Lecture 1:
The Logic of Terrorism

Stephen M. Maurer
Goldman School of Public Policy

The Rational Actor Hypothesis

Embarrassments to the Model

The Socialists Patients Collective (1975)

Suicide

Youth

Alternative Explanations

Religion?

Sigmund Freud (1856 – 1939)

Karl Popper (1902 – 1994)

Romanticism, Napoleon & Hitler

Role of the Individual

“A Terrible Beauty”

Introduction

The Invisible Man (1897)

This Lecture

History - Three Waves of Terrorism
Goals & Results

Next Lecture

Terrorism-as-Warfare
Capabilities & Defenses

Beginnings

Antecedents

Mucius Scaevola (505 BC)

The Sicarii (AD 66-73)

The Assassins (11th – 13th Century AD)

1790 – 1850

State Terror (1793-94)

Romanticism (*ca.* 1800)

Primacy of Genius

Revolution

Suicide

Karl Heinzen (1849)



Beginnings

Technology

Black Powder
Dynamite
Revolvers



The First Wave Overview

1870s to World War I

Russia
Anarchism (France & Italy)
Periphery (Ireland, America, Balkans)



The First Wave:

Russia



The First Wave: Russia

People's Will (1878 – 1881)

500 members, 50 active.

Widespread popular support

Assassinated Governor-General of St. Petersburg,

Tsarist Political Police Chief, Czar Alexander II

The Age of Scrupulous Terror

Goals

“No Other Choice”

Revolution: Destroying and Replacing the Government
Seeding Revolution By Example?
Concessions



The First Wave: Russia

- Inertia
 - Revenge, Prison Breaks, Inability to Surrender
- Results
 - Promoting Reaction
- Countermeasures
 - Informers and Spies
 - Fragility – and Persistence – of Terrorism



The First Wave: Russia

Social Revolutionary Terrorism
Combat Organization
Professionalization
Tradecraft & Technology
“Expropriations”
\$5–10m/year

The First Wave: Russia

History:

- 1901: Minister of Education
- 1902: Minister of Interior
- 1903: Two Governors (1903)
- 1904: Interior Minister Plehve and Two Governors
- 1905: 54 Assassinations, including Grand Duke
- 1906: 82 Assassinations (+ 362 “Appropriations”)
- 1907: 71 Assassinations
- 1908: 3 Assassinations
- 1909: 2 Assassinations
- 1910: 1 Assassination
- 1911: Organization ceases to exist *but* Stolypin
assassinated

The First Wave: Russia

Results:

Matching Terror Against a Weakened State

“All Ministers are human and they want to live.”

-- Chief of Okhrana

State Terror Nevertheless Prevails

Countermeasures:

1904: Combat Organization Deputy Evno Azef
provides information needed to arrest and
convict his boss.

1912: Okhrana has 26,000 paid agents and a staff of
50,000



The First Wave: Russia

Marxist Critique

“The classes whom the state serves will always find new men – the mechanism remains intact and continues to function. Far deeper is the confusion that terrorist attempts introduce into the ranks of the working masses.”

- Leon Trotsky



The First Wave: Russia

Anti-Bolshevik Terror (1917)

Attacks on Bolsheviks & Counterrevolution

Attacks on German Diplomats & Derailing Peace Talks

Countermeasures

Matching Terror Against A Weak State

The True Meaning of “Asymmetric Warfare”

The First Wave: Russia

Goals:

Revolution – Destroying and Replacing the State
Obtaining Concessions
Blocking Peace Talks
Inertia



The First Wave: Russia

Countermeasures:

Liberalization
Informers
Censorship
Mass Arrests
Internal Exile



The First Wave:
Anarchism

Anarchism



The First Wave: Anarchism

International Anarchist Congress (London 1881)

The Anarchist Myth
Individuals, Not Groups

The First Wave: Anarchism

Examples:

- 1891: Ravachol bombs homes of judge, prosecutor and a barracks. Executed after waiter informs police.
- 1893: Auguste Vaillant tries to throw bomb in Chamber of Deputies. Within days, Deputies overwhelmingly pass legislation to criminalize anarchists, restrict press, and increase police force.
- 1894: Vaillant is executed. Police conduct 2000 raids on known anarchists and sympathizers on New Year's Day.

The First Wave: Anarchism

“Propaganda by Deed”
Willingness to Die & Willingness to Kill

Results

The Battle for Public Sympathy
Legislation and Repression
 Police Surveillance & Mass Arrests
 Police Exaggeration & Provocation

Anarchist Orthodoxy



The First Wave: Anarchism

Goals:

Revolution – Destroying and Replacing the State
Obtaining Concessions
Blocking Peace Talks
Publicity & Propaganda
Inertia



The First Wave: Anarchism

Countermeasures:

Liberalization

Public Opinion

Informers

Censorship

Mass Arrests

Internal Exile

Surveillance

Criminalizing Advocacy



The First Wave

Periphery



The First Wave: Periphery

Ireland (1870s - 1880s)

History

Clerkenwell Explosion (1867)

Phoenix Park Murders (1882)

Countermeasures

Rewards and informers

Foreign Sponsors



The First Wave: Periphery

United States

- Molly Maguires (1870s)
- Haymarket Square Bombing (1886)
- Assassination of Frank Steunenberg (1905)
- Los Angeles Times Bombing (1910)
 - ~ 100 bombings (1905-1910)

Immigrant centered, usually economic.



The First Wave: Periphery

Spain

Labor Violence

Armenia (1896)

Inviting Foreign Intervention

The Balkans (1914)

Terrorism's Biggest Result?

Blocking Concessions

A Russian Connection?

The First Wave: Periphery

Goals:

Revolution – Destroying and Replacing the State
Publicity & Propaganda
Obtaining Concessions
Blocking Peace Talks
Forcing Withdrawal
Blocking Concessions/Provoking a Crackdown
Inviting Foreign Intervention
Economic Demands
Inertia

The First Wave: Periphery

Countermeasures:

Liberalization

Public Opinion

Rewards

Informers

Censorship

Mass Arrests

Internal Exile

Surveillance

Criminalizing Advocacy

Mass Reprisals



Interlude: 1915 - 1960



Interlude:
1915 – 1960

Between the Wars: 1918 - 1939



Terrorism Between the Wars

Terrorism in the Era of Mass Parties Technology Automatic Weapons



Terrorism Between the Wars

Ireland (1916-1921)

Raising Cost of Occupation
Supporting an Organized Rising
Terrorism as Counterintelligence

Ireland (1938–39)

The German Connection



Terrorism Between the Wars

Terrorism Between the Wars
Spain & Portugal

India

Poland

Japan

Balkans

Totalitarianism and Terror



Terrorism Between the Wars

State-Sponsorship

Russia & Germany

Emigré Assassinations

Italy

King Alexander of Yugoslavia (1934)

Rosselli Brothers (France, 1936)

Supplying Weapons and Explosives (France, 1930s)

Bulgaria

Macedonian Terrorism (1930s)

Providing a Shield Against The State

Terrorism Between the Wars

Crime

Macedonia

Contract murder, narcotics

Bulgaria (\$2-3 million)

Extortion, state sponsorship

Terrorism Between the Wars

Goals:

- Revolution – Destroying and Replacing the State
- Publicity & Propaganda
- Obtaining Concessions
- Blocking Peace Talks
- Forcing Withdrawal
- Blocking Concessions/Provoking a Crackdown
- Inviting Foreign Intervention
- Economic Demands
- Supporting Conventional/Guerrilla Operations
- Crime**
- State Sponsorship**
- Inertia



Interlude:
1915 – 1960

World War II: 1939 - 1945

World War II

World War II

Technology

Plastic explosive and timing devices

History

Heydrich & Lidice

Terror in the West

Terror in the East

World War II

Goals:

Revolution – Destroying and Replacing the State
Publicity & Propaganda
Obtaining Concessions
Forcing Withdrawal
Blocking Concessions/Provoking a Crackdown
Inviting Foreign Intervention
Economic Demands
Supporting Conventional/Guerrilla Operations
Crime
State Sponsorship
Inertia

World War II

Countermeasures:

Liberalization

Public Opinion

Rewards

Informers

Censorship

Mass Arrests

Mass Reprisals

Internal Exile

Surveillance

Criminalizing Advocacy

Military Tribunals

Torture



The Post-War: 1945 - 1960

The Post-War

Post-War

Palestine (1943-47)

Cyprus (1955-58)

Aden (1964-67)

Algiers (1956-57)

Vietnam (1950s – 1960s)

The Post-War

Goals:

Revolution – Destroying and Replacing the State
Publicity & Propaganda
Obtaining Concessions
Forcing Withdrawal
Blocking Concessions/Prompting a Crackdown
Inviting Foreign Intervention
Economic Demands
Supporting Conventional/Guerrilla Operations
Crime
State Sponsorship
Holding Territory
Inertia

The Post-War

Countermeasures:

- Liberalization
- Public Opinion
- Rewards
- Informers
- Censorship
- Mass Arrests
- Mass Reprisals
- Internal Exile
- Surveillance
- Criminalizing Advocacy
- Military Tribunals
- Armed Confrontation
- Torture



The Second Wave: 1960s to 1980s



The Second Wave: 1960s – 1980s

Technology:

Television and Hijackings
Antitank and Antiaircraft missiles
Truck & Car Bombs



Latin America: 1960 - Present

The Second Wave: Latin America

Goals

Lack of Alternatives – The Failure of Guerilla Warfare
“Urban Guerrillas.”

Membership

50 (Tupamaros – Uruguay – Early)
1500 – 2500 (Shining Path – Peru)
3000 (Tupamaros – Uruguay – Peak)
5000 (ERP – Argentina)
6-7000 (FARC – Colombia)

Financing

State Sponsorship, Crime & Big Budget Terrorism



The Second Wave: Latin America

Argentina: Mononeros, Peoples Revolutionary Party, 8 smaller groups.

Peru: Shining Path, Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement

Brazil: National Liberation Action, Revolutionary Popular Vanguard, Revolutionary Movement of 8 October.

Colombia: FARC, Army of National Liberation, Movimiento 19 Abril.

El Salvador: Farabundo Marti Popular Forces of Liberation.

Guatemala: Rebel Armed Forces, 9 smaller groups.

Mexico: 23d September Communist League, People's Armed Revolutionary Forces, 7 smaller groups.

Nicaragua: Sandinistas.

Uruguay: Tupamaros.

Venezuela: Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN)



The Second Wave: Latin America

Results

- Failure of “Urban Guerilla” Analogy
- Reactionary Governments

Tactics

- Attacks on Army Installations
- Attacks on Foreigners

Crime

- Kidnapping and extortion from foreign businesses. Bank robbery.

- Tax on Coca farmers; protection money from landlords and drug lords. Drug trafficking.

- Stock & Legitimate Businesses

Latin America

Goals:

Replacing – Destroying and Replacing the State
Publicity & Propaganda
Obtaining Concessions
Forcing Withdrawal
Blocking Concessions/Provoking a Crackdown
Inviting Foreign Intervention
Economic Demands
Supporting Conventional/Guerrilla Operations
Crime
State Sponsorship
Holding Territory
Attacking Military Units
Inertia

Latin America

Countermeasures:

Liberalization

Public Opinion

Rewards

Informers

Censorship

Mass Arrests

Mass Reprisals

Internal Exile

Surveillance

Criminalizing Advocacy

Military Tribunals

Torture

Armed Confrontation

European Terrorism: 1960s – 1980s



The Second Wave: European Terrorism

European Terrorism The New Left & Urban Guerillas Nationalism



The Second Wave: European Terrorism

France (Leftist): Action Directe, Factions Armees Revolutionnaires Libanaises (FARL), Cellules Communistes Combattantes (CCC).

France (Separatist): Breton Armee Republicaine Bretonne (ARB), Corsican Front de la Liberation Naitonale de la Corse (FLNC), French Basque Iparretarrak.

Germany (Leftist): Red Army Faction, Red Cells, Red Zora, Autonomous Groups.

Italy (Fascist): Armed Revolutionary Nuclei, Black Order, Mussolini Action Squads, New Order, Revolutionary Action Movement, Revolutionary Fascist Nuclei.

Italy (Leftist): Red Brigades, Front Line, Armed Proletarian Nuclei, October XXII Circle, Partisan Action Groups, Permanent Struggle, Workers Vanguard, Communisti Organisti per la Liberazione del Proletariat (COLP)



The Second Wave: European Terrorism

Ireland (Separatist): Official IRA, Provisional IRA, Irish National Liberation Army.

Ireland (Counter-Separatist): Ulster Defence Association, Ulster Volunteer Force.

Spain (Separatist): ETA

Spain (Leftist): First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Group (GRAPO)

Greece: Revolutionary Organization 17 November; Revolutionary Popular Struggle.

Canada: Front for Liberation of Quebec, Quebec Liberation Army (ALQ).

United States: SDS & SDS Splinters: October League, Revolutionary Union, New American Movement, Vencervornos Brigades, Red Guerilla Family, New Year's Gang, Weathermen.

United States (Other Groups): Black Panther Party, New World Liberation Front, SLA, FALN.



The Second Wave: European Terrorism

Three Examples:
Baader-Meinhof
Red Brigades
IRA



Baader-Meinhof Gang

Membership

20 – 50 Active Members
100 Members
1600 Supporters

Goals

Provoking a Crackdown

Results

Financing

Bank Robbery & State Sponsorship

Baader-Meinhof Gang

History

- 1968: Firebombing; Baader & 3 others arrested.
- 1970: Baader escapes from prison; multiple bank robberies; five arrests; firefight with police; group renames itself “Red Army Faction.”
- 1971: Arrest; firefight.
- 1972: Five bombings against US military bases and German police targets; authorities enact new police powers and create special GSG-9 unit. Baader is arrested in raid on bomb factory. Meinhof is arrested after sympathizer reports her to authorities. Third leader arrested.
- 1974: Mains dies in prison following hunger strike. RAF splinter group assassinates President of Berlin Supreme Court the next day. Public outrage sabotages effort to portray Mains as a martyr. Government builds special prison for group.

Baader-Meinhof Gang

- 1975: Baader, Meinhof, and others are tried. RAF kidnaps CDU chairman who is freed when five terrorists are flown to Yemen. RAF splinter group seizes Stockholm embassy. Government refuses to negotiate after two employees are murdered. Two terrorists are killed and three arrested.
- 1976: Meinhof commits suicide. Four RAF women prisoners escape.
- 1977: RAF attacks oil tank on NATO airbase. Assassinates chief federal prosecutor and head of Deutsche Bank. Kidnaps and murders union leader Hans Martin Schleyer. PFLP-SOG hijack Lufhansa flight to Somalia. GSG-9 rescues hostages, killing one terrorist, and capturing three. Baader and 3 companions commit suicide. 26 firebombing attacks on German sites in France, Italy, and Greece.
- 1978: Four members arrested.
- 1979: Two members arrested, one killed. RAF fails to kill Supreme Allied Commander using roadside bomb.

Baader-Meinhof Gang

- 1981: Car bomb at USAF base. RAF fails to assassinate Commander of US Forces, Europe using RPG.
- 1982: German civilians notice weapons cache. Four arrests follow.
- 1984: RAF blows up NATO oil pipeline.
- 1985: RAF murders industrialist; bombs multiple US bases. Bombs Frankfurt airport killing three. Sends letter bomb to Bayer. Car bombs two US airbases killing four.
- 1986: RAF murders German industrialist and Senior Foreign Ministry official.
- 1988: Attempt to kill Minister of Finance fails.
- 1989: RAF murders head of Deutsche Bank.
- 1991: RAF assassinates government official in charge of privatizing East German state property. Fires AK-47 at US embassy.

Baader-Meinhof Gang

- 1993: Destroys new prison with explosives. Firefight kills member and GSG-9 officer.
- 1997: German authorities announce RAF is no longer a serious threat. Former sympathizers are disillusioned with its methods. Decline of communism makes replacing members hard.
- 1998: RAF announces it is disbanding: “We are stuck in a dead end.”



Baader-Meinhof Gang

Lessons

Terrorist Groups Do Not Form Without a Critical Mass of Sympathizers.

 Maintaining “Invisibility”

 Maintaining Extremism

Once Created, Terrorism Persists for Long Periods.

 Futility is the best defense.

 Casualties

 Recruitment

 Symbolic Failures

 A Generational Cycle?

Life Goes On...

Cf., US Murder Rate (~ 20,500/year).

Red Brigades

Membership

50 Active Members, Organized in 5-6 member “brigades”

450 Members

Large Number of Sympathizers.

Goals

Replacing the State

“An Armed Avante Garde Working Within

Proletariat to Establish A Party”

Destructuralization of the Capitalist Economy

Results

Funding

Extortion, ransom.

Red Brigades

History

- 1970 – 1973: Kidnaps factory managers to force better terms and conditions.
- 1974: Kidnaps and later releases public prosecutor. Kills two right-wing political party members. Nine founding members are arrested by year's end.
- 1975: Leader escapes and is recaptured. Wife is killed in while holding millionaire hostage.
- 1976: Assassinate public prosecutor.
- 1977: Kidnap shipping owner and release for 1.5 bn lire ransom. Assassinate Turin lawyer's association president and editor of La Stampa.

Red Brigades

- 1978 Murder senior judge and officer of Carabinieri. Kidnap and later murder former CDU leader Aldo Moro. Massive public protests result. Government refuses demands.
- 1979 Group splits over murder of Communist Shop steward, dissidents claim leadership is out of touch with working class. Several members arrested later in the year.
- 1980: Leading member arrested, later turns state's evidence. Leads to arrest of 85 more members. Passage of Pentiti ("those who have repented) Legislation leads to 360 additional arrests/indictments by year's end. Red Brigades kidnap judge but release him after government agrees to close a prison and broadcast revolutionary tracts.

Red Brigades

- 1981: CDU politician kidnapped and released after ransom is paid. Most of Milan group arrested later in the year. Brigades kidnap NATO General James Dozier who is later rescued. Failure causes Red Brigades to split into four splinter groups. Severe crackdown puts most of group leaders in jail. Many turned informer. Internal schisms and ideological quarrels proliferate. Grew isolated from working class base and public opinion. Informers and defections proliferate.
- 1984: Assassination of Sinai Peacekeeping Force director.
- 1985: Failed assassination of economic adviser to Prime Minister.
- Current: Inactive. Estimated 50 members.



Lessons:

Red Brigades

Organization vs. Individuals

Complex vs. Simple Operations

Bombings

Assassination

Kidnapping

Hijacking

Persistence of Terrorism

Informers

Futility, Casualties, Symbolic Setbacks
& Generational Effects.

Constraints on Violence

Self-image

Sympathizers

State Sponsors

The Second Wave: European Terrorism

- IRA Mainland Campaign
 - Nationalism and Ideology
 - US Donations & Organized Crime
 - Bank Robbery, Money Laundering, Extortion
- Goals and Results
- Membership
 - 5-12 Member “Autonomous Service Units”
 - Large number of sympathizers.

IRA Mainland Attacks

History

- 1971: 1 Bombing. Civilian target, no injuries.
- 1972: 1 Bombing. Military barracks. Padre and six civilians killed.
- 1973: ~ 50 Bombings, including several large car bombs. 5 on a single day. Military and civilian targets. 2 killed.
- 1974: ~ 60 Bombings, 1 shooting. Military and civilian targets, including car bombs, parcel bombs, motor coach carrying soldiers' families, and multiple pubs. 40+ deaths, including at least 5 civilians. Government passes anti-terrorism legislation.
- 1975: ~ 15 Bombings, 2 shootings. Most violence between September and November. Police spot suspicious behavior leading to shootout. 6 civilians killed, including Ross McWhirter. Balcombe Street Gang surrenders after 6 day siege when SAS arrive on scene.

IRA Mainland Attacks

- 1976: 4 Bombings, 1 shooting. 1 civilian killed during getaway.
- 1977: 8 Bombings, no casualties.
- 1979: Conservative MP assassinated.
- 1981: 5 Bombings. Military and civilian targets. 5 killed.
- 1982: 2 Bombings. 13 soldiers and police killed.
- 1983: 2 Bombings. Discovery of explosives cache in October leads to arrest of two ASUs. Harrods explosion in December kills 3 police and 3 civilians. IRA announces that attack was “unauthorized” and that it “regrets” the deaths.
- 1984: 1 Bombing. IRA bombs Conservative Party Convention. Five killed, including 1 MP.
- 1985: Police foil plot to bomb 12 seaside resorts.

IRA Mainland Attacks

- 1988: Bomb demolishes barracks, killing 1 soldier.
- 1989: 3 Bombs explode at barracks, no fatalities.
- 1990: 6 Bombings, 2 shootings. Targets include London Underground, Railway platforms, military van, a former minister, and a government official. 3 soldiers, 1 former minister, and 1 civilian die. Bomb near London stock exchange causes massive damage.
- 1991: 26 Bombings (includes mortars and firebombs). Targets include No. 10 Downing, London underground trains, shopping malls, and financial centers. 1 civilian and 2 IRA killed. Hoax warnings add to disruption.
- 1992: 16 Bombings (includes firebombs) and 2 shootings. Targets include No. 10 Downing, Underground stations, pubs. Car and very large (~1,000 pound) bombs are introduced. Gunmen force taxi driver to deliver bomb to No. 10 Downing. 5 civilians killed. 1 arrest.

IRA Mainland Attacks

- 1993: ~ 20+ Bombings (includes firebombs). 3 civilians killed. Targets include stores, shopping districts, London Underground stations, and railway lines. 2200 pound van bomb detonates in The City after warning. Causes £350m+ in property damage and kills press photographer. Hoax warnings add to disruption.
- 1994: ~ 17 Bombings (includes mortars and firebombs), arson. Targets include stores and multiple attacks on Heathrow Airport. Hoax messages add to disruption. IRA declares ceasefire.
- 1996: 8 Bombings. 3 killed, including 1 IRA. IRA breaks ceasefire with massive truck bomb in Docklands garage. Despite advance warning, two are killed and property damage exceeds £150 million. IRA detonates 3,000 pound fertilizer bomb in Manchester shopping center. Despite advance warning, 200 are injured. Hoax warnings add to disruption.

IRA Mainland Attacks

- 1997: 6 Bombings. No one killed. Targets consist of rail stations and motorways. Hoax warnings add to disruption. Hoax warning at Grand National produces widespread outrage. Shadow Home Secretary Jack Straw declares that IRA had “put themselves beyond the pale.”
- 1998: Northern Ireland votes 71.2% to accept Good Friday Agreement. 94% in Irish republic vote in favor. “Real IRA” splinter group forms.
- 2000: Real IRA carries out 2 Bombings and fire an antitank rocket at MI 6 headquarters. No one is killed. Targets include bridge, London Underground station, and MI 6 headquarters.
- 2001: 5 Bombings. No one is killed. Targets include BBC, postal station, and London Underground station. One car bombing occurs after September 11.

IRA

Sustained, High-Level Violence.

But: Life Goes On...

October 15, 1940: 540 tons of explosives,
900 fires, 400 dead.

Persistence

Sanctuary & State Sponsorship

Crime

Why Did The Violence Fluctuate?

UK Police

Response to Ongoing Negotiations

Internal IRA Politics

Obtaining Concessions

The Commitment Problem

Good Friday Agreement (1998)

The Second Wave: European Terrorism

Constraints on Violence:

Irish Republic

Irish Population in USA - September 11, 2001

Irish Population in Britain - July, 2005

State Response

Anti-Terrorism Legislation is (Imperfectly) Effective
Video Surveillance.

State Sponsorship

Part 1

Soviet & Proxy Support

Training Camps (1960s – Early 1980s)

USSR, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, East Germany. Clients include IRA, Red Brigades, Baader-Meinhof, ETA. 1500 guerillas/year trained.

Terrorist Summits

Cuba 1966; Lebanon 1972; Yugoslavia 1978; Lisbon 1981.

Soviet Arms Shipments

Examples: PFLP (1970), Official IRA (1972).

State Sponsorship

Part 1

Sponsor Goals

Tit-for-Tat

Destabilizing The West

Preoccupying The West

Communist Bloc Politics

Romanticism & Institutional Inertia

Drawbacks

Complicates Foreign Relations

Unpredictable and Dangerous

Victory Would Not Help USSR

Failure Discredits Traditional Parties

Terrorism May Spread to Sponsor & Allies

Inability to Terminate Relationship

Carlos (1982)



The Second Wave: European Terrorism

Professionalization & Persistence Carlos & East Germany

Effect on Terrorist Agenda

“When there is too much money, unnecessary things are bought, first a record player and a television set, then expensive suits and cars, and in the end you look like something straight out of *Playboy*...”

- Anonymous German Terrorist

The Second Wave: European Terrorism

Goals:

- Revolution – Destroying and Replacing the State
- Publicity & Propaganda
- Obtaining Concessions
- Forcing Withdrawal
- Blocking Concessions/Provoking a Crackdown
- Inviting Foreign Intervention
- Economic Demands
- Supporting Conventional/Guerrilla Operations
- Crime
- State Sponsorship
- Holding Territory
- Attacking Military Units
- Destroying the Economy
- Inertia

The Second Wave: European Terrorism

Countermeasures:

Liberalization
Public Opinion
Rewards
Informers
Censorship
Mass Arrests
Mass Reprisals
Internal Exile
Surveillance
Criminalizing Advocacy
Military Tribunals
Torture
Armed Confrontation

International Terrorism: 1960s – 1980s

The Second Wave: International Terrorism

Growth of International Terrorism

Mid-East Conflict

Failure of Terrorism Inside Israel

Press Bias Favoring “International” Events.

Membership

~ 500 Members (PFLP, ALF, Abu Nidal)

~ 50 Members (PFLP-SOG)

Financing

State Sponsorship

Professionalization of Terrorism

Terrorist Entrepreneurs (Carlos, Abu Nidal)



International Terrorism: 1968 - 1990

History

- 1968:
- PFLP terrorists hijack El Al flight from Rome.
 - PFLP machine guns El Al Airliner in Athens, killing 1.
- 1969
- Terrorists attack El Al plane at Zurich, killing 4.
 - PFLP hijacks TWA flight after it leaves Rome.
 - Al Fatah throws hand grenades at El Al office in Brussels.
 - Hand grenade attack on El Al office in Athens kills 1.

International Terrorism: 1968 - 1990

1970:

- Unsuccessful attempt to hijack El Al plane from Munich. 1 Israeli killed.
- PFLP attacks El Al bus at Munich Airport, kills 1.
- PFLP blows up Swiss Airliner by accident, killing 47.
- Attack on Israeli Embassy in Paraguay kills 2.
- PPSF hijacks Greek plane.
- PFLP hijacks TWA, SwissAir, Pan Am, and BOAC planes carrying 400 passengers to Dawson's Field in Jordan. Attempted hijacking of El Al flight fails. Passengers released after Swiss and British governments give in.
- PFLP hijacks BOAC plane from Bombay to Rome.
- Jordan expels PLO.

International Terrorism: 1968 - 1990

- 1971: - Black September assassinates Jordanian Prime Minister in Cairo.
- 1972: - Belgian airliner is hijacked to Tel Aviv. Israeli commandos storm plane, freeing hostages. One passenger and five soldiers are killed.
- PFLP and Japanese Red Army kill 27 civilians at Lod Airport.
- Munich Olympics Massacre. Eight Black September terrorists take 11 Israeli athletes hostage. Nine hostages and five terrorist are killed.
- Letter bomb to Israeli embassy in London kills 1.
- Al Fatah group hijacks Lufthansa flight from Beirut to Zagreb.

International Terrorism: 1968 - 1990

- 1973:
- ~ 12 Israeli “Wrath of God” Assassinations
 - **Black September terrorists murder US ambassador to Sudan.**
 - Black September terrorists murder Israeli businessman in Cyprus.
 - Terrorists attack El Al office in Rome, killing 1.
 - Two Arabs send letter bombs to Israelis living in Britain and Holland.
 - **Black September terrorists attack passenger terminal in Athens, kill 3.**
 - **Japanese Airlines Flight hijacked to Benghazi and destroyed.**
 - **Five terrorists attack Saudi Embassy in Paris.**
 - Two terrorists take three Jewish immigrants hostage aboard a train to Vienna.
 - Three terrorists hijack plane from New Dehli to Abu Dhabi.
 - 5 terrorists attack terminal and destroy airliner at Rome airport killing 30 including 4 senior Moroccan officials and 14 American oil company employees. Terrorists take five Italians hostage aboard Lufthansa airliner and hijack it to Beirut, Athens, and ultimately Kuwait. 1 hostage is killed. Terrorists are allowed to escape to unknown destination. PLO denies responsibility.
 - Terrorist bomb Pan Am office at Rome airport, killing 32.

International Terrorism: 1968 - 1990

- 1974:
- PLO makes conciliatory statement implying Israel's right to exist. PFLP, DFLP, ALF, PFLP-GC, PPSF form "Rejection Front." Abu Nidal (who does not join the Front) begins assassination campaign against PLO officials.
 - PFLP-GC seize Qirayat Shemona. 18 Israelis killed in rescue attempt.
 - PFLP terrorists seize school at Ma'a lot. 27 Israelis are killed in rescue attempt.
 - PFLP raids Shamir Kibbutz. Four terrorists and several Israelis are killed.
 - Fatah terrorists attempt to land in Israel by boat. All are killed, along with three Israelis.
 - Rejection Front hijackers hijack a British Airliner at Dubai. 1 German passenger is killed.

International Terrorism: 1968 - 1990

- 1975: PFLP/Carlos attacks Orly airport twice using rockets. Police frustrate second attack, which ends with Carlos seizing ten hostages in bathroom. Terrorists are allowed to take Air France flight to Iraq. PFLP-SOG/Carlos take OPEC Ministers Hostage. Saudi Arabia and Iran pay \$20m+ ransom.
- 1976: - RAF and PFLP seize Air France airliner with 258 passengers aboard. Israeli commandos storm the plane at Entebbe. 1 soldier and 3 passengers die.
- PFLP and JAL terrorists attack passenger terminal in Istanbul, killing 4.
- 1977 - Terrorists hijack Lufthansa aircraft. Pilot is killed. German special forces storm plane in Mogadishu, rescuing hostages, capturing 3 terrorists and killing one.

International Terrorism: 1968 - 1990

- 1978:
 - Al Fatah seaborne raid into Israel kills 26 civilians.
 - PFLP open fire on El Al passengers in Paris. 2 Frenchmen are killed.
 - PFLP attacks El Al crew bus in London, killing 1.
- 1979:
 - **Attack on El Al passengers at Brussels Airport, no one killed.**
- 1980:
 - El Al employee killed in Istanbul.
 - Attack on synagogue in Paris kills four.
- 1981:
 - Attack on synagogue in Vienna kills two.
- 1982:
 - **Abu Nidal terrorists critically injure Israeli Ambassador to UK.**
 - Abu Nidal terrorists attack synagogue in Brussels.
 - Abu Nidal terrorists attack synagogue in Rome, killing 1.
- 1983:
 - **Truck bomb on US embassy in Beirut kills 63.**
 - **Simultaneous truck bombs kill 242 American and 55 French troops.**

International Terrorism: 1968 - 1990

- 1985:
- Abu Nidal terrorists bomb British Airways Office in Madrid, killing 1.
 - Abu Nidal terrorists assassinate British cultural affairs officer in Athens.
 - Abu Nidal terrorists assassinate British official in Bombay.
 - Grenade attack on Rome Café.
 - PLO kills 3 Israeli tourists in Cyprus.
 - **TWA flight from Athens to Rome is hijacked to Beirut by Hezbollah terrorists. 145 passengers and 8 crew are taken hostage. 1 American sailor is murdered. Hostages are released after Israel frees 435 prisoners.**
 - **Four PFLP terrorists hijack *Achille Lauro* taking 700 passengers and crew hostage. One US passenger is murdered. Egyptian government offers terrorists safe haven over US objections.**
 - **Abu Nidal group hijacks EgyptAir flight from Athens to Malta.**
 - **Abu Nidal terrorists attack El Al and TWA counters in Rome and Vienna. 16 passengers and 4 terrorists are killed. Three terrorists surrenders.**

International Terrorism: 1968 - 1990

- 1986:
- Palestinian splinter group bombs TWA flight near Athens, killing 4 US citizens.
 - Berlin Discotheque Bombing. Two US soldiers are killed. US bombs Libyan targets in retaliation.
 - Abu Nidal attempts hijacking of Pan Am flight in Karachi, killing 22.
 - Abu Nidal terrorists attack a synagogue in Istanbul, killing 22.
- 1988: Lockerbie Bombing. 259 passengers killed.

International Terrorism: 1968 - 1990

Goals

- Supporting Diplomacy
- Obtaining Concessions
 - The Commitment Problem
- De-Railing the Peace Process
 - The Commitment Problem

Financing

- State Sponsors.
 - PFLP, DPFLP, Saiqa
 - \$20-30m/year
 - Fatah
 - \$150-200m/year
- Extortion & Legitimate businesses
 - Abu Nidal

International Terrorism: 1968 - 1990

Internationalization of Terror

Making Terrorism Scalable
Comparative Advantage

Terrorist Summits

Cuba 1966; Lebanon 1972; Yugoslavia 1978;
Lisbon 1981

Training Camps

Joint Operations

Lod Airport Massacre
Mogadishu

Competition Between Groups



International Terrorism: 1960s - 1980

Countermeasures

Diplomacy

Carlos

Why Did Hijackings Stop?

Declining Publicity Value?

Political Needs?

Counterterrorism Units?

International Terrorism: 1960s - 1980

Munich and Afterward

- 1972: 22 SAS (UK), Gendarmerie Royale (Belgium)
- 1973: Grenzschutzgruppe-9 (West Germany),
Gendarmerie Kommando (Austria).
- 1974: Gendarmerie d' intervention Genarmeier Nationale
(France)
- 1975: Beradskaptroppen (Norway).
- 1977: Delta Force (USA)
- 1978: Grupo Especail de Operaciones (Spain), Nucleo
Operativo Centrale di Sicurezza (Italy)
- 1979: Grupo de Operacoes Especiais (Portugal)

International Terrorism: 1960s - 1980

Pre-Munich Outcomes

Israeli

European

2 of 161 Palestinians arrested for acts of terror in third countries between 1968 and 1973 were actually punished.

French Responses to ETA, Belgian Responses to IRA.

Post-Munich Outcomes

Capability is Not Enough!

Deterrence also Needs a Commitment Strategy.

Shifting the Burden - El Dorado Canyon



State Sponsorship

Part 2

Libya

Munich & Various Hijackings

Libyan Arms Shipments

Four large shipments to IRA (1985 – 87)

~ 175 tons of weapons and Semtex explosives.

Also: Syria, Iraq, Iran, Sudan

State Sponsorship

Part 2

Goals

- Gives Small Governments A Foreign Policy Capability

 - Increases Nuisance Value

 - But Only if Sponsor Can Renounce.

Drawbacks

- Difficult to Terminate Sponsorship

- Possibility of Miscalculation (El Dorado Canyon)

 - Small vs. Medium-Sized States

 - Inconsistent With WMD

- Complicates Conventional Foreign Policy, Leading to Isolation.

International Terrorism: 1960s - 1980

Goals:

Revolution – Destroying and Replacing the State

Publicity

Obtaining Concessions

Forcing Withdrawal

Provoking a Crackdown

Foreign Intervention

Catalyzing Diplomacy

Supporting Major Military Operations

Publicity

Credibility

Blocking Political Solutions

Money

Holding Territory

Economic Goals



International Terrorism: 1960s - 1980

The Efficacy of Counter-Terrorism:

Liberalization
Public Opinion
Rewards
Informers
Censorship
Mass Arrests
Mass Reprisals
Internal Exile
Surveillance
Criminalizing Advocacy
Targeted Assassinations & Preemptive Attacks
Military Tribunals
Torture
Armed Confrontation

Conclusions – And a Puzzle

Conclusions

Goals:

Revolution – Destroying and Replacing the State
Destroying the Economy
Publicity
Obtaining Concessions
Forcing Withdrawal
Provoking a Crackdown
Foreign Intervention
Catalyzing Diplomacy
Supporting Major Military Operations
Publicity
Credibility
Blocking Political Solutions
Money
Holding Territory
Economic Goals

Conclusions

Countermeasures:

Liberalization
Public Opinion
Rewards
Informers
Censorship
Mass Arrests
Mass Reprisals
Internal Exile
Surveillance
Criminalizing Advocacy
Targeted Assassinations & Preemptive Attacks
Military Tribunals
Torture
Armed Confrontation

Conclusions

Terrorism is a Marginal Strategy.

Once Started, Terrorism Tends to Be Persistent.

State Power is Overwhelming, Even Modest Measures Are Effective.

Sanctuaries, Sponsors, and Crime Make Terrorism Dramatically More Persistent.

International Terrorism Weakens Traditional Constraints Against Violence.

– And a Puzzle

The Third Wave of Terrorism

We have said that violence is constrained by...

Ideology

Sympathizers & Public Opinion

Sponsors

Goals

Goals: – And a Puzzle

Revolution – Destroying and Replacing the State

Destroying the Economy

Publicity & Propaganda

Obtaining Concessions

Forcing Withdrawal

Provoking a Crackdown

Foreign Intervention

Catalyzing Diplomacy

Supporting Major Military Operations

Publicity

Credibility

Blocking Political Solutions

Money

Holding Territory

Economic Goals



– And a Puzzle

The Reason *Wasn't* Technology!

Boeing 727 Shootdown (February 1973)
Operation Mt Carmel (July 21, 1973)

Terrorism as Warfare

Further Reading

Terrorism Theory

Walter Laqueur, *A History of Terrorism*
_____, *The New Terrorism*
_____, *No End to War: Terrorism*
 in the Twenty-First Century

Alan Dershowitz, *Why Terrorism Works*

Terrorism History

National Commission on Terrorist Attacks,
 The 9/11 Commission Report

Peter Harclerode, *Secret Soldiers*

David Tinnin, *The Hit Team*

International Center for Counter-Terrorism, available
at http://www.ict.org.il/inter_ter/orgdet.cfm?orgid=70



Further Reading

Terrorism History, *ctd.*

US State Department, “Significant Terrorist Incidents, 1961- 2003: A Brief Chronology,” available at <http://www.state.gov./r/pa/ho/pubs/fs/index.cfm?docid=5902>