Adopt the World: learn about it!

Terrorism in the World

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Terrorist attacks are something with which all too many people around the world have to deal. What is terrorism? What makes terrorism different from other types of violence? What do terrorists want to accomplish? Does terrorism help them achieve their goals? What can be done to prevent terrorist acts?

We will try to answer these questions. We will begin with trying to define what terrorism is. We will discuss the types and causes of terrorism. We will then learn something about different terrorist organizations, including their leaders, sources of funding, tactics, and weapons. Finally, we will examine the international implications of the attacks that took place in the U.S. on 9/11.

What is terrorism? Most people would recognize certain types of acts as things that would only be done by terrorists: hijacking airplanes; kidnapping and assassinating public figures on behalf of a political cause; trying to cause explosions in buildings, buses, trains or airplanes; poisoning the air or water with chemical or biological weapons. But defining terrorism is much more complicated.

The very first English-language dictionaries, which were published in 1798, said that the meaning of terrorism is the "systematic use of terror as a policy." Many dictionaries today say the same thing. But if we don’t understand what terror is, this definition doesn’t help us very much, does it? So to understand terrorism we need to know more about terror.

Terror come the Latin word terrere, which means "to frighten." While we usually think of terrorism as consisting of the violent and often deadly acts that terrorists commit, it is their ability to make people afraid that they will carry out these types of acts that terrorists consider to be the true measure of their success. Terrorists try to convince ordinary people as well as government leaders that if they don’t get what they want, something terrible is going to happen to large numbers of innocent people. Terrorism is the use of violence or the fear of violence against innocent people to achieve political goals.

What are political goals? Politics, according to one very short but useful definition, is “who gets what, when and how” in any group or society. Politics is the word we use for who gets to decide whether and how certain people get some of the things they want. There are politics in every day life, even in families and at school.

We recognize from a very young age that someone who always does exactly what he or she wants to do whenever they want to do it is not very pleasant to be around. Most of us have encountered a small child—often referred to as a "holy terror"—who is accustomed to getting his or her own way, because his or her parents, desperately want to avoid the embarrassment of a public temper tantrum, will give in to the child’s demands. While we all would like to have our way, and have the most and the best of the things we want, we recognize that this is not possible.

So we learn cooperative strategies for getting some of the things we want some of the time, such as by taking turns and sharing. Compromise is one way of getting some of what we want is by making sure other people get some of what they want too. Another strategy is tolerance—the acceptance of the fact that people are different and value different things. They are free to
Some groups, however, do not believe that cooperation, compromise and tolerance will help them achieve their goals, and instead adopt strategies that generate and exploit fear of violence. Sometimes these goals are very specific: for example, political autonomy or independence or release of prisoners held for political crimes. Terrorist actions are often designed to attract attention, and, through violent images that appear on television and in newspapers make people afraid of what will happen if the terrorists don’t get their way.

In other cases the goals are much more abstract and ideological, and almost impossible to satisfy: such as doing away with governments; ending capitalism; and/or establishing a global theocracy. Sometimes a group falls somewhere in between, claiming to be acting in pursuit of an abstract religious or ideological goal but carrying out violent actions that are very deliberately directed against specific targets for various reasons.

Studying Terrorism

Terrorism, in and of itself, is not an “-ism”—a set of beliefs that tries to explain to believers how and why things happen in the world in the ways in which they do. Rather, it is a word that is used to discuss and to try to understand the use of destructive acts against random victims that are deliberately designed to make people afraid, and in the process, to deliberately cause as much harm as possible to whoever happens to be at the site of the terrorist target at the time. There are many different ways we can study terrorism. We can classify terrorist attacks based on where they happen, why the group that claims responsibility for a terrorist attack says that they did it; who carries out terrorist attacks and who the victims are, how an act of terrorism is carried out, and what makes a specific event considered to be an act of terrorism.

Where Terrorism Happens:

Terrorist incidents and events have occurred on nearly every continent. In Europe, Great Britain, Germany, Northern Ireland, Italy and Russia, Spain and former Yugoslavia have all experienced terrorist attacks in the past several decades. In the Middle East, terrorist attacks have occurred in Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Turkey. On the continent of Asia, major terrorist attacks have been carried out in Afghanistan, China, Georgia, India, Indonesia, Japan, Kashmir, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippines and Sri Lanka.

In Africa, terrorists have struck in Algeria, Tunisia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Angola, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan. In North America, terrorist attacks have targeted the U.S., Canada, Mexico and Cuba. South American terrorist targets have included Argentina,
Where Terrorism Happens

Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela, and the tri-border jungle region where Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay meet is believed to be a center for planning terrorist operations.4

In the U.S., we tend to hear most about the terrorist incidents that have either taken place in the U.S., such as the attacks that occurred on Sept. 11, 2001 in New York City and Washington DC, or that target Americans, including American soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan, and American targets, such as the attack on the USS Cole and the bombing of the US Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya. But terrorism is a global problem, and thousands of attacks have occurred worldwide that most Americans never hear about or pay much attention to. Terrorism isn’t just an American problem, and almost everyone in the world shares the goal of preventing terrorist attacks.

What makes an action “terroristic”?

Terroristic acts are different from any other kind of human activity because they deliberately try to cause the maximum amount damage to the most people and/or destroy as much property as possible. In most cases the terrorists do not have a specific person in mind as their victim—anyone from “the other side” will do. The people killed or injured in terrorist attacks rarely have anything to do with the grievance or cause that the terrorists claim is motivating them.

Bombs and other explosive devices that are placed in public places and government buildings to frighten and kill people are the weapons most frequently associated with terrorism, dating back to the 19th century. They are completely indiscriminate in their targets: anyone who happens to be in the area at the time, regardless of their age, gender, religious beliefs, or political philosophy. There isn’t any reason a particular person is hurt or killed in a terrorist attack other than they happen to be there when it happens.

Until recently, law-enforcement officials assumed that terrorists using bombs would attempt to cause death and damage without harming themselves. Suicide bombing, in which the attacker also died, challenged that assumption. Although suicide bombings are frequently associated with the various conflicts in the Middle East, the suicide belt was invented and perfected by the “Tamil Tigers” (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam), a Sri Lankan separatist group.6

Hijacking airplanes and taking the passengers and crew as hostage began in the early 1960s. Until then, it
was considered normal for family and friends to go all the way to the gate from which the plane was leaving and wave goodbye to them as the plane took off. No one thought of checking baggage or carry-on bags for weapons. When airline hijackers began carrying weapons onto airplanes and making them fly to other destinations, inspections of hand-carried items began, and only passengers with tickets were allowed to go to the gate.

The dangers posed by bombs and terrorist challenges to the safety of passengers on airlines were brought together in several incidents when bombs were placed on board aircraft in checked passenger luggage. Airlines have had to develop ways to inspect checked baggage for explosives, and to meet new challenges posed by terrorists. Ever since a terrorist posing as a passenger tried to cause an explosion on an airplane by igniting a substance he carried in his shoe, all passengers were required to take off their shoes during pre-flight security. When several passengers were suspected of trying to cause an on-board explosion with fluids in their carry-on luggage, gels and liquids—cosmetics, medications, etc.—were restricted and subject to inspection.

One of the most powerful weapons of terrorism, as pointed out earlier, is fear of what might happen. Experts have warned that in the future, terrorists might try to Introduce toxic substances or diseases into the environment, contaminating the air or water (bioterrorism), or use a small quantity of nuclear waste in a bomb or explosive device.

A very different sort of weapon involves attacks by terrorists using computers. Computers are used for many things: looking up information; doing research; sending e-mail and connecting with friends; downloading music and videos; taking online classes or getting help with homework; shopping; getting driving directions; checking what whether an airline flight will be on time, and hundreds of other things. Some experts are increasingly concerned that terroristic hackers could target government and business databases, diverting or corrupting the information in them.

One of the main goals of terrorists is to challenge the assumption that ordinary people have that their government can keep them safe. There are many debates going on about the extent to which Americans, living in a free society should be willing to compromise their convenience and their privacy in order to be kept safe from acts of terrorism.

Dealing with terrorism raises many questions. Do current airline security measures go too far or not far enough in keeping us safe? Besides airline security procedures, how much should the prevention terrorism be a part of our everyday lives? Should terrorism be treated like any other crime, or should different rules apply when dealing with legal but suspicious activities that might be signs that a terrorist attack is being planned? Should government agencies be allowed to listen in on phone calls or monitor e-mail? How much evidence should police be required to have in order to arrest someone who they believe is planning to launch a terrorist attack? If the goal of terrorism is to spread fear, if we are too afraid of terrorism, do the terrorists accomplish their goals?

Why Terrorism Happens:
Many groups that use terrorist tactics try to justify their violent and destructive actions by claiming that they are acting for a worthy cause. This helps them to gain sympathy. We feel sorry for people who are oppressed and want to live in freedom. This makes studying about terrorism very complicated because it raises many moral questions. It is important to understand that discussing the reasons that various groups may give to justify their actions for their acts of terrorism do not justify harming or killing innocent people.

International terrorism is often linked to:

- Political groups, sometimes representing ethnic minorities but in other cases a majority population politically dominated by a minority, may want political self-determination or national independence or self-determination. If they are unable to achieve it, they may turn to terrorist methods to achieve their political goals.

- Conflict between ethnic or religious groups sometimes explodes into violence or civil war. One or both sides may use terrorist tactics against the other.

- Ideological terrorism often stems from the rejection of the authority of the existing government on principle. Sometimes the ideology is secular (not related to religion), and sometimes it is religious. Anarchist groups and individuals have been responsible for bombings and the assassination of political leaders. Some religious groups claim they reject all forms of state authority and want secular law codes to be replaced exclusively by religious law and precepts.

- Criminal terrorism. Although all acts of terrorism are crimes, not all crimes involve terrorism (using violence or fear of violence against innocent people to achieve political goals). However, some criminal networks do use terrorist methods. Drug-trafficking networks (criminals dealing in illegal narcotics) sometimes use terrorist methods, such as kidnapping, threats of assassination, and violence against innocent people as ways of putting pressure on police, judges, and government officials. Terrorist activities of drug cartels is referred to as narco-terrorism.

- Nationalism

- The Pledge of Allegiance to the United States of America says that we are “one nation.” Americans are proud and protective of their country (the land they live in) and their nation (the people who live in their country). This pride is called nationalism. “As a political doctrine, nationalism is the belief that the world’s peoples are divided into nations, and that each of these nations has the right to self-determination,” either as its own nation-state or as a self-governing unit within an existing nation state.”

- There are two types of nationalism. Civic nationalism considers the nation to be “a community of equal, rights-bearing citizens, united in patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices and values,” regardless of their race, religion, skin color, ethnicity, gender or the language that they speak. In the U.S., nationalism, for most people, is civic rather than...
Americans become citizens by being born in the U.S. People who have come from a variety of countries, can choose to become citizens of the U.S. by following certain immigration procedures and laws. Whatever their race, religion or ethnic origin, their children automatically become citizens just by being born on American soil.  

**naturalization**, with the same rights, responsibilities and protection as all other citizens.  

**Ethnic nationalism** bases national identity on people sharing a specific ancestry, ethnicity culture and/or religion. Ethnic nationalism is not necessarily bad. It can give people a shared sense of connection to family and folk traditions, and create a sense of community and common purpose. When people move to the U.S. they become part of American culture, and their children and grandchildren will be of American ancestry within a generation or two.  

But in many countries, ethnic nationalism is the basis of citizenship and political rights. Nationality can only be inherited, and cannot be acquired in any other way—even by birth in that country. In Japan, for example, it is very difficult and somewhat rare for people whose parents and grandparents are not Japanese to become citizens of Japan, even if they were born there.  

Some ethnic nationalists believe that every nation—a people with its own ancestry, culture (often including its own language) and religion—ought to have a country where it is in charge, and sometimes even where members of other nationalities, religious groups, and ethnicities, may not be welcome. Ethnic nationalists may believe that people of a different ethnicity should be treated as different and inferior, subject to political and social discrimination. Ethnic majorities may try to exert and extend their dominance by taking advantage of their greater numbers to pass laws and elect officials according to the principle of majority rule. Sometimes an ethnic minority is the one who gains or holds political or economic power, repressing a larger but weaker community.  

Minorities (or sometimes an ethnic majority being ruled by a minority) may respond in a number of ways, including developing an alternative ethnic nationalism of their own and seeking protection through the legal system. If they are successful the members of the majority may feel threatened; if they fail, they may feel anger and resentment.
Both ethnic majorities and minorities can try to accomplish their ethno-nationalist goals through the legal system. Ethnic minorities fact that they are in the majority and opportunities that democracy gives them to pass laws and elect officials of their passing laws, even ethno-national goals such as equality before the law and more opportunities for political participation and economic participation through (or to prevent others from achieving them), through political process, negotiation and mobilizing public opinion at home and abroad through non-violent political action, without the use of force.

Ethnic nationalism can foster terrorism in two different ways: extreme ethnic nationalism is a matter of state policy. In other cases, it may arise as a negative response to government imposition of civic equality it is a reflection of competition and conflict between a majority nationality and discriminated against may resent it.

Some ethnic nationalists believe that every nation—a people with its own culture, often including its own language and religion), ought to have its own state. Members of other ethnicities and nationalities may not be allowed to settle in certain ethno-nationalist states. If they are already there, they may be subject to political or social discrimination. One way of creating an ethnically “pure” nationalist state is by preventing anyone who is not part of the dominant nationality from settling in a country whose ethnic identity they do not share. Another way ethnic nationalists may try to accomplish this is by irredentism: claiming territory from a neighboring state for historical reasons or because the people who live there are considered to have the same ethnic identity. Another way of trying to assure that everyone in a state shares the same ethnicity and culture is through ethnoterrorism.
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*cleansing*: encouraging or forcing anyone who is not of the dominant ethnicity and culture within a state or territory to leave.

Sometimes, however, people use terrorism to try to achieve their ethno-nationalist political goals. Civilians and government officials may be kidnapped, taken hostage and even assassinated. Government institutions as well as homes and businesses, particularly those owned by or patronized by unwanted ethnic groups, may be targeted for bomb attacks. Airline security procedures were introduced in response to a wave of terrorist hijackings of civilian aircraft in the 1960s, which are still trying to adapt to new threats of terrorism directed at airline travelers.

States may use military means to put down a separatist movement in a region or colonial possession or to accomplish irredentist objectives. These methods sometimes adopt strategies that are referred to as “state sponsored terrorism,” which will be discussed later. These methods include targeting civilians that are terrorist. T (and even stateactors use terrorist methods to accomplish their goals)

Ethno-nationalist terrorism uses violence as a way to redraw the boundaries of countries so that the people who live in them share a common ethnic, racial, tribal or religious identity. The term nation-state implies congruence between nations as ethnically distinctive units and states as political and geographical units. Nations are rarely ethnically homogeneous (they have overlapping ethnic identities). Thus, ethno-nationalist/separatist terrorist groups use violent political action to try to achieve congruence between the nation and the state. They desire to obtain self-determination (the idea that people who share a national identity should have the right to form and govern a state) for their ethnic group.

This kind of terrorism is rooted in ethnic identity (a sense of belonging to a community that shares history and culture) and is principally driven by the desire for political autonomy or independence. Discrimination and inequality act as sources of tension between the ethnic minority and the dominant ethnic group that controls the nation. The ethnic tension can be reinforced by a “trauma” that has affected the minority group at some point in history. The resentment against the dominant group, seen as a colonizing or occupying force, is usually passed on from generation to generation. These terrorist groups reject subordination as well as cultural assimilation and, instead, seek to keep their group’s identity alive through some form of political autonomy. This is why many groups who engage in this kind of terrorism claim they are “freedom fighters,” and not terrorists.

Ethno-nationalist/separatist terrorists rarely operate outside their home territory and their targets are usually carefully selected. They aim for symbols of the dominant ethnic group (such as government officials, politicians, bankers, and businessmen) and they envision terrorism as an effective means of ending their dominance. Those “symbolic” attacks generally do not involve as many casualties as other forms of terrorism such as religious terrorism, for example. Although they use violence against civilians, they do not inflict mass casualties on
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their opponents for the following reasons: 1) to gain domestic and international sympathy for their cause; 2) to maintain their reputation (remember that they perceive themselves as ‘freedom fighters’); 3) to prevent serious governmental countermeasures.

The most recognizable examples of this type of terrorism are the Basque Homeland and Liberty (ETA), the Irish Republican Army (IRA), both in Europe, and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), in the Middle East. Both the Basque Homeland and Liberty (ETA) and the Irish Republican Army (IRA) promote separatism through violence. However, ETA supports the creation of a new Basque state, independent from Spain, while the IRA seeks to unite Northern Ireland (under British rule) with the Irish Republic. Furthermore, it is important to mention that while the Basque conflict is fueled mostly by ethnic tensions, the Northern Ireland conflict and the Palestinian-Israeli conflicts are driven by both ethnic and religious frictions. Ethno-nationalist/separatist terrorism dominated the terrorist agenda for the most part of the second half of the 20th century.

One of the biggest dilemmas about terrorism is: is it ever right to kill innocent people? Does every group who opposes government or ruthless dictator, may make it tempting to approve of terrorist tactics in some cases but not in others.

Political groups, sometimes representing ethnic minorities but in other cases a majority population politically dominated by a minority, may want political self-determination or national independence or self-determination. If they are unable to achieve it, they may turn to terrorist methods to achieve their political goals.

For the purposes of this unit, we will look at the where of terrorist incidents from the viewpoint of them taking place 1) internationally—in places in the world other than the U.S.; 2) inside the U.S.. However, we have to realize that it is not always possible to draw a sharp line between them. An attack that takes place in the U.S. may have been carried out by terrorists from other countries, and may be considered an act of international terrorism.

Politics, applied to government, is also about influencing who gets what and how. The American system of representative democracy is based on people voting for lawmakers—the local mayor; the state governor; state legislators and senators; members of both houses of Congress; and President of the United States—who work with other elected and appointed officials to pass specific laws about “who gets what, when and how.” Sometimes voters can vote directly on certain laws, but most of the time they must depend on their elected leaders to make these decisions.

Voters can phone, write or e-mail government leaders and ask them to vote a certain way about a political issue. They can sign petitions and write opinion pieces and editorials for newspapers explaining why they feel as they do about a law or spending bill. Voters who feel strongly about an issue can work with other people to bring their point of view to the attention of the media and government officials by holding peaceful demonstrations.

Terrorism vs. Democracy
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Terrorism, as we said earlier, uses violence or the fear of violence to accomplish political goals. People who adopt terrorist strategies do so for any one of a number of reasons. In some situations, there is no possibility of changing repressive government policies by peaceful means, and terrorism is viewed as a short-term but necessary strategy of last resort. In other cases, peaceful and democratic change might be possible, there are people who are impatient and want change to come about immediately, rather than gradually, and are willing to use terrorist methods to make change come about more quickly. In still other situations, people who adopt terrorist methods want changes in the laws or government that most other people in that country don’t want. To get their way, a few people try to force the majority to agree to their beliefs or policies by using fear, intimidation, and carrying out violent acts against innocent people.

Terrorism in the United States

Although the word “terrorism” may bring to mind the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and on the Pentagon in Washington, DC on September 11, 2001, these were not the world’s first terrorist attacks. “Nine eleven” (9/11) was not the first terrorist attack in the United States. It was not even the first terrorist attack on the World Trade Center. On February 26, 1993, a huge explosion in its garage of the WTC killed six people and wounded over a thousand. Just over two years later, on April 19, 1995, domestic terrorists blew up a truck in front of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, OK, killing 168 people and injuring more than 800 people.

Domestic terrorism within the U.S. is categorized by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) as

When people use terrorism to get their way, the entire political process upon which we depend is threatened. If terrorism were allowed to determine the decisions our political leaders make, representative democracy, rule of law, and the principle of compromise based on reasoned debate about what is most right, just and fair, within the limitations of available resources, would be impossible. Instead, these decisions would be made based on how afraid the people in our society and our leaders are of the threat of violence from any particular group.

Anti-Tax Terrorism

Governments get money from taxes on income (a certain percentage of the money people earn from working and investments); on goods and services that are provided by businesses when people pay for them; and property taxes on the value of the homes and businesses people own. Local governments use this money to provide services that are needed by the community like public schools, law enforcement; fire departments; garbage collection; building and maintaining parks and libraries; clean and safe drinking water; road repair; public transportation; maintaining
Traffic lights and stop signs that prevent accidents; and pays for some emergency medical services.

State governments fund highway construction and repair; support community colleges and state universities; provide health care to people who can’t afford it; provides disaster relief during major catastrophic events such as hurricanes, snowstorms, tornadoes, earthquakes, and large fires; and maintains the state’s National Guard. The U.S. Federal government works through local and state governments, helping them to do many the things they do. It also equips and maintains the U.S. defense forces—Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines as well as the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation), which deals with national crime and the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) which deals with threats to the U.S. from abroad. The Federal government also has agencies that regulate and insure banks; help small businesses and farmers; build and maintain the interstate highway system; maintain the Air Traffic Control system that guides airplanes into and out of airports; protect the environment and make sure the U.S. has enough energy to meet the needs of homes, businesses and cars; provide medical care to the elderly and promote wellness through nutrition and medical programs.

All of these things cost a great deal of money. Most of the money to support these activities comes from taxes. No one likes paying taxes, but most people realize that it would be very difficult for the U.S. to have the standard of living that it does without them. People often complain that government tries to do too many things that should be left for businesses to do. A lot of people think that it is okay for government to spend money on things that help them directly, but that things that do not benefit them directly are wasteful.

So “politics” is about how any political system goes about deciding who get what. Different groups of people may grumble and complain that they don’t get enough, or that others got too much. They may write letters to newspapers and threaten to vote for someone else if they think that a particular political candidate didn’t do enough to help them or their group, but this is “politics as usual,” in a democratic and free society, and while it is never perfect in anyone’s opinion, most differences of opinion about “who gets what, when, and how” are not settled by violence or by threats of violence.

Anti-government and anti-tax terrorism in the U.S.

Although the majority of crimes committed by tax protesters tend to be non-violent “white collar” crimes related to tax evasion -- willful failure to file, tax fraud, wire fraud, racketeering—there have also been a number of incidents involving threats, harassment and violence against the people whose job it is to enforce tax laws and the buildings they work in. During the 1970’s, the anti-tax protest movement became more dangerous as well as more widespread. Instead of just complaining that the tax laws were unfair and illegitimate, some anti-tax protesters claimed that the government of the U.S. itself was illegitimate and began plotting violent attacks on government officials. A loosely organized extremist group called the Posse Comitatus, which began in Oregon and California in 1970, not only refused to pay taxes but called for vigilante protests against the U.S. government.

By the early 1980s, the new anti-government "sovereign citizen" movement
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absorbed many groups like the Posse. It also included many prominent members of a racist and anti-Semitic religious sect called e “Christian Identity.” had developed into an entirely new anti-government movement, the, many of whose members continued to be active in the tax protest movement. Many of the intimidating and harassing tactics developed by sovereign citizens, like placing bogus liens on the property of public officials and law enforcement officers, were originally designed for use against I.R.S. agents and employees. Several leaders of the sovereign citizen movement were adherents of Christian Identity, a racist and anti-Semitic religion.

As early as 1972, a Posse group in Michigan sent threatening notices to local law enforcement agencies about their enforcement of state tax laws against a tax protester named George Kindred. Two years later, Wisconsin Posse activist Thomas Stockheimer and several followers lured an I.R.S. agent to a farm and assaulted him.

In 1983, Kahl demonstrated to the entire nation that the tax protest movement was willing to go much further than simply evading taxes. A World War II veteran who became involved in the tax protest movement in the late 1960s, about the same time he converted to Christian Identity, Kahl stopped paying taxes in 1969; in 1973, he joined the Posse Comitatus and became a state coordinator for the Posse in Texas. The I.R.S. became interested in his activity after he appeared on television in 1974; three years later he was convicted on tax charges and sentenced to one year in jail and five years' probation. Following his release, Kahl again refused to file an income tax return, thereby violating the terms of his probation. In 1981, a warrant was issued for his arrest, but United States marshals in North Dakota, where Kahl now lived, were not eager to confront the well-armed tax resister. When they finally did attempt to bring him in, in February 1983, their earlier reluctance proved well-founded. Stopped at a roadblock, Kahl opened fire, killing two marshals and injuring several others before fleeing. It took law enforcement officers four months to track Kahl to a remote farmhouse in Arkansas, where he killed a local sheriff before dying himself in a final shootout.

Some of the more noteworthy incidents in recent years include:
Terrorism and Crime

They are what make terrorism different from crime, which also uses the fear of violence to achieve goals. If a robber goes into a store and says to the person at the cash register, “I have a gun, and if you do not give me money, I will shoot you,” he is a criminal who is using the threat of violence to get what he wants. He is breaking the law by doing something very wrong, and he will be punished severely when he is caught. Not only is he stealing—trying to take something that is not his—but he is using a weapon and the threat of violence. Even if it turns out that he doesn’t really have a gun in his pocket, the fact that he is trying to use the fear that he will use a weapon makes his crime even more serious. But he is not necessarily a terrorist. Why not? The robber wants to steal money. His goal is personal, not political. He is acting for himself and not for anyone else, and isn’t trying to accomplish anything on behalf of a cause or movement. So, while all terrorists are criminals, not all criminals are terrorists.

Some terrorist groups get the money to carry out their activities by engaging in crimes such as armed robbery, kidnapping and hostage-taking, extortion (telling someone you won’t hurt them if they pay you not to), selling drugs, smuggling and piracy. Sometimes these crimes are carried out by small groups of individuals acting on a local level, whose connection to a larger national or international terror network may not always be obvious. Believing that these crimes are being committed for a political purpose or in support of some

SOME ANTI-TAX TERRORISM INCIDENTS IN THE U.S.

April 1991: Dean Harvey Hicks attacks an I.R.S. Service Center in Fresno, California by launching a mortar. Harvey, who had tried twice to bomb a West Los Angeles I.R.S. office, once with a truck-borne fertilizer bomb. When he was arrested for the Fresno attack, he was also plotting to bomb an FBI office in Los Angeles. Hicks was convicted and sentenced to 20 years in prison.

September 1993: When an employee of an IRS office smelled gas and notified police, they foiled an attempt to destroy an I.R.S. office in Santa Barbara, CA by pumping propane in through a broken window.

July 1995: Tax protester Charles Polk arrested for plotting to blow up an IRS office in Austin, Texas. He is sentenced to 15 years in prison.


May 1997: A building in housing the office of the IRS in Colorado Springs, CO, attacked by unknown arsonists. The office was set on fire again in April 1999.

October 1999: F.B.I. agents in Spokane, WA, arrested tax protester Richard Eldon Peters on suspicion that he recruited two other men in 1998 to kill or retaliate against a witness who had testified against him.

October 1999: Richard Van Hazel and Troy Coe arrested in Rochester Hills, MI on charges they tried to kidnap and murder an accountant who gave testimony in an Arizona income tax evasion case. Van Hazel was a tax protester and white supremacist who had been convicted in 1987 of mailing death threats to I.R.S. agents and an African American judge. Van Hazel was sentenced to life in prison.

January 2000: The home of Nashville, TN tax protester Rodney Lynn Randolph is found to contain an arsenal of weapons and 200,000 rounds of ammunition. Randolph received a four-year prison sentence.
higher cause does not make them any less serious, less deadly, or less criminal.

If it were in frightening All the states who voted in favor of the UN Counter-Terrorism strategy agree that terrorism is a serious problem. Each, however, views terrorism from its own experiences and interests. Many regard political opposition and separatist groups in their own countries as terrorists, while members of these groups claim that they are freedom-fighters. Other states support foreign political groups 192 states that have endorsed Every definition The term is much more difficult to define than you may imagine. Terrorism generally targets non-combatants and seeks to undermine government legitimacy. The problem with defining terrorism is that it is not a value-neutral term. Calling some activity or group “terrorist” conveys a moral judgment. Not surprisingly, few groups, organizations, or states are willing to accept that label. The typical response to being labeled a terrorist is to deny the charge and to make a counter accusation by calling the government or organization that made the initial claim the “real terrorist.”

Terrorism has a different meaning for the authorities responsible for peace, order and security, for terrorism victims and their relatives, and for the terrorists themselves. A good example of this is the varying reputation of the icon of socialist revolutionary movements, Ernesto “Ché” Guevara.

By now, you should be able to see why defining terrorism is not easy. Also, it is important to remember that there is no single globally accepted definition of terrorism. However, here in the United States various governmental agencies after 9/11 have supplied us with official definitions of terrorism.

**U.S. Department of State:** premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetuated against noncombatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.

**U.S. Department of Defense:** the calculated use, or threatened use, of force or violence against individuals or property to coerce or intimidate governments or societies, often to achieve political, religious, or ideological objectives.

**Federal Bureau of Investigation:** 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.\(^{19}\)

In addition to the definitions mentioned above, another “official” definition of terrorism is the one provided by the United Nations.

**United Nations**: criminal acts intended to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them.\(^{20}\)

Now that you have read four “official” definitions of what terrorism means, you should have a better understanding of the term. You should also have an understanding of why it is not easy to define, and why globally, terrorism can be viewed differently. We will now discuss the different types and causes of terrorism.

Terrorist groups have been categorized by academics according to the goals they wish to accomplish. Our discussion divides the different types of terrorism in the following manner:

1. **Ethno-National/Separatist Terrorism**
2. **Left-wing Terrorism**
3. **Right-wing Terrorism**
4. **Religious Terrorism**
5. **State-Sponsored Terrorism**

We will also examine the most influential terrorist organizations of the last decades.
Ethno-Nationalist/Separatist Terrorism

What is Nationalism?

The Pledge of Allegiance to the United States of America says that we are “one nation.” Americans are proud and protective of their country (the land they live in) and their nation (the people who live in their country). This pride is called nationalism. “As a political doctrine, nationalism is the belief that the world’s peoples are divided into nations, and that each of these nations has the right to self-determination,” either as its own nation-state or as a self-governing unit within an existing nation state.21

There are two types of nationalism. Civic nationalism considers the nation to be “a community of equal, rights-bearing citizens, united in patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices and values,” regardless of their race, religion, skin color, ethnicity, gender or the language that they speak.22 In the U.S., nationalism, for most people, is civic rather than ethnic. Americans become citizens by being born in the U.S. People who have come from a variety of countries, can choose to become citizens of the U.S. by following certain immigration procedures and laws. Whatever their race, religion or ethnic origin, their children automatically become citizens just by being born on American soil. naturalization, with the same rights, responsibilities and protection as all other citizens.

Ethnic nationalism bases national identity on people sharing a specific ancestry, ethnicity culture and/or religion. Ethnic nationalism is not necessarily bad. It can give people a shared sense of connection to family and folk traditions, and create a sense of community and common purpose. When people move to the U.S. they become part of American culture, and their children and grandchildren will be of American ancestry within a generation or two.

But in many countries, ethnic nationalism is the basis of citizenship and political rights. Nationality can only be inherited, and cannot be acquired in any other way—even by birth in that country. In Japan, for example, it is very difficult and somewhat rare for people whose parents and grandparents are not Japanese to become citizens of Japan, even if they were born there.

Some ethnic nationalists believe that every nation—a people with its own ancestry, culture (often including its own language) and religion—ought to have a country where it is in charge, and sometimes even where members of other nationalities, religious groups, and ethnicities, may not be welcome. Ethnic nationalists may believe that people of a different ethnicity should be treated as different and inferior, subject to political and social discrimination. Ethnic majorities may try to exert and extend their dominance by taking advantage of their greater numbers to pass laws and elect officials according to the principle of majority rule. Sometimes an ethnic minority is the one who gains or holds political or economic power, repressing a larger but weaker.

Minorities (or sometimes an ethnic majority being ruled by a minority) may respond in a number of ways, including developing an alternative ethnic nationalism of their own and seeking protection through the legal system. If they are successful the members of the majority may feel threatened; if they fail, they may feel anger and resentment.

Both ethnic majorities and minorities can try to accomplish their ethno-nationalist goals through the legal system. Ethnic minorities fact that they are in the...
Ethnic nationalism can foster terrorism in two different ways: extreme ethnic nationalism is a matter of state policy. In other cases, it may arise as a negative response to government imposition of civic equality; it is a reflection of competition and conflict between a majority nationality and discriminated against may resent it.

Some ethnic nationalists believe that every nation—a people with its own culture, often including its own language and religion—ought to have its own state. Members of other ethnicities and nationalities may not be allowed to settle in certain ethno-nationalist states. If they are already there, they may be subject to political or social discrimination. Cipation through (or to prevent others from achieving them), through political process, negotiation and mobilizing public opinion at home and abroad through non-violent political action, without the use of force.

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Sometimes, however, people use terrorism to try to achieve their ethno-nationalist political goals. Civilians and government officials may be kidnapped, taken hostage and even assassinated. Government institutions as well as homes and businesses, particularly those owned by or patronized by unwanted ethnic groups, may be targeted for bomb attacks. Airline security procedures were introduced in response to a wave of terrorist hijackings of civilian aircraft in the 1960s, which are still trying to adapt to new threats of terrorism directed at airline travelers.

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Where Terrorism Happens

Identity. The term nation-state implies congruence between nations as ethnically distinctive units and states as political and geographical units. Nations are rarely ethnically homogeneous (they have overlapping ethnic identities). Thus, ethno-nationalist/separatist terrorist groups use violent political action to try to achieve congruence between the nation and the state. They desire to obtain self-determination \(^{23}\) (the idea that people who share a national identity should have the right to form and govern a state) for their ethnic group.

This kind of terrorism is rooted in ethnic identity (a sense of belonging to a community that shares history and culture) and is principally driven by the desire for political autonomy or independence. Discrimination and inequality act as sources of tension \(^{24}\) between the ethnic minority and the dominant ethnic group that controls the nation. The ethnic tension can be reinforced by a “trauma” that has affected the minority group at some point in history. The resentment against the dominant group, seen as a colonizing or occupying force, \(^{25}\) is usually passed on from generation to generation. These terrorist groups reject subordination as well as cultural assimilation and, instead, seek to keep their group’s identity alive through some form of political autonomy. \(^{26}\) This is why many groups who engage in this kind of terrorism claim they are “freedom fighters,” and not terrorists.

Ethno-nationalist/separatist terrorists rarely operate outside their home territory and their targets are usually carefully selected. They aim for symbols of the dominant ethnic group (such as government officials, politicians, bankers, and businessmen) and they envision terrorism as an effective means of ending their dominance. Those “symbolic” attacks generally do not involve as many casualties as other forms of terrorism such as religious terrorism, for example. Although they use violence against civilians, they do not inflict mass casualties on their opponents for the following reasons: 1) to gain domestic and international sympathy for their cause; 2) to maintain their reputation (remember that they perceive themselves as ‘freedom fighters’); 3) to prevent serious governmental countermeasures.

The most recognizable examples of this type of terrorism are the Basque Homeland and Liberty (ETA), the Irish Republican Army (IRA), both in Europe, and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), in the Middle East. Both the Basque Homeland and Liberty (ETA) and the Irish Republican Army (IRA) promote separatism through violence. However, ETA supports the creation of a new Basque state, independent from Spain, while the IRA seeks to unite Northern Ireland (under British rule) with the Irish Republic. Furthermore, it is important to mention that while the Basque conflict is fueled mostly by ethnic tensions, the Northern Ireland conflict and the Palestinian-Israeli conflicts are driven by both ethnic and religious frictions. \(^{27}\) Ethno-nationalist/separatist terrorism dominated the terrorist agenda for the most part of the second half of the 20th century.
Ethno-Nationalist/Separatist Terrorism

Ireland

Background
The roots of the conflict between England and Ireland began over 1500 years ago (around 400 AD), when Anglo-Saxons drove the Celtic population out of England. The Celts took refuge in Scotland, Wales and Ireland. In 1171, a little over a hundred years after the Norman conquest of England (1066), French barons invaded and settled parts of southern and eastern Ireland. They soon blended in with the native Irish chieftains. But in the 1530s, after a dispute with the Pope, Henry VIII of England broke away from the Roman Catholic Church, and the Church of England was established. Ireland retained its loyalty to the Church of Rome. Because England feared that a French-Scottish alliance might try to use Catholic Ireland as a springboard for an invasion of England, Ireland increasingly came to be viewed as a threat to England’s security.28

Queen Elizabeth I tried to exert military control over Ireland during the second half of the 16th century, with tremendous loss of life. During the reign of Elizabeth’s successor, King James I, England tried to gain control of Ireland by moving Protestant settlers from England and Scotland in lands confiscated from Irish earls, especially in Ulster, in northern part of Ireland. When Irish Catholics revolted in 1641, they massacred several thousand Ulster Protestants. Through their folklore, Irish Protestants passed down the memory of these atrocities from one generation to the next. Irish Catholics, on the other hand, still remember the brutal revenge by British Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell created an Anglo-Scottish Protestant ruling class in Ulster, which spread into southern and Eastern Ireland.29

Known and the Protestant Ascendancy, Protestants were granted ownership of 80% of the land and allowed to dominate the native Catholic population. When William of Orange became King William III of England (1689), he expanded the power of the Protestant ruling class and passed laws that denied Catholics the right to vote or to carry arms. Catholics were not allowed to practice certain professions, and there were restrictions on their owning or inheriting land. Irish economic development was limited in order to reduce competition with English merchants and traders. Because Ulster’s linen posed no threat to the English economy, it was allowed to expand, and Ulster became the most prosperous part of Ireland, as well as the most loyal to England.30

Oppressive English laws created a sense of Irish nationalism. An armed uprising took place in 1798, not long after the American War of Independence and the French Revolution, in which Catholics and Protestants shared common goals. A bold capture of a British warship, in Belfast Lough, by the USS Ranger under
John Paul Jones. (7: 66–67) The Irish uprising was crushed and brought about the "Union" which simply meant the abolition of the Irish Parliament and direct rule of government by Westminster, with appropriate Irish representation.

Early in the 19th Century the alliance between the Irish Catholics and Presbyterians broke down. The latter saw the Union as the best guarantee for their lives, property and future. (8: 42) In 1829, the Catholics were at last allowed to vote and this lead to the disestablishment of the Anglican Church of Ireland. The Westminster Government failed to provide effective relief during the Potato Famine of 1845–50. (9: 602–610) The Irish peasants suffered terribly, a million died and another million emigrated, most of them to the United States (the population of Ireland is now only about half what it was immediately before the Famine). Not surprisingly, these people carried with them a grievance that still produces considerable emotion and accounts for the misguided American goodwill to the "oppressed" Irish. While American financial support for the IRA has decreased significantly, it still remains a problem in the last decade of the 20th Century. (12: 167)

By the end of the 19th Century, a well-organized movement for Irish Home Rule had evolved and it sought devolved government by constitutional means.

Between 1919 and 1921, the IRA, under the leadership of Michael Collins, fought against Great Britain in the Irish War of Independence. In 1921, the IRA accepted the “Anglo-Irish Treaty,” which ended the war and granted full independence to the 26 southern Irish counties. The remaining six counties of “Northern Ireland,” would continue to be part of the United Kingdom.

Some members of the IRA, however, refused to accept the partition of Ireland and the continuation of British rule.

Having lost the civil war, the IRA did not disband and did not surrender its arms. While de Valera led a portion of former IRA members into parliamentary politics in the Irish Free State, some members continued the bombing attacks and street fights turning the IRA into a secret terrorist organization. In 1931 and then again in 1936, the IRA was declared illegal. In 1939, an IRA bombing campaign against Great Britain struck over 50 targets in London, Manchester, Glasgow, and Birmingham. During World War II, the IRA’s anti-British activities and associations embarrassed the Irish government, which remained neutral.

Besides geographical and political issues, religion was also part of the dispute over Northern Ireland. The
majority of the population in the Republic of Ireland was Roman Catholic and shared a strong desire for independence from the British, who were mainly Protestant. Conversely, in Northern Ireland about two-thirds of the population was Protestant who wanted Northern Ireland to be part of Great Britain. Under British rule, discrimination in voting, housing, and employment at the expense of Northern Irish Catholics was common. In the late 1960s, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, founded in 1967 to protect Catholics from discrimination, began a civil rights campaign that included marches and protests. Violence by extremists against the demonstrators led to several riots. While violence was usually not hindered by the mostly Protestant police force, the IRA intervened to defend Catholic communities and was supported by units based in the Free State of Ireland.

In 1969, disagreement over this widespread use of force led to another split in the IRA. One group formed a moderate (official) wing that legally pursued political goals. The other group constituted a clandestine radical wing, the “Provisional Irish Republican Army,” which continued to rely on violent confrontations. In 1970, the Provisional Irish Republican army started a campaign called “the Long War.” The most violent year was 1972, when 479 people were killed and more than 5,000 were injured. On January 1972, also remembered as “Bloody Sunday,” 27 civil right protesters were shot by a British battalion. Fourteen innocent civilians, seven of whom were teenagers, died and many more were wounded. In March of the same year, in Belfast, the IRA was responsible for the first car bombing in history.

Until the early 1990s, the IRA continued its operations as an underground terrorist organization, and acts of violence occurred in the two Irelands and in England. In 1994, the IRA declared a cease-fire as the Sinn Fein Party was expected to participate in multiparty political talks with Britain. The peace period lasted only until 1996 but was reinstated in 1997, when the IRA agreed to decommission its arms and was thus included in multiparty talks. In 1998, all participants in the talks approved the “Good Friday Agreement,” which established a power sharing arrangement for governing Northern Ireland. In 2001, the IRA announced it had begun disarmament, and in 2005 it declared that it had ended its armed campaign and would only pursue
Ethno-Nationalist/Separatist Terrorism

peaceful means to achieve its goals. It is believed that IRA is responsible for killing approximately 1,802 and wounding 30,000 people between 1969 and 1998.  

Leaders

Michael Collins, Bobby Sands, and Gerry Adams are some of the main figures in the history of the IRA.

Sources of Funding

Libya, Iran, and Algeria provided arms and financial help intermittently. Other terrorist groups around the world, such as the Basque Fatherland and Liberty group (ETA) as well as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine also helped the IRA.  

Most resources, however, came from within the Irish community through extortion, racketeering, bank robberies, and donations from people of Catholic Irish descent living in the U.S. and elsewhere.

Major Attacks

1939 January – 1940 February: Within a thirteen-month period, the IRA bombed over 50 public places in England.

1972 July: Known as "Bloody Friday," these bomb attacks killed 11 people and injured 130 in Belfast, Northern Ireland. Ten days later, three IRA car bomb attacks in the village of Claudy left six dead.

1979 August: British noble, Lord Louis Mountbatten’s yacht was bombed, killing him and two others, and wounding four.

1984 October 12: A bomb was detonated at the Brighton hotel during a conference for British Conservative government officials. Five died and 32 were injured, but Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher escaped injury.

1987: A Remembrance Day parade bombing injured 63 civilians and killed 11 more (including nurse Marie Wilson, whose father Gordon Wilson went on to become a leading campaigner for ending violence in Northern Ireland). The IRA later stated that its target was a guard of the British Army, and that the timer in the bomb had gone off prematurely. In 1997, on Remembrance, the leader of Sinn Fein, Gerry Adams, formally apologized for this episode.

1996 February 9: The IRA broke a seventeen-month cease-fire with a bombing in the Docklands area of London, killing two and wounding over 100 others.
The Basque Homeland and Liberty
Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna – ETA

Brief Description
The Basques are an ethnic group whose homeland extends across four Spanish and three French provinces. Even though they are located between two countries, the Basques have their own culture and language and have for many years fought for political autonomy.48

The Basque separatist movement was particularly successful in the 1930s. Its activities led to the concession of a statute of autonomy from Spain. In 1936, during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) the newly formed autonomous government established an alliance with republican forces against General Francisco Franco. General Franco later won the war and abolished Basque autonomy.49

In 1959, feeling that the right-wing Basque Nationalist Party (Partido Nacionalista Vasco or PNV) was not significantly advancing their goal of achieving complete independence from Spain, some radicals founded the extremely violent faction of the Basque separatist movement known as Euzkadi ta Askatasuna, or just ETA.50

Since it began its deadly attacks in the early 1960s, ETA has killed more than 800 people in various bombings, kidnappings, assassinations, and robberies.51 The victims include Spanish government officials, especially security and military forces, politicians, and judges. In particular, the faction targets members of the People’s Party (Partido Popular) and other supporters of Spain’s territorial unity.52

In the Basque parliamentary elections of May 2001, moderate members of the Basque National Party (PNV) won more seats than any other political group, including the political wing of ETA (Herri Batasuna). This election was generally seen as an indication that the Basques are ready to pursue their separatist goals through more peaceful means.53 Cease-fires took place on four occasions, in 1988, 1995, 1998, and 2006, but every time unsuccessful peace talks with the Spanish government escalated violence again.54

Leaders
Two of the main figures in the history of ETA are Francisco Mujika Garmendia and José Maria Arregi Erostarbe.55

Sources of Funding
Robberies, kidnappings (followed by payment of a ransom), extortion, and affiliation with other terrorist organizations.56
Major Attacks

1968: The ETA's first deadly attack killed Melitón Manzanas, a secret police chief in the Basque city of San Sebastian.

1973 December 20: The Prime Minister Luis Carrero Blanco was assassinated by exploding a mine on a road as his automobile passed over the charges.  

1974 September: Twelve civilians were killed when a bomb was placed inside the "Rolando" cafeteria in Madrid.

1987: Twenty-one people died after a bomb exploded in a supermarket in Barcelona.

1995 December: A car bomb exploded at the passing of a military van in the Vallecas area of Madrid, killing six civilians who worked for the Army.

2000 January 21: Two car bombings in Madrid killed an army officer and wounded bystanders, ending a cease-fire ETA had declared on 16 September 1998.

2002 August: A car bomb exploded outside the Civil Guard’s cartel in Santa Pola, a city south of Alicante, killing two people (a six-year-old girl and a fifty-four year old man), and injuring 40 others.

Palestine Liberation Organization – PLO

Brief Description

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is an organization that coordinates various Palestinian terrorist factions, professional syndicates, unions, and civilian groups. It was established in 1964 during an Arab summit in Cairo, Egypt, with the objective of fighting for the “liberation” of Palestine from Israel and the creation of a homeland for Palestinians (i.e. those Arabs, and their descendants, who lived in Palestine before the creation there of the State of Israel in 1948).

Since its foundation, under the chairmanship of Ahmad Shuqairi, the PLO has built a network of “embassies” across the world and claims to be the unique representative of the Palestinian people. Over the years, factions of the PLO, whose main constituent is Al-Fatah (Movement for the Liberation of Palestine), have been involved in various acts of terrorism, such as border attacks into Israel from Jordan and Syria.

In 1968, Al-Fatah’s leader, Yasser Arafat, assumed control of the PLO. During the late 1960s and early 1970s the PLO’s strategy was to engage in terrorist attacks in other countries in order to bring international attention to the cause. Groups affiliated with the PLO and Al-Fatah, including the Palestine Liberation Front, the Hawari Group, and Force 17, engaged in acts of violence...
Ethno-Nationalist/Separatist Terrorism

against targets inside and outside Israel. In its most famous terrorist attack, Al-Fatah killed eleven members of the Israeli Olympic Team during the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich, Germany.64

The PLO toned down its violent acts in 1974, when the United Nations recognized it as the legitimate Palestinian representative. However, some of the groups within the PLO were more radical than others, which sometimes caused internal fights. During the 1980s, Arafat and the PLO began peace talks. By the end of that decade, however, the first intifada (popular uprising of the Palestinians against the Israelis) broke out.

In 1993, the Oslo Accords created the Palestinian Authority (PA), a quasi-autonomous organization designed to govern increasing portions of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.65 The PLO therefore returned to the Palestinian territory after nearly 30 years in exile. Two years later, the first national elections were held by the Palestinian people and Yasser Arafat was elected president of the Palestinian Authority.

In 1998, Arafat and the prime minister of Israel signed an agreement guaranteeing Palestinian control over an additional 13 percent of the territory in the West Bank region. However, in July 2000 the peace agreement was broken. During the same year, the second Palestinian intifada broke out and violence has since escalated in the region.66

Leaders

Some of the main figures in the history of the PLO are Ahmad Shuqairi, Yasser Arafat, and Mahmoud Abbas.

Sources of Funding

The PLO receives financial contributions and other material assistance from various Arab States.67

Major Attacks

1970 February 10: Three terrorists attacked El Al passengers in a bus at the Munich Airport with guns and grenades. One passenger was killed and eleven were injured.68

1972 September 5: Eight Palestinian "Black September" terrorists seized eleven Israeli athletes in the Olympic Village in Munich, West Germany. In a bungled rescue attempt by West German authorities, nine of the hostages and five terrorists were killed.69

1973 March 2: U.S. Ambassador to Sudan Cleo A. Noel and other diplomats were assassinated at the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Khartoum by members of the Black September organization.70

1978 March: Thirty-seven Israelis were killed when Fatah gunmen killed several tourists and hijacked a bus near Haifa.

1987 December: Protest over Israeli motorist’s accident killing Palestinian pedestrians in Gaza Strip erupts into rioting, marking the beginning of the intifada uprising.
Terrorism in the United States

Left-wing terrorism is a type of terrorism that relies on acts of violence to influence political issues or compete for political power and is carried out by those situated at the left end of the political spectrum. Left-wing terrorists seek to destroy the capitalist economic and social order, usually with the intention of replacing it with communist or socialist systems. They are often associated with ideologies of anarchism, anti-capitalism, or anti-globalism.

Left-wing extremists usually operate through paramilitary groups and are active principally within the country they want to influence. Since they seek to influence their own society, these groups are somewhat constrained from acts of violence that cause massive casualties among their own fellow citizens, or that cause negative reactions in domestic and international audiences. Although they usually conduct discriminating violent acts against the capitalist government or against symbolic capitalist targets, they do conduct indiscriminate terror campaigns against civilians. Many groups who engage in this left-wing terrorism advertise themselves as “revolutionaries” and not terrorists.

These kinds of terrorist groups have experienced a significant decline since the end of the Cold War and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe. Left-wing terrorism flourished during the 1970s and 1980s, especially in Europe, with organizations such as the Red Army Faction (RAF) in Germany and the Red Brigades in Italy. In the 1990s, this type of insurgency was still very active in different parts of the world: in Asia, with the Japanese Red Army (JRA); in Latin America, with the Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) and Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), both from Peru, and with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). Today, the most violent left-wing terrorists operate in Asia.

Japanese Red Army - JRA

Brief Description

The Japanese Red Army (JRA) was a group of Japanese anarchists who intended to start a worldwide revolution through terrorist acts. The faction arose from Japanese student protests in the late 1960s, when many student groups advocated radical Marxist ideals. Protests were not directed solely against the Japanese government, which they felt was corrupt, but also at the U.S. military presence in Japan and Vietnam. Eventually, the JRA decided to align with international communist movements as it thought that the protests were not gaining enough public attention.

The JRA carried out a series of attacks across the world. Probably the most significant one happened in 1972, when three members of the group attacked Ben-Gurion Airport in Israel, shooting passengers and attempting to blow up an airplane. In the attack, 23 people were killed and approximately 80 were wounded.

From 1972 to 1991, the faction was responsible for seventeen successful. After a series of other, unsuccessful attacks in the 1990s, many members were
Left-Wing Terrorism

arrested. In April 2001, the group announced it was disbanding.

Leaders
Mori Tsuneo, Kikumura, Fusako Shigenobu, Osamo Maruoka, Ekita Yukiko, and Tsutomu Shirosaki.

Sources of Funding
States such as Libya and Syria sponsored the group.

Major Attacks

📅 1971 May 30: Twenty-three people were killed when the group attacked civilians at the Ben-Gurion Airport in Israel.

📅 1977 December: JRA hijacked Malaysia Airlines Flight 653 carrying Cuban Ambassador Mario Garcia to Tokyo. Boeing 737 crashed killing everyone onboard after a member shot both pilots and himself.

📅 1988 April: A bomb attack in the U.S. military recreational (USO) club in Naples, Italy, killed five.

📅 1991 February 13: Three Red Army Faction members fired automatic rifles from across the Rhine River at the U.S. Embassy Chancery. Nobody was hurt. 

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Right-Wing Terrorism is a type of terrorism that relies on acts of violence to influence political issues or compete for political power and is carried out by those situated at the right end of the political spectrum. Right-wing terrorists seek to abolish liberal democratic governments and establish authoritarian regimes in their place. They are anti-government and are often associated with ideologies of racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia. Thus, right-wing terrorism is typically perpetrated by groups that seek to preserve the dominance of the ethnic majority and regard the liberal-democratic government as an entity contributing to the decline of their dominant ethnic group.

Right-Wing extremist groups are sometimes paramilitary and they operate primarily within the political structure (state) they seek to influence. Many of these terrorist groups are isolationist, calling for the withdrawal of their own governments from international institutions and treaties. They engage in discriminating acts of violence against symbols of liberal-democratic governments and against civilians as well. They frequently attack ethnic minorities, such as immigrants, African-Americans, and Jews.

Examples of these kinds of terrorist groups are the Ku Klux Klan and Neo-Nazis movements. Both groups are rooted in an ideology of racism. Also, individuals like Timothy McVeigh, who was responsible for the 1995 bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City, are examples of terrorists that do not belong to a particular organization, yet identify with several right-wing extremist groups.

Neo-NAZI Organization

**Brief Description**

Neo-Nazism seeks to restart the political movement of the Third Reich. Neo-Nazis generally promote the defeat of a constitutional democratic order in favor of a racist and authoritarian state, rationalizing the use of political violence as a mean to achieve their goals. Many of these groups are active in Germany and in other countries and they generally idolize the memory of Adolf Hitler. Their ideological focus is the same - the belief of whites’ racial superiority and anti-Semitism.

Neo-Nazi terrorist activities were common in the 1990s. In 1992 alone, neo-Nazis were involved in a number of terrorist attacks on foreigners, causing 17 deaths and injuries to more than 100 people. Besides physical violence, neo-Nazi organizations use the Internet to spread their ideals. There are even Rock n’ Roll bands that record lyrics with racist verses promoting violence against non-whites.

In recent years, neo-Nazi group activities are being countered by lawsuits that often successfully result in depleting the resources of the organizations.

**Leaders**

The major leaders include, Colin Jordan, George Lincoln Rockwell, Francis Parker Yockey, William Pierce, David Myatt, and Eddy Morrison.
Right-Wing Terrorism

Sources of Funding
The neo-Nazi organization receives funding from a diverse range of sources, but the majority of funds are acquired from Wealthy American neo-Nazis, drug and weapons trafficking, and states that dislike Israel.

Major Attacks
- **1982**: A bomb attack killed two Vietnamese refugees.
- **1992 August**: Eight hundred neo-Nazis gathered in the Baltic port of Rostock (Northern Germany) to attack foreign refugees using firebombs, gun fires, and clubs.
- **1995 February**: Several pipe-bomb attacks were committed against Roma, or Gypsies, in Oberwart, Austria.

KU KLUX KLAN

Brief Description
This white supremacy organization is known for its violent attacks against African-Americans perpetrated while wearing long white sheet-like clothing and pointed hoods. The Klan was founded after the Civil War by Nathan Bedford Forrest and grew across the South. In 1869, having become excessively violent and facing increased government opposition, the group was disbanded. The residual chapters were mostly eradicated by the government by 1871.

The Klan resurfaced in the early twentieth century, heightened by the late 1920s (when membership was around 4 million), and faltered by the time of the Great Depression. This new Klan increased its circle of hate, adding Jews, Catholics, and leaders of organized labor to it. The KKK reached a new peak in the mid-1960s, at the heights of the Civil Rights movement. Both in its 19th and 20th century versions, the KKK was very violent. However, by the late twentieth century the group lost much of its strength and violence became sporadic.

Leaders
Nathan Bedford Forrest founded the original Klan in Tennessee. Colonel William J. Simmons, a Georgian preacher, led the Klan’s rebirth in 1915. Simmons’ inspiration to reform the Klan came from Thomas Dixon’s book *The Clansman* (1905) and D.W. Griffith’s film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915).
Right-Wing Terrorism

Sources of Funding
The original Klan was funded by members. The later Klan flourished when Edward Y. Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler became publicity and fundraising agents for the group and helped them obtain contributions from supporters. Revenues were earned selling memberships, regalia, costumes, publications, and rituals.83

Major Attacks

1867: Spies for Tennessee Governor William G. Brownlow were killed when they attempted to spy on the Klan. One spy was hung, another was “stripped and mutilated, and a third was stuffed in a barrel in Nashville and rolled into the Cumberland River where he drowned.”84

1951 to 1952: According to the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, the homes of 40 black Southern families were bombed during 1951 and 1952. Numerous bombings of homes were recorded in many of the states where the Klan operated.

1979: Five people were killed and 10 were injured when members of the Klan and a Nazi group began firing on people gathered for a march and rally in the Morningside Homes neighborhood of Greensboro, North Carolina.85

Timothy McVeigh

Brief Description
On April 19th, 1995, McVeigh caused the death of 168 people, including 19 children, after he filled a truck with explosives and detonated the explosive outside the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.86 McVeigh appeared to be functioning under the far-right strategy of “leaderless resistance” advocated by white nationalist and Klansman Louis Beam, whereby lone individuals can be responsible for a large number of attacks.87 It is unknown, although there has been much speculation, whether Timothy McVeigh belonged to any particular extremist group when he orchestrated, at the time, the deadliest terrorist act in America.

Two years before the bombing, McVeigh traveled to Waco, Texas, and showed support for the Branch Davidians (an offshoot group of the Davidian Seventh-day Adventist Church), who were under siege for resisting federal agents as they were trying to execute a search warrant.88 McVeigh, who had also served in the Army from 1988 to 1992, was convicted and later executed.

Sources of Funding
While McVeigh was assisted in preparing for the bombing, there is no evidence he was funded by any extremist organization.89
Religious Terrorism

Religious terrorists use violence to fulfill “divinely commanded” purposes in order to maintain or create a religious social and political order. In other words, violence is seen as a sacred duty carried out in response to some divine command. Today, this kind of terrorism dominates over other types of terrorism. In the 1970s and 1980s, most of the terrorist acts were perpetrated by ethno-nationalist/separatist and left-wing groups or individuals. Since the 1990s, the most serious terrorist attacks have been at the hands of religious terrorists and the majority of the world’s most dangerous groups claim faith as their motivation. Many of them seek the elimination of secular (non-religious) values and their replacement with religious values.

Religious terrorist organizations are hierarchically structured. To the followers of these organizations, their religious leader provides the “true” interpretation of religious texts and a justification for violence by “blessing” terrorist actions. Religious terrorists believe that their death in combat is divinely mandated and represents an offering to a Supreme Being. For example, suicide bombers are confident that their actions will make them martyrs (admired among the living and privileged in the afterlife). Thus, they have no fear of killing themselves or anyone else. They are convinced of their moral superiority and justify the murder of innocent victims by saying that it is in the name of God. Religious terrorists do not consider themselves terrorists; instead, they regard themselves as “religious activists.”

These groups are particularly dangerous and unpredictable since they are not constrained by conventional morality. Unlike secular terrorists, they do not attempt to gain sympathizers for the cause and do not care about their international reputation. Also unlike secular terrorists, who tend to target specific victims, they target anyone who is not a member of their faith and do not refrain from causing mass casualties in order to reach their ultimate goal.

Religious terrorists can either 1) adhere to a radical interpretation of traditional religions or 2) adhere to fundamentalist non-traditional religions or “new religions” (sects and cults). Terrorism is committed in the name of all major world religions. Traditional groups include Jewish, Christian, and Islamic extremists. However, since the 1980s, a majority of international terrorist groups have been motivated by radical Islamism, which mainly rejects Western-oriented secular values. The most recognizable example of this is Al Qaeda, the worldwide terrorist network responsible for the September 11, 2001 attacks. Other extremist Islamist groups are Hezbollah (in Lebanon) and Hamas (in Palestine).

Terrorism at the hands of non-traditional religious organizations is perpetrated by groups that belong to sects (offshoots of a previously established religion) or cults (spiritually innovative groups). For example, the Japanese Aum Shinrikyo (“Supreme Truth”) cult became increasingly violent in the mid-1990s. It was responsible for releasing nerve gas into a Tokyo subway in 1995, an attack that killed a dozen people and injured thousands. We will examine further today’s most influential religious
terrorist organizations: al-Qaeda, Hezbollah, Hamas, and Aum Shinrikyo.

**Al-Qaeda**

**Brief Description**

Of all religious terrorist organizations, al-Qaeda is the most well known, mostly because of the group’s infamous attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001. Led by an elusive Osama bin Laden, the group is responsible for orchestrating the attacks of 9/11. That day, in coordinated attacks, hijackers took over four planes. Two of them crashed into the World Trade Center towers within fifteen minutes of each other; one crashed into the Pentagon; and one crashed in a field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania, after the passengers scuffled with the hijackers. That attack set al-Qaeda apart from other terrorist organizations as one of the most dangerous.

Al-Qaeda is a broad-based Islamic militant organization composed of extremists living in about 35 countries. The group also has access to supporters who carry on stealth support for particular incidents, even in the United States; these supporters form what are known as “sleeper cells” and some were used in the 9/11 attacks.

Al-Qaeda, which means “the base,” has its roots in Afghanistan where young Muslim men were recruited from across the Islamic world to fight against the Soviet Union in the Afghan War. After the war ended, Al Qaeda focused on ridding Islamic states of Western influence and Western citizens in order to overthrow Middle Eastern regimes it deemed “non-Islamic.” Though al-Qaeda has strong roots all over the Middle East, its base is still in Afghanistan and it has a major alliance with the Taliban. The organization also receives support from some other Middle Eastern states.

Members of al-Qaeda share a belief in the jihad, or “holy war.” They are therefore prepared to die for what they see as carrying out the will of Allah (God) and spreading the Islamic way of life.

**Leaders**

**Osama bin Laden**

Considered the Al Qaeda mastermind, bin Laden comes from a wealthy Saudi Arabian family and is loyal to extremist Islamist beliefs. He took responsibility for the 9/11 attacks on a videotape released in 2004. He has still not been captured despite a massive international manhunt.

**Ayman al-Zawahiri**

A confidant of bin Laden, al-Zawahiri is an Egyptian physician who also embraces radical Islamist beliefs. He founded the Egyptian Islamic Jihad (EIJ). According to the FBI, the EIJ is against the secular Egyptian government and seeks to overthrow it through violent means. Around 1998, the EIJ merged with al-Qaeda.

**Sources of Funding**

Although bin Laden himself is wealthy, an organization as large as Al Qaeda requires massive funding. A vast financial network began gaining
prominence in the 1980s to help fund the jihad against the Soviets. Funding came from wealthy individual donors, as well as mosques and Islamic charities located all over the world. The 9/11 Commission traced Al Qaeda funding to fundraisers in “Gulf countries, particularly in Saudi Arabia,” and the UN ties the funds to “charities, deep-pocket donors, and business and criminal activities, including the drug trade.”

**Hezbollah**

**Brief Description**

Hezbollah, also known as the “Party of God,” the “Islamic Jihad,” and the “Revolutionary Justice Organization,” is a radical Islamic Shiite organization that has its origins in Lebanon in the early 1980s. The mission of this group is to rid Lebanon of Israeli troops, increase its political power in Lebanon, and generally oppose Israel in Middle East peace talks.

The group was founded by clerics in 1982, following the invasion of Lebanon by Israel. It was formed primarily to provide resistance to the Israeli occupation. In a 2002 article, *The New Yorker* magazine’s Jeffrey Goldberg stated that Hezbollah, “with bases in the Bekaa and in Beirut’s southern suburbs, quickly became the most successful terrorist organization in modern history,” and served as a model for other terror organizations. Prior to 9/11, Hezbollah was responsible for more American deaths than any other terrorist organization.

**Leaders**

**Sheikh Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah**

The group’s spiritual leader was born in Iraq, but later moved to Lebanon where he studied theology and wrote books on religion.

**Imad Fayez Mugniyah**

He is considered the mastermind behind Hezbollah’s terrorist activities. According to the Council on Foreign Relations, “during the Lebanese civil war in the 1970s […]"
Mugniyah trained with al-Fatah,” the Palestinian group founded by Yasser Arafat. When the Palestine Liberation Organization and al-Fatah were expelled from Lebanon by Israeli forces in 1982, Mugniyah joined the newly formed Hezbollah and quickly rose to power.

**Hassan Nasrallah**

As Secretary-General of Hezbollah, he rose quickly in the group thanks to his military and religious background. In 2006, the Washington Post’s Robin Wright called him “Lebanon's best known politician. [...]” Lines from his speeches are popular ring tones on cell phones. His face is a common computer screensaver. Wall posters, key rings and even phone cards bear his image. Taxis play his speeches instead of music.”

**Sources of Funding**

Hezbollah benefits from a worldwide network that raises money through activities such as cigarette smuggling, human smuggling, drug trafficking, counterfeiting, and "charitable work." In 2002, a North Carolina man was convicted in a cigarette-smuggling ring that helped fund the group, according to the Investigative Project on Terrorism.

**Major Attacks**

- 1983: Suicide bombers killed 241 U.S. Marines in their barracks in Beirut, Lebanon.
- 1985: Hezbollah hijacked TWA flight 847. This incident is remembered for the footage of the plane’s pilot “leaning out of the cockpit with a gun to his head.”

**Hamas**

**Brief Description**

The Islamic Resistance Movement, or Hamas, which means “zeal,” is the largest and most influential Palestinian militant movement. It was founded in 1987 as an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood with the objective of waging a holy war against Israel and replacing it with an Islamic state. Hamas’ charter of 1988 contends the group’s struggle against Israel is a “religious obligation.”

Unexpectedly, Hamas won a majority of seats in the January 2006 Palestinian Authority general legislative election. Hamas and al-Fatah then formed a coalition government, although clashes between the two groups in the Gaza Strip intensified, forcing the president of the PA to dissolve the government. Hamas was left in control of the Gaza Strip, while an emergency cabinet led by al-Fatah was given control of the West Bank. Later in 2007, Israel declared the Gaza Strip a hostile territory and approved a series of sanctions against it. Hamas attacks on Israel continued until in June 2008 the two parties agreed on a six-month cease-fire. On December 19, 2008, when the truce expired, hostilities resumed.

**Leaders**

- **Shaykh Ahmad Yāsīn** (founder), **Ismail Haniyeh** (Palestinian prime minister following the 2006 elections), **Khaled Meshaal** (chief of Hamas' political bureau)
Religious Terrorism

Sources of Funding

Having been officially elected, Hamas receives state funds. It also received significant external funding from Iran and donations from Palestinian expatriates and private donors in oil-rich states such as Saudi Arabia. Some fundraising also takes place in Western Europe and North America. Shortly after 9/11, the United States government shut down the Dallas-based Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, accusing it of illegally funding Hamas.

Major Attacks

- **1994 April:** The first Hamas suicide bombing killed five in the Israeli city of Hadera.
- **1994 October:** A Hamas suicide bomber blew up a bus in Tel Aviv; 22 people were killed.
- **2001 June:** A Hamas suicide bomber blew up outside a Tel Aviv dance club, killing 21.
- **2001 August:** Fifteen people were killed when a suicide bomber blew up a Jerusalem restaurant.

Aum Shinrikyo

**Brief Description**

Aum Shinrikyo is a cult founded in Japan in 1987 by Matsumoto Chizuo, on the belief that one can be liberated from bad karma through meditation and by going through various sufferings. Chizuo claims to “have received enlightenment” while he was in India in 1986. He returned to Japan the next year, changed his name to Shoko Asahara, and started Aum Shinrikyo. Dissatisfied with traditional Japanese Buddhism, he attempted to create a religion close to Buddhism but that emphasized non-Japanese themes. Aum is the Sanskrit word for “powers of destruction and creation in the universe” and Shinrikyo means “teaching of the supreme truth.” In the early 1990s, the organization claimed that a number of disasters would occur in Japan, including World War III, and planned to replace the Japanese government in the aftermath of the war.

In an ironic bid to gain corporate recognition (this would result in tax and other benefits) the group attempted to register with the government in 1989. This move, however, was denied partially based on parents suing Aum Shinrikyo in an attempt to rescue young people from the group. This began Aum Shinrikyo’s tactics of using the legal system, through several lawsuits of its own, to gain legitimacy. Aum Shinrikyo also attempted to gain wider power by seeking political office. However, all 25 Aum candidates lost the 1989 elections. Aum Shinrikyo used weapons such as sarin gas for attacks and engaged in lynchings and other forms of murder.
Religious Terrorism

Leaders

Shoko Asahara
Founder of the cult, he started practicing a more traditional form of religion but later turned it into an anti-government and apocalyptic movement.114

Fumihiro Joyu
Joyu was originally the group’s spokesperson and the leader of its Russian branch. He took control of the group in 2000. Joyu changed the group’s name to Aleph and claims to have rejected the violent teachings of Asahara.115

Sources of Funding

New recruits to the cult were charged high fees and many members were encouraged to divorce and abandon their families (a practice known as “shukkesha”) and to give their life savings to the group. Funds were also raised from the selling of snippets of Asahara’s beard and vials of his bathwater.116

Major Attacks

1995 March 20: Ten Aum Shinrikyo members released bags of deadly sarin gas on five trains during rush hour in Tokyo. The incident killed twelve people and incapacitated thousands.117

Interesting Facts

Terrorists groups motivated by religious concerns have become more common in the last decades. Of 11 identified in 1968 by the Rand Corporation, none were classified as religious organizations. By 1994, a third of the 49 international groups identified were classified as religious.118

Approximately 641 terrorist incidents occurred in the United States between 1971 and 1975 compared to 272 between 1980 and 1999.119

Among the terrorist attacks that occurred in the U.S. in those years, 166 were bombings, 120 were fire bombings, and 118 were shootings.120

During the first six months of 1975, 24 attacks occurred in California, 12 in New York, and 11 were directed at targets on the U.S. Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.121

In contrast, from 1995 to 2000, the United States had the lowest concentration of international terrorist attacks. Only 15 were recorded.122

Asia has the highest number of deaths in a single year for any region: 5,639 dead in 1995.123

The estimated number of pro-terrorism websites worldwide in 1998 was 12; by 2005, the number had increased to 4,700.124
State Sponsored Terrorism

This type of terrorism occurs when a patron state provides economic, military or political support to a group of people or a terrorist organization to advance the interest of the state and achieve certain strategic ends. In other words, it occurs when governments give money, military equipment and training grounds to terrorists. Thus, state-sponsored terrorism takes many forms:

1) a government creates its own terrorist squad whose purpose is to advance the interest of the state;
2) a government recruits individual terrorists or uses terrorist organizations to achieve the states’ political goals;
3) a state gives money to terrorists directly or indirectly through social, cultural or charitable associations;
4) a state provides safe-harbor for terrorists, allowing them to operate without limitations within its territory.

States can sponsor any of the types of terrorism previously discussed (ethno-nationalist/separatist; left-wing; right-wing or religious). The type of terrorist organizations they choose to support depends on the political objectives they have in mind. The relationship between the sponsor state and the terrorist group is usually mutually beneficial: terrorists obtain the funds they need to carry out their goals, while states have non-traditional means to achieving their political ends. In 2007, five nations were designated by the United States Department of State as sponsors of terrorism: Cuba, Iran, North Korea, Sudan, and Syria, some of them sponsoring different types of terrorism. After the September 11 attacks in 2001, the Department of State had eight nations in its list (all the states mentioned before, plus Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya).

Interesting Facts

77 Americans died as a result of those international terrorist attacks (an average of 13 per year) and 651 were wounded (an average of 109 per year).

The ratio of Americans killed by lightning to those killed by terrorism from 2002 to 2004 is 3 to 2.

Between fall 2001 and fall 2003, 184 U.S. residents were convicted for participating in “international terrorism.”

Three to five is the ratio of Americans killed by terrorists in 2001 compared to the number of Americans who died from food poisoning.

From 1995 to 2000, an average of 67 percent of international terrorists targeted businesses. Additionally, for every military site attacked, 38 businesses were hit during that period.

The Internet has become a major facilitator of terrorist activities, from training and fundraising to communications and planning.
The Presidential Declaration of the War on Terrorism:

“We will direct every resource at our disposal, every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war to the disruption and eventual defeat of terrorism. Every nation now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that harbors or supports terrorism will be regarded as a hostile regime. We will do far more than retaliate. Americans should expect a battle unlike any other they have ever seen, not one battle, but a lengthy campaign, some visible, others secret. We will drive terrorists from place to place until there is no refuge or rest.”

Following the events of 9/11, the United States government began to develop a comprehensive response to terrorism. The President made numerous appearances on TV outlining his plan to find those who planned the attacks and to prevent terrorist attacks from happening in the future. How to respond to terrorism became the Administration’s top priority, hence the War on Terror began.

International Implications

The War on Terror had an international impact not only on those countries that were to be attacked but also on U.S. allies. The United States began to seek allies in countries like the United Kingdom and Poland to form a “Coalition of the Willing” that would organize a military response to the threat of terrorism. In its allies, the U.S. was looking for military and economic support for the operation, but also for the support of the international community.

The first phase of the War on Terror began on October 10, 2001 with Operation Enduring Freedom. The US military began a systematic aerial bombing of Taliban positions followed by a land invasion. The mission was to overthrow the Taliban government in Afghanistan, which was accused of harboring leaders of al-Qaeda (the group that took responsibility for the 9/11 attacks). Additionally, the Coalition sought to capture al-Qaeda’s leader Osama Bin Laden. The Taliban government was overthrown successfully when its remaining forces
withdrew from Kabul on November 12, 2001. However, Bin Laden is still at large, believed to be in hiding along the Pakistani and Afghan border. Presently, Afghanistan faces a growing Taliban insurgency financed by an increasing production of opium.

The second phase of the War on Terror began in Iraq on May 1, 2003. Iraq was also accused of harboring terrorists. Most importantly, according to the U.S., Iraq had developed and had the potential of using weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The main objectives of the invasion of Iraq were to find and destroy the WMD and to bring an end to Saddam Hussein’s government. To the President of the United States and Congress, the use of military force against Iraq was thus justified. Member nations of the United Nations questioned this argument and sought concrete proof of the existence of WMD in Iraq.

Traditionally, member states of the United Nations seek the support and authorization of the Security Council for the use of military force against other countries. Facing international criticism regarding the extension of the War on Terror to Iraq, the United States’ delegation appeared several times before the UN in an effort to justify a military response. Unable to amass support, the United States did not seek the direct authorization of the Security Council. Rather, it relied on its inherent right to defend itself from possible attacks, a right mentioned in the United Nations Charter. Additionally, the U.S. argued that the use of force had already been authorized by a previous UN resolution (UNSCR 687).

Hussein’s government fell three weeks after the invasion began; he was captured and tried months later. No weapons of mass destruction were found in Iraq. Recently, U.S. government officials have conceded that flawed intelligence had been used in making the case for the invasion of Iraq.

Terrorism in Europe

The United States was not the only country to face the threat of terrorism; attacks were also perpetrated in Spain and the United Kingdom. On March 11, 2004 terrorists attacked the commuter train system in Madrid. On July 5, 2005 a series of bombs exploded throughout London’s subway system. No groups claimed responsibility for these attacks, yet the general consensus in London and Madrid pointed to an al-Qaeda connection.

Initially, states joined the fight against terrorism through the Coalition of the Willing in Afghanistan and, to a lesser extent, in Iraq. Later, several countries began to question the effectiveness of these wars in meeting their primary objectives (the elimination of the threat of terrorism and the provision of security for their citizens) and started to withdraw from the coalition.
Domestic Implications

In the U.S., Congress passed the Patriot Act ("Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001") giving law enforcement agencies additional intelligence gathering authority both domestically and internationally. The act allows federal law enforcement agencies to gather and record information on citizens and non-citizens alike that could be linked to terrorists. This surveillance capability was limited by previous laws and required law enforcement to request formal authorization from a judge.

Immediately after Congress passed this act, a national debate on the justifiability of the means used by the government to locate terrorists started. Critics of the Act argued that the government was encroaching over the rights of U.S. citizens, such as the right to privacy. The American Civil Liberties Union, an 80-year-old civil rights watchdog organization, called the act a "surveillance monster" and denounced that there are "virtually no rules" limiting the new government’s powers. Supporters of the Act argue that some rights must be sacrificed in order to defend citizens from the terrorist threat and provide a general sense of security. They argue that government will make adequate use of its new powers.

The United States government is engaged in a global war on terrorism and has responded militarily to the international threat they pose. In the years after the attacks of September 11 and with the U.S. still at war in Iraq, some are questioning the effectiveness of this response. WMD were not found in Iraq, terrorism is still a threat in most countries and intelligence gathering programs have been shut down or limited. Critics of the President’s Administration point to these deficiencies and to the inability of the War on Terror to produce the expected results. Supporters argue that progress has been made in both Afghanistan and Iraq. They point to the establishment of new democracies, which freed citizens from their previous authoritarian governments. The Taliban and Iraqi governments were overthrown and, they argue, this limits the operations of terrorist organizations in those counties.

Interesting Facts

- The U.S. Office of Counterterrorism is the office within the Department of State officially responsible of developing and implementing counter-terrorism policies.  

- *The FBI did not begin to formally record annual terrorism figures until the mid-1970s.*

- Three September 11 hijackers entered the U.S. through a special U.S.-Saudi “Visa Express” program.

- *ONLY ONE MEMBER OF CONGRESS VOTED IN 2001 AGAINST THE RESOLUTION TO AUTHORIZE AN ARMED RESPONSE TO THE TERRORIST ATTACKS OF 9/11.*
The events of 9/11 continue to shape the world we live in. Our nation is still coping with emotions of fear, anger, and grief as we are collectively seeking an explanation of 9/11. Terrorism is no longer a strange occurrence that can be overlooked; rather we must study why it exists and its implications in our daily lives. We have attempted to assist you in your study of terrorism by exploring the complexities of this topic. You should be able to understand at this point that there is no single definition of terrorism and that it is an international phenomenon occurring all over the world.

We have looked at different definitions of terrorism. We have also seen that many of those who are considered terrorists reject this idea and think of themselves as freedom fighters or martyrs. We have also explained how not having a specific definition is a difficult challenge for those who seek to eliminate the threat of terrorism because it makes it harder to identify which groups are indeed threats.

Moreover, we have discussed a number of terrorist groups and their motives. They are similar in that they resort to the use of force to achieve their goals. Yet, they differ in the goals they seek to accomplish. For example, the motivation of a religious terrorist is to maintain or create a religious order, while ethno-nationalist/separatist terrorists seek to establish a political order based on ethnic homogeneity. Understanding this diversity in terms of the motivations of terrorist groups helps us grasp the complexity of this subject.

Finally, we discussed how the events of 9/11 had profound worldwide and domestic implications. The U.S. responded to terrorism through the “War on Terror” and the “Patriot Act” and continues to develop plans to avoid future attacks.

This and all of the information provided in this lesson have been intended to equip you with the basic tools necessary to analyze terrorism-related events. It is anticipated that you will engage in conversations with your teacher and colleagues in order for the entire class to gain a better understanding of terrorism.
Anarchism: political ideology that is opposed to any form of government; it holds that the destruction of all governmental authority will bring justice and equality to society.

Anonymous: one who believes in the absolute abolition of all forms of government.

Anti-capitalism: opposition to capitalism as an economic system.

Anti-globalism: opposition and resistance to globalization.

Anti-Semitism: negative and hostile attitude toward Jewish people and Judaism.

Apocalyptic: forecasting imminent disaster or final doom.

Authoritarian regimes: a political system where the government is centralized in a single leader (or a small group of individuals) which exerts social control.

Capitalism: an economic system based on private ownership of the means of production and capital.

Capitalist government: a form of government based on capitalism as an economic system.

Charter of the United Nations: The Charter is a document drafted during the formation of the United Nations. It details the rights and responsibilities of states that are members of the United Nations.

Coalition of the Willing: a group of 49 countries who publicly and militarily supported the United States’ War on Terror.

Colonize: to take possession of or to take over a territory.

Colony: a body of people who settle far from home but maintain ties with their homeland; inhabitants remain nationals of their home state but are not literally under the home state’s system of government.

Cult: a spiritually innovative group.

Department of Defense: the federal department responsible for safeguarding national security of the United States; created in 1947.

Discrimination: unfair treatment of a person or group on the basis of prejudice.

Eamon de Valera: President of Ireland, serving two terms from 1959 until 1973.

Ethnic group: a population whose members identify with each other on the basis of a common history and culture.

Ethnic identity: a sense of belonging to a community that shares history and culture.

FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation): federal law enforcement agency that is the principal investigative arm of the Department of Justice.

Francisco Franco: Spanish general whose armies took control of Spain in 1939 and who ruled as a dictator until his death (1892-1975).

Fundamentalism: a belief in the absolute truth of a particular religion’s doctrine and the literal interpretation of its sacred texts.

Fundamentalist: a supporter of fundamentalism.

Gaza Strip: a coastal region at the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean bordering Israel and Egypt.

Globalization: the increasing integration of the world in terms of culture, economy and communications.

Good Friday Agreement: the political deal which aimed to form a lasting settlement following the 1994 cease-fires in Northern Ireland.

Guerrilla: irregular, usually indigenous military or paramilitary unit operating in small bands in occupied
Terrorism in the World

Glossary

territory to harass and undermine the enemy (as by surprise raids).
Hierarchical: a group of things arranged in order of rank.
Homogeneity: uniformity; the extent to which group members share similar characteristics.
Imperialism: the practice of one country extending its control over the territory, political system, or economic life of another country.
Isolationism: a national policy of abstention from international political and economic relations and from international alliances and treaties.
Isolationist: a supporter of isolationism in international affairs.
Liberal-democratic government: a political system whereby elected representatives exercise power within the framework of a Constitution that protects individual rights and freedoms.
Lord Louis Mountbatten: British admiral and statesman who was the first Governor-General of independent India
Martyr: a person who voluntarily suffers death because of principle or belief (e.g. to be admired among the living and privileged in the afterlife).
Marxism: a theory of socialism stating that the oppression of the working class will eventually lead to a revolt by the workers and the establishment of a classless society (see also Socialism).
Nation: a group of people or population that shares a common identity.
Nation-state: a state whose population shares a sense of national identity; it implies congruence between nations and states as political and geographical units.
Nazism: ideological emphasis on the belief of the racial superiority of whites and on anti-Semitism.
Palestinian Authority: the Palestinian government created by the Oslo agreement governing the Areas A and B in the West Bank and Gaza.
Paramilitary: a group of civilians trained and organized to function like, or in aid of, a military unit
Parliament: the political assembly in which elected representatives talk about and vote upon proposed laws.
Patron state: a sponsor-state.
Political spectrum: a way of visualizing different political positions and beliefs (from 'right wing' to 'left wing').
Revolution: a drastic and far-reaching change in ways of thinking and behaving. It also means the overthrowing of a government by those who are governed.
Sect: an offshoot of a previously established religion.
Secular: not connected with spiritual or religious matters.
Self-determination: idea that people who share a national identity should have the right to form and govern a state.
Separatism: the desire of a group of people to separate from a state and form their own nation-state.
Socialism: a theory or system of social organization that advocates the vesting of the ownership and control of the means of production and distribution, of capital, land, etc., in the community as a whole.
Socialist: an advocate or supporter of socialism.
Spanish Civil War: civil war in Spain in which Franco succeeded in overthrowing the republican government.
State Department (Department of State): the department of the U.S. federal government that sets forth and maintains the foreign policy of the U.S., esp. in negotiations with foreign governments and international organizations.
Glossary

**State**: a territorial entity inhabited by a population and controlled by a government.

**Taliban**: this term literally mean “students”; it is used in reference to the group that controlled Afghanistan from the 1960s until 2001 and is linked to al-Qaeda.

**UN (United Nations)**: international organization composed of most of the countries of the world. It was founded in 1945 to promote peace, security, and economic development.

**Weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**: biological, chemical and nuclear weapons that indiscriminately target civilians and military personnel.

**West Bank**: an area between Israel and Jordan on the west bank of the Jordan River; populated largely by Palestinians.

**Xenophobia**: the fear or hatred of strangers or foreigners.

**Yasser Arafat**: Palestinian statesman who was chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (1929-2004).
Electronic Resources

Terrorism Project

This site gives a detailed list of the known terrorist organizations considered by the U.S. Department of State.

Website: [http://www.cdi.org/terrorism/terrorist-groups.cfm](http://www.cdi.org/terrorism/terrorist-groups.cfm)

Council on Foreign Relations: Terrorism

This site provides information and current news about the various terrorist organizations.

Website: [http://www.cfr.org/issue/135/terrorism.html](http://www.cfr.org/issue/135/terrorism.html)

U.S. Department of State: Counterterrorism

This site provides information about the United States’ policy towards Counterterrorism.

Website: [http://www.state.gov/s/ct/](http://www.state.gov/s/ct/)
Adopt the World: learn about it!®

We adopt highways, chimpanzees, manatees, seals, anything. Until now, nobody has thought of adopting the world of the 21st century. Critical events in the 21st century have brought the humanities to the forefront. It is no longer acceptable for U.S. students to be culturally illiterate. Thus, global affairs are in need of better articulation and demonstration.

At their first meeting in 2006, the Master of Arts in International Administration (MAIA) program and the Miami-Dade County Public Schools (M-DCPS) Curriculum and Instruction, Social Sciences Department, joined forces to identify ways of improving the state of global education in Miami’s public schools.

M-DCPS Curriculum and Instruction, Social Sciences has developed criteria that schools must meet in order to earn the distinction of having Adopted the World. The Adopt the World curriculum units introduce and examine global and cultural issues, helping to overcome the challenges associated with teaching and learning about globalization such as: the scale, breadth, and complexity of the subject matter.

The Miami Initiative for Global Enrichment (MiGlobE) is dedicated to conducting research and analysis of world affairs as well as advocating community development of global knowledge. The Initiative administers MAIA’s nongovernmental organizations for community development at home and abroad. This includes research, production and management of Adopt the World, World at Risk and MAIA for Maya. The Initiative oversees the partnership between the University of Miami’s MAIA program and the Miami-Dade County Public School’s (M-DCPS) social sciences department, which includes operation of all digital materials.

For more information about Adopt the World: learn about it, please visit www.MAIAProgram.org
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